

EXPLORATIONS & ADVENTURES

ON

THE NIGER :

A Voyage Down the Dark River.

BY

RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
VISCOUNT GODERICH,

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies,
ETC. ETC. ETC.,

IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE PATRIOTIC INTEREST WHICH HIS
LORDSHIP HAS TAKEN IN

THE DISCOVERIES THEY RECORD;

AND IN TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR THE PATRONAGE WHICH HIS
BENEVOLENCE HAS CONFERRED ON THE AUTHORS,

These Volumes

ARE, WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANTS,-

RICHARD & JOHN LANDER.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

IT is with considerable diffidence we presume to lay our imperfect labours before the world. We are conscious that many defects will be found in our Narrative, both as regards its style and arrangement; but we are equally sensible that a British Public are to be our judges, and on their candour and generosity we confidently rely. Surely when our countrymen reflect, even for a moment, on the disadvantages against which we had to struggle, and the difficulties under which we laboured, they will not exercise too much severity of criticism.

An old poet imputes the faults of some of his poetry to his misfortunes; and says that good verses never flow but from a serene and composed spirit. Perhaps the same apology may with propriety be offered for our unpretending labours. Though we have adverted to the fact but seldom, nevertheless, throughout nearly the whole of our painful journey, we were both indisposed in a greater or less degree. In short, a very few days only had elapsed after our

landing at Badágyry, when we began to feel the debilitating effects of the African climate, and to experience a degree of languor which not even the warmest enthusiasm could wholly overcome. It is almost unnecessary to add, that our spirits often sank under the depressing influence of this powerful adversary, whose inroads on our constitutions we had no means of resisting.

We, therefore, humbly submit the following narrative to the public, without further apology for any deficiency of style or expression which may be discovered in it. It has at least the merit of a faithful account, for our journals were invariably written on the spot at the close of each day, and in all our observations, to the best of our belief, we adhered religiously to the truth.

We have only to add, that since returning to our native country, we have made no alterations, nor introduced a single sentence in the original manuscript of our travels; simply because it was intimated to us, that the public would prefer it in that state, however faulty in style, rather than a more elaborate narrative, which might gain less in elegance than it would lose in accuracy and vividness of description.

We think it necessary, however, to say that the task of blending our journals into one, as well as

constructing the map of our route through the country, has been performed by Lieutenant Becher, of the Royal Navy, to whom we offer our sincere thanks, not only for the performance of these laborious services, but also for his friendly aid and valuable suggestions in many other points connected with the production of these volumes.

RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER.

London, Feb., 1832.

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INTRODUCTION.

OF the numerous acquisitions that geography has made since the revival of letters and the extension of commerce, there are but few which have resulted from design, however well conceived, or from the direct attempts of travellers, however perseveringly pursued. The discovery of America was indeed a splendid example of both enlightened conception and heroic effort, crowned with success; and the unabated ardour with which this country has persisted in seeking for the river Niger, and in tracing its course, may well be adduced as another illustrious instance.

Among the difficulties inseparable from the lot of travellers, those arising from climate may be considered as the most formidable. The immediate presence of some imminent danger of a transient nature cannot be compared with the secret and incessant operations of an unhealthy climate; and no climate more than that of Africa is noted for its fatal effects on Europeans. The slow progress of discovery in Africa has hitherto arisen, principally, from this

cause. While other countries farther removed from civilised Europe have welcomed the researches of the scientific traveller, and amply rewarded him with their riches, Africa has spurned him from her soil by the destructive tendency of her climate, or the treachery of her people.

As long as any fact is excluded from the knowledge of man, he who is in search of it will supply the deficiency by his own conclusions, which will be more or less distant from it, according to his favourite opinions. There can be no better illustration of this than in the instance afforded by the Joliba, Quorra, or Niger. The termination of this river was entirely unknown until the completion of the recent expedition; and certainly no geographical problem, excepting perhaps that of the celebrated North-West Passage, had given rise to so many opposite theories, or had employed the conjectures of so many learned men. "Since Park's first discovery of the Joliba, every point of the compass has been assumed for the ulterior course and termination of that river," says an able writer in the *Quarterly Review*, justly considered as the enlightened advocate and sincere friend of geographical discovery. And however wrong, as the same writer agrees, subsequent discovery has proved this "speculative geography" to have been, it is not to be regarded as useless. Theories may be far short of the truth; but while they display the ingenuity and reasoning powers of their authors, they tend to keep alive that spirit of inquiry and thirst

for knowledge which terminates in discovery ; probably, but for this cause, the present might yet have been delayed many years.

Much difference of opinion prevails among well-informed and experienced geographers, as to the early notices in history of this questionable river. Herodotus, emphatically styled the "Father of Historians," states, in his "Geography of Africa," that some young Nasamonians, a people who dwelt in the north of Africa, on the borders of the Mediterranean, travelled in a westerly direction from a part of Egypt, until they came to a large river full of crocodiles, and flowing towards the rising sun ; and that they were conducted by the natives to a considerable city, situated on its banks. The difficulty has been to identify the track of these travellers, and their account of what they saw, with what is now known of the river lately discovered, and the part of Africa in which it is situated. It is contended by the writer before alluded to, whose opinion is entitled to much deference, from his especial acquaintance with African geography, that these young men, by travelling *due* west from Bilma—the part of Egypt from whence they are supposed to have set out—could never have reached the Quorra, which they are supposed by some to have done, and to have called it the Niger. The difficulty of even determining one point to be *due* west of another, at that early period, affords grounds for doubting that such a course, in its literal sense, could have been meant ; and it would have

been next to impossible for them to have avoided going either to the north or south of that direction. The subject has been ably treated by Lieutenant Colonel Leake, in a voluminous paper read to the Geographical Society at the first meeting of the present season. Colonel Leake states that, by travelling in a direction not farther to the south than west-south-west, or half-way between west and south-west from Bilma, the travellers might have arrived at the river ; and he considers the city to which they were conducted to have been no other than Timbuctoo.

At this early period—which was nearly five hundred years before the Christian era—when the Nile, from its vast magnitude, chiefly occupied the attention of ancient writers, it was natural for them to conclude, as the river discovered by these travellers was stated to flow from the west, that its waters reached the higher branches of this river. The fact of the Nile, in an early part of its course, flowing also from the west, favoured the conclusion ; and hence the first error concerning it was promulgated by Herodotus, in having considered it to be a distant source of the Nile. Discovery has proved that Herodotus, allowing for the period in which he wrote, possessed considerable knowledge of the geography of Africa, however he might have fallen into error here, and this circumstance gave additional weight to his opinions.

Little notice is taken of the Niger by Strabo, but Pliny treats largely upon this river. After conducting

it in an easterly direction from its source in lower Mauritania, through sandy deserts, sometimes flowing over them, and at others disappearing beneath them, he brings it to the Nile of Egypt, and coincides in the original opinion of Herodotus, that the Niger and the Nile are one and the same river. But the most reasonable geographer of his time is Mela, who, while he nearly coincided in the general opinion as to the source of the Niger, after making it flow from west to east, acknowledges, with becoming candour, that when it reaches the centre of the continent, no one knew what became of it. He justly deprecates as fabulous the idea of its flowing beneath sands, and attributes such an opinion to the want of knowledge respecting it in different parts of its course.

Ptolemy, who was the first to break through the imaginary bond which united the Niger and the Nile, unhappily had no other support to his pretensions of any knowledge respecting the former. His account of the Niger is so vague, as to make it difficult even to determine the course which he supposed it to take. He adhered to the former opinion respecting its general direction, and considered as one river the streams of several.

Such were the confused accounts of the earlier writers on geography respecting this mysterious river, when the dissolution of the Roman empire produced a total change in the opinions concerning it, and made them still more incomprehensible. The Arabians had now spread themselves over northern

Africa, and by their wandering habits were calculated to acquire more information concerning it than their predecessors. They have accordingly given fuller accounts of the geography of the country; but in those of the Niger are not more fortunate than their predecessors. The opinions of Abulfeda and Edrisi, their most celebrated geographers, were totally different from those of the former writers. Instead of allowing the Niger an easterly course, they considered its source as identical with that of the Nile, and bestowed on each the same name. The Nile of Egypt they supposed to run northerly into the Mediterranean, while for the Niger they assumed a westerly course across the whole continent, until it reached the Atlantic ocean, or "Sea of Darkness;" and, to distinguish it from the former, they named it the "Nile of the Negroes." It is difficult to imagine how such an hypothesis as this could have been received. The idea of the river flowing to the east might be easily admitted, in comparison with it, as a considerable part of its course is actually in that direction, and as much of it was likely to be known to the ancient geographers. As no part of it, except that near the Delta, flows to the westward, some other river than the Niger must have been meant.

The state of Europe at this period was ill calculated to throw any light on this interesting question, and, therefore, it lay neglected and concealed in obscurity. Maritime discovery at length promised to

achieve what was not to be expected by other means ; and the Portuguese, in pursuit of commerce, under the favourable auspices of their enlightened sovereigns of the fifteenth century, enlarged the knowledge of African geography. Intent on carrying on their conquests in India, the Portuguese were compelled to pass the coasts of this continent, and in their progress they founded many settlements, from which discovery was extended into the interior.

Leo Africanus, a native of Granada in Spain, was well acquainted with Arabian literature, and assigned a westerly course to the Niger. He differs from the Arabians only in its source, which he places to the west of that of the Nile. He considered the Niger to take its rise in a lake situated to the south of Bornou, from whence he believed that it flowed to the westward, until it reached the Atlantic ocean. The Portuguese, in their discoveries on the western coast of Africa, found successively the mouths of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande. The situation of these rivers favoured the supposition of the westerly course of the Niger, and they were accordingly considered as the channels by which it entered the Atlantic ocean.

The intercourse of the Portuguese with the natives of the Senegal and Gambia, as well as their communications with Timbuctoo, did not suffice to point out to them this error, and it has been perpetuated in all their maps. A remarkable circumstance, however, may here be observed concerning the position

of Timbuctoo. This city is placed so near the sea, as to excite suspicion of its being the same as that on the Niger; and another place named Tamboucanee, on the Senegal, is mentioned as answering to their Timbuctoo. On the whole, therefore, although it cannot be doubted that the Portuguese obtained a considerable store of information respecting the Niger, they appear to have turned it to little account.

Of all those who have devoted their attention to Africa, the French geographers, De Lisle and D'Anville, have evinced more care and thought than any other. De Lisle adopts the course assigned to the Niger by the Arabians in his map of the world in the year 1700, and in his map of Soudan, or Nigritia, published in 1745, preserves the same; while, in another map of the world, published in 1714, he gives the sources both of the Niger and Senegal. The latter he makes to run westward, and the former eastward; and it is rather extraordinary that, so late as 1745, he should have persevered in the old error. Whether the second separation of the Niger in the west from the Senegal, as the first had been in the east from the Nile, is due to De Lisle or not, D'Anville, in 1749, follows it up in his map of Africa, published at that time. In this map, D'Anville places the source of the Senegal in the same position as De Lisle, and the source of the Niger he places a little to the eastward of it. They each assume their proper course—the former to the west, and the latter

to the east, as far as Wangara, where it is met by another stream, coming in the opposite direction. The Niger, or Nile of the Negroes, is stated in the same map, according to Edrisi, as taking its rise close to the source of the Nile, and running in a north-west direction, till it terminates in the Lake of Bornou. D'Anville, in the meantime, entered deeply into the question of the rivers in the interior of Africa, and, in 1755, communicated the result of his labours to the French Academy.

Thus the source of the Niger, as well as its course, remained in obscurity until English geographers and travellers took the field. An entirely new era in the progress of African geography now commenced; and, to the honour of Great Britain, a number of wealthy and philanthropic individuals formed themselves, in the year 1788, into a society, for the express purpose of promoting discovery in that country. The necessary funds for the assistance of travellers were provided by this body, and intelligent individuals were only required to carry their designs into execution. The first and principal object which occupied their attention was the solution of the grand problem respecting the course and termination of the Niger, and a reward was promised to the person who should succeed in determining them.

The first person who was despatched on this mission, under the auspices of the African Association, was Mr. John Ledyard, an American by birth, and one who was gifted with an extraordinary desire for

travelling. He had already been round the world with Captain Cook, and had undergone hardships and privations in a journey that he performed in Russia, which, as the exploits of a single traveller, stand unrivalled. Ledyard met the proposals of the association with promptness and decision, and departed for Africa in June, 1788. Some idea may be formed of this extraordinary man, from his communication to a friend on the morning of his departure. "I am accustomed," said he, "to hardships; I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering. I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman; and I have at times been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character, to avoid a greater calamity." Such were the words of Ledyard, and his performances had been no less remarkable. His instructions were, to penetrate into Africa by the way of Egypt, and to traverse the continent in the latitude of the Niger. In pursuit of this, Ledyard reached Cairo in the month of August following, where, becoming impatient and vexed by the delay of the caravan with which he was to have travelled, his anxious mind sunk under disappointment, and an illness quickly terminated his career. Ledyard possessed, in an eminent degree, the daring spirit so requisite for such an undertaking; but was deficient in patience, a virtue which is peculiarly required in an African traveller.

The next person who went to Africa, to explore

the Niger, was Mr. Lucas. The journey of this traveller, which took place in the following year, is remarkable for the additions which he contributed to African geography, according to information which he obtained from the Arabs, although he did not penetrate farther to the south than Mesurata, a place five days' journey from Tripoli. In his account of the Fezzan merchants, who crossed the Niger at a ferry two miles south of Cassena, by allowing for the geographical inaccuracies of the time, may probably be discerned the ferry of Comie, below Boossà, or that of Rabba, mentioned in the following journal. The account, however, which Mr. Lucas gave of the course of the Niger is not confirmed by discovery; but that the merchants, after crossing it, pursued their journey to Ashantee, and met with the goora-nuts, renders it extremely probable that these two ferries, which form the highway across this river, were alluded to by his informers.

The western coast now became the quarter to which the attention of the African Association was directed, as likely to afford greater advantages for penetrating to the Niger, than from Tripoli. In 1791, Major Houghton, who had become acquainted with the character of the Arabs while British Consul at Marocco, undertook to explore the Niger. He ascended the Gambia, and having reached the upper part of this river, took a northerly direction into Ludama, on the borders of the great desert. Having agreed with some Moorish merchants to convey him

to Tisheet, he set out with them from Jarra, and at the expiration of two days, he determined on not accompanying them farther, from a suspicion of their intentions. The consequence was, that he was plundered and deserted by the Moors, and died at Jarra, after travelling alone several days.

The course of the Niger still lay concealed in vague and unsatisfactory statements, no modern traveller having yet succeeded in reaching its banks. The honour of first accomplishing this hazardous enterprise was reserved for one no less unfortunate than his predecessors. In 1795, the celebrated Mr. Mungo Park, a native of Scotland, offered his services to the African Association. A knowledge of medicine, besides other useful attainments, added to a natural taste for geographical discovery, peculiarly qualified him for such a purpose; and his offer being accepted, he set out for the Niger. Adopting the route of Major Houghton, he penetrated up the Gambia, and quickly reached Medina. Leaving the Gambia at this place, he kept a more northerly direction, and crossed the Falemé, a tributary to the Senegal, near Fatteconda. Having crossed the Senegal, and passed Kemmoo, he arrived at Jarra, where he found the remains of Major Houghton. On leaving Jarra, he adopted a course to the southward of east, and after having experienced great difficulties and privations in consequence of wars, he at length arrived at the long-sought Niger, and beheld it flowing from west to east. From Segó, he continued his journey along

the bank of the Niger to Silla ; where, finding himself exhausted by weakness, and destitute of the means of proceeding farther, he determined on returning to England. He reached the Gambia by a more direct route than that by which he had travelled to the Niger, and arrived in England in December, 1797. At Silla, which he stated as being two hundred miles from Timbuctoo, he collected much information ; and thus was the commencement of the Niger first traced on the map from the actual observation of a modern traveller. In this journey, Park explored the Niger between Bammakoo and Silla, the former being, according to his account, about ten days' journey distant from its source.

During the absence of Mr. Park in Western Africa, under the direction of the Association, Mr. W. G. Browne, at his own expense, passed through Egypt, and travelled to the west into Darfur, where he was detained three years. His information chiefly concerns Egypt, and nothing was gained from him respecting the Niger.

A new theory respecting the course and termination of this river now started into notice. After his return, Mr. Park happening to meet with a Mr. Maxwell, who was as much interested about the river Congo, as Mr. Park was with the Niger, these two travellers communicated their sentiments to each other respecting them, and came to the conclusion that they were one and the same river. There was

much to favour this decision. The Niger had been found by Park flowing from west to east, and from the accounts of the ancients, it was supposed to flow still farther in that direction, perhaps as far as a thousand miles from Silla, the extent of his discovery. Beyond this, all was conjecture respecting it, and there was nothing unreasonable in the supposition that it might take a south-east direction from Wangara, and become the Congo, the course of which river was then equally unknown. Such was Park's opinion, and upon which he soon after acted.

The course of the river, after the return of Park, was investigated minutely by Major Rennell, whose name will ever be revered by geographers. Besides laying it down from Park's discoveries, he entered fully into the various statements concerning it by the ancient writers; and, after considerable pains, he arrived at the conclusion that the river, having passed Timbuctoo, flowed a thousand miles in an easterly direction, and terminated in a lake or swamp, called Wangara, into which also another river fell from the eastward. This opinion, pronounced by such a man as Major Rennell, was received with confidence, and prevailed generally among geographers. Still it was unsatisfactory. Doubts were justly entertained on the possibility of its disappearing in such a manner, but the accounts of the ancients afforded no other means of disposing of it.

Mr. Reichard, a German, entertained a different opinion from that of Major Rennell, although he

agreed with him in believing that it flowed to Wangara. From this place, M. Reichard supposed that it assumed a south-west course, and terminated in the Gulf of Guinea. It was observed at the time that there was neither evidence on which such an opinion could be supported, nor any by which it could be refuted. As far as Wangara, it was acknowledged on the authority of the ancients, but beyond this no one knew anything of it, and M. Reichard's theory stood alone. Discovery has proved him to be right in respect of its ultimate disposal, but at the same time he participated in the general error regarding its course to Wangara.

The next traveller sent out by the African Association was a German, named Hornemann. At Fezzan, the farthest extent of his travels, he collected much information respecting the geography of Africa; but concerning the course of the Niger he contributed little or nothing. In April, 1800, he wrote to England, saying that he was on the point of starting for Bornou, since which time no account of him has been received.

Another German, named Roentgen, was the next traveller sent out by the African Association. His instructions were to penetrate to Timbuctoo, from Mogadore. It was his intention to have accompanied the caravan to that place from Marocco, but he is supposed to have been murdered by his servant, a person bearing a suspicious character, whom he had taken into his service against the advice of all to whom he was known.

The travels of Burekhardt, also sent out by the Association, threw no additional light on the course of the Niger.

Another era in the history of African geography may now be observed—one which, although marked by misfortune in its very commencement, and followed up by the loss of many very valuable lives, has ultimately produced the long-sought-for and desired result. The formation of the African Association had already been followed by an important discovery, and the persons composing it had secured to themselves the honour of having given to the world the first authentic account of the Niger from personal observation. By their aid Park had successfully explored three hundred miles of this river, when the attention of the British government, among other pursuits of a similar nature, was turned towards it. The voyages of Cook had already enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge in nearly every part of the world by sea, and an expedition for the discovery of the course and termination of the Niger was now ordered.

This intelligence was communicated to Park, who, in his usual sanguine manner, eagerly set to work in preparing for the journey. He had drawn up a plan of proceeding, for the accomplishment of which he required the assistance of thirty-six Europeans; six of whom were to be seamen, and the rest soldiers. His plan was adopted, and a sum of five thousand pounds was placed at his disposal by government, for equipping the expedition. The intention of

Park was to follow his former track to the Niger, and having reached its banks, there to build two vessels for his party, and to follow with them the course of the river. If it should fall into the Congo, after passing Wangara, he entertained no doubt of reaching the sea; but if it should terminate in this lake or morass, as was supposed, he then expected that he should have to encounter much difficulty. Hitherto the discovery of the Niger had been attempted by single travellers, who had endeavoured to reach their destination by accompanying the caravans, but this second journey of Park assumed an entirely new character, and sanguine hopes were justly entertained of his success.

The second journey of Park terminated fatally, and the great question of the course of the Niger, which had seemed to be on the dawn of discovery, was again obscured. Much information had been collected concerning the fate of Park and his party, previous to the expedition of the present travellers, by whom it has been confirmed. After experiencing difficulties and dangers of nearly every description, with only seven men remaining of his whole party, and these in such a state, from the effects of the climate, as to be scarcely able to proceed, he at length reached a mountain ridge near Bammagoo, from whence he once more beheld the Niger. Here he considered that all his difficulties were at an end, and proceeded on to Sansanding, on the bank of the river, a few miles below Segou, where he accom-

plished the building of his vessel. By the time that he was ready to depart, which was on the 17th of November, 1805, when he despatched one of his men, named Isaaco, to England with his journals and letters, five of his party only were left. Among those whom he had lost a few days before was Mr. Anderson, his brother-in-law, to whom allusion is made in the following journal.

The strong determination of Park to persevere in his design of tracing the course of the river to its termination, is thus expressed in one of his letters from this place:—"Though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere, and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at least die in the Niger." How truly were his words verified! and yet not by the effect of the climate, which he had wonderfully escaped, but by mere accident, produced by unfortunate circumstances. How often is the cup of hope dashed from our lips, when we consider ourselves most certain of its contents! Intelligence was afterwards obtained that Park had reached Boossà, where, being attacked by the natives, as he previously had been in many places after leaving Sansanding, he was supposed to have been driven from his vessel, and to have perished in the river, which intelligence is confirmed by the present account. Richard Lander was informed at Boossà, that his party, consisting of many black people who had been hired by him, were mistaken

by the natives of this place for Falàtahs, with whom they were then at war; and that the nature of the river there is such, that there was but one part through which his vessel could pass, and where he could not avoid the attacks of the natives. This statement, as well as that obtained by Richard Lander at Yàoorie, so amply confirm the account contained in an Arab document, the translation of which appears in Denham's work, that it deserves being inserted here.

“Hence be it known, that some Christians came to the town of Youri, in the kingdom of Yàoor, and landed and purchased provisions, as onions and other things; and they sent a present to the king of Yàoor. The said king desired them to wait until he should send them a messenger, but they were frightened and went away by the sea (river). They arrived at the town called Bossa, or Boossà, and their ship then rubbed (struck) upon a rock, and all of them perished in the river.

“This fact is within our knowledge, and peace be the end.”

(“*Note by the Translator.*—In addition to the above, there is a kind of postscript appended to the document by a different hand, which being both ungrammatical and scarcely legible, I had some difficulty in translating and giving it a proper meaning. The words, however, are I think as follows, though most of them have been made out by conjecture.”)

“And they agreed or arranged among themselves,

and swam in the sea (river), while the men who were with (pursuing) them appeared on the coast of the sea (bank of the river), and fell upon them till they went down (sank) in it."

By the following extract from a document in the late Captain Clapperton's Journal in Africa, p. 334, it appears that Park and his party visited Timbuctoo. After briefly noticing the progress of the forty Christians as far as Sansanding, from which place they set out with only five men, it states that they arrived at Masena, and that "they sojourned there with the prince, who was one of the sons of the sultan of Timbuctoo, and whose name was Babal Kydiali. He entertained them, and gave them leave to proceed to Timbuctoo. They continued their voyage till they arrived in safety, five as they were, at the city of Timbuctoo, where they resided as long as God was pleased. Thence they went on towards the country of S'oghy, till they came to one of its towns, called Gharwal-gaoo. There the Tuaricks met and fought them severely till three were killed, and two only of them escaped with the vessel.

"They proceeded towards the east till they arrived at Boossà; but the inhabitants fought and killed them, and their ship is to this moment there. This is the substance and truth of the case."—Thus terminated the first attempt made by the British government to discover the course of the Niger.

The next person who is supposed to have visited Timbuctoo was an American seaman, named Adams,

but his narrative throws no additional light on the course of the Niger.

Amidst the extraordinary political events which agitated the whole of Europe, further attempts at discovery were suspended till the commencement of the present peace. Accordingly, in the year 1816, in conformity with the favourite hypothesis of Park, an expedition was sent to penetrate into Africa by the river Congo, with the view of arriving at the Niger, under the direction of Captain Tuckey, of the Royal Navy. The fate of this expedition was the counterpart of the preceding. Two hundred and eighty miles from the coast was the extent of its progress; and the question was as far as ever from being decided. At the same time, another party, consisting of a hundred men, were placed under the direction of Major Peddie, to reach the Niger by Park's route from the Gambia, and sent out to meet that under Captain Tuckey. This party ascended the river Nunez, and were equally unfortunate with that which had gone to the Congo.

The first intelligence obtained respecting the course of the Niger, since its discovery by Park, was by the late Captain Clapperton, of the Navy, when he was at Sockatoo, in 1824. He had reached this place from Bornou, whither he had accompanied Major Denham and Dr. Oudney from Tripoli. Here he first gained the intelligence that the river ran to the south, and that it flowed into the sea at Funda. With this information, and a vast deal more relating

to other parts of Africa through which he had passed, Clapperton returned to England. His favourable reception by Bello, the Falàtah sultan, induced the British government to send him out again, accompanied by Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison, of the Royal Navy. These officers landed at Badágyry, and the only one belonging to their party who returned safely to England, was Richard Lander, the attendant of Clapperton. Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison died a few days after leaving Badágyry; and Clapperton, accompanied by Lander, soon after arrived at Wowow, from which place they visited Boossà, the place of Park's death. Clapperton had imbibed a strong aversion to descending the Niger, and made no secret of it to Lander. His firm conviction was, that whoever attempted to go down this river, would fall by the attacks of the natives, and would never live to reach its termination. Clapperton crossed the river at Comie, below Boossà, and died soon after reaching Sockatoo. Lander, having performed the last duties to the remains of his friend and master, commenced his return to England with his papers. Having traversed a considerable part of the country as far as Durrora, he would in all probability have found his way down the Niger, had he not been interrupted by the natives, and compelled to turn back. This circumstance alone obliged him to return by his former route to Badágyry, at which place he narrowly escaped with his life. In this expedition, the position of Boossà, on the banks of the Niger,

was obtained, and an approximate position of Yàoorie, besides the course of the river between these places

During Clapperton's absence on his second journey Major Laing penetrated from Tripoli to Timbuctoo. He had already escaped from an attack by a band of Tuaricks, (a roving people who inhabit the desert,) and had departed from Timbuctoo on his way to Sego, when he was inhumanly murdered by a Moorish merchant, named Bambooshi, whom he had engaged as a guide. Major Laing's papers have not reached England; but it may still be hoped that his observations at Timbuctoo will not be finally lost.

A Frenchman named Caillié has visited Timbuctoo since Major Laing; but his visit has produced no addition to our knowledge of the Niger.

The natives near Boossà seem to have but a vague notion of the course of the river below that place. At Tabra, in Nouffie, Clapperton was told that "the Quorra ran into the sea behind Benin, at Funda; that the Nyffe people and those of Benin were the same people; that Benin paid tribute to Nyffe." There is something remarkable in this; but Clapperton attributes it to the desire of the natives to impress a stranger with an exalted opinion of their country. The Sultan Bello himself believed that the river, after passing Boossà and Wowow, entered the sea at Funda. The extent of this knowledge of the river, and how little their information was calculated to assist the geographer, may be seen by the following amusing extract from the explanation to

Bello's map, given in the Appendix, p. 333, of Clapperton's book :—“ Now the great river Cowára comes, and here is its representation. This great river is the largest in all the territories of Haussà ; we know not of its source, nor of any one who has seen it. It rushes and precipitates itself through the country from left to right, and contains many islands, inhabited by fishermen, herdsmen, husbandmen, and settlers. As to the variety of its animals, birds, and fish, it is only known to the Lord Creator ; it has rocks and mountains, which break and shatter to pieces all vessels that are driven against them ; and its great roaring and noise, with the agitation of its waves, astonish the hearer, and terrify the beholder ; and at the same time exhibit the wonderful power of the Omnipotent Creator.” Such was the idea of Bello's mallam, or learned priest. And again, at p. 340, in “ a traditional account of different nations of Africa,” it is stated that “ the river Kowára runs through mountains, and a great many woods and forests, and has mountains on the north and east. This great river issues from the Mountain of the Moon ; and what we know of it is, that it comes from Sookan to Kiga, to Kabi, to Yaoori, to Boossà, to Wawa, and to Noofee,”—“ but in that place there is another river, which springs from Zirma to Ghoober, to Zeffra, to Korg, or Korra, and then enters Noofee ; its name is Kaduna,” or the Koodoonia, the extent to which the Niger seems to have been known by the natives, although they had heard of Funda.

Various accounts of the river had now been gradually collected from different sources, which afforded grounds for fresh theories respecting its termination. That of Reichard was the favourite, although Wangara was dispensed with ; and that the river fell into the Gulf of Guinea was pretty generally agreed. These different opinions appeared in several publications, in which, as might be expected, much error was mixed up with the general correctness. That the river flowed into the sea at Funda was the grand point obtained, and where Funda might be was of no importance. The only exception to these was the theory of Major Denham, supported by Sultan Bello's information, who continued its easterly course below Boossà, and ended it in Lake Tshad. This he doubtless considered the more probable, as he says that he found a river Shary running into that lake. Major Laing ended it in the river Volta, near Accra ; Clapperton brought it to the sea near the mouth of the Lagos, about half-way between Badágyry and the mouth of the river Benin ; while Reichard concluded rightly that the river Benin was the outlet of the Niger. Others believed that the mouths of the numerous rivers between the Formosa and the old Calebar were the outlets of this river ; among whom were Captain W. F. W. Owen, Captain A. T. E. Vidal, and Captain B. M. Kelly, besides several other naval officers who had been stationed on the coast. The accounts of Liverpool palm-oil traders favoured the same conclusion ; nevertheless, no one

had yet explored the river below Boossà,—all was uncertainty, and founded only on report and supposition. A solitary attempt to reach it from the old Calebar river was made in 1805, by a Mr. Nicholls, who died shortly after leaving Duke Town; and this is remarkable, from having been the only one made from that quarter.

The annexed map serves to show the extent of our knowledge of the river at this period. Park had laid down its course between Bammakoo and Silla in his first journey, and had found that its source was in the same mountainous range that gave rise to the Senegal. The part below Silla, as far as Timbuctoo, was the result of intelligence obtained by him in his second journey. Beyond Timbuctoo, the only place known to be situated on its banks was Boossà, the position of which had been determined by Clapperton, but the actual course of the river between those places remained entirely unknown. The part included within the dotted square is the result of the Landers' expedition; and, therefore, that part between Yàoori, the extent of their journey, and Timbuctoo, is all that remains to be explored of the Niger. There is no doubt of its continuity between those places, from the reports of Park, as the vessel he built at Samsanding was lost at Boossà, and they have been connected by the broken line merely to show the probable course of the river. Considering the relative position of the Senegal and Niger, it is no matter of surprise, that they should have been confounded with

each other in the early stages of history, although they run in opposite directions ; for, even at the present time, the ignorance of every one who had been applied to concerning the river was the subject of remark by the last travellers.

Such was the uncertain condition in which the course of the Niger remained, when the happy idea occurred of sending the Messrs. Lander to follow its course below Boossà. By this step, the British government completed what it had begun, and accomplished, in a few months, the work of ages. Richard Lander, well acquainted with the nature of such an undertaking, volunteered his services to perform it. His instructions, of which the following is a copy, were given to him ; and having been supplied with the articles, (a list of which will be found in the Appendix,) accompanied by his brother John, he set out on this interesting expedition.

“ Downing Street, 31st December, 1829.

“ Sir,

“ I am directed by Secretary Sir George Murray to acquaint you, that he has deemed it expedient to accept the offer which you have made, to proceed to Africa, accompanied by your brother,* for the purpose of ascertaining the course of the Great River which was crossed by the late Captain Claperton, on his journey to Soccatoo ; and a passage having been accordingly engaged for you and your

* Though the Government refused to allow him a salary, or make him even the promise of reward, my brother eagerly volunteered to accompany me.—R. L.

brother on board of the *Alert*, merchant-vessel, which is proceeding to Cape-Coast Castle, on the western coast of Africa, I am to desire that you will embark directly on board of that vessel.

“ In the event of your falling in with any of his Majesty’s ships of war on the coast of Africa, previously to your arrival at Cape-Coast Castle, you will prevail on the master to use every endeavour to speak with such ship of war, and to deliver to the officer commanding her the letter of which you are the bearer, and which is to require him to convey yourself and your brother to Badágyry, to present you to the king, and to give you such assistance as may be required to enable you to set out on your journey.

“ You should incur as little delay as possible at Badágyry, in order that, by reaching the hilly country, you may be more secure from those fevers which are known to be prevalent on the low lands of the sea-coast. You are to proceed by the same road as on a previous occasion, as far as Katunga, unless you shall be able to find, on the northern side of the mountains, a road which will lead you to Funda, on the Quorra or Niger, in which case you are to proceed direct to Funda. If, however, it should be necessary to go as far as Katunga, you are to use your endeavours to prevail on the chief of that country to assist you on your way to the Quorra, and with the means of tracing down, either by land or water, the course of that river as far as Funda.

“ On your arrival at this place, you are to be very

particular in your observations, so as to enable you to give a correct statement—

“ 1st. Whether any, and what rivers fall into the Quorra at or near that place, or whether the whole or any part of the Quorra turns to the eastward.

“ 2nd. Whether there is at Funda, or in the neighbourhood, any lake or collection of waters, or large swamp ; in which case you are to go round such lake or swamp, and be very particular in examining whether any river flows *into* or *out* of it, and in what direction it takes its course.

“ 3rd. If you should find that, at Funda, the Quorra continues to flow to the southward, you are to follow it to the sea, where, in this case, it may be presumed to empty its waters ; but if it should be found to turn off to the eastward, in which case it will most probably fall into the Lake Tshad, you are to follow its course in that direction, as far as you conceive you can venture to do, with due regard to your personal safety, even to Bornou, in which case it will be for you to determine whether it may not be advisable to return home by the way of Fezzau and Tripoli : if, however, after proceeding in an easterly course for some distance, the river should be found to turn off towards the south, you are to follow it, as before, down to the sea. In short, after having once gained the banks of the Quorra, either from Katunga, or lower down, you are to follow its course, if possible, to its termination, wherever that may be.

“ Should you be of opinion that the Sultan of

Youri can safely be communicated with, you are at liberty to send your brother with a present to that chief, to ask, in the king's name, for certain books or papers which he is supposed to have, that belonged to the late Mr. Park ; but you are not necessarily yourself to wait for your brother's return, but to proceed in the execution of the main object of your mission, to ascertain the course and termination of the Niger.

“ You are to take every opportunity of sending down by the coast a brief abstract of your proceedings and observations, furnishing the bearer with a note, setting forth the reward he is to have for his trouble, and requesting any English person, to whom it is presented, to pay that reward, on the faith that it will be repaid him by the British Government.

“ For the performance of this service, you are furnished with all the articles which you have required for your personal convenience, during your journey, together with a sum of two hundred dollars in coin ; and in case, upon your arrival at Badágyry, you should find it absolutely necessary to provide yourself with a further supply of dollars, you will be at liberty to draw upon this department for any sum not exceeding three hundred dollars.

“ During the ensuing year, the sum of one hundred pounds will be paid to your wife, in quarterly payments, and upon your return a gratuity of one hundred pounds will be paid to yourself.

“ All the papers and observations which you shall

bring back with you, are to be delivered by you at this office, and you will be entitled to receive any pecuniary consideration which may be obtained from the publication of the account of your journey.

“ I am, sir, &c., &c.,

(Signed) “ R. W. HAY.

“ *To Mr. Richard Lander.*”

[Copy of the letter alluded to in the foregoing instructions.]

“ *Admiralty Office, 23d December, 1829.*

“ Sir,

“ I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to transmit to you a copy of a letter from Mr. Hay, relative to an expedition into Africa, undertaken by Mr. Richard Lander and his brother; and I am to signify their Lordships' directions to you, to take measures for conveying Messrs. Lander from Cape-Coast Castle to Badágyry, to be there presented, as desired in Mr. Hay's letter, to the authorities of the place, as persons in whose welfare the British Government takes much interest, and also to provide these travellers with any assistance of which they may stand in need, for the prosecution of their undertaking.

“ I am, sir, &c., &c.,

“ J. BARROW.

“ *To Commodore COLLIER, C.B., or the Commanding Officer of any of his Majesty's Ships which Messrs. LANDER may fall in with on the Coast of Africa.*”

The travellers have succeeded; their discovery is already known to the world, and the following pages

contain the particulars of their journey. There are two features which distinguish this expedition from all those that have preceded it, namely, the magnitude and importance of the discovery, and the small means by which it has been accomplished. Science here was out of the question, and all depended on that homely quality of the mind, "determination of purpose," a leading feature in the character of our countrymen, without which science itself is of little avail.

The elder brother, Richard Lander, is already known to the world as the faithful attendant of the late Captain Clapperton. The manner in which he had acquitted himself of his trust, amidst the difficulties he had to contend with, after that officer's death, bespoke him as worthy of being sent on such a mission, when scientific observations were not expected; and the result has proved the justness of the opinion that had been formed of him. Descended from Cornish parents, and gifted with no extraordinary talent, it was not his fortune to boast either the honours of high birth, or even to possess the advantages of a common-place education. His leading quality has been a share of perseverance, rivalling that of any former traveller. This perseverance, under the protection of Divine Providence, has enabled him to surmount every difficulty, to unlock the portals of western Africa, and he has now the proud gratification of knowing, that he has well earned that reward from his king, which has placed him in honourable competency.

The younger brother, John Lander, influenced by a laudable desire of assisting his brother and of visiting Africa, accompanied him on the journey without pecuniary expectancy ; and it is due to him to state, that the narrative is largely indebted to his observation. Naturally of a warm imagination, his descriptions are not without their faults ; but while this is acknowledged, it must be admitted that he has enriched the Journal with much interesting and valuable information. In point of education and literary attainments, John Lander has the advantage of his brother, and has already produced several essays, in prose and verse, besides having written the accounts of his brother's former journey. Having shared the dangers of his last expedition, he has been promised an employment under Government, suitable to his abilities ; and the friends of knowledge and science will rejoice in seeing these travellers, the only two left of those who have gone out on this dangerous mission, become objects of their country's care.

The first annual premium of fifty guineas, which has been placed at the disposal of the President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society, by his Most Gracious Majesty, was awarded to Richard Lander, as having been charged with the expedition. On the 14th of November, it was presented to him by the President, Lord Goderich, accompanied by a few observations most gratifying to his feelings ; and it is a remarkable fact, that the incorporation of the African Association with the Geographical Society

was announced by his Lordship immediately afterwards,—that Association whose first and chief solicitude had been the grand discovery for which the reward had been just bestowed.

The unfortunate disaster that befel the travellers at Kirree nearly deprived the world of the fruits of their observations; but fortunately, although those of each in different parts of the journey were lost in the river, the thread of the narrative has been preserved entire by what remained. The first portion of the Journal is from the observations of John Lander—those of Richard, between their departure from England and Rabba, having been lost. The remainder of it, to the conclusion, is from the journal of Richard Lander, assisted by that of his brother, part of the journal of the latter, between Rabba and Kirree, being also lost. And there is little doubt that the parts which have thus perished would have added materially to the value of the whole. In preparing the journals for publication, for the sake of clearness, as well as in pursuance of custom, Richard Lander, the elder brother, being charged with the expedition, has been considered as the principal, and the journal of John Lander, while they were separate from each other, is preserved in his own name. This plan having been determined on, after about half of the first volume had been printed, a few alterations became necessary, and these have been made without departing from the sense intended to be conveyed.

In conclusion, a word or two may be said respect-

ing the map which has been constructed from the journals. The accomplished surveyor will look in vain along the list of the articles, with which the travellers were supplied, for the instruments of his calling; and the man of science, to form his opinion of it, need only be told that a common compass was all they possessed to benefit geography, beyond the observation of their senses. Even this trifling though important assistance was lost at Kirree, below which place the sun became their only guide. Too much faith must not therefore be reposed in the various serpentine courses of the river on the map, as it is neither warranted by the resources, nor the ability of the travellers. The map, in its most favourable point of view, can be considered only as a sketch of the river authenticated by personal observation, which will serve to assist future travellers, from whose superior attainments something nearer approaching to geographical precision may be expected. Even under these circumstances, the present travellers will always derive ample satisfaction in reflecting that they have served as pioneers of African discovery.

A. B. B.

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JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England—Arrival at Cape Coast—Anamaboo—
Accra—Badágyry.

WE embarked from Portsmouth on the 9th January, 1830, in the brig *Alert*, Tyson master, for Cape-Coast Castle, where we arrived on the 22d of the following month, having had a quick, but boisterous and unpleasant passage of forty-two days. We should be sadly wanting in gratitude and every proper feeling, if we were to omit acknowledging, in this place, the truly handsome and gentlemanly treatment we experienced from Mr. George Maclean, President of the Council at Cape-Coast, who had been our fellow passenger in the *Alert*, as well as the merchants resident there, who welcomed us on our arrival. In fact they *all* vied with each other in making themselves agreeable, and in showing us the most marked attention; and they entertained us with a generous hospitality, which would have done honour to the boasted olden time. Here we were fortunate enough to engage old Pascoe and his wife, with Jowdie, who had been employed on the last mission, together with Ibrahim and Mina, two Bornou men, who were well acquainted with English manners, and could converse in the Hàussa language. These individuals promised

to be very useful in the expedition, more especially old Pascoe, whose merits as an interpreter are unquestionable.

After remaining at Cape-Coast Castle eight days, we accompanied Mr. Maclean on a visit to Mr. Hutchinson, Commandant of Anamabóo, which is about nine miles distant from the former place. This gentleman received us in a manner that does equal honour to his heart and feelings. Would that we could repay him in any way for his generous abandonment and forgetfulness of all his private concerns solely to please and amuse his guests; would that we could command language forcible and glowing enough to express the gratitude we feel for the disinterested kindness he showed us at Anamabóo! Mr. Hutchinson lives in his castle like an English baron in the feudal times, untinged, however, by barbarism or ignorance, for the polished refinements of life have insinuated themselves into his dwelling, though it is entirely surrounded by savages, and though the charming sound of a lady's voice is seldom or never heard in his lonely hall. His silken banners, his turreted castle, his devoted vassals, his hospitality, and even his very solitariness, all conspire to recall to the mind, the manners and way of life of an old English baron in one of the most interesting periods of our history, whilst the highly chivalrous and romantic spirit of the gentleman alluded to is strictly in unison with the impression. Mr. Hutchinson has resided very many years on the coast, and is one of the few individuals that have visited the capital of Ashantee, wherein he resided eight months, and obtained a better acquaintance with the manners, customs, and pursuits of that warlike, enterprising, and original nation than any other European whatever. In the Ashantee war he took a very active

part, and rendered important and valuable services to the cause he so warmly espoused.

We abode at the fort till the 4th March, when we bade adieu to our kind host, and our much-respected friend Mr. George Maclean, and embraced the opportunity of sailing in the *Alert* for Accra, where we expected to find a vessel to take us to Badágyry, in the Bight of Benin, agreeably to our instructions.

For the last time we beg leave to express our gratitude to the worthy president and the council at Cape-Coast, for their noble and feeling treatment of us strangers, and to assure them that we shall cherish the remembrance of it as long as we live. It is conduct such as this, so flattering to one's self-love, that makes the deepest and most lasting impression on the heart, and that clings to it when the memory of other, and perhaps more important things, has long passed away.

In two days we arrived opposite the British fort at Accra, and landed on the 7th. Here we abode with Mr. Fry, the commandant, a whole week, which afforded us ample leisure to stroll about the neighbourhood, and admire the surpassing beauty of the country. Accra is, without exception, the pleasantest and most healthy British settlement on the western coast of Africa: Its trade has perhaps suffered by the late unfortunate Ashantee war, in common with Cape-Coast Castle and other places, but it is beginning to revive again. His Majesty's brig *Clinker* arrived the day before us, and two days after she was joined by the *Medina* sloop of war, and the *Black Joke*.

On the 15th we embarked on board the *Clinker*, Lieutenant Matson commander, and having sailed direct for Badágyry, we dropped anchor in the roadstead in front of that town on the 19th. My brother

landed, and was introduced to the chief by Mr. Brown, master of the brig, on the following day, and every thing having been arranged to our satisfaction, the luggage was safely landed on the 21st.

From Lieutenant Matson, an officer to whom we are under infinite obligations for the many courtesies and acts of kindness he showed us, we received a young man of colour named Antonio, son to the chief of Bonny, who eagerly embraced the opportunity of proceeding with us into the interior, being impressed with the notion that he should be enabled to reach his home and country by means of the Great River, or Niger.

March 22d.—Cheered by six hearty huzzas, good-naturedly given us by the crew of the Clinker, at the desire of her gallant commander, we sailed towards the beach in one of the brig's boats in the earlier part of the afternoon, and having been taken into a canoe that was waiting at the edge of the breakers to receive us, we were plied over a tremendous surf, and flung with violence on the burning sands.

Wet and uncomfortable as this accident had rendered us, we had no change of linen at hand, and we walked to a small creek about the distance of a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, where we were taken into a native canoe, and conveyed safely through an extremely narrow channel, overhung with luxuriant vegetation, into the Badágyry river, which is a branch of the Lagos. It is a beautiful body of water, resembling a lake in miniature: its surface is smooth and transparent as glass, and its picturesque banks are shaded by trees of a lively verdure. We were soon landed on the opposite side, when our road lay over a magnificent plain, on which deer, antelopes, and buffaloes, are often observed to feed. Numbers of men, women, and children, followed us to the town of

Badágyry, and they made the most terrific noises at our heels, but whether these were symptoms of satisfaction or displeasure, admiration or ridicule, we could not at first understand. We were soon, however, satisfied that the latter feeling was predominant; and indeed our clothing was exceedingly grotesque, consisting of a straw hat larger than an umbrella, a scarlet Mohammedan tobe or tunic and belt, with boots and full Turkish trousers. So unusual a dress might well cause the people to laugh heartily; they were all evidently highly amused, but the more modest of the females, unwilling to give us any uneasiness, turned aside to conceal the titter from which they were utterly unable to refrain.

On our way we observed various groups of people seated under the spreading branches of superb trees, vending provisions and country cloth; and on our approach many of these arose and bowed, whilst others fell on their knees before us in token of respect. We reached the dwelling which had been prepared for us about three o'clock in the afternoon, but as the day was too far advanced to visit the chief or king, we sent a messenger to inform him of our intention of paying him our respects to-morrow morning.

March 23d.—At nine o'clock this morning, agreeably to yesterday's promise we visited the chief at his residence, which is somewhat more than half a mile from our own. On our entrance he was sitting on a couple of boxes, in a small bamboo apartment, from whose sides were suspended a great quantity of muskets and swords, with a few paltry umbrellas, and a couple of horse's tails, which are used for the purpose of brushing away flies or other insects. King Adooley looked up in our faces without making any observation, and did not rise from his seat to congra-

tulate us on our arrival. He appeared in deep reflection, and thoughtfully rested his elbow on an old wooden table, pillowing his head on his hand. One of the most venerable and ancient of his subjects was squatted at the feet of his master, smoking from a pipe of extraordinary length; whilst Lantern, his eldest son and heir-apparent, was kneeling at his side, etiquette not allowing the youth to sit in presence of his father. Everything bore an air of gloom and sadness totally different from what we had been led to expect. We shook hands, but the pressure of the chief was so very faint that it was scarcely perceptible; yet, notwithstanding this apparent coldness, we seated ourselves one on each side, without ceremony or embarrassment. The conversation was commenced on our part by inquiring after the chief's health, which was answered only by a languid smile, and he again relapsed into his former thoughtfulness. We then displayed to the greatest advantage the presents we had brought for him from England; they were accepted, it is true, but without the slightest demonstration of pleasure or satisfaction; they were scarcely looked at, and were carried away by his attendants with real or seeming indifference. This was very mortifying, but we said not a word, though it was the easiest thing imaginable to perceive that all was not right. A reserve, the cause whereof we could not define, and a coldness towards us for which we could in no wise account, marked the conduct of the once spirited and good-natured chief of Badágyry, and prepared us to anticipate various difficulties in the prosecution of our plans, which we are persuaded will require much art and influence to surmount. Adooley left us abruptly in the midst of the conversation, and did not return for some time.

Wearied at length with his long delay, we de-

spatched a messenger to acquaint him that we were becoming impatient, and would feel obliged by his immediate return, in order to put an end to our conference, or *palâver* as it is emphatically styled, as speedily as possible. On receiving this message the chief hastened back, and entered the apartment with a melancholy countenance, which was partially concealed behind large volumes of smoke from a tobacco-pipe which he was using. He seated himself between us as before, and gave us to understand, in a very low tone of voice, that he was but just recovering from a severe illness, and from the effects of a variety of misfortunes, which had rendered him almost broken-hearted. His generals, Bombanee and Poser (mentioned in Clapperton's Journal), and all his most able warriors, had either been slain in battle, or fallen by other violent means. The former in particular, whose loss he more particularly lamented, had been captured by the Lagos people, who were his most inveterate enemies. When this unfortunate man was taken prisoner, his right hand was immediately nailed to his head, and the other lopped off like a twig. In this manner he was paraded through the town, and exposed to the view of the people, whose curiosity being satiated, Bombanee's head was at length severed from his shoulders, and being dried in the sun and beat to dust, was sent in triumph to the Chief of Badagry. To add to his calamities, Adooley's house, which contained an immense quantity of gunpowder, had blown up by accident, and destroyed all his property, consisting of a variety of presents, most of them very valuable, that had been made him by Captain Clapperton, and by European merchants and traders in slaves. The chief and his women escaped with difficulty from the conflagration; but as it was the custom to keep the muskets and other fire-arms con-

stantly loaded, their contents were discharged into the bodies and legs of those individuals that had flocked to the spot on the first alarm. The flames spread with astonishing rapidity, notwithstanding every exertion, and ended in the destruction of a great part of the town. This accounted in some measure for the sad and grievous expression so strongly depicted on the chief's countenance, but still another and more powerful reason had doubtless influenced him on this occasion.

On returning to our residence a number of "principal men," as they style themselves, were introduced, to compliment us on coming to their country, although their true and only motive for visiting our quarters was the expectation of obtaining rum, which is the great object of attraction to all of them. We have been annoyed during the better part of this day by a tribe of ragged beggars, whose importunity is really disgusting; and the number of old fat-headed and pot-bellied men, and skinny, flap-eared women of the last century, has been immense. To these garrulous ladies and gentlemen have we been obliged to laugh and talk, and shake hands and crack fingers, and bend our bodies and bow our heads, and place our hands with solemnity on our heads and breasts; make presents, and cringe, fawn, and flatter up to the present moment, which is past bed-time. We have not indeed had a moment's relaxation from this excessive fatigue; and the consideration that we have been waited on by the chief's eldest son has been forgotten in the mortifying inconveniences to which we have been subjected.

Had Job, amongst his other trials, been exposed to the horrors of an interminable African *palàver*, his patience most have forsaken him. For my own part, I am of opinion that I shall never be a general

favourite with this ever-grinning and loquacious people. If I laugh—and laugh I most certainly must—it is done against my inclination, and consequently with a very bad grace. For the first five years of my life, I have been told that I was never even seen to smile; and since that period, Heaven knows, my merriment has been confined to particular and extraordinary occasions only. How, then, is it possible that I can be grinning and playing the fool from morning to night, positively without any just incentive to do so, and sweltering at the same time under a sun that causes my body to burn with intense heat, giving it the appearance of shrivelled parchment? Fortunately, these savages—for savages they most certainly are in the fullest extent of the word—cannot distinguish between real and fictitious joy; and although I was vexed at heart, and wished them all at the bottom of the Red Sea, or somewhere else, I have every reason to believe that my forced attempts to please the natives have so far been successful, and that I have obtained the reputation, which I certainly do not deserve, of being one of the pleasantest and best-tempered persons in the world.

One of the Fetish-men has just sent us a present of a duck, fully as large as an English goose; but as the fellow expects ten times its value in return, it is no proof, I think, of the benevolence of his disposition. Last night we were obliged to station armed men around our house, for the purpose of protecting our goods from the rapacity of a multitude of thieves that infest this place, and who display the greatest cunning imaginable to ingratiate themselves into our favour. We arose unrefreshed this morning, at day-break—the noise of children crying, the firing of guns, and the discordant sound of drums and horns, preventing us from enjoying the sweetness of repose,

so infinitely desirable after a long day spent in a routine of tiresome ceremony and etiquette.

March 24th.—One of the chief's messengers, who is a Hàussa Mallam,* or priest, presented himself at the door of our house this morning, followed by a large and handsome spotted sheep from his native country, whose neck was adorned with little bells, which made a pretty jingling noise. We were much prepossessed in this man's favour, by the calmness and serenity of his countenance, and the modesty, or rather timidity, of his manners. He was dressed in the Hàussa costume, viz., cap, tobe, trousers, and sandals. He wore four large silver rings on his thumb, and his left wrist was ornamented with a solid silver bracelet. This is the only individual that has yet visited us purely with disinterested motives, as all the others make it a practice to beg whenever they favour us with their company; but the Mallam, it is to be understood, is a Mussulman, and it is the fast of the Rhamadan, so that he is forbidden by his creed either to eat or drink from the rising to the setting of the sun.

A Falàtah residing in the town has agreed to supply us with cow's milk every morning, as long as we may have occasion to remain; he is likewise a Mohammedan, and, imitating the example of the Mallam, he scrupulously adheres to the rigorous precepts of his religion.

The chief's eldest son has been with us the greatest part of to-day. The manners of this young man are reserved, but respectful; he is a great admirer of the English, and has obtained a smattering of their language. Although his appearance is extremely boyish, he has already three wives, and is the father of two children. His front teeth are filed to a point,

* Mallam signifies "learned."—*Clapperton.*

after the manner of the Lagos people ; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, his features bear less marks of ferocity than we have observed in the countenance of any one of his countrymen, while his general deportment is infinitely more pleasing and humble than theirs. When asked whether, if it were in his power to do so, he would injure us two, or any European that might hereafter visit Badágyry, he made no reply, but silently approached our seat, and falling on his knees at our feet, he pressed me with eagerness to his soft naked bosom, and affectionately kissed my hand. I thought that language and expression would not have been half so eloquent as this.

We have heard to-day that peace has been established between Porto Novo and Badágyry. The messenger that brought this agreeable news has presented Adooley with three slaves, from his master, the chief of the former state, as a token that it is to be lasting. This distracted country is ever at war with her neighbours, and consequently is always in a state of agitation and poverty. Provisions are, from the same cause, extremely scarce and dear.

Since our conference with the chief on Tuesday we have learned, with surprise and sorrow, that a party of the populace have expressed themselves decidedly hostile to our projects, and that its leaders are continually with Adooley, using all their influence, and exercising all their cunning, in order to awaken his slumbering jealousy. They endeavour to persuade him to demand, ere he grants us leave to pass through his country, a sum of money which they are all aware it is not in our power to pay, and therefore they imagine we shall be compelled to abandon the undertaking. The first intimation we received of the effect of these insinuations on the mind of the chief was brought us this morning, by one who pronounces himself

to be on "our side." This man assured us, with an ominous visage, that Adooley had declared, in the hearing of all the people, that the coat we had given him was intended for a boy, and not a man; it was therefore unworthy his acceptance as a king, and he considered that we meant to insult him. The coat alluded to by Adooley is, indeed, extremely old-fashioned, and belonged to a surgeon in the navy about twenty years ago, notwithstanding which it is now almost as good as new, and was made very showy by the addition of a pair of tarnished gold epaulets. Nor can anything be clearer than that an enemy of ours has been striving to render the chief discontented and mistrustful, since nothing was so gladly received as this very coat two days ago. To counteract the efforts of the malicious, we have been unusually busy to-day in sounding the disposition of those who, we are inclined to believe, from the fondness they evince for our rum, are favourable to our intentions and devoted to our interests.

Two mulattoes reside in the town, one of whom, by name Hooper, acts as interpreter to Adooley, and shares a good deal of his confidence. He was born at Cape-Coast Castle, in 1780, and was for many years a soldier in the African corps. His father was an Englishman, and he boasts of being a British subject. He is excessively vain of his origin; yet he is the most confirmed drunkard alive, always getting intoxicated before breakfast, and remaining in a soaking state all day long. This does not, however, make him regardless of his personal interests, to which, on the contrary, he is ever alive, and indeed sacrifices every other feeling. The other mulatto can read and write English tolerably well, having received his education at Sierra Leone; he is a slave to Adooley, and is almost as bad as Hooper as to drinking.

These political advisers of the chief we have had little difficulty in bribing over to our interests: we have likewise been tampering with several native chiefs, apparently with equal success. Unfortunately, every one styles himself a great and powerful man, and old Hooper himself calls a host of ragged scoundrels "noblemen and gentlemen." Each of these he advises and conjures us to conciliate with presents, and especially spirituous liquors, in order to do away any evil impressions they may secretly have received, and obtain their suffrages, though it should be at the expense of half the goods in our possession. There is hardly any knowing who is monarch here, or even what form of government prevails. Besides the king of kings himself, the redoubtable Adooley, four fellows assume the title of royalty; namely, the kings of Spanish Town, of Portuguese Town, of English Town, and of French Town—Badágyry being divided into four districts, bearing the names of the European nations just mentioned. This evening we received an invitation from the former of these chieftains, who by all accounts was originally the sole governor of the country, until his authority was wrested from him by a more powerful hand. He now lives in retirement, and subsists by purchasing slaves, and re-selling them to Spanish and Portuguese traders. In him we found a meek and venerable old man, of respectable appearance. He was surrounded by a number of men and boys, his household slaves, who were all armed with pistols, daggers, muskets, cutlasses, swords, &c., the manufacture of various European countries. In the first place he assured us, that nothing could give him more pleasure than to welcome us to Badágyry; and he very much wondered that we had not visited him before. If we had a present to give him, he said he would thank

us, but if we had not, still he would thank us. A table was then brought out into the court before the house, whereon decanters and glasses, with a burning liquor obtained from the Portuguese, were placed. In one corner of the yard was a little hut, not more than two feet in height, wherein had been placed a fetish figure, to preserve the chief from any danger or mischief, which our presence might otherwise have entailed upon him. A portion of the spirit was poured into one of the glasses, and from it emptied into each of the others, and then drunk by the attendant that had fetched it from the house. This is an old custom, introduced, no doubt, to prevent masters from being poisoned by the treachery of their slaves. As soon as the decanters had been emptied of their contents, other ardent spirits were produced; but as my brother imagined that fetish-water had been mingled with it, we simply took about a teaspoonful into our mouths, and privately ejected it on the ground. The old chief promised to return our visit to-morrow; and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, like a child in the attitude of prayer, he invoked the Almighty to preserve and bless us (for this was the interpretation of his expressions). We then saluted him in the usual manner, and returned, well pleased, to our own habitation.

If one may be allowed to form an opinion of the population of Badagry, from the vast number of sellers he meets with, or rather if the number of buyers bears any proportion to them, the town must be wonderfully populous, for though the old chief's residence is above a mile and a half from ours, people were found vending a variety of articles at every step of the way.

We are most anxious to proceed on our journey, but the chief Adooley evades our solicitations to depart,

under the most frivolous and absurd pretences. He asserts that his principal reason for detaining us here, against our inclination, is the apprehension he entertains for our safety, the road not being considered in a good state. Under this impression he has despatched a messenger to Jénna, to ascertain if the affairs of that country warrant his sending us thither. The old king of Jénna, who it will be recollected behaved so kindly to Captain Clapperton's last mission, is dead; and although a successor has been appointed to fill his place, he is not yet arrived from Katunga. This being the case, no one will be at Jénna to receive us, Meantime the rainy season is fast approaching, as is sufficiently announced by repeated showers and occasional tornadoes; and what makes us still more desirous to leave this abominable place, is the fact (as we have been told) that a sacrifice of no less than three hundred human beings, of both sexes and all ages, is shortly to take place. We often hear the cries of many of those poor wretches; and the heart sickens with horror at the bare contemplation of such a scene as awaits us, should we remain here much longer. We therefore can only wish that, if such is to be the case, we may not be compelled to witness this bloody abomination.

March 25th.—We were awake this morning by the warbling of a variety of small birds, which, perched on the branches of the beautiful trees surrounding our house, serenade us so charmingly that we can never close our eyes after daybreak; in fact, it would be a shame in us to do so whilst we can listen to melody so truly enchanting. Shortly after the sun rises, our house is full of visitors; and from that time till evening we resign ourselves very complacently to a species of punishment which is, I fancy, less tolerable than purgatory. After cracking fingers a hundred

times, and grinning as often, we were informed this forenoon, that the chief's messenger had returned from Jénna; but, for some reason at present unknown to us, the man was almost immediately sent back; and we are told that we cannot quit Badágyry until he again makes his appearance. It is the custom in this place, that when a man cannot pay his respects in person to another, he sends a servant with a sword or cane, in the same manner as a gentleman delivers his card in England. We have received a great number of compliments to-day in this fashion; and it is almost superfluous to say that a cane or sword is at all times a more welcome and agreeable visitor than its owner would have been.

We had not finished breakfast this morning before Hooper introduced himself for his accustomed glass of spirits, to prevent him, according to his own account, from getting sick. He took the opportunity of informing us, that it would be absolutely necessary to visit the "noblemen" that had declared themselves "on our side." As we strove to court popularity and conciliate these vagabonds by every means in our power, we approved of Hooper's counsel, and went in the first place to the house of the late *General Poser*, which is at present under the superintendence of his head man. Him we found squatting indolently on a mat, and several old people were holding a conversation with him. As the death of Poser is not generally known to the people, it being concealed from them for fear of exciting a commotion in the town, for he was universally loved and respected, we were not permitted even to mention his name, and the steward set us the example by prudently confining his conversation to the necessity of making him a present proportionable to his expectations and the dignity of his situation. Muskets and other warlike instru-

ments were suspended from the sides of the apartment, and its ceiling was decorated with fetishes and Arab texts in profusion. Gin and water were produced, and partaken of with avidity by all present, more especially by the two mulattoes that had attended us, which being done, the head-man wished the 'Great Spirit' to prosper us in all our undertakings, and told us not to forget his present by any means. We shortly afterwards paid our respects, and quitted the apartment with feelings of considerable satisfaction; for its confined air was so impure, that a longer stay, to say the least of it, would have been highly unpleasant. As it was, we had consumed so much time in Poser's house, that we found it necessary to alter our intention of visiting the other chiefs; and therefore resolved to pay our respects to Adooley, whom we had not seen for two days. Accordingly we repaired immediately to his residence, and were welcomed to it with much better grace than on any previous occasion.

The chief was eating an undrest onion, and seated on an old table, dangling his legs underneath it with a vacant thoughtlessness of manner, which our abrupt intrusion somewhat dissipated. He informed us of his intention of sending us on our journey on the day after to-morrow, when he expected that the people of Jénna would be in a suitable condition to receive us. He was full of good-nature, and promised to make my brother a present of a horse, which he had brought with him from Soccatóo on the former expedition; he added that he would sell another to me; and that he most particularly wished to examine the goods we intended taking with us into the 'bush,' as the uncleared country is called, in order that he might satisfy himself we had nothing objectionable amongst them. Having expressed our thanks to Adooley

for his well-timed present, and agreed to the conditions he proposed, we all partook of a little spirit and water, which soon made us the best friends in the universe. During this palaver, the chief's sister and two of his wives were ogling at us, and giggling, until the approach of the chief of English Town and the rest of our party put a sudden stop to their entertainment, on which they presently left the apartment. These men came to settle a domestic quarrel, which was soon decided by the chief, who, after receiving the usual salutation of dropping on the knees, with the face to the earth, chatted and laughed immoderately. This was considered by us as a happy omen. Very little ceremony is observed by the meanest of the people toward their sovereign. They converse with him with as little reserve as if he were no better than themselves, while he pays as much attention to their complaints as to those of the principal people of the country. I should think that Adooley is not entirely destitute of the virtues of hospitality, for we observed with pleasure that the remainder of his onions were divided equally amongst the chiefs who had come to visit him, and were received by them with marks of the highest satisfaction.

This afternoon a herald proclaimed the approach to our habitation of the venerable chief of Spanish Town, with a long suite of thirsty followers. The old man's dress was very simple, consisting only of a cap and turban, with a large piece of Manchester cotton flung over his right shoulder, and held under his left arm. This is infinitely more graceful and becoming in the natives, than the most showy European apparel, in any variety of which, indeed, they generally look highly ridiculous. After we had made him and all his attendants nearly tipsy, the old chief began to be very talkative and amusing, continuing to chat with-

out intermission for a considerable time, not omitting to whisper occasionally to the interpreter, by no means to forget, after his departure, reminding us of the present we had promised him, for it is considered the height of rudeness to mention anything of the kind aloud in his presence. Our rum had operated so cheerily upon his followers in the yard, that fat and lean, old and young, commenced dancing, and continued performing the most laughable antics, till they were no longer able to stand. It amused us infinitely to observe these creatures, with their old solemn placid-looking chief at their head, staggering out at the door-way ; we were in truth but too happy to get rid of them at so cheap a rate. Hooper shortly afterwards came with a petition from twelve 'gentlemen' of English Town, for the sum of a hundred and twenty dollars, to be divided amongst them ; and having no resource, we were compelled to submit to the demand of these rapacious scoundrels.

Late in the evening we received the threatened visit from Adooley, who came to examine the contents of our boxes. He was borne in a hammock by two men, and was dressed in an English linen shirt, a Spanish cloak or mantle, with a cap, turban, and sandals. His attendants were three half-dressed little boys, who, one by one, placed themselves at their master's feet, as they are in the habit of doing. One of them carried a long sword, another a pistol, and the third a kind of knapsack, filled with tobacco. We presented the chief with brandy, equal in strength to spirits of wine ; and he swallowed a large quantity of it with exquisite pleasure. The boys were permitted to drink a portion of the liquor every time that it was poured into a glass for Adooley ; but though it was so very strong, it produced no grimace, nor the slightest distortion of countenance in these little fellows. The

fondness of the natives, or rather their passion, for strong waters, is astonishing, and they are valued entirely in proportion to the intoxicating effects they occasion. Adooley smoked nearly all the while he remained in our house. As each box was opened, however, he would take the pipe slowly from his mouth, as if perfectly heedless of what was going forward; and from the couch whereon he was reclining, regard with intense curiosity each article as it was held out to his observation. Everything that in his opinion demanded a closer examination, or, more properly speaking, everything he took a fancy to, was put into his hands at his own request; but as it would be grossly unpolite to return it after it had been soiled by his fingers, with the utmost *nonchalance* the chief delivered it over to the care of his recumbent pages, who carefully secured it between their legs. Adooley's good taste could not of course be questioned; and it did not much surprise, though it grieved us, to observe a large portion of almost every article in the boxes speedily passing through his hands into those of his juvenile minions. Nothing seemed unworthy his acceptance, from fine scarlet cloth to a child's farthing whistle; in fact he requested a couple of these little instruments to amuse himself with in retirement! And although he has received guns, ammunition, and a variety of goods to the amount of nearly three hundred ounces* of gold, he is so far from being satisfied that he is continually grumbling forth his discontent. Gratitude is unknown both to him and his subjects; the more one gives them, the more pressing are their importunities for other favours. The very food that one eats and the clothes that he wears are begged in so

* An ounce of gold on this part of the African coast is worth about two pounds sterling.

fawning a tone and manner, as to create disgust and contempt at the first interview.

It was nearly midnight before Adooley arose from his seat to depart, when he took his leave, with broad-cloth, and cottons, pipes, snuff-boxes, and knives, paper, ink, whistles, &c., &c., and even some of our books,—so avaricious is this Chief of Badágy.

March 26th.—We arose early this morning for the purpose of arranging some trifling matters, and taking our breakfast in quietness and comfort; but we had scarcely sat down, when our half-naked, grinning acquaintances entered, to pay us the compliments of the day. Notwithstanding our chagrin, so ludicrous was the perpetual bowing and scraping of these our friends, in imitation of Europeans, that we could not forbear laughing in good earnest. Our rum, which had been kindly supplied us by Lieutenant Matson, we are happy to say, is now nearly all consumed, and the number of our general visitors has diminished in exact proportion to its decrease; so that we are beginning to feel the enjoyment of an hour or two's quiet in the course of a day, which is a luxury we could hardly have anticipated. The chief sent his son this morning to us, requesting a few needles and some small shot. We could ill spare the latter, but it would be impolitic to refuse his urgent solicitations, whatever may be their tendency.

The horses promised by Adooley have been sent for us to examine. They appear strong and in good condition; and if they play us no wicked pranks in the 'bush,' no doubt they will be eminently serviceable.

This evening, Poser's head man, who we understand is one of the Chief's first captains, returned our visit of yesterday, followed by a multitude of friends

and retainers. He had been determined, I believe, before he left home, to be in an ill humour with us, and perhaps he had treated himself with an extra dram for the occasion. This great bully introduced himself into our dwelling,—his huge round face inflamed with scorn, anger, and ‘potations deep.’ He drank with even more avidity than his countrymen, but the liquor produced no good impression on him, serving rather to increase his dissatisfaction and choler. He begged everything he saw; and when we had gratified him to the best of our power, he began to be very abusive and noisy. He said he was convinced we had come into the country with no good intentions, and accused us of deceit and insincerity in our professions; or, in plainer terms, that we had been guilty of a direct falsehood in stating that we had no other motive for undertaking the journey than to recover the papers of Mr. Park at Yáoorie. He was assured that we were afraid to tell the true reason for leaving our own country. We withstood his invectives with tolerable composure, and the disgraceful old fellow left us in a pet, about half an hour after his arrival.

It is really a discouraging reflection, that, notwithstanding the sacrifices we have made of all private feeling and personal comfort for the purpose of conciliating the good opinion of the people here,—the constant fatigue and inconvenience to which we have been subjected,—the little arts we have practised,—the forced laughter,—the unnatural grin,—the never-ending shaking of hands, &c., &c., besides the dismal noises and unsavoury smells to which our organs have been exposed; still some scoundrels are to be found hardened against us by hatred and prejudice, and so ungrateful for all our gifts and attentions, as to take a delight in poisoning the minds of the people

against us, by publicly asserting that we are English spies, and making use of other inventions equally false and malicious. Pitiably, indeed, must the lot of that man be, who is obliged to drag on a year of existence in so miserable a place as this. Nevertheless, we are in health and spirits, and perhaps feel a secret pride in being able to subdue our rising dissatisfaction, and in overcoming difficulties which, at a first glance, seemed insurmountable. By the blessing of Heaven, we shall proceed prosperously in our undertaking; for in the Divine goodness do we alone repose all our confidence and hopes of success. We may say that pleasure and enjoyment have accompanied us hither. The clearness of the sky is pleasant, and its brilliancy—the softness of the moon, the twinkling brightness of the stars, and the silence of night—the warbling and the flight of birds, the hum of insects, and the varied and luxuriant aspect of beautiful Nature—are all charming to us. And what on earth can be more soothing or delightful than thoughts of home and kindred, and anticipations of a holier and more glorious existence? These are true pleasures, of which the barbarians cannot deprive us.

To-day, the Fast of the Rhamadan ends; and to-morrow will be held as a holiday by the Mohammedans of the place.

Saturday, March 27th.—The noise and jargon of our guests pursue us even in sleep, and our dreams are disturbed by fancied palavers, which are more unpleasant and vexatious, if possible, in their effects, than real ones. Early this morning we were roused from one of these painful slumbers to listen to the dismal yell of the hyæna, the shrill crowing of cocks, the hum of night-flies and mosquitoes, and the hoarse croaking of frogs, together with the chirping of myriads of crickets and other insects, which resounded

through the air as though it had been pierced with a thousand whistles.

Just after sunrise, two Mohammedans arrived at our house with an invitation for us to accompany them to the spot selected for the performance of their religious rites and observances. This being a novelty, we embraced the proposal with pleasure, and followed the men to the distance of about a mile from our house. Here we observed a number of their countrymen sitting in detached groups, actively employed in the duties of lustration and ablution. It was a bare space of ground, edged with trees, and covered with sand. The Mussulmen were obliged to bring water with them in calabashes. Seated in a convenient situation, underneath the spreading branches of a myrtle tree, without being seen, we could observe all their actions. But a number of boys soon intruded themselves upon our privacy; and, to say the truth, we were more amused by the artlessness and playfulness of their manners than with all the grave mummery of the Mohammedan worshippers. Groups of people were continually arriving at the spot, and these were welcomed to it by an occasional flourish of music from a native clarionet, &c. They were clad in all their finery, their apparel being as gaudy as it was various. The *coup-d'œil* presented by no means an uninteresting spectacle. Loose tobies, with caps and turbans, striped and plain, red, blue, and black, were not unpleasingly contrasted with the original native costume of figured cotton, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and immense rush hats. Manchester cloths, of the most glaring patterns, were conspicuous amongst the crowd; but these were cast in the shade by scarfs of green silk, ornamented with leaves and flowers of gold, and aprons covered with silver spangles. Very young

children appeared bending under the weight of clothes and ornaments ; whilst boys of maturer years carried a variety of offensive weapons.—The Turkish scimitar, the French sabre, the Portuguese dagger, confined in a silver case,—all gleamed brightly ; and heavy cutlasses, with rude native knives, were likewise exhibited, half devoured by cankering rust. Clumsy muskets and fowling-pieces, as well as Arab pistols, were also handled with delight by the joyful Mussulmen. In number the religionists were about a hundred and fifty. Not long after our arrival, they formed themselves into six lines, and having laid aside many of their superfluous ornaments, and a portion of their clothing, they put on the most sedate countenances, and commenced their devotional exercises in a spirit of seriousness and apparent fervour, worthy a better place and a more amiable creed. In the exterior forms of their religion, at least, the Mussulmen here are complete adepts, as this spectacle has convinced us ; and the little we have seen of them has led us to form a very favourable opinion of their general temperance and sobriety. The ceremony was no sooner concluded, than muskets, carbines, and pistols, were discharged on all sides ; the clarionet again struck up a note of joy, and was supported by long Arab drums, strings of bells, and a solitary kettle-drum. The musicians, like the ancient minstrels of Europe, were encouraged by trifling presents from the more charitable of the multitude. All seemed cheerful and happy : and on leaving them, several, out of compliment I suppose, discharged their pieces at our heels ; and were evidently delighted with themselves, with us, and the whole world. In the path we met a fellow approaching the scene of innocent dissipation, clothed most fantastically in a flannel dress, and riding on the back of what we were in-

formed was a wooden horse. He was surrounded by natives of all ages, who were laughing most extravagantly at the unnatural capering of the thing, and admiring the ingenuity of its contrivance. The figure itself was entirely concealed with cloth, which rendered it impossible to discover by what agency it moved. Some years ago, I saw a monster something similar to it, with a company of mountebanks, in a town in the west of England, which, amongst its other properties, used to swallow children; and in all probability, this 'wooden horse' is constructed on a similar principle. Its head was covered with red cloth; and a pair of sheep's ears answered the purpose for which they were intended tolerably well. Yet, on the whole, though it was easy to perceive that a horse was intended to be represented by it, the figure was clumsily enough executed. As soon as this party had joined the individuals assembled near the place of worship, a startling shriek of laughter testified the tumultuous joy of the wondering multitude. The sun shone out resplendently on the happy groups of fancifully-dressed persons, whose showy, various-coloured garments, and sooty skin, contrasted with the picturesque and lovely appearance of the scenery, produced an unspeakably charming effect. The foliage exhibited every variety and tint of green, from the sombre shade of the melancholy yew, to the lively verdure of the poplar and young oak. For myself, I was delighted with the agreeable ramble; and imagined that I could distinguish from the notes of the songsters of the grove, the swelling strains of the English skylark and thrush, with the more gentle warbling of the finch and linnet. It was indeed a brilliant morning, teeming with life and beauty; and recalled to my memory a thousand affecting associations of sanguine boyhood, when I was thoughtless and happy.

The barbarians around me were all cheerful and full of joy. I have heard that, like sorrow, joy is contagious, and I believe that it is, for it inspired me with a similar gentle feeling.

The 27th of March in this place is what May-day is in many country places in England, and it strongly reminded us of it. But here unfortunately there are no white faces to enliven us: and a want of the lovely complexion of our beautiful countrywomen, tinged with its "celestial red," is severely felt; and so is the total absence here of that golden chain of kindness which links them to the ruder associates of their festive enjoyments. By-and-by, doubtless, familiarity with black faces will reconcile me to them; but at present I am compelled to own that I cannot help feeling a very considerable share of aversion towards their jetty complexions, in common, I believe, with most strangers that visit this place.

Owing to the holiday, which is equally prized and enjoyed by Mohammedan and Pagan, our visitors today have been almost exclusively confined to a party of Hàussa Mallams, who entered our dwelling in the forenoon, perfumed all over with musk, more for the purpose of gratifying their vanity by displaying their finery before us, than of paying us the compliments of the day, which was avowedly the sole object of their intrusion. One or two of them were masticating the goora nut; and others had had their lips, teeth, and finger-nails, stained red. Each of the Mallams was attended by a well-dressed little boy of agreeable countenance, who acted as page to his master, and was his *protégé*. Neither of the men would eat or drink with us; yet whilst they were in our company, they seemed cheerful and good-humoured, and were communicative and highly intelligent. In answer to our questions, they informed us that two rivers entered

the Quorra or "Great River" at Funda, one of which is called the *Coodoonia* and the other the *Tshadda* (from the lake Tshad)—that a schooner might sail from Bornou to Funda on the latter river without difficulty—that Funda is only twenty-four hours' pull from Benin, and twenty-nine days' journey from Bornou. At the close of a long, and to us rather interesting conversation, our visitors expressed themselves highly gratified with their reception, and left the hut to repair to their own habitations.

These men, though slaves to Adooley, are very respectable, and are never called on by their master except when required to go to war, supporting themselves by trading for slaves, which they sell to Europeans. They wore decent Nouffie tobes, Arab red caps, and Hàussa sandals; and, both in their manners and conversation, the Mallams are infinitely superior to the ungentle and malignant natives of Badágyry.

Sunday, March 28th.—Luckily the inhabitants of this place consider this as a holiday: and their singing, dancing, and savage jollity, have possessed greater charms for them than an empty rum-cask, though it be backed by two white faces. With a trifling exception or so, we have in consequence been unmolested by our visitors of the everlasting grin and unwearied tongue during the day. This happy circumstance has afforded us opportunity and ample leisure for spending the Sabbath in a manner most agreeable to our feelings,—by devoting the greater part of it to the impressive duties of our divine religion—in humbling ourselves before the mercy-seat of the great Author of our being, and imploring him to be our refuge and guardian, to shield us from every danger, and render our undertakings hopeful and prosperous.

Monday, March 29th.—Last night a Fantee was

plundered of his effects, and stabbed by an assassin below the ribs, so that his life is despaired of; and not long after this was discovered, a "fetish" (religious rite) was performed over the remains of a native that had been found dead, but who was in perfect health a few hours before. The lament of the relatives of the deceased was doleful in a high degree; and no sounds could be more dismally mournful than those shrieked forth by them on the occasion. The chief summoned us yesterday to repair to his residence in order finally to settle the business relative to our journey into the interior, but we refused to have any disputes with him on the Sabbath, and promised to wait on him this morning instead. After breakfast, therefore, we redeemed our pledge, by paying him the promised visit. Adooley received us with his accustomed politeness and gracious smile. He said he wished to inform us of his intention of detaining us at Badágyry a day or two longer, the 'path' not being considered in a fit state for travelling, rather than his reputation should suffer by leading us into danger, which would undoubtedly be the case if he had not adopted his present resolution. Yet, he continued, we might depend on his word as a king that we should have liberty to depart on Thursday morning next at the latest. Now we well knew that the country was never in a more peaceable or quiet state than at the moment he was speaking; and are mortified beyond measure at the perpetual evasions and contradictions of this chief. We regret also that the dry season is fast drawing to a close, and that we shall be obliged to travel in the rainy months. When Adooley had made this declaration, he requested us to write on a paper in his presence for a few things which he wished to procure either from Cape-Coast Castle, or from England, as a return for the protec-

tion he had promised us. Amongst other articles enumerated are, 'four regimental coats, such as are worn by the king of England, for himself, and forty less splendid than these, for the use of his captains ; two long brass guns, to run on swivels : fifty muskets, twenty barrels of gunpowder, four handsome swords, and forty cutlasses ;' to which are added, 'two puncheons of rum, a carpenter's chest of tools, with oils, paints, and brushes,' the chief himself boasting that he was a blacksmith, carpenter, painter, and indeed every trade but a tailor. Besides these trifles he wished to obtain a half-dozen rockets, and a rocket-gun, with a soldier from Cape-Coast, capable of undertaking the management of it. And lastly, he modestly ordered two puncheons of cowries to be sent him, 'for the purpose of defraying in part the expenses he had incurred in repelling the attacks of the men of Porto Novo, Attà, and Juncullee, the tribes inhabiting those places having made war upon him for allowing Captain Clapperton's last mission to proceed into the interior without their consent. We asked, jocosely, whether Adooley would be satisfied with these various articles, when, having considered for a few moments, and conversed aloud to a few of his chiefs that were in the apartment at the time, he replied that he had forgotten to mention his want of a large umbrella, four casks of grape shot, and a barrel of flints, which having also inserted in the list, the letter was finally folded and sealed. It was then delivered into the hands of Adooley, who said that he should send it by Accra, one of his head men, to Cape-Coast Castle, and that the man would wait there till all the articles should be procured for him. If that be the case, we imagine that Accra will have a very long time to wait.

Our interpreter, old Hooper, having been suspected

by the chief to be in our interest, a young man named Tookwee, that understood a little English, was sent for, and commanded to remain, during the whole conference, in order to detect any error that Hooper might make, and to see that everything enumerated by the chief should be written in the list of articles.

During this long and serious conversation, we were occasionally enlivened by the music of three little bells, which were fastened to the tails of the same number of cats by a long string, and made a jingling noise whenever the animals thought proper to divert themselves. Beside these, and as an accompaniment to them, we were favoured with the strains of an organ, which instrument a little boy was placed in a corner of the apartment purposely to turn.

A young Jénna woman came to visit us this forenoon, accompanied by a female friend from Háussa. Her hair was traced with such extraordinary neatness, that we expressed a wish to examine it more minutely. The girl had never beheld such a thing as a white man before, and permission was granted with a great deal of coyness, mixed up perhaps with a small portion of fear, which was apparent as she was slowly untying her turban. No sooner, however, was our curiosity gratified, than a demand of two hundred cowries * was insisted on by her companion, that, it was alleged, being the price paid in the interior by the male sex to scrutinize a lady's hair. We were obliged to conform to the established custom, at which the women expressed themselves highly delighted. The hair which had excited our admiration was made up in the shape of a huzzar's helmet, and very ingeniously traced on the top. Irregular figures were likewise braided on each side of the head, and a band

* A little Indian shell, the currency of many parts of that country, and of the interior of Africa.

of worked thread, dyed in indigo, encircled it below the natural hair, which seemed by its tightness and closeness to have been glued fast to the skin. This young Jénna woman is by far the most interesting, both in face and form, of any we have seen since our landing, and her prettiness is rendered more engaging by her retiring modesty and perfect artlessness of manners, which, whether observed in black or white, are sure to command the esteem and reverence of the other sex. Her eyelids were stained with a bluish-black powder, which is the same kind of substance, I have no doubt, as that described in a note in Mr. Beckford's 'Vathek.' Her person was excessively clean, and her apparel flowing, neat, and graceful. Before taking leave, the girl's unworthy companion informed us that her *protégé* was married; but that as her husband was left behind at Jénna, she would prevail on her to visit us in the evening after sunset. Of course we expressed our abhorrence of the proposal, and were really grieved to reflect that with so much meekness, innocence, modesty, and beauty, our timid friend should be exposed to the wiles of a crafty and wicked woman.

We have longed to discover a solitary virtue lingering amongst the natives of this place, but as yet our search has been ineffectual.

As a contrast to the youthful individual described above, an old withered woman entered our residence in the evening, and began professing the most unbounded affection for my brother and self. She had drunk so much rum that she could scarcely stand; was the owner of a most forbidding countenance; and four of her front teeth had disappeared from her upper jaw, which caused a singular and disagreeable indentation of the upper lip. We were disgusted with the appearance and hateful familiarity of this ancient

hag, who had thus paid so ill a compliment to our vanity, and subsequently we forced her out of the yard without any ceremony.

We shot a hawk this evening which was hovering over our house, at the request of several of the natives, who ate the body of the bird, but preserved its head and claws, to render them "keen of eye and swift of foot." The king will not allow us to go to Jénna by the nearest beaten path, on the plea that, as sacred fetish land would lie in our way, we should die the moment we should tread upon it.

Tuesday, March 30th.—The occurrences of this day may be related in very few words. The pleasantest news we hear, is the fact of the king of Jénna having arrived at that town from Katunga. His messenger arrived here this morning, and came to see us in the afternoon, accompanied by a friend. We regaled him with a glass of rum, according to our general custom, the first mouthful whereof he squirted from his own into the mouth of his associate, and *vice versâ*. This is the first time we have witnessed this dirty and disgusting practice. The chief sent for us again this afternoon, and summed up the measure of his exorbitant demands, by requesting a gun-boat, with a hundred men from England, and a few common tobacco-pipes for his own private use. We could easily give a bill for the former; but the latter we dared not part with at any risk, because, considering the long journey before us, we are convinced we have nothing to spare; indeed, it is our opinion that the presents will all be exhausted long before it be completed. With the same facility we have written a paper for forty ounces of gold to be distributed amongst the chief of English Town and the rest of our partisans. We had adjusted these little matters to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, when we were

most agreeably surprised by an assurance from the chief that we shall quit this place to-morrow afternoon with the newly-arrived Jénna messenger. We are accordingly on the *qui vive* in getting everything in a state of forwardness for our departure ; nor can we help wishing, for the sake of our credit, that we may never meet such needy and importunate friends as have pestered us since our residence in this town.

The soil of Badágyry consists of a layer of fine whitish sand over loam, clay, and earth. The sand is so soft and deep, that no one can walk on it without considerable labour and difficulty. The natives procure the necessaries of life chiefly by fishing, and the cultivation of the yam and Indian corn. In the former employment they use nets and spears, and likewise earthen pots, which they bait with the palm nut. These novel instruments are furnished with small apertures, not unlike those of a common wire mouse-trap. Oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, plantains, and bananas, are produced in abundance in the neighbourhood. The better sort of people are possessed of a small kind of bullock, with sheep, goats, and poultry ; the chief himself is a drover and butcher, and when in want of money, he orders one of his bullocks to be slaughtered and publicly sold in the market. The dwellings of the inhabitants are neatly constructed of bamboo, and thatched with palm leaves. They contain several apartments, all of them on the ground floor. Some of the houses or huts are built in the *coozie* form, which is nearly round, and others are in the form of an oblong square ; all have excellent yards attached to them, wherein lime-trees and others are planted in rows, and it gives one pleasure to look at the cleanliness and taste which prevail in these courts. The land is excessively fertile ; and if the natives could only be induced to lay aside their habitual

indolence, and the sluggishness of their characters, and devote a little more attention to the improvement of the soil, the country might soon be brought to an extraordinary pitch of beauty and perfection. As it is, vegetation springs forth spontaneously, is luxuriant even to rankness, and is ever pleasingly verdant.

If a view of Badágyry and its environs could anywise be obtained, we are persuaded it would be delightful in the extreme; but the ground is everywhere so low and flat, that not a single eminence, however small, can be discovered. Owing to the peculiarity of our situation, and the short time we have been with the natives, it is not to be supposed that we could have formed any very correct estimate of their manners, or general character. It is likely enough that we have seen only the dark side of their dispositions, for we have been considered by them as a kind of mark for the exercise of their cunning and other evil propensities, and they have played off their chicanery on us with advantage to themselves. Had we seen a single good-natured man amongst them, it would give us great pleasure to relate the fact; but really we have not been so fortunate—we have met with nothing but selfishness and rapacity from the chief to the meanest of his people. The religion of Badágyry is Moham-medanism, and the very worst species of paganism, that which sanctions and enjoins the sacrifice of human beings, and other abominable practices, and the worship of imaginary demons and fiends. By some means many of the inhabitants have picked up a number of English words, which school-boys and children at home would style "very naughty;" and these are made use of at all times without any particular meaning being attached to them. We have observed one virtue in the younger branches of the community—it is the profound respect and reverence which they

entertain for their elders, and which has perhaps never been surpassed in any age or country, not even amongst the ancient Spartans themselves.

ADOOLEY, CHIEF OR KING OF BADAGRY.

Addalé, or *Adooley*, as he is more generally called, is the present ruler of Badágyry, and younger brother to the late chief of Lagos. During the lifetime of his father, and for countless ages before that period, Badágyry was a province of Lagos, and tributary to it, as Lagos is, and has been from time immemorial, to the powerful king of Benin. Adooley evinced in early youth an active and ingenious disposition, and an extraordinary fondness for mechanical employments and pursuits. This bias of Adooley soon attracted the attention and notice of his father, and this revered parent did all that his slender means afforded of cherishing it, and of encouraging him to persevere in his industrious habits. Whilst yet a boy, Adooley was a tolerable carpenter, smith, painter, and gunner. He soon won the admiration of his father, who displayed greater partiality and affection for him than for either of his other children, and on his death-bed nominated this favourite son his successor, to the exclusion of his first-born, which is against the laws of the country; the eldest son being invariably understood as the legitimate heir. For some time after his decease, however, no notice was taken of the dying request of the Lagos chieftain; his eldest son ruled in his stead, notwithstanding his last injunction; and Adooley, for a few years, wisely submitted to his brother without murmuring or complaint. The young men at length quarrelled; and Adooley, calling to remembrance the words and wishes of his father, rose up against the chief, whom he denominated a usurper; and vehemently called upon

his friends to join him in disputing his authority, and endeavour to divest him of his power and consequence. All the slaves of his deceased parent, amongst whom was a great number of Hausa Mallams; all who bore any personal dislike to the ruling chief, or were discontented at his form of government; those who preferred Adooley, and the discontented of all ranks, formed themselves into a strong body, and resolved to support the pretensions of their favourite. The brothers agreed to decide the quarrel by the sword, and having come to a general engagement, the partisans of the younger were completely routed, and fled with their leader before the victorious arms of the opposing party.

Fearing the result of this contest, Adooley, with a spirit of filial piety, which is not rare amongst savages, and is truly noble, dug out of the earth, wherein it had been deposited, the skull of his father, and took it along with him in his flight, in order that it might not be dishonoured in his absence; for he loved his father with extraordinary tenderness, and cherished his memory as dearly as his own life. The headless body of the venerable chief, like those of his ancestors, had been sent to Benin, in order that his bones might adorn the sacred temple at that place, agreeably to an ancient and respected custom which has ever been religiously conformed to and tenaciously held by the Lagos people. But Adooley displayed at the same time another beautiful trait of piety and filial tenderness. At the period of his defeat he had an aged and infirm mother living, and her he determined to take with him, let the consequences be what they might. With his accustomed foresight, he had previously made a kind of cage or box, in case there should be a necessity for removing her. His father's skull having been disinterred and secured, he implored

his mother to take immediate advantage of this cage, as the only means of escaping with life. She willingly acceded to her son's request, and was borne off on the shoulders of four slaves, to a village not far distant from Lagos, accompanied by Adooley, with his fugitive train, where they imagined themselves secure from further molestation. In this opinion, however, they were deceived; for the more fortunate chief, suspicious of his brother's intentions, and dreading his influence, would not suffer him long to remain in peace, but drove him out soon after, and hunted him from place to place like a wild beast. In this manner, retreating from his brother, he at last reached the flourishing town of Badágyry; and being quite wearied with his exertions and fatigues, and disheartened by his misfortunes, he set down his beloved mother on the grass, and began to weep by her side. The principal people of the town were well acquainted with his circumstances, and, admiring the nobleness of his sentiments, they not only pitied him, but resolved to protect and befriend him to the last.

For this purpose they presently invited him to attend a council which they had hastily formed. When in the midst of them, perceiving tears falling fast down his cheeks, they asked him why he wept so? "Foolish boy!" said they, "wipe away those tears, for they are unworthy of you, and show yourself a man and a prince. From this moment we adopt you our chief; you shall lead us on to war, and we will fight against your brother, and either prevail over him or perish. Here your mother may dwell in safety, and here your father's skull shall be revered as it ought to be. Come, then, lay aside your fears, and lead us on against your enemies." These were in the bush, and hovering near Badágyry, when Adooley

and his generous friends sallied out against them. The fighting, or rather skirmishing, lasted many days; and many people, it is said, were slain on both sides. But the advantage was decidedly in favour of the Badágrians, whose superior knowledge of the district, and the secret paths of the wood, was of considerable service to them, enabling them to lie in ambush and attack their enemies by surprise. The Lagos people at length gave up the unequal contest in despair, and returned to their own country. Adooley was thus left in quiet possession of an important and influential town, which declared itself independent of Lagos for ever. Since then, various unsuccessful attempts have been made to compel the Badágrians to return to their allegiance. The latter, however, have bravely defended their rights, and in consequence their independency has been acknowledged by the neighbouring tribes.

In the year 1829, the warlike chief of Lagos died; and Adooley, conceiving it to be a favourable opportunity for the re-assertion of his claims to the vacant "stool," as it is called, determined to do so, and assembled his faithful Badágrians for the purpose of making an attack on his native town. He imagined that, as his brother was dead, he should experience little opposition from his countrymen; but he soon discovered that he had formed an erroneous opinion, for almost at his very outset he met with a stout resistance. His brother had left an infant son, and him the people declared to be the legitimate heir, and unanimously resolved to support.

The sanguine invaders were repulsed and entirely defeated, notwithstanding their tried bravery and utter contempt of danger, and were forced to return home in confusion, without having accomplished anything. In this unfortunate expedition Bombanee

and all the principal warriors were slain. A similar attempt has since been made on Lagos more than once, and with a similar result. On our arrival at Badágyry, Adooley was but just recovering from the effects of these various mortifications and other disasters; and, singular enough, he has had the artfulness, as we have before said, of laying the whole blame of them to his having permitted the last African mission to pass through his territories, contrary to the wishes of his neighbours, and those who were interested in the matter.

Justice is not unfrequently administered at Badágyry by means of a large wooden cap, having three corners, which is placed on the head of a culprit at the period of his examination. This fantastic work of mechanism, no doubt by the structure of internal springs, may be made to move and shake without any visible agent, on the same principle as the enchanted Turk, or any other figure in our puppet-shows. It is believed the native priests alone are in the secret. When this cap is observed to shake whilst on the head of a suspected person, he is condemned without further evidence being required; but, should it remain without any perceptible motion, his innocence is apparent, and he is forthwith acquitted. The fame of this wonderful cap makes a great fuss in the town, and as many marvellous stories are told of it here as were related in England a century or two ago of the famous brazen head of Roger Bacon.

A respectable man, the chief of French Town, was tried by the ordeal of the cap a short time since, for having, it was alleged, accepted a bribe of the Lagos chieftain to destroy Adooley by poison. The fatal cap was no sooner put on his head than it was observed to move slightly, and then to become more violently agitated. The criminal felt its motion, and

was terrified to such a degree, that he fell down in a swoon. On awakening, he confessed his guilt, and implored forgiveness, which was granted him by Adooley, because, it was said, of his sorrow and contrition, but really, no doubt, of his birth and connexions.

During our stay at Badágyry, the thermometer of Fahrenheit has ranged between 86° and 94° in our hut, being oftener stationary nearer the latter than the former.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Badágyry—Pass through Wow—Sagbú—Básha—Soató—Bídjie—Lãatoo—Lárro to Jénna.

Tuesday, March 31st.—We bade adieu to the chief of Badágyry in good time this morning, and during the day packed up all our things ready for our departure. We repaired to the banks of the river at sun-set, expecting to find a canoe which Adooley had promised should be sent there for our use; but having waited above two hours, and finding it did not arrive, we placed the goods in two smaller canoes, which were lying on the beach. These soon proved to be leaky, and as no other resource was at hand, we were fain to wait as patiently as we could for the canoe promised us. Everything betrayed the lukewarmness and indifference of the chief who had received so much from us, and who expected so much more; but we had answered his purpose, and now he took no further notice of us. In two hours more Hooper made his appearance in Adooley's war canoe, which he had prevailed on him to lend us. This was placed directly between the two others, and their contents speedily transferred into it. It was between ten and eleven

o'clock at night when we were fairly launched out into the body of the river. The canoe was above forty feet in length; it was propelled through the water by poles instead of paddles, and moved slowly and silently along. It was a clear and lovely night; the moon shone glorious "as a silver shield;" and reflecting the starry firmament on the unruffled surface of the water, the real concave of heaven, with its reflexion, seemed to form a perfect world. The scenery on the borders of the river appeared wild and striking, though not magnificent. In the delicious moonshine it was far from uninteresting. The banks were low, and partially covered with stunted trees; but a slave-factory and a fetish hut were the only buildings we observed on them. We could not help admiring at some distance ahead of our canoe, when the windings of the river would permit, a noble and solitary palm-tree, with its lofty branches bending over the water's edge; to us it was not unlike a majestical plume of feathers, nodding over the head of a beautiful lady.

Proceeding about ten miles in a westerly direction, we suddenly turned up a branch joining the river from the northward, passing on our left the village of Bawie, at which Captain Clapperton landed. We saw several small islands, covered with rank grass, interspersed in different parts of the river. They are inhabited by myriads of frogs, whose noise is more hoarse and stunning than ever proceeded from any rookery in Christendom. As we went up the river, our canoe-men spoke to their priests, who were invisible to us, in a most sepulchral tone of voice, and were answered in the same unearthly and doleful manner. These sounds formed our night's serenade. Notwithstanding the novelty of our situation and the interest we took in the objects which surrounded us, I was overcome by

fatigue, and wrapping a flannel dress round my person, fell fast asleep.

Thursday, April 1st.—The hard and uncomfortable couch whereon we had reposed last night made our bodies quite sore ; and occasioned us to awake at a very early hour this morning. At six A.M. we found ourselves still on the river, and our canoe gliding almost imperceptibly along. From half a mile in width, and in many places much more, the river had narrowed to about twenty paces ; marine plants nearly covered its surface, and marsh miasma, loaded with other vapours of the most deleterious quality, ascended from its borders like a thick cloud. Its smell was peculiarly offensive. An hour afterwards we arrived at the extremity of the river, into which flowed a stream of clear water. Here our canoe was dragged over a morass into a deep but narrow rivulet, so narrow, indeed, that it was barely possible for our canoe to float, without being entangled in the branches of abundance of trees, which were shooting up out of the water. Shortly afterwards we found it to widen a little ; the marine plants and shrubs disappeared altogether ; and the boughs of beautiful trees which hung over the banks overshadowed us in their stead, forming an arch-like canopy, impervious to the sun's rays. The river and this lesser stream abound with alligators and hippopotami ; and wild ducks, and a variety of other aquatic birds, resort to them in considerable quantities. Monkeys and parrots inhabit the branches of the trees, and make an abominable chattering and noise between them all the day long. We landed about half-past eight in the morning, in the sight of a great multitude, that had assembled to gaze at us.

Passing through a place where a large fair or market is held, and where many thousands of people had congregated for the purposes of trade, we entered

an extensive and romantic town called *Wow*, which is situated in a valley. The major part of the inhabitants had never before had an opportunity of seeing white men, so that their curiosity, as may be supposed, was excessive. Two of the principal persons came out to meet us, preceded by men bearing large silk umbrellas, and another playing a horn, which produced such terrible sounds, that we gladly took refuge, as soon as we could, in the chief's house. The apartment into which we were introduced is furnished with a roof precisely like the roof of a common English barn, inverted. In the middle of it, which reached to within a few inches of the floor, a large square hole had been made, to admit air and water to a shrub that was growing directly under it. The most remarkable, if not the only ornament, in the room, was a quantity of human jaw-bones, hung up on the side of the wall like a string of onions. After a formal and most ceremonious introduction, we were liberally regaled with water from a calabash, which is a compliment the natives pay to all strangers, and then shown into a very small apartment. Here my brother endeavoured to procure a little sleep, having remained awake last night; but we were so annoyed by perpetual interruptions and intrusions, the firing of muskets, the garrulity of women, the unceasing squall of children, the drunken petitions of men and boys, and a laugh (but it is quite out of my power to describe it—one that approximates more to the nature of a horse-laugh than anything I know)—so that it was found impossible to close one's eyes.

The market of this place is supplied abundantly with Indian corn, palm oil, &c.; together with *trona*,* and other articles brought hither from the borders of the desert of Zaarha, through the medium of the

* A vegetable alkali.

wandering Arabs. By the regulations of the fetísh, neither a white man nor a horse is permitted to sleep at Wow during the night-season. We know not what is become of the horses : they were to have preceded us to this place by land, but are not yet arrived. With respect to ourselves, we shall be obliged to walk to a neighbouring village, and spend the night there. Our course to this town, through this creek, was N. by E., and Badágyry is distant from it about thirty miles, by the route we have come.

A violent thunder-storm, which is called a tornado on the coast, visited us this afternoon, and confined us to the "worst hut's worst room" till it had subsided and the weather became finer. At three P. M. we sallied forth, and were presently saluted with hootings, groans, and hallooings, from a multitude of people of all ages—from a child to its grandmother, and they followed close at our heels as we went along, filling the air with their laughter and raillery. A merry-andrew at a country town in England, during the Whitsun holidays, never excited so great a stir as did our departure from Wow this afternoon. But it is "fool's day," and some allowance ought to be made for that, no doubt. We had not proceeded more than a dozen paces from the outskirts of the town, when we were visited by a pelting shower, which wetted us to the skin in a moment. A gutter or hollow, misnamed a pathway, was soon overflowed ; and we had to wade in it up to our knees in water, and through a most melancholy-looking forest, before we entered a village. It is called *Sagbú*, and is about eight miles from Wow. We were dripping wet on our arrival, and the weather still continuing unpleasant, it was some time before any one made his appearance to invite us into a hut. At length the chief came out to welcome us to his village, and immediately intro-

duced us into a long narrow apartment, wherein we are to take up our quarters for the night. It is built of clay, and is furnished with two apertures to admit light and air into the room. One end of it was occupied with a number of noisy goats, whilst we took possession of the other. Pascoe and his wife are lying on mats at our feet : and a Toby Philpot, with his ruddy cheek and jug of ale, belonging to the chief, separate them from the goats. The remainder of our people have nowhere to sleep. The walls of our apartment are ornamented with strings of dry, rattling human bones, written charms, or fetishes, sheep-skins, and bows and arrows. We did not repose near so comfortably as could have been desired, owing to the swarms of mosquitoes and black ants, which treated us very despitefully till morning.

Friday, April 2d.—Between six and seven o'clock, A. M., we continued our route through woods and large open patches of ground, and at about eleven in the forenoon, arrived at the borders of a deep glen, more wild, romantic, and picturesque than can be conceived. It is enclosed and overhung on all sides by trees of amazing height and dimensions, which hid it in deep shadow. Fancy might picture a spot, so silent and solemn as this, as the abode of genii and fairies ; everything conducing to render it grand, melancholy, and venerable ; and the glen only wants an old dilapidated castle, a rock with a cave in it, or something of the kind, to render it the most interesting place in the universe. There was one beautiful sight, however, which we would not omit mentioning for the world ; it was that of an incredible number of butterflies, fluttering about us like a swarm of bees ; they had chosen this, no doubt, as a place of refuge against the fury of the elements. They were variegated by the most brilliant tints and colourings

imaginable—the wings of some were of a shining green, edged and sprinkled with gold; others were of sky-blue and silver; others of purple and gold delightfully blending into each other; and the wings of some were like dark silk velvet, trimmed and braided with lace.

To revert from insects to men: our followers formed a group at once savage and imposing. As they wended down the paths of the glen, with their grotesque clothing and arms, bundles, and fierce black countenances, they might be mistaken for a strange band of ruffians of the most fearful character. Besides our own, we had hired twenty men of Adooley to carry the luggage, as there are no beasts of burden in the country.* Being all assembled at the bottom of the glen, we found that a long and dangerous bog or swamp, filled with putrid water, and the decaying remains of vegetable substances, intersected our path, and must necessarily be crossed. Boughs of trees had been thrown into the swamp by some good-natured people to assist travellers in the attempt, so that our men, furnishing themselves with long poles, which they used as walking-sticks, with much difficulty and exertion succeeded in getting over, and fewer accidents occurred to them than could have been supposed possible from the nature of the slough. For my own part, I was taken on the back of a large and powerful man of amazing strength. His brawny shoulders supported me without any apparent fatigue on his part; and he carried me through bog and water, and over branches of trees, no bigger than a man's leg, rendered slippery with mud, in safety to the opposite side. Although he walked as fast and with as much

* Burdens of all kinds are invariably carried on the head by the people of Yarriba, and the natives of various other countries in Africa.

ease as his companions, he did not lay me down for twenty minutes, the swamp being, as nearly as we could guess, a full quarter of a mile in length. We then walked to a small village called *Básha*; whence, without stopping, we continued our journey, and about four in the afternoon, passed through another village, somewhat larger than the former, which is called *Sóato*. Here we found ourselves so much exhausted with over-fatigue and want of food, that we were compelled to sit down and rest a while; and here

“Naked youths and painted chiefs admire
Our speech, our colour, and our strange attire.”

But they are a very uncourteous and clownish race, and teased us so much with their rudeness and begging propensities, that we were glad to be rid of them by setting out again. Having passed two other swamps in the same manner as we had done before, we were completely tired, and could go no farther; for we had been walking all day in an intricate, miserable path, sometimes exposed to the sun, and sometimes threading our way through a tangled wood. It is now six o'clock in the evening; our people are gone to the next town to fetch the horses which Adooley promised should meet us yesterday; and my brother and I are resting by ourselves under a grove of trees, which is in the neighbourhood of a body of stagnant water, wherein women are bathing and casting sidelong glances at us. It is a low, marshy, and unwholesome spot, and it is extremely probable that we shall be obliged to sleep here on the grass all night; but what can we do? The village, it is true, is not many miles a-head, but then we are unable to walk.

Saturday, April 3rd.—We had made fires of dried wood and fallen leaves last evening, and had prepared to repose for the night under a canopy of trees,

and were, in fact, actually stretched at full length on the turf for that purpose, when we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of four of our men from the village with hammocks; for though sleeping in the open air, with "heaven for one's canopy," in a dark wood, and all that, may be very pretty in description, yet in reality nothing can be more disagreeable; for the crawling of ants, black worms, &c. over one's face, disperses the most enchanting reverie. These hammocks were highly acceptable, and we were lifted into them with very grateful feelings. It is pleasant, too, after a long day's journey on foot, to be carried along so easily on one's back, to see parrots and other solemn birds perched on the branches of very tall trees, whilst the trees themselves seem capering away from one most surprisingly; as well as to gaze on the cheerful moon, and admire all the host of heaven.

After a charming journey of eight or ten miles, we entered the large and populous town of *Bidjie**, wherein Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison fell sick on the last expedition. About a quarter of a mile from the town we were met by a fellow with a cow's horn, who, chiming in with a trumpeter that had accompanied us from Wow, produced a harmony surpassing all that had preceded it. Two men followed the Bidjie musician with umbrellas of variegated silk; and thus honoured and escorted, we were set down, amidst a crowd of people, in the centre of the town. As usual, the natives testified the wild delight they felt at our visit by clapping of hands and loud bursts of laughter. Presently, at the noise of three or four drums, which was a signal that the chief was prepared to receive us, the multitude quitted us simultaneously, and rushed to the spot where he was sitting, and to

* Here the travellers first cross Clapperton's route.

his habitation, which is adjoining ours. Led through a number of yards and huts, inhabited only by goats and sheep, which were tethered to posts, and a quantity of tame pigeons, we perceived the object of our visit squatting on a leopard's skin under a decent-looking verandah. He was surrounded by his drummers and other distinguished persons, who made room for us when we drew near; but the chief arose as soon as he saw us, and beckoning to us to follow him, we were ushered through a labyrinth of low huts, and still lower doors, till at last we entered the innermost apartment of the whole suite, and here we were requested to sit down and drink rum. The doors we had seen were carved with figures of men, which exactly resembled certain rude attempts at portraying the human body which may still be observed in several old churches and chapels in the west of England. The chief informed us that we were at liberty to quit Bidjie as soon as the heat of the sun should have somewhat abated; but previous to our departure he promised to return our visit. On leaving the place, he followed us, though without our knowledge; but finding that we walked faster than he, and that he could not keep pace with us (for he is a bulky man), he hastily despatched a messenger to inform us, that kings always walk with a slow and measured step, and that our strides being long and vulgar, he would thank us to lessen our speed, and stop awhile to enable him to come up with us, which, of course, we agreed to with great good-will. A few minutes after this he reached our house, dressed in a robe of green silk damask, very rich and showy, and a skull-cap made of purple and crimson velvet. With the exception of strings of white beads, which encircled his arms, he used no personal ornaments. He remained chatting with us a long time.

Many of the women of Bídjie have the flesh on their foreheads risen in the shape of marbles, and their cheeks similarly cut up and deformed. The lobes of their ears are likewise pierced, and the holes made surprisingly large, for the insertion of pieces of ivory and wood into them, which is a prevailing fashion with all ranks. We read the church-service this morning, agreeably to our general custom. The natives, of whose society we have never been able to rid ourselves, seemed to attach great awe and reverence to our form of worship, for we had made them understand what we were going about, which induced them to pay a high degree of silent attention to the ceremony, and set at rest, for the time, that peculiar continuous laugh by which they are distinguished from their neighbours. In the afternoon, or as the natives express it, "when the sun had lost his strength," we departed from the town of Bídjie, accompanied by its good-natured, happy governor, and reached the banks of a rivulet, called *Yow*, in a very few minutes. Butterflies were here more numerous than can be imagined; millions of them fluttered round us, and literally hid from our sight everything but their own variegated and beautiful wings.

Here, on the banks of the *Yow*, we took a last farewell of the affectionate old chief, who implored the "Great God" to bless us; and as the canoes in which we had embarked moved from the spot, a loud, long laugh, with clapping of hands from the lower classes, evinced the satisfaction they felt at having seen us, and their hearty wishes for our welfare. The *Yow* is an extremely narrow rivulet, not more than a few feet in breadth, and flows in a serpentine direction through a flat country, covered with rushes and tall rank grass. Crocodiles are said to resort here in great numbers; the low bark or growl of these rapa-

cious animals we heard distinctly, and almost close to us. After we had been pushed along against the stream by poles for five or six miles, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon we landed at a narrow creek, which ran a little way into a thick and gloomy forest. We had not proceeded more than two hundred yards on the pathway, when we were met by a messenger from Jenna, who informed us that the owners of all the horses in the town had rode out to welcome their chief, and escort him to his residence, so that we should be obliged to walk the remainder of the way. A few minutes only had elapsed, however, from this time before we descried a horse approaching us in the path. This was a goodly sight to us, who were already becoming wearied and sore with the exertions we had made during the day, for we did not reflect a moment that the animal might not, after all, be for our use. However, we soon met, and the rider immediately declared that he had left Jenna purposely on our account. The horse's head was loaded with charms and fetishes, enveloped in pieces of red and blue cloth. His saddle was of Hàussa manufacture, and uncommonly neat; in the interior such an article is used only by the principal people; and his bridle also was of curious workmanship. The horseman had an extravagant idea of his own consequence, and seemed a prodigious boaster. He wore abundance of clothing, most of which was superfluous; but it made him excessively vain. He informed us that he had been despatched by the King of Jenna to meet us in the path, and to escort us to the capital; but understanding that Adooley had supplied us with horses, he did not conceive it necessary to send others. The messenger, however, dismounted, and offered us his horse; and my brother and self agreed to ride him in turns. We

therefore immediately proceeded, and traversed a rich and varied country, abounding plentifully with wood and water. A fine red sand covered the pathway, which we found to be in much better condition than any we had before seen. Sometimes it winded through an open, level tract of fine grazing land; and then again it diverged through forests so thick and deep, that the light of the moon, which had arisen, was unable to penetrate the gloom, and we were frequently left in midnight darkness. It would require greater powers than we are in possession of to give an adequate description of the magnificence, solemnity, and desolate repose of the awful solitudes through which we passed this evening. They were enlightened, however, at times by the appearance of glow-worms, which were so luminous, that one could almost see to read by their golden splendour; and sometimes by the moonbeams, which trembled upon the leaves and branches of the trees. A fragrance also was exhaled from the forest, more odoriferous than the perfume of primroses or violets; and one might almost fancy, when threading his way through scenery which perhaps cannot be surpassed for beauty in any part of the world, that he was approaching those eternal shades where, in ancient time, the souls of good men were supposed to wander. The woods rang with the song of insects and night-birds, which saluted us with little intermission till about ten o'clock at night, when we entered *Lāatoo*, a large and pleasant town. Here we were informed that no house would be offered us, the fetish priests having declared that the moment a white man should enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, they would be seized by their enemies and enslaved. We arrived thirsty and exhausted, but for a long time could not procure even a drop of water. Our tent had been left on the road for want of carriers,

and we had made up our minds to rest under a tree, when about two hours afterwards it was fortunately brought into the town. We fixed it immediately; and having succeeded in procuring wood from the unkind inhabitants, we kindled a fire in front of it, and our people laid themselves in groups outside, whilst we entered, and attempted vainly to sleep.

Monday, April 5th.—Before sunrise this morning we were all on the alert, and struck the tent at a very early hour. We then sent the carriers onward with the luggage, and hastily left the town after them, without bidding adieu either to the chief or any of his people, on account of their inhospitality, and in an hour's time reached the extensive and important town of *Larro*. On dismounting, we were first led to a large cleanly swept square, wherein is preserved the fetish of the place, which is the model of a canoe, having three wooden figures with paddles in it. After waiting in the shade for an hour, surrounded by an immense multitude of people of all ages, the chief's approach was announced by a general rush from our quarters to the other end of the square, where he was walking. We went towards him, in order to pay him the accustomed salutation of shaking of hands, &c.; but one of his followers, fancying that I kept his master's hand clasped in mine longer than the occasion might warrant, looked fiercely in my face, and snatched away my hand eagerly and roughly, without, however, uttering a word. I could have pulled the fellow's ears with the greatest good-will in the world, had not the fear of secret revenge deterred me. As it was, I smothered my rising choler, and with my brother quietly followed the chief to his principal hut, under whose verandah we were served with gooanuts in a huge pewter platter. Presently the chief squatted himself down on a handsome rush mat of

native manufacture, and we were desired to sit by him on an elegant Turkey carpet, which had been laid there for the purpose. He was rather fancifully dressed, and wore two tobés, that nearest the skin being of black silk velvet, and the other of crimson velvet, lined with sarsenet. His boots were of yellow leather, neatly worked; and his wrists were loaded with bracelets of silver and copper. The chief's countenance betrayed much seriousness and solidity; and the diverting laugh of his countrymen was superseded by a sober cheerfulness. Many of his wives sat behind him in lines—some of whom were of a bright copper colour; indeed, great numbers of the inhabitants of Larro have fairer complexions than mulattoes. The yard of the hut was crammed full of curious and inquisitive people, who stood with open mouth during the whole of the audience. The chief wished to impress strongly on our minds his own dignity and power; he said he was greater than the Governor of Jenna, inasmuch as the latter was a slave to the King of Katunga, but himself was a free man. He would give us permission to depart tomorrow, he continued; and in the meantime would supply us with provisions. The chief was as good as his word; for shortly after we had quitted the hut, we received a goat and some yams; and he returned our visit in the cool of the evening. It appears that it is not his general practice to drink spirituous liquors in the presence of his people, or it may be against the law to do so; for having carefully excluded all prying eyes from our dwelling, and ordered a mat to be hung over the doorway, he even then turned his face to the wall, whenever he attempted to swallow the brandy we offered him. He remained with us rather better than an hour. We have forgotten to mention that, on our presentation to the chief in the

morning, a chapter from the Koran was repeated to him by a Mohammedan priest, to which both he and his people seemed to pay great respect and attention.

Public schools are established here for the avowed purpose of teaching the rising generation the rudiments of the Mohammedan religion.

A singular custom prevails in the town, of compelling children at the breast to swallow a quantity of cold water from a calabash. An infant was nearly choked this afternoon by the injection of more than a pint of water down its throat. Whether mothers follow this custom for the purpose of curing children of any imaginary complaints, or, as is more probable, in the hope of rendering them less eager for their natural food, we have not ascertained.

The inhabitants possess horses, asses, and mules, though not in any considerable numbers ; they have, however, great abundance of sheep and goats, which are bred in the town ; and their yards and huts are the common place of resort for these animals—indeed, they may be said to grow up and live with the children of their owners. We have been amusing ourselves during the greater part of to-day in looking at the playful gambols of some very handsome goats, which had strayed into our abode ; but the sheep are not near so tame or frolicsome, repelling all our advances towards a more familiar acquaintance by timidity and ill-nature. Shrimps and fish, which are caught in the streams in the vicinity of the town, are daily exposed for sale ; and the inhabitants appear to be in possession of a greater share of the necessaries and comforts of life than their neighbours of the sea-coast.

We have observed the country to be sensibly rising to-day ; and agriculture appears to be conducted on a regular system, which is an evident proof of the active

and industrious habits of the people. The gloomy fastnesses and wildnesses of nature, such as we passed on the first day or two of our journey from Badágyry, are less common as we advance ; and open glades, with plantations of bananas, and fields of yams and Indian corn, all neatly fenced, met our view from the path yesterday and this morning. The inhabitants of Larro also exhibit greater cleanliness of person and tidiness of apparel than the tribes nearer the sea ; and importunate beggars have disappeared entirely.

My brother and I begin already to feel the relaxing influence of the climate ; but, by the blessing of Heaven, we hope that our progress through the country may not yet be impeded by sickness.

Tuesday, April 6th.—The Chief of Larro requested my brother this morning to repair a sword of his which was broken, but the latter having expressed his ignorance of the art of cutlery, we were permitted to take our leave.

The sun had scarcely arisen above the horizon, and the mists of the morning yet hung upon the hills, when we quitted the town of Larro, and pursued our journey on horseback. Three horsemen from Jenna followed us on the path, and we were enlivened by the wild jingling of their animals' bells, till we got within a mile of that town, where we alighted at a kind of turnpike, and fired a salute of two muskets. Here we were met by a parcel of fellows with horns, who blew on them with the accustomed energy of the natives : these men preceded us over a bridge, which is thrown across a moat that surrounds Jenna, into the centre of the town, where we again alighted, and awaited the chief's pleasure in an open shed. We had not been seated many seconds before an immense crowd of people pressed in upon us on every side, subjecting us to the accustomed inconveniences of

want of air, strong unwholesome smells, and a confused hubbub that defies description. Never were people more eager to behold us. The little ones formed themselves into a ring close to the shed; then followed those of maturer age; after them came a still older class; and the last circle consisted of people as tall as steeples, most of whom held infants in their arms. Altogether was formed a large amphitheatre of black woolly heads, and white teeth set in jetty faces; and although we felt rather annoyed at their innocent curiosity, and were obliged to wait a considerable time for the new chief, we could not help being highly diverted with the spectacle around us. At length, to our great relief and joy, news was brought that he was ready to receive us. Such is the etiquette here, that the longer a stranger is compelled to wait to be introduced, the greater is the honour done him, and the higher is the rank of that individual supposed to be who exacts this unpleasant delay. We discovered the chief, or rather governor, sitting on a piece of leather, under a large verandah, at one end of a commodious, square yard. He was clad in the prevailing finery of crimson velvet robe and cap, both edged with gold lace. At his right hand sat his wives and women, and we were desired to place ourselves on his left. The women sang the praises of their master in a loud, unpleasant voice, in which they were assisted by the music (equally unharmonious) of drums, fifes, clarionets, and horns. On our wishing the chief all the happiness in the world, those that had flocked into the yard after us, and every one near him, prostrated themselves on the ground, and clapped their hands. Goora-nuts were presented us in water, and a profusion of compliments passed on both sides; but the dignity of the newly-made governor seemed to sit rather awkwardly

upon him, for he was shy and bashful as a maiden, and really appeared agitated and afraid of his white-faced visitants. Strange as it may seem, the patience of the most patient people in the world was completely exhausted, as might be seen by their desertion of the premises before we quitted them, notwithstanding the few words that had passed between the chief and ourselves. The ceremony of introduction being over, we bade adieu to the chief, and having visited the grave of Dr. Morrison in our way, repaired to a hut which had been got ready for our reception.

The former governor of Jenna, who it will be recollected treated the gentlemen composing the last mission so handsomely, died about fifteen months ago, and the King of Yarriba chose one of the meanest of his slaves as his successor. This is an invariable rule with the sovereigns of that country of which Jenna is a province, for they fear that, its distance from the capital being very great, a person of higher rank, if possessed of talents and spirit, could easily influence the natives to throw off the yoke, and declare themselves independent of Yarriba. The present governor is a Hàussa man, and was raised to the dignity he now holds, in all probability, on account of his childish simplicity and artlessness, for a person with a countenance more indicative of innocence, and perhaps stupidity also, we never recollect to have seen. The qualities of his heart, however, are said to be excellent, and his manners are mild and amiable. He had been twelve months in coming from Katunga to this place, being under the necessity of stopping at every town between Jenna and his capital to receive the applauses and congratulations of the inhabitants, and to join in their festivities and amusements. He did not make his entry here till yesterday.

Showers are becoming heavier and fall more frequently than they did; and the rainy season may fairly be said to have commenced. The thermometer fell suddenly to-day from 94° to 78°, and remained stationary there for the whole of the afternoon.

The chief sent us this evening a goat, and yams, milk, and honey.

Wednesday, April 7th.—We carried a present to the governor this morning, which he received with every mark of satisfaction and gratitude; but he declared with sorrow that he should be obliged to send some of it to the King of Katunga, who would not let him wear red cloth till he had been a longer time established in his new situation.

It is related in Captain Clapperton's journal, that one of old Pascoe's wives eloped from him in Katunga whilst he was asleep, taking with her the trinkets Mrs. Belzoni had given him, and that she was never afterwards heard of. This woman had the effrontery to introduce herself into our house to-day with an infant, whereof she asserted with warmth that Pascoe was the father, and that she was determined to leave it upon his hands. She had prevailed upon a number of Hàussa females to accompany her, that they might endeavour to induce her *quondam* husband, who is a countryman of theirs, to receive the child, and make up the breach between them; but the infant not being more than nine, or at most twelve months old, and three or four years having elapsed since the elopement took place, we were convinced, independently of the age and infirmities of Pascoe, that it could by no rule or law be his. Accordingly, notwithstanding the uproar occasioned by the women's tongues, (which is no small matter in any part of the world,) the mother with her spurious offspring, and the ladies that came to aid and abet her impo-

sition, were turned out of the yard without any ceremony, to the great relief of Pascoe and his present rib, who felt rather uncomfortable whilst the palàver was carrying on.

The fetish priest of the town came dancing into our hut this afternoon, looking exceedingly wild, and roaring as if possessed of an evil spirit. We paid little attention to the fellow's fooleries, who, not liking his reception, left the hut, after we had given him the accustomed fee of a few cowries. The man's person and dress, together with its whimsical ornaments, were admirably fitted to impose on the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants, although many of the townspeople, influenced perhaps by the spreading doctrines of Mahomet, spoke their minds pretty freely, calling him a scoundrel and a devil. There was something peculiar in the priest's countenance that we could not define. On his shoulders he bore a large club, carved at one end with the figure of a man's head. A vast number of strings of cowries were suspended on this weapon, which were intermixed with bells, broken combs, small pieces of wood with rude imitations of men's faces cut on them, large sea-shells, bits of iron and brass, nutshells, &c. &c. Perhaps the number of cowries on his person did not fall far short of twenty thousand; and the weight of his various ornaments almost pressed him to the ground. After this fellow had left our apartment, three or four others came to torment us with drums, whistles, and horns, and began and ended the evening's serenade to their own infinite delight and satisfaction. The native drum answers the purpose of a tambourine and bagpipe as well, and is of peculiar formation. Its top is encircled with little brass bells, and is played upon with one hand, whilst the fingers of the other are employed at the

same time in tapping on its surface. The instrument itself is held under the left arm, but instead of an outer wooden case, strings alone are used from end to end, which being pressed against the musician's side, sounds somewhat similar to those of a Scotch bagpipe, but very inferior, are produced. The drummers, with their companions of the horns and whistles, subsist entirely on the charity of the public, who require their services on all occasions of general merriment and jollity.

Thursday, April 8th.—The two messengers that arrived at Badágyr whilst we were there, and stated that they had been employed for the purpose by the Governor of Jenna, were this morning discovered to be impostors, and put in irons accordingly. But as the poor fellows had really been of essential service to us, inasmuch as by their representations they prevailed upon Adooley to give us leave to proceed on our journey much sooner than we ourselves could have done, we thought proper to intercede in their behalf, and although they were to have been sold as a punishment for their deception, they are now set at liberty. The person also that met us with a horse after crossing the river Yow, near Bídjie, proceeded thither on his own account, without the knowledge or consent of the governor; but as he is a Falàtah, and a respectable man, little has been said or done about that matter. The only motive which could have influenced these three men in their projects of assisting us, had been without doubt the expectation of receiving a trifling remuneration, and of this, notwithstanding an injunction to the contrary from the governor, we have not disappointed them. Their services were well-timed and very acceptable, and amply deserved a few needles and scissors.

We were witnesses this morning to a specimen of

native tumbling and dancing, with the usual accompaniments of vocal and instrumental music. By far the most diverting part of the entertainment was the dancing; but even this did not at all answer the expectations we had formed of it. The performers were liberally supplied with country beer, and, like most amusements of the kind, they ended this with wrangling and intoxication. The fellows that accompanied us as guides from Badágyry, who in their native place would sell their birthright for a glass of rum, have now washed themselves and thrown aside their rags, appearing at all public places in borrowed finery. They now never leave their habitations without Adooley's sword, which they have with them, and a host of followers. This morning they attended the celebration of the games, in showy apparel, with silk umbrellas held over their heads; and, amongst other articles of dress, the principal of them wore an immense drab-coloured quaker's hat, of the coarsest quality. They will scarcely deign to speak to a poor man.

We learn with regret that all the horses of the late governor of Jénna were interred, according to custom, with the corpse of their master; and we begin to be apprehensive that we shall be obliged to walk the whole of the way to Katunga, as the present ruler is not the owner of a single beast of burden. This piece of ill news was carefully withheld from us till after the presents had all been duly delivered to the governor and his head men; but the latter alone are to blame in this instance. Matters being in this unpleasant state, we have sent a messenger to the chief of Larro to inform him of the circumstance, and entreat him to redeem his promise of lending us a horse or a mule; and another to Adooley, requesting him to despatch immediately one of our horses at

least from Badágyry, for that we had found it impossible to do without him. But whether the latter will accede to it or not remains to be seen. We do not think that he will ; and yet we can hardly imagine he will carry his chicanery so far, because he *must* fear that the variety of orders we have given him to receive valuable presents from England will never be honoured by our countrymen, if he refuses to fulfil his engagements to us.

This evening a corpse was interred at a short distance from our dwelling, and the friends of the deceased have been employed more than an hour in bewailing their loss. The low, plaintive noise they make sounds dolefully in our hut, and it has a very sorrowful and depressing effect on our spirits.

We have been pretty busily engaged during the whole of the afternoon in writing letters and despatches for England. They will be forwarded by Adooley as soon as possible to Cape Coast Castle. The Badágyrian guides and carriers will return home tomorrow, to our very great relief, for they have been a constant trouble, and have harassed us from morning till night.

Friday, April 9th.—Since the demise of the late governor, it is calculated that Jénna has lost more than five hundred of its population, chiefly by wars, intestine broils, &c., and for want of a ruler. It must not be imagined, however, that because the people of this country are almost perpetually engaged in conflicts with their neighbours, the slaughter of human beings is therefore very great. They pursue war, as it is called, partly as an amusement, or to “keep their hands in it;” and partly to benefit themselves by the capture of slaves. As we were sailing down the coast, we were told that the natives of Cape La Hoo and Jack-a-Jack had been warring for

three years previously, and were still at variance, but during that long period, only one single decrepit old woman, who found it no easy matter to run as fast as her countrymen, was left behind, and became the solitary victim of a hundred engagements. Much after the same fashion are the bloodless wars of Jenna. Success depends much more on the cunning and address of the parties, than on any extraordinary display of intrepidity ; and living, not dead, subjects are sought after, so that it is their *interest* to avoid hard blows, and enrich themselves by the sale of their prisoners. Perhaps the extraordinary decrease in the population of Jenna has arisen from the desertion of slaves, who embrace the opportunity, whilst their masters are from home engaged in predatory excursions, of running away ; and thus the latter frequently become losers, instead of gainers, by their unnatural passion for stealing their fellow-creatures. The individuals captured are sent to the coast, and the chiefs of those unsettled and barbarous tribes that inhabit it are appointed agents to regulate the sale of them, for which they receive half the profits.

Late in the evening, the young Falàtah mentioned in yesterday's journal, paid us a visit, and offered his horse for sale. He is a Mohammedan priest, and was accompanied by a countryman of the same persuasion ; but neither of the holy men appeared, in their dealing, to understand the meaning of truth or justice. The merchant implored us not to tell his father, who was the real owner of the horse, that he sold him for more money than he had received ; and in this request he was seconded by his more venerable friend, because, he said, he wanted a small sum for his private use, which he knew his parent would refuse him. The words were hardly out of their mouths before the two Mussulmen publicly went through their ablutions

in front of our house, where, turning their faces to the east, they seemed to pray very devoutly to the founder of their faith. When this was concluded, they sang us an Arabic hymn with very great solemnity, and the whole had an immediate and wonderful effect on the feelings of many of their followers in the yard, who, mistaking loudness of voice for fervour, and hypocritical seriousness for piety, made the two worshippers a present of money. The Falàtahs are supposed to be spies from Soccatoo; but, although this is a very prevalent opinion, no measures whatever have yet been taken either to watch their motions, or question them as to their intentions.

The women of Jénna employ themselves generally either in spinning cotton, or preparing Indian corn for food. Much of the former material grows in the vicinity of the town, but the cultivation of the plant is not carried on with the spirit it deserves. Silk, which is brought overland from Tripoli, the inhabitants sometimes interweave in their cotton garments; but such, being very expensive, are only worn by the higher class of people. They have abundance of bullocks, pigs, goats, sheep, and poultry, but they prefer vegetable food to animal; their diet, indeed, is what we should term poor and watery, consisting chiefly of preparations of the yam and of Indian corn, notwithstanding which a stronger or more athletic race of people is nowhere to be met with. Burdens with them, as with the natives of many parts of the continent, are invariably carried on the head, which, it is more than likely, occasions that dignified uprightness of form and stateliness of walk so often spoken of by those acquainted with the pleasing peculiarities of the African female. The weight of a feather is borne on the head, in preference to its being carried in the hand; and it not unfrequently requires

the united strength of three men to lift a calabash of goods from the ground to the shoulder of one; and then, and not till then, does the amazing strength of the African appear. The greater part of the inhabitants of Jénna have the hair of their head and their eyebrows shaven, but the governor's *ministers* and servants wear their hair in the shape of a horse-shoe, as a mark of distinction. It is confined to the crown of the head by large daubs of indigo, and, none of the people presuming to imitate it, answers the purpose of a livery.

Saturday, April 10th.—The earliest part of this morning was obscured by a mist or haze, which was as thick and at least as unwholesome as a London fog in November; but between nine and ten o'clock it dispersed, and the sun shone out with uncommon lustre. The but which we occupy is in a large square yard, and is the property of the late governor's principal wife, whose story is rather romantic. Each of its sides was formed by huts, which had all at one time been inhabited: but, a fire having broken out in one of them by some accident, the greater part perished. A few huts only are at present standing, together with black naked walls, and stakes which supported the verandahs, the latter reduced to charcoal. The tenantable buildings are inhabited by the female slaves of the owner of the square and ourselves. It is the custom here, when a governor dies, for two of his favourite wives to quit the world on the same day, in order that he may have a little pleasant, social company in a future state; but the late governor's devoted wives had no ambition or inclination to follow their venerable husband to the grave, and went and hid themselves before the funeral ceremonies were performed, and have remained concealed ever since with the remainder of his women.

To-day, however, one of these unfortunates,—she to whom our house belongs,—was discovered in her hiding-place at the present governor's, and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of the fetish-priest, was offered her. She has chosen the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of the two, and has come to our yard to spend her last hours in the society of her faithful slaves. These address their mistress by the endearing name of mother. Poor creatures! as soon as they learnt her misfortune, they dropped their spinning; the grinding of corn was also relinquished; their sheep, goats, and poultry were suffered to roam at large without restraint; and they abandoned themselves to the most excessive, most poignant grief; but now the arrival of their mistress has added, if possible, to their affliction. There is not to be found in the world, perhaps, an object more truly sorrowful than a lonely, defenceless woman in tears; and on such an occasion as this, it may easily be conceived, the distress is more peculiarly cutting. A heart that could not be touched at a scene of this nature must be unfeeling indeed. Females have been coming all day to condole with the old lady, and to weep with her; so that we have heard and seen nothing but sobbing and crying from morning till the setting of the sun. The principal males in the town have likewise been here to pay their last respects to their mistress; and so has her grave-digger, who has just risen from prostrating himself on the ground before her. Notwithstanding the representations and remonstrances of the priest, and the prayers of the venerable victim to her gods for fortitude to undergo the dreadful ordeal, her resolution has forsaken her more than once. She has entered our yard twice to expire in the arms of her women, and twice has she laid aside

the fatal poison, in order to take another walk, and gaze once more on the splendour of the sun and the glory of the heavens, for she cannot bear the idea of losing sight of them for ever. She is still restless and uneasy, and would gladly run away from Death, if she durst, for that imaginary being appears to her in a more terrible light than our pictures represent him, with his shadowy form and fatal dart. Die she must, and she knows it; nevertheless she will tenaciously cling to life till the very last moment. Meanwhile her grave is preparing, and preparations are making for a wake at her funeral. She is to be buried here in one of her own huts, the moment after the spirit has quitted the body; which will be ascertained by striking the ground near which it may be lying at the time, when, if no motion or struggle ensues, the old woman will be considered as dead. The poison used by the natives on this occasion destroys life, it is said, in fifteen minutes.

The reason of our not meeting with a better reception at Lāattoo when we slept there, was the want of a chief to that town, the last having followed the old governor of Jénna to the eternal shades, for he was his slave. Widows are burnt in India, just as they are poisoned or *clubbed* here; but in the former country, I believe, no male victims are destroyed on such occasions. The *origin* of this abominable custom is understood to have arisen from a dread on the part of the chiefs of the country in olden time, that their principal wives, who alone were in possession of their confidence, and knew where their money was concealed, might secretly attempt their life, in order at once to establish their own freedom, and become possessed of the property. That far from having any motives to destroy her husband, a woman might, on the contrary, have a strong inducement to cherish

him as long as possible, the existence of the wife was made to depend entirely on that of her lord; and this custom has been handed down from father to son even to the present time. But why men also, who can have no interest to gain on the death of their prince, should be obliged to conform to the same rite, is not near so easily accounted for. The present governor of Jénna must of necessity go down to the grave on the first intelligence of the demise of the king of Yarriba; and as that monarch is a very aged man, the situation of the former is not the most enviable in the world.

Previous to her swallowing the poison, the favourite wife of a deceased chief or ruler destroys, privately, all the wealth, or rather money, of her former partner, in order that it may not fall into the hands of his successor. The same custom is observed at Badágyry also; and although the king's son may be of age at the period of his father's death, he inherits his authority and influence only. He is left to his own sagacity and exertions to procure wealth, which can seldom be obtained without rapine, enslavement, and bloodshed.

Whenever a town is deprived of its chief, the inhabitants acknowledge no law—anarchy, troubles, and confusion immediately prevail, and till a successor is appointed, all labour is at an end. The stronger oppress the weak, and consummate every species of crime, without being amenable to any tribunal for their actions. Private property is no longer respected and thus before a person arrives to curb its licentiousness, a town is not unfrequently reduced from a flourishing state of prosperity and of happiness, to all the horrors of desolation.

Sunday, April 11th.—This being Easter-day, we have devoted it exclusively to religious purposes. The

messenger whom we sent to Badágyry for our horse is not yet returned, although he promised to be back in four days from the time of his departure. He has exceeded the given time by a whole day : and as the man is a native of Badágyry, we have given up all hopes of again seeing either him, or the horse, or the message-sword we lent him as a token that he had been sent by us. We have received positive assurances that leave will be granted us to depart hence on Tuesday next ; but as we have one horse only, we shall be obliged to take it in turns to ride, or procure a hammock, which will be a difficult thing to get, and very expensive.

The old queen-dowager, like Prior's thief,

“ Often takes leave, but seems loth to depart ;”

although her doom is inevitably sealed, she has been more cheerful to-day than yesterday, and seems determined to spin out her thread of life to its utmost limit. Spies are now set over her, and she is not permitted to go out of the yard.

Monday, April 12th.—Nothing deserving particular notice has occurred to-day. We have had the customary visit to our yard of a line of women, who come every morning, with rueful countenances and streaming eyes, to lament the approaching death of the old widow. They weep, they beat their breasts and tear their hair, they moan, and exhibit all manner of violent affliction at the expected deprivation. Perhaps their sorrow is sincere, perhaps it is feigned. At all events, their transports are ungoverned and outrageous : the first woman in the line begins the cry, and is instantly followed by the other voices ; the opening notes of the lamentation are rather low and mournful, the last wild and piercing.

The principal people of the place, finding the old

lady still obstinately bent on deferring her *exit*, have sent a messenger to her native village to make known to her relatives that, should she make her escape, they will take all of them into slavery, and burn their town to ashes, in conformity to an established and very ancient law. They would therefore strongly advise the relatives of the old woman, for their own sakes, and for the sake of the public, to use all their endeavours to prevail upon her to meet her fate honourably and with fortitude. A deputation is expected from the village to-morrow, when, no doubt, after a good deal of crying and condoling, and talking and persuading, the matter will eventually be decided against the old lady. It is understood that she has bribed a few of the most opulent and influential inhabitants of Jénna with large sums of money, to induce them to overlook her dereliction from the path of duty, and that by their representations she has obtained the tacit consent of the King of Katunga to live out the full term of her natural life. But the people for many miles round, horror-struck at such impiety and contempt for ancient customs, have risen to enforce the laws of the country against her.

CHAPTER III.

Tornado—Departure from Jénna—The Journey into the Interior continued through various Towns and Villages—Illness of the Travellers—Bohoo, the former Capital of Yarraiba—Arrival at Katunga.

Tuesday, April 13th.—Last night we were visited by one of those terrific thunder-storms which are so prevalent in these latitudes. Our thatched hut afforded but an insecure and uncertain asylum against its fury: part of the roof was swept away, and the

rain admitted freely upon our beds, whence the most awful lightning-flashes could be seen, making, as Milton says, "the darkness visible." It seemed as if the Genius of the Storm was driving through the murky clouds in his chariot of fire, to awaken the slumbering creation and make them feel and acknowledge his power. It is indeed a grand lesson to human pride, to contemplate the terrors of a tornado through the trembling walls and roof of a gloomy, dilapidated hut in Africa. In civilised countries, when men are visited by an awful calamity of this kind, the distinctions of rank are levelled, and numbers flock together for the purpose of keeping each other in countenance, and strengthening each other's nerves; but here all is naked, lonely, and desolate.

We passed the night, as may be supposed, uncomfortably enough. The roof of our dwelling had long been infested with numbers of rats and mice, and these vermin being dislodged from their haunts by the violence of the wind and rain, sought immediate shelter between our bed-clothes, and to this very serious inconvenience was added another still greater, viz., the company of lizards, ants, and mosquitoes, besides worms and centipedes, and other crawling, creeping, and noxious things, which the tempest seemed to renovate with fresh life and motion. After a long, long night, the morning at length appeared, and the terrors of the storm were forgotten.

Not long after sunrise, two fresh legions of women entered our yard to mourn with their old mistress, and the shrieks and lamentations of these visitors were more violent than any of their predecessors. It made us shudder to hear them. The piercing cries that assailed the ears of Telemachus at his entrance into the infernal regions were not more dolorous or

fearful. Their eyes were red with weeping, their hands were clasped on the crown of the head, their hair was in frightful disorder, and two channels of tears were plainly seen flowing down over the naked bosom of each of the women. In this manner they passed before the threshold of our hut, in two close lines, and in this manner we observed them bend the knee to the venerable matron without uttering a word. They then rose and departed, and we could hear their cries long after they had been out of sight.

Matters were arranged for our departure in good time this morning, and after breakfast we went to pay our last respects to the good governor. Of course we were obliged to wait a tiresome length of time outside his residence before admittance could be obtained, but when the doors were opened, the band that was in attendance inside played a native tune as a token of welcome. We observed a greater number of drummers assembled than on any former occasion. Some of their instruments were something in the shape of a cone, and profusely ornamented with plates and figures of brass. On one of these were represented the busts of two men, with a tortoise in the act of eating out of the mouth of one of them, The tortoise had a cock by its side, and two dogs standing as guardians of the whole. These figures were all ingeniously carved in solid brass. Both ends of the larger drums were played on with the palms of the hand; hundreds of little brass bells were suspended round their edges for ornament rather than use, for being without clappers they could produce no sound. The common native drum is beaten on one of its ends only, and with a stick shaped like a bow.

After a little conversation, the chief and his principal people shook us affectionately by the hand, and wished us every blessing; and as soon as we got

outside the yard we mounted our horses and rode out of the town. The chief of Larro had broken his promise, but we were fortunate enough to meet with and purchase another horse this morning, so that we cared little about it. Our pathway led through a champaign country, partially wooded; and, after a pleasant ride of three quarters of an hour, we entered the small village of *Bidjie*.* Here our carriers dropped their loads, nor could they be induced to resume them by the most pressing solicitations. Nor would the villagers, as their duty required, take them up; but when we begged them to do so, laughed at us, so that here we are compelled to remain till to-morrow. This is very provoking; and such is the tiresome mode of travelling through this country. No consideration will induce any of the natives to shake off their habitual indolence; they would not do so, I am persuaded, for a voice from Heaven. Pleasure and sloth are with them synonymous words; and they are scarcely alive to any other species of gratification. In the meantime the chief, who seems to be a very good sort of man, although he has little authority over his people, has sent us an excellent fatted goat; and being in health, and having very encouraging prospects held out to us as to our future progress, we are determined to forget our little troubles and vexations, and spend the evening as cheerfully as we can.

Hawks and vultures are exceedingly numerous, both at Jénna and this place: the former are bold and disgusting birds, but the latter are so hungry and rapacious, that they pounce fearlessly in the midst of the natives when at their meals. This evening one of them darted at a piece of meat which one of our men held between his fingers, and

* Bachy, in Clapperton's map.

snatched it from him whilst he was conveying it to his mouth.

Wednesday, April 14th.—At an early hour this morning, to our infinite surprise and pleasure, the man from Badágyry made his appearance with one of our horses and an English saddle. The latter was as acceptable to us as the horse: yesterday, for want of one, I had been obliged to substitute a simple cloth, and the back of the animal being sharp as a knife, it was no very pleasant thing to ride him; walking would have been the less irksome exercise of the two. Pascoe, whose sagacity and experience have proved of infinite value to us, has been lamed in his endeavours to walk as fast as the rest of the party; and as he has also the misfortune of having one leg shorter than the other, he became the general butt and laughing-stock of his more robust companions. To-day, however, we placed him on the back of the extra horse, from whence he has retorted their revilings; and the whole of them are now as envious of his dignity as they were before facetious at his expense.

We set off from Bidjie while the morning was yet cool and pleasant, and arrived at *Chow* before eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The natives have an unaccountable fancy that white men are fond of poultry to an excess, insomuch that, whenever we enter a village or town, all the fowls are immediately seized, and confined in a place of security till our departure.

Several strangers accompany us from town to town, in order to evade the duty which is exacted at the turnpike-gates, by stating themselves to be of the number of our attendants. Women have also placed themselves under the protection of our men, from Cape Coast Castle, that they may enjoy the like advantage: in return for this favour, they do us

many little kind offices, and are useful in making fires, preparing food, &c., for our people.

Our journey to-day has been exceedingly pleasant. Sometimes the path ran in a serpentine direction through plains covered with green turf; sometimes it led us amidst large groves of stately trees, from whose branches a variety of playful monkeys diverted us by their mischievous tricks; and the grey parrot, with other beautiful birds,

“ Warbled their native wood-notes wild.”

The chief of Chow who received and entertained the last mission has been dead some time, and is succeeded by an humble, good-natured, and active individual, who has treated us more like demi-gods than men. At the time of our arrival he was engaged in superintending the slaves at his corn and yam plantations, but hastened to us the moment he was informed of the circumstance. He has a number of horses, amongst which is one of the smallest and most beautiful we have ever beheld.

In the evening the chief visited us again, with a present of provisions, and a few goora-nuts. My brother took the opportunity of playing on a bugle-horn in his presence, by which he was violently agitated, under the supposition that the instrument was nothing less than a snake.

For the first time since our landing, we have observed the loom in active operation. The manufacture of cotton cloth is carried on here exclusively by women.

Thursday, April 15th.—The path to-day has winded through a country charmingly diversified by hill and dale, woods and open glades, and watered by streams flowing over beds of fine white sand. A horseman from Katunga met us about ten in the

morning, whose dress and accoutrements were highly grotesque. He neither stopped nor spoke, but couched his lance as he galloped past us. We found numbers of people of both sexes in the path, who were returning from Egga to Chow, and several naked boys on their way to the coast, under the care of guardians. These are slaves, and will be sold most likely at Badágrý. Women bore burdens on their heads that would tire a mule, and children not more than five or six years of age trudged after them, with loads that would give a full-grown person in Europe the brain-fever.

We departed from Chow before sunrise ; a surprising dew had fallen during the night, and distilled from the leaves and branches in large drops. We passed, during the forenoon, over three or four swampy places covered with reeds, rushes, and rank grass, which were inhabited by myriads of frogs of prodigious size. On crossing streams, we were invariably saluted by a loud and unaccountable hissing, as if from a multitude of serpents. We could not account for this extraordinary noise in any other way than by supposing it to have proceeded from some species of insect whose retreats we had invaded.

With very trifling manual labour, the path, which is little better than a mere gutter, formed by repeated rains, might be converted into a good and commodious road ; and were a tree simply thrown over them, the streams and morasses might be crossed with ease and safety. But the natives appear to have no idea whatever of such improvements ; and would rather be entangled daily in a thick underwood, and wade through pools of mud and water, than give themselves any concern about repairing the road. Trees not unfrequently fall across the pathway ; but, instead of removing, the people form a large circuit round them ;

even a small ant-hill is an object too mighty to be meddled with, and it is left in the centre of the narrow road, so inconsiderate and indolent are the natives of this part of the world.

Many women with little wooden figures of children on their heads passed us in the course of the morning —mothers who, having lost a child, carry such rude imitations of them about their persons for an indefinite time, as a symbol of mourning. None of them could be induced to part with one of these little affectionate memorials.

We entered *Egga*, which is a very large town, in the early part of the afternoon. On our arrival we were introduced into the house occupied by Captain Clapperton in the last mission, in the yard of which repose the remains of an Englishman named Dawson, who died here of fever when that officer was passing through the country. Both hut and yard are filled with people, and are in a state of filth which defies description. We cannot rid ourselves of sheep, goats, and fowls, with their train; they will be our companions in spite of us: and this grievance, with the tongues of a hundred visiters, makes our situation all but intolerable.

Egga is the principal market town in this part of Africa, and is attended by buyers and sellers for many miles round. Women here are the chief, if not the only traders; most of them are of graceful and prepossessing exterior, and they all practise those petty tricks and artifices in their dealings with which the market-women of more civilised countries are not unacquainted.

Friday, April 16th.—Yesterday was comparatively cool, owing to the thick dark clouds which obscured the sky; but on our setting out this morning, as if to make amends for his partial concealment, the sun

showed his broad, burning face with uncommon clearness, and the day was one of the hottest we ever remember to have felt. We found the path in much better condition than those behind it, and it lay almost entirely through plantations of yams, calavances, and pumpkins, and three or four different varieties of corn, which a number of labourers were employed in weeding, &c. The hoe is the only implement of husbandry in use, and indeed they can well dispense with every other, because the soil during the rainy months is so soft and light that but very little manual exertion in working it is required. Population is abundant; labourers may be hired to any number, and, in our opinion, the introduction of the plough would scarcely be a blessing, but on the contrary furnish new encouragement to the besetting sin of sloth.

Having crossed at noon a small but agreeable river, flowing from east to west, in which several females were bathing and washing clothes, we shortly afterwards entered the capacious and populous town of *Jadoo*. Here we were informed that the chief had been in the grave more than a twelvemonth, and that no one having yet been nominated to succeed him, everything continued in a state of confusion and misrule. We were conducted, after we had waited a little, into a large yard belonging to the late governor, and presently received a visit from his brother, in company with all the elders of the place: but their conversation was unpleasant, and their whole behaviour much cooler than was agreeable, the more so as such a reception had been entirely unexpected.

The yard wherein we reside is perfectly round, and walled with huts, all tenanted by the late chief's widows, who employ their time and earn their livelihood by spinning and weaving. Not less than a

hundred of the King of Katunga's ladies are lodging in the yard with them. They have all passed the bloom of life, and arrived here lately with loads of trona and country cloth, which they barter for salt, and various articles of European manufacture, particularly beads: with these they return home, and expose them for sale in the market, and afterwards the profits are taken to their husbands. These royal ladies are distinguished from their countrywomen only by a peculiar species of cloth, which is wrapped round their goods, and which no one dares to imitate, on pain of perpetual slavery. This severe punishment is often inflicted; for, as the king's wives pay no tribute or turnpike dues whatever, and must besides be entertained by the chiefs of every town through which they pass, strong inducements are offered for others to attempt to deceive by using the forbidden cloth, and hence examples are necessary. As a contrast to the afflicted females of Jénna, the wives of the King of Katunga all fell to crying for *joy* this evening, on recognising a few old acquaintances in the yard, who soon joined them in the melancholy music. It was laughable enough to see them; yet after the first burst had subsided, they began to chat with a garrulity far beyond that of the most talkative of their European sisters. The conversation lasted more than an hour, till at last it resolved itself into a violent quarrel, which has not yet terminated.

It is now ten o'clock at night, and the women are sitting in groups round the several wood-fires. We ourselves occupy only a verandah, which is simply the projection of the roof of a thatched hut; our horses are fastened to wooden stakes in the centre of the yard; our men are lying round them, warming themselves at their own fires. Sheep, beautiful sheep, with tingling bells hung round their necks, are chewing

their cud in peace and happiness. But although it is the hour of repose, the tongues of our female fellow-travellers are making a clatter which all the *Graces* of Billingsgate could not rival, and together with the squalling of brats innumerable, it spoils the emotions which the wild and pleasing scene around us would otherwise awaken in our breasts. Sheep here are regarded with as much partiality, and treated much in the same manner as ladies' lap-dogs are in England. Great care is taken to keep them clean and in good condition; they are washed every morning in soap and water; and so greatly are they attached to their masters or mistresses, that they are constantly at their heels, following them in-doors and out, from town to town, and in all their peregrinations. Goats, sheep, swine, and poultry, are in great plenty here, and in every one's possession, notwithstanding which they are always excessively dear, because the people take a pride in displaying the number and quality of their domestic animals.

The inhabitants of Jadoo are, generally speaking, very tidily clad in cotton dresses, of their own manufacture. In their persons they are much more agreeable than those who reside nearer the sea. European goods are brought hither from Dahomey and Badá-gry, but more especially from Lagos; and are daily exposed for sale in the markets of Jadoo and Egga. Several chiefs on the road have asked us the reason why the Portuguese do not purchase as many slaves as formerly; and make very sad complaints of the stagnation in this branch of traffic. Hippopotami abound in the rivers of the vicinity of the town; when young, the flesh and skin of these animals are sold as food; and whips and other articles are made of the skins of the old ones.

Saturday, April 17th.—At the usual hour this

morning, we quitted Jadoo, and in the middle of the day arrived at a clean, pretty little village called *Pooya*. The appearance of the country between these places is extremely fine, and resembles a magnificent orchard. On our way we met many hundreds of people of both sexes and all ages, with vast quantities of bullocks, sheep, and goats, together with fowls and pigeons, which were carried on the head in neat wicker baskets. Several of the travellers were loaded with packages of country cloth, and indigo in large round balls. They are all slaves, and were proceeding to the coast, from the interior, to sell the goods and animals under their charge. One old woman had the misfortune to let a large calabash of palm oil fall from her head: on arriving at the spot we found a party of females, her companions in slavery, wringing their hands and crying; the old woman's own affliction was bitter indeed, as she dreaded the punishment which awaited her on her return to her master's house. I compassionated her distress, and gave her a large clasp knife, which would more than recompense her for the loss of the oil, whereat the women wiped away their tears, and fell down on the dust before us, exhibiting countenances more gladsome and animated than can be conceived.

The mortality of children must be immense indeed here, for almost every woman we met with on the road had one or more of those little wooden images we have before spoken of. Whenever the mothers stopped to take refreshment, a small part of their food was invariably presented to the lips of these inanimate memorials.

Although *Pooya* is considered by the natives a day's journey from Jadoo, we only halted to pay our respects to the chief, and then continued our journey over gentle hills, and through valleys watered by

streams and rivulets, so as to reach *Engua* in the afternoon. The soil between the two towns is mostly dry and sterile ; and large masses of iron-stone, which looked as if they had undergone the action of fire, presented themselves almost at every step. This day has been oppressively warm ; and as we had been exposed to the sun for a great number of hours, when we reached *Engua* our skin was scorched and highly inflamed, so that we were very uncomfortable. For my own part, I was sore, tired, and feverish, and longed to lay myself down in a hut ; but we were obliged to remain under a tree above three hours before we could be favoured with that opportunity, because the chief of the town was engaged in making a fetish to counteract any evil intentions that we might entertain towards him. All our people were fatigued and exhausted on the road, complaining much of the heat, and one of them was brought to us in the evening in a high fever. *Engua* is the town wherein the lamented Captain Pearce breathed his last ; and here also Captain Clapperton felt quite disheartened, and almost despaired of penetrating farther into the interior of the country. The chief sent us only a little Indian corn and water, and obstinately refused to sell us either a goat, sheep, or any other animal, although there are many thousands in the town.

Sunday, April 18th.—Our reception had been so truly inhospitable at *Engua*, that we arose at a much earlier hour this morning than we generally do, and proceeded on our way by star-light. In place of the iron-stone of yesterday, the country over which we have travelled to-day is partially covered with large and unshapely masses of granite. Mountains and elevated hills were observed to the right of us, whose sides were thickly wooded, and their summits reaching

above the clouds. At 9, A. M., we passed through a neat and cleanly village, named *Chakka*, which has lately lost its chief; and an hour afterwards crossed a small river called *Akeenya*, which is full of sharp and rugged granite rocks, and is said to fall into the Lagos. We were carried over on men's shoulders without much difficulty, but the horses were a long time in getting across. From hence, the path winded up a high and steep hill, which we ascended and entered the town of *Afoora* about mid-day. The governor gave us a hearty welcome, and said it made him extremely happy to see us, which the joy and animation of his countenance also expressed. The best hut in the town, which is the most airy and commodious of any we had seen, was presently got ready for us, and shortly after we had taken possession of it, we received a quantity of excellent provisions from the chief.

This is the first day of his government. His father, the late chief, has been dead some time, but from motives of delicacy he refused to take upon himself his authority till this morning. In honour of the event, a large company of women have been dancing, rejoicing, and making merry all the evening outside our hut. It is somewhat strange that the chief or governor of almost every town through which we have passed since leaving *Badágy*, who was alive and well on my return to the coast three years ago, has been either slain in war, or has died from natural causes. Scarcely one of them is now alive.

Monday, April 19th.—An easy, pleasant ride of three hours brought us to the first walled town we have seen, which is called *Assinàra*. The wall is of clay, and so diminutive, that a person might easily jump over it; a dry ditch, about eighteen inches deep, and three or four feet in width, also surrounds the

town. Over this a single plank is thrown, which answers the purpose of a draw-bridge, and is the only means the inhabitants have of getting in and out of the place. Assinàra too has lately lost its chief in some battle, and all business is transacted by a benevolent elderly man, who has volunteered his services till a successor shall be appointed. From him we have received the warmest reception and the most hospitable treatment. The climate has already had a debilitating effect upon my brother; and from a state of robust health and vigour he is reduced to so great a degree of lassitude and weakness that he can scarcely stand a minute at a time. Every former pleasure seems to have lost its charm. He was attacked with fever this afternoon, and his condition would have been hopeless indeed had I not been near to relieve him. He complained of excessive thirst. I gave him ten grains of calomel, and afterwards a strong dose of salts. Rain, thunder, and lightning during the night.

Tuesday, April 20th.—My brother was much better, and free from fever this morning, but too weak to travel, and we shall therefore remain at Assinàra till to-morrow. The acting governor visited us to-day with a long face, and entreated us earnestly to discover a certain wizard, whom he imagined to be concealed somewhere in the town. By this sorcerer's influence, numbers of people, it is said, pine away and die; and women with child are more especially the objects of his malevolence. These victims drop suddenly, without the slightest warning; and the deaths have lately been so numerous, that the old man himself is grievously alarmed, and begs a charm to preserve him and his family.

Friday, April 23rd.—My brother, finding himself considerably invigorated and refreshed by a day's rest

at Assinàra, and sufficiently recovered to pursue our journey, I had all hands in readiness to start at an early hour. The morning was cool and pleasant, and we travelled onwards in excellent spirits. Without meeting anything particular in the path, or perceiving any object sufficiently novel or striking to demand attention, we entered the town of *Accodoo* in the forenoon, having had an agreeable ride of a few hours' duration only. At this time my brother seemed to be free from any kind of complaint whatever, and enjoyed an unusual cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirits, which led me to form the most flattering anticipations. In the course of a few minutes, however, his body was overspread with a burning heat, and he suffered under another attack of fever, more violent than any of the former. I resorted to the most powerful remedies I could think of at the time. I bled him, and applied a strong blister to the region of the stomach, where the disorder seemed to be seated. It was swollen and oppressed with pain, and he felt as if some huge substance lay upon his chest. His mouth being dry and clogged, and his thirst burning and unquenchable, he drank so much water that his body was greatly swollen. In the evening his ideas were confused, and he became delirious. He afterwards described to me the horrible phantoms that disturbed him whilst in this state; and the delicious emotion that ran through his whole frame when the dreadful visions had passed away. Tears gushed from his eyes; a profuse perspiration, which had been so long checked, gave him immediate relief, and he has since continued to improve.

Whilst my brother was so ill, the natives made a most hideous noise by singing and drumming in the celebration of their fetich. I went out, in the hope of inducing them to be quiet, but they only laughed

at him, and annoyed us the more; for they have no compassion for the sufferings of a white man, and, if they can mortify him by any means, they consider it a praiseworthy deed. Yesterday was one of the hottest days we have yet felt, the thermometer at noon being 99° of Fahrenheit.

Saturday, April 24th.—A hammock was prepared for my brother before day-break, this morning, because he was too weak to ride on horseback; and shortly afterwards we quitted the town of Accodoo in much better spirits than circumstances had led us to hope for. The hammock-men found their burthen rather troublesome; nevertheless, we travelled at a pretty quick pace, and between eight and nine o'clock halted at a pleasant and comfortable village, called *Etudy*. The chief sent us a fowl and four hundred cowries; but we stoppéd only to take a slight refreshment on horseback, and pay our respects. We then proceeded through large plantations of cotton, indigo, Indian corn, and yams, and over stony fields, till between ten and eleven, when we entered the town of *Chouchou*. We were almost immediately introduced to the chief, and from him into a ruinous hut, in a more filthy state than can be imagined: no pig-stye was ever half so bad. Its late occupier had incurred the displeasure and hatred of his chief, because he happened to be very rich, and rather than pay a heavy fine, he ran away, and has joined his former enemies; and this may partly account for the destitution and wretchedness around us.

Since leaving Jénna, we have met an incredible number of persons visited with the loss of one eye. They assign no other reason for their misfortune than the heat and glare of the sun's rays.

Sunday, April 25th.—It rained heavily during the whole of last night; but our hut, although of the

very worst description, had a pretty good thatched roof, and sheltered us much better than we had expected. There are periods and seasons in our lifetime in which we feel a happy complacency of temper and an inward satisfaction, cheerfulness, and joy, for which we cannot very well account, but which constrain us to be at peace with ourselves and our neighbours, and in love with all the works of God. In this truly enviable frame of mind I awoke, this morning, to proceed onwards, on horseback. It was a morning which was fairly entitled to the epithet of "incense-breathing;" for the variety of sweet-smelling perfume which exhaled, after the rain, from forest flowers, and flowering shrubs, was delicious and almost overpowering. The scenery of to-day has been more interesting and lovely than any we have heretofore beheld. The path circled round a magnificent cultivated valley, hemmed in almost on every side with mountains of granite of the most grotesque and irregular shapes, the summits of which are covered with stunted trees, and the hollows in their slopes occupied by clusters of huts, whose inmates have fled thither as a place of security against the ravages of the *war-men* that infest the plains. A number of strange birds resort to this valley, many of whose notes were rich, full, and melodious, while others were harsh and disagreeable; but, generally speaking, the plumage was various, splendid, and beautiful. The modest partridge appeared in company with the magnificent Balearic crane, with his regal crest; and delicate humming-birds hopped from twig to twig, with others of an unknown species; some of them were of a dark shining green; some had red silky wings and purple bodies; some were variegated with stripes of crimson and gold; and these chirped and warbled from among the thick foliage of the trees. It is the contemplation of such beautiful objects

as these, all so playful and so happy—or the more sublime ones of dark waving forests, plains of vast extent, or stupendous mountains, that gives the mind the most sensible emotions of delight and grandeur, leading it insensibly

“ To look from nature up to nature’s God.”

For myself, I am passionately fond of them, and have regretted a thousand times over that my ignorance incapacitates me from giving a proper representation of them, or describing the simplest flower that adorns the plains, or the smallest insect that sparkles in the air. This consideration gives me at times many unhappy reflections, although my defective education arose from circumstances over which my boyhood had no control.

Having passed through the immense valley before-mentioned, we had not travelled far before we arrived and halted at a large village, called *Fudibu*; here we rested awhile, and then continuing our journey for two hours, over even ground between high hills, we rode into the town of *Gwendekki*, in which we purpose passing the night. The chief is either very poor or else very ill-natured, for the only thing he sent us was a little boiled yam, with a mess of unpalatable gravy, which he would not have given if he did not expect ten times its value in return. Divine service was performed in the course of the day, as usual; and this is a duty which, to persons in our situation, is inconceivably pleasant. It renders us happy and resigned in the midst of our afflictions—refreshing our confidence in the all-protecting arm of that beneficent Being who is the author and disposer of our destinies, and in whom alone, thus widely separated from home and kindred and civilization, the wanderer can place his trust.

Monday, April 26th.—A thick mist obscured the horizon this morning, and hid in deep shade the mountains and hills; every object indeed was invisible, except the pathway, and the trees, &c., growing on each side, which we could barely distinguish as we passed along. It continued hazy for two hours after leaving Gwendekki, when the mist dispersed, and the atmosphere became clear. Preparatory to ascending a steep granite hill, we halted to refresh our horses under the branches of a high spreading tree, near a town called *Ecó*. Here we were visited by several of the inhabitants, who, as soon as they were informed of our arrival, came flocking to the spot. They formed themselves into a line to pay their respects, and entreated us to wait a little for the coming of their chief, who was momentarily expected. But after staying as long as we conveniently could, and no chief appearing, we mounted our beasts and began the toilsome ascent. On attaining the summit of the hill, the *coup-d'œil* was magnificent indeed, and the fog having been dispersed by the sun, the eye was enabled to range round an extensive horizon, bounded by hills and mountains of wonderful shapes. Some of them bear a very striking resemblance to the Table Mountain, at the Cape of Good Hope, and another is not unlike the "Lion's Head and Rump," of the same place. Our course was north-east, and those two mountains bore due west of us. There was no continued range of hills, but numbers of single unconnected ones, with extensive valleys between them. In some places, several were piled behind each other; and those most distant from us appeared like dark, indistinct clouds. Nothing could surpass the singularity, perhaps I may say the sublimity, of the whole view, from the top of the granite hill which we had ascended; and we contemplated it in silence

for a few seconds with emotions of astonishment and rapture.

Descending the hill, we continued our journey over a noble plain, watered with springs and rivulets; and in the afternoon entered *Dũfo*, which is a most extensive and populous town. The inhabitants appear to be industrious and very opulent, as far as regards the number and variety of their domestic animals, having abundance of sheep, goats, swine, pigeons, and poultry; amongst the latter of which we observed, for the first time, turkeys and Guinea fowl. They have likewise horses and bullocks. The chief did not make his appearance for a long while; but as soon as he had introduced himself, he desired us to follow him into a cleanly-swept square, a house in which he desired us to occupy. Presently after his departure, he sent us a quantity of yams, a basket of ripe bananas, and a calabash of eggs, which we soon discovered to be good for nothing, although sand had been mixed with them, that they might feel heavier than they really were.

Tuesday, April 27th.—My brother is now, thank God, perfectly recovered from his late attack of fever, and feels himself getting stronger every day. Late last night four Burgoo traders paid us a visit at our house; they informed us of their having crossed the Niger at Inguazhilligee* not more than fourteen days ago; and that, although the rains had commenced, the river had as yet received no great addition to its waters.

We were on horseback early this morning, and at six o'clock, preceded by the carriers of our luggage, we rode out of the town of *Dũfo*. The country seemed inferior indeed as to the boldness and beauty

* The *zh* is pronounced like the letter *z* in the word *azure*. The last *g* hard, like *g* in *geese*.

of its scenery to that traversed yesterday ; but still it possesses features of no common interest. Another "Table Mountain" was observed to the left of our path, in the course of the morning, and another "Lion's Head and Rump." Ponderous masses of granite rock overhang the roadway ; these are almost black, and seem to have been washed by the rains of thousands of years : in many of them were deep and gloomy caverns, which, were they in Cornwall instead of Africa, would, I am sure, be pointed out as the scenes of dark and bloody stories of the elder time. Hundreds of the natives followed us a long while, and annoyed us so much by their noises and curiosity, that we were compelled to resort to violent measures to drive them away ; but this is a line of conduct which we rarely adopt towards them, and never without extreme reluctance. We at length frightened them away, and we saw them no more. About eight miles from Dūfo, we arrived at a large straggling village, called *Elekba*, where we halted a little, as the path had been so stony, rugged, and irregular, that a few minutes' rest was absolutely necessary to recruit ourselves. From this place the road became excellent, not at all inferior to a drive round a gentleman's park in England ; and continued to be good till we came in sight of a capacious walled town called *Chāadoo*, which we entered about mid-day. Outside the walls is a little Falàtah village, the huts of which are constructed in the circular or *coozie* form. Its inhabitants employ themselves solely in the breeding of cattle—an occupation to which they are passionately addicted. They are simple in their manners, and extremely neat in their dress and appearance.

Not long after our arrival, three or four young-Falàtah shepherdesses from the village came to our

hut to pay their respects. We felt much pleased with their society, for they were extremely well-behaved and intelligent ; but they remained with us a very little time, their customary avocation not permitting a longer stay. The hair of these females was braided in a style peculiarly tasteful and becoming ; and the *contour* of their oval faces was very far from disagreeable. Their manners also were innocent and playful : the imaginary shepherdesses of Fenton are not more modest, artless, and engaging in description than these in reality ; and they left behind them an impression very favourable, both as regards their morals, *naïveté*, and rustic simplicity.

On the road from Dūfo, my brother unthinkingly fired at and shot a crane, which fell in an adjoining field. The report of his gun brought out a number of natives from the "bush," who, being in continual dread of an attack from the "war-men of the path," imagined it to be a signal of one of these marauders. They were all armed, like their countrymen, with bows and arrows ; and with a threatening aspect, would have lodged a few shafts in the person of my brother, if it had not been for the timely interference of one of our Jénna messengers, that fortunately happened to be with him at the time, and who gave an immediate and satisfactory explanation. The head of the party then sought for and picked up the bird ; but my brother took it from him, after he had rewarded him liberally for his trouble. The man, however, was neither satisfied nor pleased, but roughly demanded the bird as his own, because it had fallen on his land. As there are no game-laws here, my brother would not admit his claim, and was going away, when the fellow begged, with much importunity, that the head and legs of the animal at least might be given him, to make a fetich of. This was likewise

objected to, at which he was out of all patience, and went off foaming with passion. In the evening the crane was dressed for supper, and a similar request was made by a eunuch from Katunga, who being a good-natured fellow, we readily complied with his wish. The chief of *Chāadoo*, however, presently sent a messenger to request the said precious head and legs; and to him they were finally committed by the disappointed eunuch, who could hardly forbear weeping on the occasion: these relics are extremely valuable as a charm.

The chief sent us a goat, a quantity of bananas, a dish of pounded, or rather mashed yam, with gravy, and a large basket of *caffas*. These are a kind of pudding, made into little round balls, from bruised Indian corn, which is first boiled to the consistence of thick paste. From being made entirely of coarse flour and water, they have an insipid taste when new; but when kept for a day or two, they become sour, and in this state are eaten by the natives. There are several deep wells in the town, but most of them are dried up, so that water is exceedingly scarce, and it is sold in the market-place to the inhabitants. We are daily accosted on the road with such salutations as these: "I hope you go well on the path;" "Success to the king's work;" "God bless you, white men;" "A blessing on your return," &c.

Wednesday, April 28th.—We have remained at *Chāadoo* to-day, to give the carriers with the luggage time to come up with us, because they have been unavoidably detained by the roughness and unevenness of the road from *Dūfo* to *Elekba*. The *Katunga* eunuch we alluded to yesterday was recently sent by the king of that place to receive the customary tribute of the governors of the various towns on the road between *Katunga* and *Jénna*. This man is treated

with much respect, both by the governor of Chāadoo and his people, who prostrate themselves to the eunuch before addressing him.

Being in want of money, we sent needles this morning to the market to sell. It is a custom in Yarriba, that, after a buyer has agreed to pay a certain sum for an article, he retracts his expressions, and affirms that he only promised to give about half the sum demanded. This has occasioned violent altercations between our people and the natives; but it is an established custom, from which there is no appeal. The governor's mother was buried this afternoon at a neighbouring village, and the funeral was attended by all his wives or women, as mourners. They were dressed in their holiday attire, and looked tolerably smart. The mourners exhibited no signs of grief whatever; on the contrary, they were as lively as a wedding-party. Attended by a drummer, they passed through our yard four hours ago, on their return to the governor's house, which is only a few steps from ours, and there they have been singing and dancing to the noise of the drum ever since.

The inhabitants of the town have immense quantities of sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry; but bullocks are in the possession of Falàtahs alone. We do not believe the natives have a single animal of this description. Like many other places, the market is not held here till the heat and toil of the day are over; and buyers seldom resort to it till eight o'clock in the evening.

Thursday, April 29th.—It commenced raining this morning at a very early hour, and continued, with uncommon violence, till between ten and eleven o'clock, when it suddenly ceased, and we quitted Chāadoo. Before this, however, the credulous governor, who, in common with his people, imagines that white men

influence the elements, paid us a visit, with a calabash of honey as a present, to thank us, he said, for the rain that had fallen, of which the country is greatly in want, and invoked blessings on us. The kindness of this good old man is remarkable. He never seemed weary of obliging us, regretted his inability to do more, and solicited us very pressingly to remain with him another day.

We traversed a mountainous country, intersected with streams of excellent water ; and at noon entered a small, but pleasant and picturesque village, which is ornamented with noble, shady trees. Here we waited a very short time, but, continuing our route, arrived towards evening at a capacious walled town, called *Row*, wherein we shall pass the night. In many places the wall, if it be deserving the name, is no more than twelve or fourteen inches from the ground, and the moat is of similar dimensions. The yard to which we were conducted shortly after our arrival is within three or four others ; and so intricate are the passages leading to it, that after a stranger gets in, he would be sadly puzzled to find his way out again without a guide. Nevertheless this was no security against interruption, for the yard was speedily invaded by five or six hundred individuals, who had been induced to visit us from curiosity. As usual, they annoyed us for a long time to the best of their ability, till they completely wearied us out by their importunity and forwardness. We then hung sheets round the doorway of our dwelling, and lay down on our mats ; and then only they began to disperse, and left us at our ease.

The governor of the town is a morose, surly, and ill-natured man. He sent us only a few bananas this evening, and a calabash of eggs, which were all stale and unfit to be eaten, so that our people were obliged

to go supperless to bed. He ascribed the badness of his fare to extreme poverty; yet his vanity exacted from our Jénna messengers the most abject method of salutation we are acquainted with. These men walked backwards from him several yards, to throw dirt on their heads; and, with the dust and filth still clinging to their hair, they were compelled to address the chief with their faces to the ground. Our apartment unfortunately communicates with his; and the restless tongues of his numerous wives prevented either my brother or self from closing our eyes long after sunset. In the centre of our yard grows a tree, round which several staves are driven into the ground. This tree is a fetish-tree, and these staves also fetish, and therefore we received a strong injunction not to tie our horses to either of them. Calabashes, common articles of earthenware, and even feathers, egg-shells, and the bones of animals—indeed, any kind of inanimate substance is made fetish by the credulous, stupid natives; and, like the horse-shoe which is still nailed to the doors of the more superstitious of the peasantry in England, these fetishes are supposed to preserve them from ghosts and evil spirits. It is sacrilege to touch them, and to ridicule them would be dangerous.

Friday, April 30th.—It was between seven and eight o'clock before carriers could be procured this morning, and everything got in readiness for our departure: the sun was excessively hot, and the sky brilliantly clear. We crossed two or three rivulets of cool, delicious water, as we had done yesterday, and then passed through an insignificant village, whose chief sent us a calabash of bruised corn, mixed with water, to drink. At noon we arrived at the foot of a very elevated hill, and perceived a town perched on its summit, and knew it to be the same to which

we had been directed. We dismounted, and after a laborious ascent, which occupied us three-quarters of an hour, at length reached the top. Stones and blocks of granite interrupted the path, so that it was a very difficult matter to force the horses along before us; they fell repeatedly, but without materially injuring themselves.

The name of the town is *Chekki*. Our arrival was rather unexpected, and therefore the governor was not prepared to receive us; and we sat down under a tree, till we were tired of waiting. At length a man came to conduct us to his residence, which was but a little way from our tree, when a tumultuous rush was made by the inhabitants to precede us into the yard; and notwithstanding the presence of their chief, they surrounded our party so closely as to prevent a particle of fresh air from reaching us. The governor received us with bluntness, but not unkindly, though without much demonstration of good-will. While in his yard, he regaled us with water, and afterwards sent a large calabash of *foorah*, sweetened with honey, to our lodgings, which did not taste unlike thick gruel, or *burgoo*, as it is termed in Scotland. It is made of a corn called *goorah*, is very palatable, and is in general use with the natives of these parts. A quantity of bananas from the chief soon followed the *foorah*, and something more substantial than either has been promised us.

We have observed that it is a general practice here, as well as in every other town through which we have passed, for children until the age of seven years to go naked, with perhaps a string of cowries tied round the loins, and clumsy bracelets, either of brass or tin, inclosing the wrist. Grown-up people, however, dress somewhat neatly, if not gracefully: the men wear a cap, tobe, and trousers, mostly blue,

and the women wear a large loose cotton cloth, which is thrown over the left shoulder, and comes down mantling below the knee ; the right arm and feet alone are bare.

People of both sexes, hereabouts, are infinitely more grave and serious in their manners than those nearer the coast ; and

“ The loud laugh, that speaks the vacant mind,”

we have not heard these many days.

Saturday, May 1st.—In the cool of the morning we quitted Chekki, and rode on pleasantly, till at the end of four hours we arrived at *Coosoo*, a large and important town. A *Falatah* hamlet stands near it, whose inhabitants subsist by following pastoral occupations alone. They are much esteemed by the *Yarribians*, who behave to them without suspicion or reserve.

A man stole a sword from our people a few minutes after our arrival ; he was pursued to the chief, and asserted that he had found it, as he laid the weapon at his feet. The sword has been restored to us by the governor, but without the slightest allusion being made to the means by which he had obtained it.

A company or *gaffie* of merchants from Hano are at present in the town, who have come thus far on their way to *Gonja*, which is the *Selga* of Cape Coast Castle and Accra. Their merchandise consists chiefly of elephants' teeth, trona, rock salt, and country cloths. This, we are told, is a new route, the road formerly taken being considered unsafe, on account of private broils and disturbances among the natives. The *gaffie* consists of more than four hundred men, but a company of merchants that passed through this town ten days ago amounted to twice that number. Other merchants are also here, and

will leave the town to-morrow, on their way to *Yàoorie*, whither they are destined.

The palm-tree becomes scarce, in proportion as we advance into the country, and consequently the oil is obtained hereabouts only in very small quantities. But nature, ever bountiful, supplies its place with the *mi-cadania*, or butter tree, which yields abundance of a kind of vegetable marrow, pleasant to the taste, and highly esteemed by the natives. It is used for lights and other domestic purposes. The tree from which it is obtained is not much unlike our oak in appearance, and the nut it produces is enveloped in an agreeable pulpy substance. The kernel of this nut is about the size of our chesnut. It is exposed in the sun to dry, after which it is pounded very fine and boiled in water; the oily particles it contains soon float on the surface: when cool, they are skimmed off, and then made into little cakes for use, without any further preparation.

Two individuals appeared before the chief to-day, in consequence of an accusation of theft that had been made against them. The method adopted of proving the guilt or innocence of the parties was by compelling them to swallow the "fetish water."

In the evening we received a fat goat, a basket of *caffas*, a calabash of bananas, a vast quantity of yams, and a bowl of milk, from the governor. He is a sober, kind, and benevolent old man, and generally beloved by his people. To us he is particularly attentive and obliging; he has informed us that the common path to Katunga is unsafe, in consequence of a serious quarrel between the inhabitants of Coosoo and those of a neighbouring town. "Therefore," said he, "I entreat you to remain here with me to-morrow, in order that I may make arrangements to send you by a different road." This intelligence was not very

agreeable to us, but we are convinced of its importance, and shall therefore thankfully accept the chief's offer.

The market, which is held this evening in the town, has an imposing and brilliant appearance, from the immense number of lamps used by the tradespeople.

Our visitors, who continued with us till late in the evening, were innumerable, and the noise of the women's tongues was as loud and disagreeable as ever. For some time nothing could quiet them; threats and entreaties were disregarded or laughed at, till at last we were compelled to resort to the childish expedient of spirting water in their faces from a large syringe. On seeing and feeling the effects of this fearful instrument, they became alarmed, and ran away.

Sunday, May 2d.—The weather last evening was serene and beautiful, but in the night we were visited by a tornado; the lightning gleamed in long and vivid flashes; the thunder echoed among the mountains; and the rain fell in torrents. In the morning it had passed away, and the air was cool and agreeable.

A fetish priest from a neighbouring town came to see us this morning, and was going to treat us with the usual harangue of his profession, but we managed to put a stop to it by bribing him with a few needles. We observed nothing remarkable in the fellow's ornaments or dress, but his person presented a strange and singular appearance. The colour of his skin was like that of whitish brown paper; his eye-lashes and eye-brows were of a silvery whiteness, and his eyes of a bright blue; notwithstanding which, the negro features were strongly and distinctly marked on his countenance. The man's parents were both natives,

and quite black, and we could not ascertain the reason of this extraordinary deviation from the common laws of nature.

We have received an abundance of kindness from the good old chief of this place, and his endeavours to make us comfortable have been imitated by many of the more respectable inhabitants.

There are people here from *Burgoo*, *Nouffie*, *Hàussa*, and many of the interior countries, and the "Queen" of *Nouffie*, it is said, also resides in the town, but this seems to us to be rather questionable.

Monday, May 3d.—The path recommended by the friendly chief of Coosoo lies due east of this town, and we pursued our journey on it this morning by sunrise. Robbers were stated to be lurking about; we conceived it to be prudent, therefore, if not absolutely necessary, to take every precaution for the safety of the mission, and we loaded our own guns and pistols, and armed all our men with swords and muskets. Our *Jéna* messengers being unacquainted with the new route, the governor of Coosoo had furnished us with two armed foot-guides, whose weapons were bows and arrows; besides a horseman, armed at all points, to bring up the rear of the party. With all these warlike preparations and equipments, a few harmless women, who were terrified at our appearance, were the only individuals met with on the path during a ride of two hours, which brought us to a town called *Acboro*. And it was well indeed that its distance from Coosoo is so short; for, being taken ill on the road, I should have been unable to have travelled further to-day. The town itself is very small; but its dilapidated walls, which inclose an immense extent of ground, would lead one to suppose that it was formerly of much greater magnitude. Within the walls are three granite hills, two on one side, and

the other on the opposite side of the town. All their bases are of solid stone, but their summits consist of loose blocks, from the interstices of which trees and stunted vegetation shoot forth. Besides these hills, immense masses of granite rock are seen piled upon each other in different parts. On the whole, Acboro is one of the wildest and most venerable-looking places that the human mind can conceive, the habitations of the people alone lessening that romantic and pleasing effect which a first sight of it produces.

The hut with which we have been accommodated is not the pleasantest nor most comfortable residence in the world; but then we are persuaded that no better can be procured in the town, so we are quite content with it.

Shortly after our arrival, the governor sent us a sucking-pig, and some other presents, and appeared highly pleased that circumstances had thrown us in his way. "White men do nothing but good," said he, "and I will pray that God may bless you, and send more of your countrymen to Yarriba." Instead of the people running and scrambling to see us, as hitherto, the good-natured ruler of this place has excluded the mass of them from visiting our yard, and came very civilly to ask our permission for a few of his friends to look at us. I was too weak and indisposed to gratify their curiosity by rising from my couch; so my brother went out to exhibit his person, and suffered himself to be examined rather minutely. They separated, I believe, tolerably well pleased with each other. Last night a large carving-knife and a shot-belt were stolen from us at Coosoo, whilst we slept; but as it is not very probable that an inhabitant would be so rash as to brave our guns and walk over our bodies, which the thief was obliged to do, we attach suspicion only to one of our own men.

Tuesday, May 4th.—Yesterday three men, inhabitants of Acboro, were captured by a gang of restless, marauding scoundrels, who are denominated here, as elsewhere, “war-men of the path,” but who are, in reality, nothing more nor less than highway robbers. They subsist solely by pillage and rapine, and way-laying their countrymen. The late governor of Acboro was deposed and driven from the town by his own people, for his indifference to their interests, and the wanton cruelty with which he treated them and their children. At different times he seized several individuals of both sexes, and sold them as slaves, without assigning any cause for the act. This drew on him the vengeance of the friends and relatives of the sufferers, who prevailed on their townspeople to arise with them and punish the aggressor. The latter soon found that his party was too weak to withstand the attacks of the exasperated populace, and he fled to a remote village, where he now resides ; and the inhabitants of Acboro immediately elected a more humane and benevolent governor in his stead.

We rose this morning, as usual, at an early hour ; and finding myself sufficiently recovered to ride on horseback, we bade farewell to the governor of Acboro, and quitted the town by sunrise, taking care to use the same precautions against robbers as yesterday. In an hour and three-quarters we entered an open and delightful village, called *Lazipa*. An assemblage of Falàtah huts stood near it, by which their beautiful cattle were grazing. We stopped a short time to admire them. Many of the bullocks were as white as snow ; others were spotted like a leopard’s skin ; and others again were dotted with red and black on a white ground. A Falàtah girl presented us with a bowl of new milk, which was very agreeable

and refreshing ; and, after drinking it, we bade adieu to the Falàtahs and their cattle for ever.

We had not travelled a great way from Lazipa before we had to cross a large morass, on the borders of which a very large and handsome species of water-lily flourishes in great perfection. We crossed this morass without difficulty or trouble, and with the same facility, also, two small streams, which intersected the road. At nine, A.M., we arrived at *Cootoo*, which, like Lazipa, is an open village, but the former is by far the most extensive of the two. A person who may have travelled from Penzance, in Cornwall, to the Land's End, and observed the nature of the soil, and the blocks of granite which are scattered over its surface, will have a very good idea of the country between Acboro and Cootoo, only that here it is much more woody.

After leaving Cootoo, however, the aspect of the surrounding scenery speedily changed, and became infinitely more pleasing. The soil was more rich and deeper ; patches of verdure and cultivated land were more frequent, the latter being neatly fenced ; fine, handsome trees, with their spreading branches and thick foliage, embellished the country in every direction, and extended to the eastern horizon. One would be inclined to suppose that these trees had been carefully planted by the hand of man, for they grew at equal distances from each other, and none seemed to interfere with the order, beauty, and regularity of its neighbour. The soil between them was covered with a soft green turf, which rendered the whole view remarkably pleasant. It was over this delightful landscape that we travelled ; the morning was cooled by a refreshing south-east wind, and we were both on good terms with ourselves, and gratified by everything around us. At length we came in

sight of numerous herds of fine cattle, attended by little boys ; and shortly after, we arrived at a clean and neat Falàtah village, whose inhabitants were employed in feeding calves, and other occupations connected with an African farm. We then crossed a small stream, and entered a town of prodigious extent, called *Bóhoo*, which is fortified with a triple wall and moats. Without being exposed to the customary tiresome formalities, we were immediately conducted to the residence of the governor. The usual conversation passed between us ; and, after we had returned to our hut, a bullock was sent us, with yams, bananas, and a huge calabash of new milk, which did not contain less than six gallons ; and our people sat down to enjoy themselves in perfect good humour.

In the afternoon, a message was delivered to us, signifying that the governor's "head minister" would be very glad to see us, and would thank us to visit him in the course of the day. But having experienced a relapse, my sufferings were such as to prevent my leaving the hut, and my brother was therefore obliged to go alone. He afterwards informed me, that a pleasant walk of rather more than two miles conducted him to the habitation of the minister, by whom he was very kindly received. The compliments of the day only were exchanged between them ; and the numerous wives and large family of the master of the house, who are on these occasions generally exhibited to a stranger, having amply gratified their curiosity by an examination of his person, the interview terminated ; and he presently returned to our abode, after promising to visit the minister again to-morrow. *Bóhoo* lies north-east of Acboro, and is built on the slope of a very gentle and fertile hill, at whose base flows a stream of milk-white water ; and

behind which, on a rising ground, is the Falàtah hamlet already mentioned. Its immense triple wall is little short of twenty miles in circuit ; but, besides huts and gardens, it incloses a vast number of acres of excellent meadow land, on which bullocks, sheep, and goats, indiscriminately feed. By the hasty view obtained of it, the town is not much unlike Kano ; but there is no large swamp like that which intersects the latter city. Bóhoo was formerly the metropolis of Yarriba ; but about half a century ago, the reigning prince preferring the plain at Katunga, the seat of government was transferred there ; since which time Bóhoo has materially declined in wealth, population, and consequence, although it is still considered a place of great importance, and the second town in the kingdom. It is bounded on all sides by hills of gradual ascent, which are prettily wooded, and commands an extensive horizon. The land in the vicinity of the town presents a most inviting appearance, by no means inferior to any part of England in the most favourable season of the year. It seems to be duly appreciated by the Falàtahs, so great a number of whom reside with their flocks in different parts, that the minister candidly declared he could not inform us of their amount. These foreigners sell their milk, butter, and cheese, in the market, at a reasonable rate. The latter is made into little cakes of about an inch square, and, when fried in butter, is very palatable. It is of the consistence and appearance of the white of an egg, boiled hard.

I have been very ill all the evening with fever, accompanied by excruciating pains in the bowels ; but my spirits are cheerful, and I hope soon to recover. We are thankful that we have not been both thus afflicted at the same time. As soon as one of us has in a measure regained his strength, his assistance

has been required to minister to the wants of the other.

Wednesday, May 5th.—Agreeably to the promise my brother made yesterday, he left me to the care of Paskoe and his wife, this morning, and hastened to pay his respects to the chief's head man, or minister, as he is called. It appears that this man has been placed in his present situation by the King of Katunga, as a kind of spy on the actions of the governor, who can do nothing of a public nature without, in the first place, consulting him, and obtaining his consent to the measure. Yet he conducts himself so well in his disagreeable office, that he has won the good-will not only of the governor of the town, but also of its inhabitants. A kind of rivalry exists between the minister and his master; but then it is a rivalry in good, and not in bad actions. Hearing that the governor had given us a bullock, and something besides, he presented my brother with a similar one, and a large calabash of *pitto* (country beer), which he distributed among those who had accompanied him. A bottle of honey completed the list of presents, and they were forthwith forwarded to our habitation, but my brother remained a considerable time afterwards with the chief. He was filled with amazement at the formation and ticking of my brother's watch, which he gazed on and listened to with transport; his spurs also excited his eager curiosity, and he examined them with the minutest attention. He hoped, he said, that God would bless us both, and that we had his best wishes for our safety. He remarked, further, that white men worshipped the Great God alone—and so did black men also; and that every blessing of life was derived from that source.

On my brother's return, I was very ill; I had been

so faint and sick during his absence, that my recovery seemed doubtful, but a few hours afterwards I became better. In the afternoon, I sent to the governor and his minister, who had behaved so handsomely to us, three yards of fine red cloth, a common looking-glass, tobacco-pipe, a pair of scissors, snuff-box, and a large clasp-knife. The tobacco-pipe was much admired, but the red cloth was most valued; with the whole, however, they were both perfectly well pleased, and were extravagant in expressions of gratitude. One of the bullocks was slaughtered this morning, and about two-thirds of it distributed by the governor and his chief man to the poor of the town; the remainder of the carcase was divided equally among our attendants, who are in no hurry to leave the place, while their present unusually good fare is to be had.

Last evening, two female acquaintances, who had been separated from each other for a short time only, met in the yard adjoining ours, wherein one of them constantly resides. The women burst into tears directly they saw each other, and cried loud enough to be heard distinctly by us during the whole of the night; nor did they cease giving vent to their feelings till some time after sunrise this morning.

Thursday, May 6th.—I am now so far improved in health, that I hope by to-morrow to be able to travel on horseback. Perhaps of all evils that can afflict a sick person, noises of any kind are the greatest. In Africa, whether one is ill or well, it is exactly the same, nothing like peace or quiet is anywhere to be found. Independent of the continual fluttering of pigeons, which roost close to our ears, the bleating of sheep and goats, and the barking of numerous half-starved dogs, we are still more seriously

annoyed by the incessant clatter of women's tongues, which pursues us everywhere, and which I really believe nothing less than sickness or death on their part can effectually silence. The shrillness of their voices drowns the bleating of the sheep and the yellings of the canine race; and notwithstanding all my brother's exertions, seconded by those of our people, their noise in this town has constantly disturbed me during my illness. A person in England might be inclined to think lightly of the matter; but it is indeed a grievance which can ill be borne by an invalid languishing under a wasting disease, and who has equally as much need of rest and silence as of medicine. Besides these grievances, the shouts of the people outside the yard, and the perpetual squalling of children within it, the buzzing of beetles and drones, the perpetual attacks of mosquitoes and innumerable flies, form a host of irritating evils, to which a sick person is exposed, and to which he is obliged patiently to submit, until, by a relief from his disorder, he is enabled to stand upon his legs and once more take his own part. But even then noises assail his ears, and he does not enjoy the happiness of perfect silence unless he enters a grove or forest.

We were visited this morning by a party of Falàtahs of both sexes. They differ but little either in colour or feature from the original natives of the soil. In dress and ornaments, however, there is a slight distinction between them. They display more taste in their apparel, and wear a greater number of ornaments round the neck and wrists: they pay greater attention also to their hair, which the women plait with astonishing ingenuity. Like that of the young woman we met at Jénna, their heads exactly resemble a dragoon's helmet. The hair is much

longer, of course, than that of the negro, which enables the Falàtahs to weave it on both sides of the head into a kind of *queue*, which, passing over each cheek, is tied under the chin. Another company of Falàtahs came to us in the evening, for they had never beheld a white man, and curiosity had led them to our habitation. They brought us a present of a little thick milk, which they begged us to accept, and then went away highly gratified with the interview. The behaviour of the whole of them was extremely reserved and respectful; nothing in our persons excited their merriment; on the contrary, they seemed silently to admire our dress and complexion; and having looked well at us from a little distance, seemed grateful for the treat. The kindness and generosity of the governor of Bóhoo continues unabated: instead of diminishing, it seems to strengthen; he literally *inundates* us with milk, and he is equally lavish with other things. It gives us unmixed pleasure to meet with so much native politeness and attention from a quarter where we least expected it, and at a time also when it is most required.

Friday, May 7th.—After we had retired to rest last night, a Falàtah woman came to our dwelling, bringing with her a quantity of eggs of the Guinea-hen, and a large bowl of milk fresh from the cow, as a return for a few needles we had given her in the afternoon. We relate this little circumstance simply to show the difference between the Falàtahs and the Yarribeans, in point of gratitude for favours they may have received. The latter are very seldom thankful, and never acknowledge gratitude as a virtue; the indifference, unconcern, and even contempt, which they often evince on receiving our presents, is a proof of this; and, with very few

exceptions, we never observed a Yarribeian to be sincerely thankful for anything.

In the morning I was able to sit on horseback ; and as we were setting off, the governor came out to wish us farewell, and to present us with two thousand cowries for the purpose of assisting us on our journey. We have said that Bóhoo is about twenty miles in circumference—perhaps we guessed considerably within bounds ; for as we rode out of the city, we were astonished at its vast extent. Two hours after leaving Bóhoo, we passed through an agreeable, thinly inhabited village, called *Maloo* ; and in somewhat less than an hour after, arrived at *Jagūta*, which is a large and compact town, fortified by a neater and more substantially-built wall than any we have yet seen.

Jagūta lies E.S.E. of Bóhoo, from which it is distant, as nearly as we can guess, from twelve to thirteen miles. In the course of the journey we met a party of Nouffie traders from Coulfo, with asses carrying trona for the Gonja market. Among them were two women very neatly clad in their native costume, with clean white tobes outside their other apparel, resembling as nearly as possible the *chemise* of European ladies. These asses were the first beasts we had observed employed in carrying burdens, for hitherto people of both sexes and of all ages, especially women and female children, have performed these laborious duties.

The governor of *Jagūta* came to apologise in the evening for not having attended us the greater part of the day, on the plea that he had been engaged in the country with his people in making a fetich for the prosperity of the king of Katunga. The return of the governor and his procession to the town was announced by a flourish of drums, fifes, &c., with the

usual accompaniments of singing and dancing. The musicians are now performing before him in a yard which is next to ours. It is between ten and eleven P.M. ; and it is likely that our ears will be stunned by a combination of the most barbarous sounds in the world for the remainder of the night. It is well that I am so far recovered as not to care about it, or this abominable din would drive me to distraction. We are daily assured that the path is rendered exceedingly dangerous by banditti : and the governor of this place has been endeavouring, with a good deal of earnestness, to persuade us that our goods will not be respected by them. It will scarcely be believed, however, that this universal dread originates from a few Borgoo desperadoes, who, although only armed with powder and a few broken muskets, can put a whole legion of the timid natives to flight. The inhabitants of the town have been firing repeatedly this evening, to deter this formidable foe from scaling their wall and taking possession of their town.

Saturday, May 8th.—Last night and the preceding one we were visited by thunder-storms, which did not, however, annoy us. The natives, as usual, impute the seasonable weather to our agency alone ; and, in consequence, our arrival at many places has been hailed with transport, as the most fortunate thing that could have happened. It is astonishing to find how extremely partial the rains have been here. In some districts the ground, for this month past, has been literally drenched, while in others, only a few miles distant from them, vegetation has been suffering from a want of water.

Extraordinary preparations were made by the governor of Jagūta, to ensure our safety on the dreaded pathway ; and a horseman, armed with a sword and spear, in company with four foot soldiers,

who were equipped with bows and several huge quivers full of arrows, were in readiness to offer us their protection this morning. The horseman preceded our party, and played off a variety of antics, to our great amusement. He seemed not a little satisfied with himself; he flourished his naked sword over his head; brandished his spear; made his horse curvet, and bound, and gallop alternately; and his dress being extremely grotesque, besides being old and torn, gave him an appearance not unlike that of a bundle of rags flying through the air. But, with all this display of activity and heroism, the man would have fled with terror from his own shadow by moonlight; and we really regretted that a few defenceless women were the only individuals that crossed our path to put his courage to the test, the formidable "war-men" being elsewhere.

Our journey to-day has been vexatiously short, not having exceeded four miles; and it is utterly beyond our power to persuade the superstitious natives, who conform only to their *fetish* in these matters, that the robbers would be afraid to think of attacking white men. The town at which we are now halting is called *Shea*, and is defended by a wall. It possesses a numerous population, if we may be allowed to form an opinion from the vast number of individuals that gathered around us, immediately on our entrance through the gateway. A stranger, however, cannot give anything like a correct estimate of the population of any inhabited place in this part of Africa; for, as he can only judge of it by the number of court-yards a town or village may contain, and as in one court-yard there may be residing at least a hundred people, and in the one next to it perhaps not more than six or seven, the difficulty will be immediately perceived. Generally speaking, the description of

one town in Yarriba would answer for the whole. Cleanliness and order may contribute to the superiority of one place over another, which may likewise have the advantages of a rich soil, a pleasant neighbourhood, and be ornamented with fine spreading and shady trees, but the form of the houses and squares is everywhere the same: irregular and badly-built clay-walls, ragged-looking thatched roofs, and floors of mud polished with cow-dung, form the habitations of the chief part of the natives of Yarriba, compared to most of which a common English barn is a palace. The only difference between the residence of a chief and those of his subjects lies in the number, and not in the superiority of his court-yards; and these are for the most part tenanted by women and slaves, together with flocks of sheep and goats, and abundance of pigs and poultry, mixed together indiscriminately.

Yesterday we crossed two small rivers, and to-day passed over a larger one, which were all flowing from north to south. *Shea* lies four miles E.b.S. of Jagūta. The governor of the town has presented us with a pig, and a quantity of country beer, and we have also received little presents of provisions from a few of the people.

Sunday, May 9th.—We agreed, rather reluctantly, to witness an exhibition of tumbling, &c., this morning, previous to quitting the town, and while we were on horseback. This detained us a little; but as soon as it was over, we were escorted out of the town by beat of drum, preceded by an armed horseman and an unarmed drummer, and continued our journey followed by a multitude of the inhabitants. We passed through a very large walled town called *Esalay*, about six miles from *Shea*; but its wall is dilapidated, and the habitations of the people in ruins, and almost

all deserted. This town, which was not long since well inhabited, has been reduced to its present desolate and miserable state by the protection which its ruler granted to an infamous robber, whose continued assaults on defenceless travellers, and his cruelty to them, at length attracted the notice of the King of Katunga. But, previous to this, the inhabitants of another town, not far off, many of whom had at different times suffered from his bold attacks, called in a number of Borgoo men, who bore no better reputation for honesty than the robber himself, and resolved to attempt the capture of the ruffian in his stronghold, without other assistance. Their efforts, however, were unavailing. The governor, entrenched in his walled town, and supported by his people, sheltered the miscreant, and compelled his enemies to raise the siege. About this time a messenger arrived at Esalay from the King of Katunga, with commands for the governor to deliver up the robber to punishment; but, instead of obeying them, he privately warned the man of his danger, who took immediate advantage of it, and made his escape to Nouffie. The governor was suspected of aiding the escape of the robber; and a second messenger soon after arrived from Katunga, with orders for the guilty chief either to pay a fine to the king of 120,000 cowries, or put a period to his existence by taking poison. Neither of these commands suiting the inclination of the governor of Esalay, he appointed a deputy, and privately fled to the neighbouring town of Shea, there to await the final determination of his enraged sovereign. We saw him at the latter town yesterday, dressed in a fancifully made tobe, on which a great number of Arab characters were stitched. He walked about at perfect liberty, and did not seem to take his condition much to heart. The

inhabitants of Esalay, finding that their ruler had deserted them, that they were threatened by the King of Katunga, and that the Borgoo men, emboldened by the encouragement they received from that monarch, were also lurking about the neighbourhood and ready to do them any mischief, took the alarm, and, imitating the example of their chief, most of them deserted their huts, and scattered themselves among the different towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Very few people now reside at Esalay; and this town, lately so populous and flourishing, is little better than a heap of ruins.

After we had passed through Esalay, we crossed a large morass and three rivers, which intersected the road-way. The croaking from a multitude of frogs which they contained, in addition to the noise of our drum, produced so animating an effect on our carriers, that they ran along with their burdens doubly as quick as they did before. We then arrived at an open village called *Okisabba*, where we halted for two hours under the shadow of a large tree, to allow some of our men, who had been loitering behind, to rejoin us, after which we again set forward, and did not stop till we arrived at the large and handsome walled town of *Atoopa*, which the late Captain Clapperton passed through in the last expedition. During our ride, we observed a range of wooded hills running from N.N.E. to S.S.W.; and passed through a wilderness of stunted trees, which was relieved at intervals by patches of cultivated land; but there is not so much cultivation as one might expect to find near the capital of Yarriba. *Atoopa* is about twenty miles N.b.E. of Shea, the town in which we slept last night.

Monday, May 10th.—Armed guides are no longer considered necessary; and we set out this morning

only with our Badágyry and Jénna messengers and interpreters. On going out of Atoopa, we crossed a river which flowed by the foot of that town, where our carriers overtook us, and we travelled on together. The country through which the path lies is uncommonly fine; it is partially cultivated, abounding in wood and water, and appeared, by the number of villages which is scattered over its surface, to be very populous. As we rode along, a place was pointed out to us where a murder had been committed about seven years ago, on the person of a young man. He fell a victim to a party of Borgoo scoundrels, for refusing to give up his companion to them, a young girl, to whom he was shortly to be married. They, at first, endeavoured to obtain her from him by fair means; but he obstinately refused to accede to their request, and contrived to keep the marauders at bay till the young woman had made her escape, when he, also, ran for his life. He was closely pursued by them; and, pierced by the number of arrows which they shot at him, he at length fell down, and died in the path, after having run more than a mile from the place where the first arrow had struck him. By the care with which this story is treasured up in their memories, and the earnestness and horror with which it is related, we are inclined to believe that, although there is so great a fuss about the Borgoo robbers, and so manifest a dread of them, a murder on the highway is of very rare occurrence. When this crime is perpetrated, the whole nation seems to be terror-struck, and the people rise up in arms, as if a public enemy were devastating their country, and slaughtering its inhabitants without mercy. This is the only instance we have heard of a young man entertaining a strong attachment for a female. Marriage is celebrated by the natives as unconcernedly as

possible : a man thinks as little of taking a wife as of cutting an ear of corn ; affection is altogether out of the question.

A village in ruins, and a small town called *Nàma*, where we halted for a short time, were the only inhabited places we passed through during the day, till our entrance into the town of *Leoguadda*, which is surrounded by a double wall, and in which we intend to pass the night. The governor happened to be in his garden, on our arrival, so that we were completely wearied with waiting for him ; but as he did not make his appearance, we ourselves found out a convenient and comfortable hut ; and, though we were assailed by a volley of abuse from the mouths of half-a-dozen women, we succeeded in sending them away, and we now remain in tranquil possession of our quarters. In the centre of our yard is a circular inclosure without a roof, within which is an alligator, that has been confined there seven years. This voracious animal is fed with rats only, and he generally devours five a day. One of the inhabitants, perceiving that I was rather inquisitive, volunteered to go to a river in the vicinity of the town, and to return in a few minutes with as many young crocodiles as I might wish for ; but, as I had no opportunity of conveying animals of this description through the country, I declined the man's offer. The inhabitants of *Leoguadda*, having probably no vegetable poison, make use of the venom of snakes on the tips of their arrows. The heads of those serpents from which they extract this deadly substance are exposed on sticks, which are thrust into the inside of the thatch of their dwelling as a kind of trophy.

Leoguadda is almost surrounded by rugged hills, formed by loose blocks of granite : these, added to a quantity of tall trees, always green, and growing

within the walls, render the town inconceivably pleasant and romantic. Immense tracts of land are cultivated in the vicinity of the town, with corn, yams, &c.; and abundance of swine, poultry, goats, and sheep, are bred by its inhabitants. Formerly, also, herds of cattle were to be seen in the meadows; but they belonged to Falàtahs, who, we were told, fled from Leoguadda some time since, to join their countrymen at *Alórie*.

Tuesday, May 11th.—We left Leoguadda early in the morning, and about the middle of the forenoon reached a walled town of some extent, called *Eetchó*. The place is of importance, on account of a large weekly market which is held in it. *Eetchó* has recently been more than half consumed by fire, and will not, it is supposed, regain its former condition for some time. Like most large trading towns, it is in as unsettled and filthy a state as can be conceived. This day's journey has been highly agreeable: the path lay through a beautiful country, varied in many places by hills of coarse granite, which are formed of large single blocks, heaped on each other. Trees and shrubs of a beautiful green were growing from their interstices, and almost hid the masses of stone from view.

The governor of *Eetchó* welcomed us to his town very civilly; but his kindness as yet has extended no further; and, although in all probability he is as opulent as most chiefs on the road, yet he did not follow their example in giving us provisions, but left us to procure them ourselves in the best manner we were able. About a stone's throw to the west of the town is the main road to *Borgoo*, *Nouffie*, *Hàussa*, *Yáoorie*, &c., six hours' ride on which would take us out of *Yarriba* into the territories of the King of *Kiáma*. It is a general custom here, when any

stranger of consequence approaches Katunga, to send a messenger before him, for the purpose of informing the king of the circumstance; and, as we are considered in that light, one of our Jénna guides will set out for the above purpose to-morrow; and we are told that we must remain here till Thursday morning for an escort of soldiers, which will be sent to meet us. We have no inclination for the honour, as it would expose us to a thousand little inconveniences; and we, therefore, intend to avoid it, by leaving this place by moonlight.

It will scarcely be believed, that not less than one hundred and sixty governors of towns and villages between this place and the sea-coast, all belonging to Yarriba, have died from natural causes, or have been slain in war, since I was last here; and that, of the inhabited places through which we have passed, not more than a half-dozen chiefs are alive, at this moment, who received and entertained me on my return to Badágyry, three years ago.

Wednesday, May 12th. — We were visited last night by a tornado; and it rained so heavily this morning, that even if we had not been obliged to remain in Eetchó to-day, it would have been next to impossible to have pursued our journey. The celebrated market of this place may be said to commence about mid-day; at which time thousands of buyers and sellers had assembled in a large open space in the heart of the town, presenting the most busy, bustling scene imaginable. To say nothing of the hum and clatter of such a multitude of barbarians, the incessant exertions of a horrid band of native musicians rendered our own voices inaudible. People from Katunga, and other towns of less importance, flocked into Eetchó, to attend the market to-day, which, we are informed, was, nevertheless, not so well

attended as on former occasions; the rain that had fallen, and the alleged danger which besets the path, having prevented many thousands from leaving their own abodes. Country cloth, indigo, provisions, &c., were offered for sale; but we observed nothing in the market deserving particular notice. The town is to be well guarded to-night, for fear of its being attacked whilst we remain in it; and it is given out, that any one found loitering outside the walls after sunset, will be seized without ceremony, and his effects taken from him. A very ungallant custom prevails at Eetchó; which is, that every woman who attends the market for the purpose of selling any article, is obliged to pay a tax of ten cowries to the governor: whilst any individual of the other sex is allowed to enter the town and vend his commodities publicly, without paying any duty whatever.

Thursday, May 13th.—We arose at a very early hour this morning, to undertake the journey to Katinga, which is rather long; and we hoped not only to reach that city before the heat became oppressive, but also to avoid, if possible, the escort which we had little doubt the king would send out to meet us; yet, notwithstanding our most strenuous exertions, it was six o'clock before we were all ready to depart. The air was cooler than we have felt it since landing from the *Clinker*, the thermometer being as low as 71° in the shade. The natives appeared to feel this severity of the weather most keenly; for, though they huddled themselves up in their warmest cotton dresses, they were yet shivering with cold. Hundreds of people, and perhaps if I were to say *thousands* the number would not be overrated, preceded and followed us on the pathway; and, as they wended through thick forests, along narrow roads, their blue and

white clothing, contrasted with the deep green of the ancient trees, produced an eminently pleasing effect. After a hasty ride of two hours, we came in sight of the town of *Eetcholee*, outside of which are numerous trees, and underneath their widely-spreading branches we observed various groups of people seated on the turf, taking refreshment. We joined them, partook of a little corn and water, which is our usual travelling fare, and then renewed our journey in good spirits; but we had not proceeded a great way, when the escort, about which we had been so uneasy, was descried at a distance, and, approaching us at a rapid pace, joined the party in a very few minutes. There was no great reason, after all, for our modesty to be offended, either at the splendour or number of our retinue, for happily it consisted only of a few ragged individuals on foot, and eight on horseback: with the latter was a single drummer; but the former could boast of having in their train men with whistles, drums, and trumpets.

I sounded my bugle; at which the natives were astonished and pleased: but a black trumpeter, jealous of the performance, challenged a contest for the superiority of the respective instruments, which terminated in the entire defeat of the African, who was hooted and laughed at by his companions for his presumption, and gave up the trial in despair. I have read somewhere, that in ancient time there was a contest between a nightingale and a famous musician, whose name I have forgot; and that the melodious bird, despairing to equal the divine strains which were produced by the minstrel, acknowledged his superiority by falling dead at his feet. Now, the disconcerted African did not certainly expire at the moment, but he hung down his head, remained silent, looked extremely silly, and did not venture to put his horn

to his mouth again, till he imagined his companions had either overlooked, or in some measure forgotten, his defeat. Among the instruments used on this memorable occasion was a piece of iron, in shape exactly resembling the bottom of a parlour fire-shovel. It was played on by a thick piece of wood, and produced sounds infinitely less harmonious than "marrow-bones and cleavers."

The leader of our escort was a strange-looking, powerful fellow, and might very well serve the writer of a romance as the hero of his tale, in the character of keeper of an enchanted castle, when fierce, scowling looks, terrific frowns, and a peculiarly wild expression of countenance, are intended to be *naturally* described; for the man's stature was gigantic; his eyes large, keen, piercing, and ever in motion; his broad nose squatted over both cheeks; his lips immensely large, exposing a fine set of teeth; the beard was black, thick, and grisly, and, covering all the lower part of his face, reached to his bosom. The famous Blue Beard was nothing to him; and, in gazing on his features, one would almost be inclined to believe that all the most iniquitous and depraved passions of human nature were centred in his heart. Yet with so unlovely and forbidding an appearance, the man is in reality as innocent and docile as a lamb. He wore on his head a small rush hat, in shape like a common earthenware pan inverted, or like the hats which are worn by the lower class of Chinese. His breast was enveloped in a coarse piece of blue cloth; from his left shoulder hung a large quiver of arrows; and in his right hand he held a bow, which he brandished like a lance; a short pair of trousers covered his thighs, and fantastically-made leathern boots incased his feet and legs. His skin was of jetty blackness; his forehead high; but his

tremendous beard, which was slightly tinged with grey, contributed perhaps more than anything else to impart that wildness and fierceness to his looks, which at first inspired us with a kind of dread of our leader.

Thus escorted, we travelled onwards; and, after a hasty ride of six hours from Eetchó, beheld, from a little eminence, those black, naked hills of granite, at whose base lies the metropolis of Yarriba. About an hour afterwards, we entered the gates of that extensive city. As is the custom, we stayed under a tree, just inside the walls, till the king and his eunuchs were informed of our arrival; which having been done, after a wearisome delay, we rode to the residence of *Ebo*, the chief eunuch, who, next to the king, is the most influential man in the place. We found this personage—a “great, fat, round, oily man”—airing himself under the verandah of his dwelling. Other eunuchs, of similar appearance, were sitting on the ground with him, and joined him in welcoming both of us (but myself more especially) to Katunga, with every appearance of sincerity, heartiness, and goodwill. A conversation, not sufficiently interesting or important to relate, here took place: it lasted a long time; and we then walked all together to the king's house, which is at the distance of half a mile from that of *Ebo*.

CHAPTER IV.

Katunga—Mansolah, King of Katunga—Precautions to avoid detention by the King—Apathy of the natives—Markets of Katunga—Delayed by neighbouring war—Custom relating to presents—Reserve of the people concerning their country—Their general character—Progress of the Falàtaba—Preparations for departure by a new route—Farewell visit to the King.

INFORMATION of our coming had been previously sent to the monarch, and we waited with much patience for a considerable period till he had put on his robes of state. Meantime, to amuse us and beguile the hour away, the head drummer and his assistants, with the most benevolent intention, commenced a concert of the most bewitching melody; and long drums, kettle drums, and horns, were played, with little intermission, till Mansolah made his appearance, when all noises were suddenly hushed, and we were desired to draw nearer to pay our respects to his majesty. We did so after the English manner, much to the entertainment and diversion of the king, who endeavoured to imitate us; but it was easy to perceive that he is but a novice in the European mode of salutation, bowing and shaking hands. We have no doubt that it was owing to the rusticity and awkwardness of our address, that Mansolah's risible faculties were so strongly excited; for he laughed so long and heartily, and his wives, and eunuchs, and subjects of all sorts, joined him with such good-will, and such power of lungs, that we were constrained to unite our voices to the general burst of kindly feeling, although, if we had been asked the cause of such jollity and obstreperous mirth, we should have been at a loss for an answer.

Mansolah's headpiece was something like a bishop's

mitre, profusely ornamented with strings of coral, one of which answered the purpose of a ribbon, for it was tied under the chin to prevent the cap from being blown off. His robe was of green silk, crimson silk damask, and green silk velvet, which were all sewn together like pieces of patchwork. He wore English cotton stockings, and neat leathern sandals of native workmanship. A large piece of superfine light-blue cloth, given the chief by the late Captain Clapperton, he used for a carpet. The eunuchs and other individuals who were present at the interview prostrated themselves before their prince, agreeably to the custom of the country, and rubbed their heads with earth two separate times, retreating at some distance to perform this humiliating and degrading ceremony, and then drawing near the royal person, to lie again with their faces in the dust. They saluted the ground also near which he was sitting, by kissing it fervently and repeatedly, and by placing each cheek on it. Then, and not till then, with their heads, and faces, and lips, and breasts, stained with the damp red soil which still clung to them, they were allowed to seat themselves near their monarch, and to join in the conversation. Two or three of the inferior eunuchs, not satisfied with this servile prostration, began to sport and roll themselves about on the ground; but this could not be effected without immense labour and difficulty, and panting and straining, for, like Sir John Falstaff, they could be compared to nothing so appropriately as huge hills of flesh. There they lay wallowing in the mire, like immense turtles floundering in the sea, till Ebo desired them to rise. We observed, among the individuals present, a very considerable number of bald-headed old men; their hair, or rather wool, having most likely been rubbed off by repeated applications of earth, sand, gravel,

filth, or whatever else may be at hand, when the prince happens to make his appearance.

The conference having ended, a kid, a calabash of *caffas*, and two thousand cowries in money, were presented to us; and cheered by a flourish of music, we laughed in concert and shook hands with the king, and walked away towards our own dwelling, which had been repaired and thoroughly cleaned out for our sole use. Here we lay down to repose our aching limbs. In the evening the king returned our visit, and immediately took a fancy to my brother's bugle-horn, which was readily given him. He was vastly pleased with the present, and by smiles and words returned us many thanks for it; said that he was quite delighted, and that it made his heart glad to see us; hoped we should make ourselves comfortable whilst we remained in Katunga; shook hands; made a bow, and, "smiling in heart and soul content," the sovereign departed, followed by a suite of wives, eunuchs, and other attendants. The premises we occupy are the property of Ebo, who has, we believe, done everything in his power to render our stay as agreeable as possible; they were formerly occupied by Captain Clapperton. The yard adjoins his own, with which it communicates by a door-way without a door; so that it will enable us to have frequent opportunities of seeing his numerous unhappy wives, and a number of little boys and girls, who are his personal attendants. The eunuch has given us a very fat sheep as a further token of his good-will.

Friday, May 14th.—Accompanied by Ebo, and the other unwieldy eunuchs, my brother took a present to the king this morning, which was pretty well received; Mansolah, out of compliment, I suppose, remarking that if we had not brought with us the value of a single cowry, we should have been favour-

ably received at Katunga, and well entertained at his own cost. We had previously sounded our friend Ebo on the subject of our journey to the Niger, but he strongly advised us by no means even to hint such an intention to the king, whose suspicions, he assured us, would immediately take the alarm, so that, instead of being forwarded on our way thither, we should either be detained in the town for an indefinite time, or sent back again to the coast. We therefore conceived it prudent to give him the following statement only:—
“That the King of England, anxious to procure the restoration of certain papers which belonged to a countryman of ours, who perished at Boosà, about twenty years ago, which papers were supposed to be in the possession of the Sultan of Yàoorie, we had been despatched hither by our sovereign, in the hope that the King of Katunga would forward us to the latter state, for the purpose of obtaining them from the Sultan of Yàoorie, and taking them back with us to England.”
Mansolah displayed neither eager curiosity as to our object in coming to his country, nor surprise when we had informed him of it; but very promptly observed that in two days’ time he would send a messenger to Kiàma, Wouwou, Boossà, and Yàoorie, to acquaint the rulers of those provinces of our intention to pay them a visit; and that on the man’s return we should have his permission to depart. This was promised after my brother’s repeated solicitations and importunities that we should not be detained here longer than necessary, because in a very short time the violent rains will render the road to those countries impassable; and in consequence we shall be unable to travel till the return of the dry season.

It has been expressly and repeatedly told us, that the monarch of this empire is brother to the King of Benin; but, notwithstanding this near relationship of

the two sovereigns, not the slightest intercourse or communication is maintained between Yarriba and that power: so at least the inhabitants of this place have informed us; and the reason they ascribe for it is, that the distance between the countries is too great. Friends and acquaintances are oftentimes called brothers in Yarriba; and to make a distinction in the above instance, they assert that Mansolah and the king of Benin "were of one father, and one mother." We interrogated Ebo on the subject, but he soon silenced our remarks by observing that we were too inquisitive, or, to use his own words, "that we talked too much." We intend, after leaving Yàoorie, to proceed direct to Guàrie, the prince of which country will, no doubt, send us to Funda, from whence we must endeavour to discover the termination of the Niger, agreeably to our written instructions.

Saturday, May 15th.—Instead of the jarring noise of women's tongues, which has annoyed and followed us at every stage of our journey from Badágyry, we at length enjoy as much of composure and tranquillity as we can well desire; for Ebo's wives residing at some distance from the part of our yard which we occupy, the shrill sounds of their voices are pleasant, contrasted with the former loud, discordant, and perpetual din which rang in our ears from morning till night. Our male visitors, likewise, are few and select, and do not remain with us any very considerable time together. An order has been issued by the king, that if any impertinent individual troubles us at any time with his company when it is not desired, Ebo is at liberty to behead him; and no one shall have the effrontery, says Mansolah, to tax the eunuch with injustice or cruelty in the performance of his duties. This proclamation, if it may so be termed,

has had the desired effect ; for, dreading the even-handed Ebo, who is public executioner as well as chief eunuch, the inhabitants of Katunga have hitherto repressed their curiosity, and have confined themselves to their own abodes.

We have received a present of a sheep to-day from the "master of the horse," an elderly person that possesses some influence over his master ; but although his pompous title would lead one to infer that his lofty situation is highly responsible and important, a few rough, ragged-looking ponies are the only "horse" of which he has the superintendence.

All seems quiet and peaceable in this large, dull city ; and one cannot help feeling rather melancholy, in wandering through streets almost deserted, and over a vast extent of fertile land, on which there is no human habitation, and scarcely a living thing to animate or cheer the prevailing solemnity. The walls of the town have been suffered to fall into decay ; and are now no better than a heap of dust and ruins ; and such unconcern and apathy pervade the minds of the monarch and his ministry, that the wandering and ambitious Falàtah has penetrated into the very heart of the country, made himself master of two of its most important and flourishing towns, with little, if any, opposition ; and is gradually, but very perceptibly, gaining on the lukewarm natives of the soil, and sapping the foundations of the throne of Yarriba. The people cannot, surely, be fully aware of their own danger, or they never could be unconcerned spectators of events which are rapidly tending to root out their religion, customs, and institutions, and totally annihilate them as a nation. But since they have neither foresight, nor wisdom, nor resolution, to put themselves in a posture of defence, and make at least a *show* of resistance, when danger, real

or imaginary, menaces them; since neither the love of country, which stimulates almost all nations to heroic achievements in defence of their just and natural rights, and all that is truly dear to them in the world; and since neither affection for their defenceless wives and unprotected offspring, nor love of self, can awaken a single spark of courage or patriotism in their bosoms, can scare away that demon sloth from among them, or induce them to make a solitary exertion to save themselves and posterity from a foreign yoke; why then, they are surely unworthy to be called a people; they deserve to be deprived of their effects, children, and personal liberty, to have their habitual sloth and listlessness converted into labour and usefulness, in tilling, improving, and beautifying for strangers that soil which they have neither spirit nor inclination to cultivate for themselves.

A market is held daily in different parts of Katunga, but twice in the week it is much larger and better attended than on either of the other days. I visited one of the latter this morning, which is styled the "Queen's market;" but as it is shifted to another place towards evening, it is then called the "King's market." The sellers were by far more numerous than the buyers; and, on the whole, the articles exposed for sale by no means realised the expectations which we had formed of them. Among them we observed three or four different kinds of corn, beans, peas, and vegetables in abundance, the micadania butter, ground or guinea nuts, country cotton cloths, indigo, red clay, salt, and different varieties of pepper; besides trona, snuff and tobacco, knives, barbs, hooks, and needles, the latter of the rudest native manufacture. There were also finger-rings of tin and lead, and iron bracelets and armlets, old shells, old bones,

and other venerable things, which European anti-
quaries would gaze on with rapture ; besides native
soap, little cakes of cheese and butter, an English
common blue plate, a great variety of beads, both
of native and European manufacture, among the
former of which we recognised the famous *Agra*
bead, which at Cape-Coast Castle, Accra, and other
places, is sold for its weight in gold, and which has
vainly been attempted to be imitated by the Italians
and our own countrymen. Provisions also were
offered for sale in abundance ; and besides beef and
mutton, which were made up into little round balls
weighing about an ounce and three quarters each,
and presented not the most delicate or tempting
appearance, we observed an immense quantity of
rats, mice, and lizards, dressed and undressed, all
having their skins on, and arranged in rows.

I met with and purchased a very curious and
singular kind of stone in the market. The natives
informed us that it was dug from the earth, in a
country called *Iffie*, which is stated to be "four
moons" journey from Katunga, where, according to
their tradition, their first parents were created, and
from whence all Africa has been peopled. Ignorant
of mineralogy, as I am of most other sciences, I am
unacquainted with the nature and properties of the
stone alluded to, and therefore I grieve to say I am
incapable of giving a scientific description of it. It
consists of a variety of little transparent stones,
white, green, and every shade of blue, all imbedded
in a species of clayey earth, resembling rough
mosaic-work.

On my return from this visit, and since writing
the first part of to-day's journal, Ebo came to us
with the news that a body of Falàtahs from Socatoo
had arrived at the *Moussa*, which is a river dividing

Yarriba from Borgoo, and that they had attacked a town on its borders, through which our route lies. "Therefore," continued Ebo, "the Yàoorie messenger will of necessity be compelled to wait here till authentic intelligence be received of the truth or falsehood of the rumour, before he sets out on his mission to Kiáma;—this will take three days, at the end of which the fact will certainly transpire, and the man will immediately be despatched on his errand."

It appears to us not a little strange that, the day after our arrival here, the Falàtahs should so opportunely attempt the seizure of a town, through which we are to pass; and that information of the approach of an enemy so greatly dreaded should not have reached this place at an earlier period, when news of no moment whatever flies through the country with the swiftness of an arrow from a bow. We imagine that it is only a feint of Mansolah to detain us here longer than we desire, and until the rains shall have rendered the road impracticable. It is possible that we may be unjust in our suspicion, but many circumstances appear to confirm it.

Sunday, May 16th.—As it is the Sabbath, we have confined ourselves to-day within doors, in order to employ it in the most proper manner that circumstances permit. Ebo has visited us, under various pretences, several times since morning; and has had the door-way which leads to the women's apartments closed up with mortar, alleging as a reason, that he was convinced the curiosity of his women was troublesome to us. But the truth of the matter is, that he has been induced to block up the communication from the yard, under an apprehension that our attendants might interfere with his domestic arrangements, by prying into the secrets of his seraglio. We

have likewise been favoured with the company of several Hàussa mallams, who, notwithstanding the irksome restraint to which they are subjected by the jealousy of the king and his people, are content to remain so far from their native country, and reside among strangers and pagans as long as they live. Whether the priests have taken this step purely from religious motives, or, which is the more likely reason of the two, that they have exiled themselves from their home and families for the mere purpose of being enriched at the expense of the credulity and ignorance of the inhabitants, we have been unable to discover. At all events, the intentions of these missionaries are effectually concealed under a cloak of piety and devotion; and thus they are tolerated by the common consent of the monarch and his subjects. It rained incessantly for several hours this morning.

Monday, May 17th.—Besides presents to the king and his chief eunuch, it is expected that something will be given to three “head men,” as they are styled, who advise with the prince, and lead his soldiers to battle. Previous to visiting their habitations for this purpose, Ebo informed me that it was necessary to carry the intended presents for the inspection of his master, that nothing might be given them but such articles as would obtain his approbation and consent. This was accordingly done, and Mansolah saw nothing objectionable in the goods which we have selected. As evening drew near, I rode to the residence of the head men, by each of whom I was well received; and they accepted their presents with abundance of thanks. Their huts were larger and more carefully built, and their yards more commodious than even those of the king; all kept in excellent order, clean, and neat. The head men are in much more

affluent circumstances than their neighbours ; they have numerous wives, and large flocks of sheep and goats, in which the wealth of the natives principally consists. A goat and two large pots of country beer were laid at my feet ; and after expressing my acknowledgments, I returned home.

We are of opinion that it would require a long residence in this country, and a perfect acquaintance with its language, to enable a foreigner to form a correct judgment of its laws, manners, customs, and institutions, as well as its religion and the form and nature of its government. So innumerable are the mistakes which the smattering of ignorant native interpreters never fails to occasion, that we despair of getting much accurate information on any of these heads. We can only answer for what we *see*. Perhaps few despots sully their dignity by condescending to consult the inclination of their subjects, in personally communicating to them their most private as well as public concerns. Yet the sovereign of Yarriba appears to be so obliging, as to make this a common practice. In return, however, the people are expected and compelled to satisfy the curiosity of their prince, by adopting a similar line of conduct towards him ; and all the presents they receive from strangers, how trifling soever they may be, are in every instance taken to his residence for inspection. Everything, indeed, that relates to their personal interests, and all their domestic concerns, he listens to with the most patriarchal gravity. Thus, our present to the king has been exhibited to his people two or three times ; Ebo's also, and those of the head men, have been shown to them as well as to their sovereign. The common people were all anxious to know whether, among the other things they had received, we had given the king or his ministers any

coral; and their curiosity was immediately gratified without hesitation or remark. If a stranger, from a remote part of the empire, wishes to visit Katunga, in order to pay his respects to his sovereign, the chief or governor of every town through which he may happen to pass is obliged to furnish him with any number of carriers he may require; and in this manner his goods are conveyed from village to village, until he arrives at the capital. A similar indulgence is likewise extended to any governor who may have the like object in view.

The most laughable mistakes are frequently made here, by one of our Badágrian messengers, who acts also as interpreter, as regards the gender and relationship of individuals, such as father for mother, son for daughter, boy for girl, and *vice versá*. He informed us to-day, that a brother of his, who was the friend of Ebo, and resided with him, begged our permission to come to see us. Of course we expected to see a gentleman of some consequence enter our yard; but to our surprise, the *brother* proved to be an old shrivelled woman, neither more nor less than one of the eunuch's wives.

Tuesday, May 18th.—About three years ago, Adooley, the Badágrian chief, despatched a messenger with a valuable present to the king of Katunga, requesting the latter to forward him on his journey to Benin, as he had some little business to transact with the sovereign of that state. The man, however, purloining for his own use the principal part of the articles entrusted to him, delivered a bottle of rum only to Mansolah with a false message; and, instead of proceeding on his errand, took up his abode in one of the towns between this city and Badágrý. Adooley wondered at the silence and extraordinary delay of his messenger, and sent a man in our train to the

king, to ascertain what was become of him. The preceding answer has been returned, with the addition that Mansolah had made the man a present of fifteen sheep, and distinguished him in a very particular manner. Every one here appears uneasy at the very mention of Benin; and though we have endeavoured by various indirect means to ascertain the number of days it would take a person to travel thither from Katunga, evasive or equivocating answers are the utmost we can obtain; one of the people asserting that the journey might easily be accomplished in twelve days, and another declaring, a moment afterwards, that it would occupy a period of not less than four months. As to the reason of all this jealous apprehension, we have not been able exactly to make up our minds. These particular evasions might be considered as a punishment which the Yarribeans thought fit to inflict upon strangers when they evince more than usual curiosity for information respecting a rival and detested power. But, in truth, nothing seems to be a greater grievance to the natives than the answering of any questions which are put to them, be they never so familiar and unimportant. They dislike, nay abhor to do it; and instead of satisfying the inquirer, they study to mislead him by falsehood or misrepresentation. This strange aversion is entertained by the prince as well as by the meanest of his subjects; but rather than offend us, when we are unconsciously over-inquisitive about any little matter, Ebo answers for his monarch and companions by shaking his head, and saying, "Ask no questions."

Katunga has by no means answered the expectations we had been led to form of it, either as regards its prosperity, or the number of its inhabitants. The vast plain also on which it stands, although

exceedingly fine, yields in verdure and fertility, and simple beauty of appearance, to the delightful country surrounding the less celebrated city of Bohoo. Its market is tolerably well supplied with provisions, which are, however, exceedingly dear; insomuch, that, with the exception of disgusting insects, reptiles, and vermin, the lower classes of the people are almost unacquainted with the taste of animal food.

Owing to the short time we have been in the country, which has been employed chiefly in traveling from town to town, the manners of the people have not sufficiently unfolded themselves to our observation; so that we are unable to speak of them with confidence: yet the few opportunities we have had of studying their characters and dispositions induce us to believe that they are a simple, honest, inoffensive, but weak, timid, and cowardly race. They seem to have no social tenderness, very few of those amiable private virtues which would win our affection, and none of those public qualities that claim respect or command admiration. The love of country is not strong enough in their bosoms to excite them to defend it against the irregular incursions of a despicable foe; and of the active energy, noble sentiments, and contempt of danger which distinguish the North American tribes, and other savages, no traces are to be found among this slothful people. Regardless of the past, as reckless of the future, the present alone influences their actions. In this respect they approach nearer to the nature of the brute creation, than perhaps any other people on the face of the globe. Though the bare mention of an enemy makes the pusillanimous Mansolah and his unwarlike subjects tremble in every limb, they take no measures to prevent whole bands of strangers from locating in

the finest provinces of the empire, much less do they think of expelling them after they have made those provinces their own. To this unpardonable indifference to the public interest, and neglect of all the rules of prudence and common sense, is owing the progress which the Falàtahs have made in gaining over to themselves a powerful party, consisting of individuals from various nations in the interior, who had emigrated to this country; and the great and uniform success which has attended all their ambitious projects. They are now effectually and firmly seated in the very centre of the kingdom; they have entrenched themselves in strong walled towns, and have recently forced from Mansolah a declaration of their independence; whilst this negligent and imbecile monarch beholds them gnawing away the very sinews of his strength, without making the slightest exertion to apply a remedy to the evil, or prevent their future aggrandisement. Besides *Ráka*, which is peopled wholly by Falàtahs, who have strengthened it amazingly, and rendered it exceedingly populous, another town of prodigious size has lately sprung into being, which already far surpasses Katunga in wealth, population, and extent. It was at first resorted to by a party of Falàtahs, who named it *Alórie*, and encouraged all the slaves in the country to flee from the oppression of their masters, and join their standard. They reminded the slaves of the constraint under which they laboured, and tempted them by an offer of freedom and protection, and other promises of the most extravagant nature, to declare themselves independent of Yarriba. Accordingly, the discontented many miles round eagerly flocked to *Alórie* in considerable numbers, where they were well received. This took place as far back as forty years, since which other Falàtahs have joined their countrymen from

Socattoo and *Rabba*; and notwithstanding the wars (if mutual kidnapping deserves the name) in which they have been engaged in the support and maintenance of their cause, *Alórie* is become by far the largest and most flourishing city in *Yarriba*; not even excepting the capital itself. It is said to be two days' journey—that is, forty or fifty miles—in circumference, and to be fortified by a strong clay wall with moats. The inhabitants have now vast herds and flocks, and upwards of three thousand horses; which last will appear a very considerable number, when it is considered that *Katunga* does not contain more than as many hundreds. The population of *Alórie* has never been estimated, but it must be immense; lately it has been declared independent of *Yarriba*; and its inhabitants are permitted to trade with the natives of the country, on condition that no more *Falàtahs* be suffered to enter its walls. It is governed by twelve rulers, each of a different nation, and all of equal power; the *Falàtah* chief not having more influence or greater sway than the others. *Raka* is but one day's journey north-east of *Katunga*; and *Alórie* three days' journey to the south-west. The party of *Falàtahs* which was reported to have taken possession of a *Yarriba* town on the banks of the *Moussa*, are said to have abandoned it, and to have joined their countrymen at *Raka*. This intelligence has been brought hither by market-people, no one having been sent by the king to ascertain the number of the adventurers, or the object of their visit.

Wednesday, May 19th.—The king has sent us nothing since the day of our arrival; and the present then given was disgraceful in the extreme, as coming from the monarch of a large and mighty kingdom. His treatment of the late Captain Clapperton was altogether the reverse of this. A bullock was sent

him immediately after the first interview, and a live goat, or something equivalent, every day till his departure, which included a period little short of seven weeks. Nor, in other respects, has the conduct of Mansolah been such as to give us pleasure; but we can no otherwise account for this, than by supposing our present to have fallen far short of his expectations, and so failed to awaken those good-natured qualities which were displayed at sight of the infinitely more valuable, as well as showy one of Captain Clapperton. But whatever may be the reason of it, certain it is that Mansolah and his subjects have seen quite enough of white men; and that the rapturous exultation which glowed in the cheeks of the first European that visited this country, on being gazed at, admired, caressed, and almost worshipped as a god, joined to the delightful consciousness of his own immeasurable superiority, will, in the present age at least, never be experienced by any other. Alas! what a misfortune! The eager curiosity of the natives has been glutted by satiety; a European is shamefully considered no more than a man! and hereafter, without doubt, he will be treated entirely as such; so that, on coming to this city, he must make up his mind to sigh a bitter farewell to goat's flesh and mutton, and familiarise his palate to greater delicacies, such as lizards, rats, and locusts, caterpillars, and other dainties, which the natives roast, grill, bake and boil, and which he may wash down, if he pleases, with draughts of milk-white water—the only beverage it will be in his power to obtain.

I was desired by a messenger this morning to visit the king at his residence, and, on my arrival there, found a great number of people assembled together. The object of this summons was explained by Ebo,

who said I had been sent for to see that the present he (the eunuch) had received should be shown to the people without any reservation whatever. It was accordingly spread out on the floor, together with the king's. Even a bit of English brown soap, which we had just before given to Ebo, was exhibited along with the other things; for so great a degree of jealousy exists among the eunuchs and others, arising from the apprehension that one might have received more than another, that Ebo himself, powerful as he is, would dread the effects of it on his own person, should he be found to have concealed a single thing. They all, in fact, endeavour to disarm censure by an appearance of openness and sincerity.

Thursday, May 20th.—Last night, to our infinite surprise and pleasure, Ebo entered our yard in a great hurry, with the agreeable information that the king had consented to our departure on Friday morning, and that he would wish us to get our things in readiness by that time. So confident had we been that we should be unable to start hence for a month to come, at the shortest, that we not only sowed cress and onion seed the day after our arrival (which are already springing up), but had actually made up our minds to abide here during the continuance of the rains. But now we are in hope of reaching Yáoorie in twelve or fourteen days; and intend to remain in that city a short time, before proceeding farther into the interior. The only drawback to our pleasure is the misfortune of having all our horses sick, which may seriously inconvenience us in our progress.

The old route to Kiáma is considered so dangerous, that it is understood we are to be sent back to *Atoopa*, which is two long days' journey from this city, and thence proceed on a safer path. Although we now

require but five men, besides our own, to carry the luggage, the king scruples and hesitates to supply us even with these, and the youngest of our Jénna messengers has been nominated to fill the place of one of them. We are told that it is on account of the vast number of people that have emigrated from Katunga to Ràka and Alòrie, that a sufficient number of carriers cannot be procured for us ; but in so large a place as this, where two-thirds of the population are slaves, this reason seems quite ridiculous, and we suspect the real one is the same original sin—the humble character of our present. The king, however, has promised to take his farewell of us to-morrow morning ; and, thank God ! our health is so far established that we hope soon to accomplish the object of our undertaking, and return in safety to Old England.

Friday, May 21st.—Instead of a visit from the king, which we were yesterday told he was to honour us with, we were requested this morning to repair to his residence. Accordingly, having first saddled our horses and packed up the luggage, between six and seven o'clock, A.M., we walked together to the royal premises. On our arrival, we were introduced, without any ceremony, into a private yard, wherein the king had been patiently waiting our coming for some time previously. He was rather plainly dressed in the costume of the country, namely, a tobe, trousers, and sandals, with a cap very much resembling in shape those which were worn by elderly ladies in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and which are still retained by some in the more remote parts of England. On his right the eunuchs were reposing their huge limbs on the ground, with several of the elders of the people ; and his left was graced by a circle of his young wives, behind whom sat the widows of more than one of his predecessors, many of whom appeared

aged. A performer on a whistle was the only musician present, so that during a very long interview a little whistling now and then was the only amusement which the prince could afford us. A good deal of discussion ensued, and much serious whispering between the monarch and his wives, in the course of which both parties quitted the yard two or three times to hold a private conference, followed by the eunuchs, with their hands clasped on their breasts. Mansolah at length scraped together two thousand cowries (about three shillings and sixpence of our money), which he presented to the four men that had accompanied us from Badágyry and Jénna as messengers, guides, &c., to enable them to purchase provisions on their journey homeward. This sum had been collected from among the king's wives, each having contributed a portion, because their lord and master did not happen to be in a liberal mood. Poor souls! they possess scarcely the shadow of royalty, much less the substance;—the exterior forms of respect which they receive from the male portion of the people alone distinguishing them from their less illustrious countrywomen. They are compelled to work in order to provide themselves food and clothing, and besides which, part of the earnings is applied to the king's use. To effect these objects, they are necessitated to make long and painful journeys to distant parts of the empire, for the purpose of trading. They have, however, the privilege of travelling from town to town without being subjected to the usual duty, and can command the use of the governor's house wherever they go. The boasted industry of ancient queens and princesses, in more classic regions, sinks into nothing when compared to the laborious life which is led by the female branch of the royal family of Yarriba.

Mansolah, after some time, beckoned to us to draw near him, for we were sitting at some distance on a bundle of sticks, and, with a most benevolent smile playing upon his wrinkled features, he slowly, and with great solemnity, placed a goora-nut in the right hand of each of us, and then asked our names. "Richard and John," we replied. "Richard-ee and John-ee," said the king, for he was unable to pronounce our Christian names, without affixing a vowel to the end of them, "you may now sit down again." We did so, and remained in that posture till we were both completely wearied, when we desired Ebo to ask the king's permission for us to go home to breakfast, which was granted without reluctance. So, having shaken hands heartily with the good old man, and wished him a very long and happy reign, we bade him farewell for the last time, bowed to the ladies, and returned with all haste to our hut.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Katunga—Difficulties with the Carriers—Musicians of Atoopa—Town of Keeshee—Curiosity of the Natives—The Falàtah town of Acba—Character of its Inhabitants—The Governor of Keeshee and his Wife—Their Superstition—Leave Keeshee—Robbers—Cross the Moussa—Change in the Country—Escort from the King of Kiáma—Arrival in that City.

CONSIDERABLE time elapsed before the carriers were ready to take up their loads, and much murmuring was occasioned by their size and weight. We then left the city, and returned to *Eetcho* by the way we had come. One of our horses became so weak on the road, that he was unable to carry his rider (old Pascoe), so that we were obliged to drive him along before us, which was a tiresome and unpleasant occu-

pation. The journey from Katunga is long, and, owing to the ruggedness of the path, is very fatiguing; and, as we were much in advance of the remainder of the party, we halted at Eetcholee until they joined us. Here we let our horses graze, partook of some beer and other refreshment; and sat down on the turf to enjoy ourselves, for the day had been sultry and the heat oppressive, and our whole party were nearly exhausted.

Saturday, May 22nd.—The Katunga carriers all complained of pains in their limbs this morning; and on reaching *Leoguadda*, which lies midway between Eetcho and Atoopa, they placed their burdens on the ground, and, to a man, stoutly refused to take them any farther till to-morrow. Our own men, also, who were still more heavily laden than they, had suffered so much from the long and irksome journey of yesterday, particularly Jowdie, who is the strongest and most athletic of them all, that we greatly feared they would have been taken seriously ill on the road. We therefore lightened their burdens, and distributed a portion of what we had taken out of them, into the boxes, &c., of their already over-laden Katunga associates, without, however, permitting the latter to know anything of the circumstance. Among the carriers was a very little man, called *Gazherie* (small man), on account of his diminutive stature: he was, notwithstanding, very muscular, and possessed uncommon strength, activity, and vigour of body, and bore a package containing our tent, &c., which, though very heavy, was yet by far the lightest load of the whole. Conceiving that corporal strength, rather than bulk or height, should, in this case, be taken into account, a bag of shot, weighing 28lbs., was extracted from Jowdie's burden, and clandestinely added to his. The little man trudged along

merrily, without dreaming of the fraud that had been practised on him, till we arrived within a short distance of Leoguadda, when, imagining that one end of the tent felt much heavier than the other, he was induced to take it from his head, and presently discovered the cheat; for the bag having been thrust simply inside the covering, it could be seen without unlacing the package. He was much enraged at being thus deceived, and called his companions around him to witness the fact, and said he was resolved to proceed no farther than Leoguadda. He then succeeded in persuading them to follow his example; and thus a kind of combination was instantly formed against us.

As is usual with us on entering a village, we rested a little while under a shady tree in Leoguadda; and here we were presently surrounded by the murmuring carriers, with the little man at their head. They were furious at first, and gave us to understand that they would go no farther, and were determined, let the consequence be what it might, to remain in the town all night. Leoguadda contained no accommodations whatever for us; a storm seemed to be gathering over our heads; and Atoopa was the town in which the King of Katunga had advised us to spend the night. We resolved, therefore, to go on to that town, and strenuously endeavoured, by gentle means, to bring over the carriers to our views; but these failing, we resorted to their own mode of argument, namely, fierce looks, violent action, vociferous bawling, and expressive gesture; which intimidated them so much, that they snatched up their burdens without saying a word, and ran away with alacrity and good humour. These carriers are to accompany us as far as the frontier town of the kingdom.

It is market-day at Atoopa, and, at a distance of some miles from the town, the hum of human voices

could be distinctly heard. Just after our arrival, a man of note, who is a public singer and dancer, stood before the door of our hut to entertain us with a specimen of his abilities; and he entered with so much warmth and agility into the spirit of his profession, that his whimsical performance really afforded us much diversion. The musician had two assistant-drummers in his train, whose instruments were far from being unmusical, and likewise several other men, whose part was to keep time by clapping with their hands. The dancing was excellent of its kind, and resembled more the European style than any we had before seen in the country. The singing was equally good, the voices of the men being clear and agreeable; they sang the responses, and likewise accompanied the chanting of their master with their voices; indeed they performed their part of the entertainment to admiration. A *fatàkie* (a smaller number than a *gaffley*) of merchants left Atoopa yesterday for Kiáma; and it is likely that we shall overtake them at the next town.

We omitted to mention in yesterday's journal, that to our infinite astonishment, we saw a middle-aged woman sitting on the road-side, the colour of whose skin was naturally as bright a red as a piece of our own scarlet cloth. We were informed that she was in good health; but we were in too great a hurry to ask her any questions, or take a nearer view of her person; indeed, our guide seemed much disinclined to go within a hundred yards of her. She was a most singular-looking being.

Sunday, May 23rd.— Though our horses were this morning in a very weak condition, and all looked extremely sorrowful, yet we quitted Atoopa at an early hour, and in good spirits; and journeying in a westerly direction, in two hours' time we entered a

lively little walled town, called *Bumbum*. Here we dismounted, and took a slight refreshment of parched corn and water, on the trunk of a fallen tree. Bumbum is a great thoroughfare for *fatàkies* of merchants, trading from Haussa, Borgoo, and other countries, to Gonja; and, consequently, a vast quantity of land is cultivated in its vicinity with corn and yams, to supply them with provisions. On quitting this town, our course altered to N.W., and continued so till our arrival at the large and important town of *Keeshee*, which is on the frontiers of the kingdom, and distant from Atoopa only about twelve miles. It is surrounded by a double strong clay wall, and is in an excellent situation, as a place of security from the attacks of an enemy. Before entering this place, and at the distance of a mile from it, we passed through a clean, extensive, and highly-flourishing Falátah village, called *Acba*, which, like most other places in Yarriba inhabited by Falátahs, is well stocked with sheep and cattle.

A governor of Keeshee died only ten days ago; and we were well received by his successor, who is an elderly and respectable looking man. Shortly after our arrival, he sent us a present of a fine young bullock, a quantity of yams, and more than a gallon of excellent strong beer. In the centre of the town there is a high stony hill, almost covered with trees of stunted growth, to which, in case of invasion by an enemy, the inhabitants fly for refuge. As soon as they have reached its summit, it is borne, say they, by a supernatural power, beyond the clouds, where it remains till the danger is over. Some years have elapsed since this miracle last took place, yet the story is told with a serious belief of its truth, and with the most amusing gravity. About a quarter of a mile to the north-east of this marvellous hill, rises another,

which very much resembles it in shape and appearance ; but the latter is rather larger and higher, and overlooks the country for many miles round.

A great number of emigrants from different countries reside here : there are not a few from Borgoo, Nouffie, Hàussa, and Bornou, and two or three Tuá-ricks, from the borders of the Great Desert. To the west of the town is a picturesque hill of a gentle ascent, on which are several small hamlets. These hamlets have a rural and eminently beautiful appearance. In no town through which we have hitherto travelled, have we seen so many fine tall men and good-looking women, as at this place ; yet several individuals of both sexes are to be met with who have lost the sight of one eye, and others who have unseemly wens on the throat, as large as cocoa-nuts. We have likewise seen a cripple to-day for the first time, and a female dwarf whose height scarcely exceeds thirty inches, and whose appearance bespeaks her to be between thirty and forty years of age. Her head is disproportionably large to the size of her body ; her features, like her voice, are harsh, masculine, and unpleasant in the extreme. It would be ridiculous to be afraid of such a diminutive thing ; yet there was an expression in her countenance so peculiarly repulsive, unwomanly, and hideous, that on her approaching our hut, I felt a very unusual and disagreeable sensation steal over me. Descriptions of an elf or a black dwarf in the " Arabian Nights' Entertainments," or modern European romances, would serve well to pourtray the form and lineaments of this singular little being.

This is a market-day here, and I took a walk this evening to the place where the market is held ; but the crowd that gathered round me was so great, as to compel me to return home much sooner than I had

intended. If I happened to stand still even for a moment, the people pressed by thousands to get close to me; and if I attempted to go on, they tumbled one over another to get out of my way, overturning standings and calabashes, threw down their owners, and scattered their property about in all directions. Smiths welcomed me by clashing their iron tools against each other, and drummers by thumping violently upon one end of their instruments. A few women and children ran from me in a fright; but the majority, less timid, approached as near as they could to catch a glimpse of the first white man they had ever seen. My appearance seemed to interest them amazingly, for they tittered and wished me well, and turned about to titter again. On returning, the crowd became more dense than ever, and drove all before them like a torrent. Dogs, goats, sheep, and poultry were borne along against their will, which terrified them so much, that nothing could be heard but noises of the most lamentable description; children screamed, dogs yelled, sheep and goats bleated most piteously, and fowls cackled and fluttered from among the crowd. And happy indeed was I to shelter myself from all this uproar in our own yard, whither the multitude dared not follow.

The widows of the deceased chief of Keeshee daily set apart a portion of the twenty-four hours to cry for their bereavement, and pray to their gods. They began this evening in the same sad, mournful tone which is commonly heard on similar occasions, all over the country. We asked our interpreter why the women grieved so bitterly. He answered quickly—"What matter? they laugh directly," so I suppose they cry from habit rather than from feeling; and that they can shed tears and be merry in the same breath, whenever they please. About seven o'clock this

evening, we heard a public crier proclaiming with a loud voice, that should any one be discovered straggling about the streets after that hour, he would be seized and put to death. Many houses in the town have lately been set on fire by incendiaries, and this most likely has given rise to the above precautionary measure.

Monday, May 24th.—We have been compelled to remain here to-day, through the governor's inability to procure us carriers for the luggage. The number of people who have visited us to-day has been so great, and their company so irksome, that we were perplexed for some time how to get rid of them without offence. One party in particular was so unpleasant, and they so seriously incommoded us, that we had recourse to the unusual expedient of smoking them off, by kindling a fire at the door of our hut, before which they were sitting. It succeeded agreeably to our wishes.

A company of women and girls from the Falátah village of *Acba*, impelled by a curiosity so natural to their sex, came likewise to see us in the afternoon; but *their* society, instead of being disagreeable, as the company of all our other visitors proved to be, was hailed by us with pleasure. For these females are so modest and so retiring, and evince so much native delicacy in their whole behaviour, that they excited in us the highest respect. Their personal attractions are no less winning. They have fine sparkling jetty eyes, with eye-lashes dark and glossy as the raven's plume. Their features are agreeable, although their complexions are tawny. Their general form is elegant, their hands small and delicate; and the peculiar cleanliness of their persons, and neatness of dress added to these, rendered their society altogether as desirable as that of their neighbours was disagreeable.

The Falátahs inhabiting Acba were all born and bred in that town. Their ancestors settled in the country at so remote a period, that, although we made inquiries respecting it, our questions were unavailing, and, in fact, not even a tradition has been preserved on the subject. These "children of the soil" lead a harmless, tranquil, and sober life, which they never suffer passing events to disturb. They have no ambition to join their more restless and enterprising countrymen who have made themselves masters of Alòrie and Ràka, nor even to meddle in the private or public concerns of their near neighbours of Keeshee. Indeed, they have kept themselves apart and distinct from all ; they have retained the language of their fathers and the simplicity of their manners, and their existence glides serenely and happily away, in the enjoyment of the domestic pleasures and social tenderness which are found in civilised society, and which are unknown among their roving countrymen. They are on the best possible terms with their neighbours, like the Falátahs at Bóhoo, and by them they are held in great respect.

The governor of Keeshee is a Borgoo man, and boasts of being the bosom friend of Yarro, chief of Kiáma ; but as the old man told us many wonderful stories of the number of towns under his sway, his amazing power, great influence, and the entire subjection in which his own people were kept by his own good government, all of which we listened to with patience, we are inclined to believe that the governor's pretensions are as hollow as they are improbable. As to his government, he gave us a specimen of it by bawling to a group of children, that had followed our steps into the yard, to go about their business. But every one in this country displays this ridiculous vanity ; and in most of the towns we

have visited, it was the first great care of their chiefs to impress on our minds an idea of their vast importance, which in many instances was refuted by their ragged tobes and squalid appearance. Yet, if their own accounts are to be credited, their affluence and power are unbounded. To this vain-glorious feeling they sacrifice truth, which in almost all cases they highly reverence, and make themselves truly ridiculous by their absurdities. In our case, however, they had white men and strangers to deal with; and perhaps it is natural, among simple barbarians, to court admiration and applause, even though they employ no other means than exaggeration and falsehood. After a deal of talking (much more, indeed, than we can now remember), the governor of Keeshee begged the favour of a little rum and medicine to heal his foot, which is inclined to swell and give him pain; and requested that we would repair a *gun* which had been deprived of its stock by fire. He then sang us a ditty in praise of elephants and their teeth, in which he was assisted by his cane-bearer, and afterwards took his leave. We have received little presents of goora nuts, salt, honey, mi-cadania butter, &c., from several of the inhabitants of the town. It was new moon on Saturday, and, from the rains which have since fallen, it is likely that henceforth we shall have much wet weather.

Tuesday, May 25th.—Some Mallams, and others who wish to accompany us to Kiáma, whither they are going for the purposes of trade, persuaded the easy-minded governor last night to defer getting us carriers till to-morrow, because, forsooth, they are not prepared to travel to-day. We are therefore obliged to await the further pleasure of these influential merchants. Thus balked in our expectations, after our luggage had all been packed up for our

starting, I endeavoured to amuse myself early in the morning, by scrambling to the top of the high and steep hill which stands in the middle of the town. In my progress I disturbed a tiger-cat from his retreat among the rocks, but was rewarded for my labour by an extensive and agreeable prospect from the summit of this mountain, which I found to consist of large blocks of white marble. The town, with its double wall, perforated with holes for bowmen to shoot through, lay at my feet, and several little rural villages studded the country on every side.

The governor of Keeshee is so old and infirm, that it is evident he has not many years to live. I gave him a lotion yesterday for a swollen foot, which greatly elated one or two of his attendants; and their animated looks and gestures bespoke hearts overflowing with grateful feelings; so much so, indeed, that we remarked the circumstance as being of rare occurrence. This morning a young man, one of the number, visited us with a countenance so rueful, and spoke in a tone so low and melancholy, that his whole appearance was completely altered, insomuch that we were desirous to learn what evil had befallen him. The cause of it was soon explained by his informing us that he would be doomed to die with two companions, as soon as their governor's dissolution should take place; and as the old man has already one foot in the grave, the poor fellow's sadness was not to be wondered at. When this same individual and his associates observed me giving the lotion to their master yesterday, they imagined it would prolong his existence, and consequently lengthen their own; and hence arose that burst of feeling which had attracted our attention. The people here imagine we can do anything, but more especially that we are

acquainted with, and can cure, all the complaints and disorders to which man is liable.

The governor solicited a charm of us to-day, to preserve his house from the effects of fire, and cause him to become rich ; while one of his elderly wives made a doleful complaint of having been likely to become a mother for the last thirty years, and begged piteously for medicine to promote and assist her *accouchement*. We could satisfy the old man easily enough, but his wife's hypochondriacal complaint we conceived too dangerous to be meddled with by unprofessional hands. Poor woman ! she is much to be pitied, for the odd delusion under which she has been labouring so long a time has given her considerable uneasiness, so that life itself has become a burden to her. All that we could do for her was to soothe her mind, by telling her that her distemper was very common, and not at all dangerous ; and promising that, on our return this way, should nothing transpire in her favour in the mean time, we would endeavour to remove the cause of her complaint. This comforted the aged matron exceedingly ; and, in the fullness of her heart, she burst into tears of joy, dropped on her knees to express her acknowledgment, and pressed us to accept a couple of goora nuts.

Our engaging female friends, the Falàtahs, paid us a second visit this morning with bowls of milk and foora ; and in the evening a few of their male companions also came, and remained with us a considerable time. Both sexes displayed the same timid reserve in our presence, and deported themselves in the same respectful manner that they did yesterday. It appears that the Falàtahs inhabiting Acba, though very numerous, are but one family ; for we are told that their ancestor separated himself from his friends, relatives, and acquaintances, and,

exiling himself for ever from his native country, he travelled hither with his wives and children, his flocks and herds. The sons and daughters of his descendants intermarry only among their own kindred, and they are betrothed to each other in infancy and childhood. The little that I have seen of Falàtahs in Yarriba has convinced me that in all things they are much, *very* much, superior to the loveless and unsocial proprietors of the soil. Their countenances bespeak more intelligence, and their manners display less roughness and barbarism. The domestic virtues of the Falàtahs are also more affectionate and endearing, and their family regulations more chaste and binding.

Wednesday, May 26th.—We arose before sunrise this morning, and having little to do in the way of preparation for setting out, we took a hasty breakfast, and afterwards went to pay our respects to the governor, and thank him for his hospitality and goodness to us. On returning to our lodgings, we had the pleasure of receiving the morning salutation of our fair friends the Falàtahs on bended knee. Resolved to have another and a last chat with the white strangers, these females had come for the purpose of offering us two calabashes of new milk. This, and former little acts of kindness which we have received from these dark-eyed maidens, have effectually won our regard, because we know they were disinterestedly given; and the few minutes which we have had the happiness of spending in their company, and that of their countrymen, have redeemed many hours of listlessness and melancholy, which absence from our native country, and thoughts of home and friends, but too often excite in our breasts. It was therefore not without a feeling of sorrow that we bade them adieu. For my own part,

when they blessed me in the name of Alla and their Prophet, and implored blessings on my head, and when I gazed upon the faces of the simple-hearted and innocent females who had so piously and fervently invoked the benediction, with the consciousness of beholding them no more in this life, my heart was touched with sorrow ; for of all reflections, this is certainly the most melancholy and dispiriting !

“Ye, who have known what 'tis to dote upon

A few dear objects, will in sadness feel

Such partings break the heart they fondly hoped to heal !”

There was less of feeling and tenderness, certainly, though more words and much greater noise, in taking our farewell of the two old messengers that had accompanied us from Badágyry, and who, with the Jénna guides, will return homewards to-morrow. They have behaved themselves throughout to our hearts' desire ; and because they had been our companions in a long and painful journey, and because their faces had become familiarised to us, we left them behind with sincere regret.

Although we left Keeshee between six and seven in the morning, we were obliged to seat ourselves on a green turf in the outskirts of the town, and wait there till a quarter after nine, before the carriers with the luggage made their appearance. Here we were joined by a Borgoo *fatàkie*, and our ears were saluted with the hoarse, dull sounds of their drum, which was played by a ragged one-eyed Yarribean long after we were on our journey. A company of merchants trading through the country has always a drummer in their pay, who walks at the head of the party, and performs on his instrument continually, be the journey ever so long, for the purpose of animating the slaves to quicken their steps.

Our route lay through a vast and lonely forest,

infested by bands of robbers, and in which there is not a single human habitation. My brother went unarmed before the *fatàkie*, and travelled alone, whilst I remained behind to defend the carriers in case of necessity. He had already rode some distance in advance of us, when about twenty very suspicious-looking fellows, armed with lances and bows and arrows, suddenly made their appearance from behind the trees, where they had concealed themselves, and stood in the middle of the path before the men with the luggage, who were so terrified, that they were preparing to drop their burdens and run away. My gun being loaded, I levelled it at them, and had nearly discharged it at the leader, which intimidated them all so much, that they retreated again into the heart of the forest. When the people of Yarriba observe any one approaching them on the road, whose appearance inspires them with apprehension as to the honesty of his intentions, they fling off their loads without waiting the result of the meeting, and take to their heels without venturing to look behind them. The robbers, therefore, when they saw our people, no doubt expected to obtain an easy booty; not anticipating to find a white man among them, nor thinking that our carriers would have made a stand.

We journeyed fifteen miles through this dreaded forest, which occupied us five hours and three-quarters, owing to the weakness of our horses and want of water, but above all to the oppressive heat of the weather, from which we all suffered more or less. We then arrived at the *Moussa*, which is a rivulet separating the kingdom of Yarriba from Borgoo. Having satisfied our thirst and bathed, we crossed the stream, and entered a little village on the northern bank, where we halted for the day.

When travelling in the bush, several men in the train of a *fatàkie* wear a large iron ring on the thumb and middle finger. To the latter a piece of plate-iron is attached, with which they make signals to each other and the *fatàkie* when apart by clinking the rings. This method of communication is very significant, and it is understood as well, and is as promptly answered or obeyed, as our boatswain's whistle. The collision of the rings produces a harsh, grating noise, loud enough to be heard at a considerable distance.

The mere crossing of a little stream, which a person might almost jump over, has introduced us into a country very different from Yarriba, which is inhabited by a different people, who speak a different language, profess a different religion, and whose manners, customs, amusements, and pursuits are altogether different. The village in which we are stopping is called *Moussa*, after the river, and is distant from Keeshee, in a northerly direction, as nearly as we can guess, about sixteen miles. We occupy a large round hut, called by the natives of this country *Càtamba*, in the Haussa language *Zowley*, and in Bornou *Coozie*. In the centre of it is the trunk of a large tree, which supports the roof: it has two apertures for doors, which are opposite each other; and directly over them, suspended from the wall, are a couple of charms, written in the Arabic character on bits of paper, which are to preserve the premises from being destroyed by fire. It is now eleven P. M.; our attendants, with several of their fellow-travellers, are reposing on mats and skins in various parts of the hut. Bows and arrows and quivers ornamented with cows' tails, together with muskets, pistols, swords, lances, and other weapons, are either hanging on the wall or resting against it. The scene is wild and

singular, and quite romantic. Outside our hut it is yet more striking. There, though it rains and thunders, the remainder of the *fatàkie*, consisting of men, women, and children, are sitting on the ground in groups, or sleeping near several large fires, which are burning almost close to the hut; whilst others are lying under the shelter of large spreading trees in its immediate vicinity. Their only apparel is drawn over their half-naked persons; their weapons are at their sides; and their horses are grazing near them. Most of the people have gone to rest without food; yet they sleep soundly, and appear quite happy and comfortable after their day's exertion and fatigue. One of our men fainted on the road to-day from exhaustion, and is now feverish and unwell.

Thursday, May 27th.—There is a sweetness in the mountain air and a dewy freshness in the morning, which we experienced to-day with considerable pleasure, on ascending the hills which border the northern side of the pretty little *Moussa*. When wild beasts, tired with their nightly prowling, seek retirement and repose in the lonely depths of these primeval forests, and when birds, perched on the branches of trees over our heads, warble forth their morning song, it is the time that makes up for the languid, wearisome hours in the heat of the day, when nothing can amuse and nothing interest us. It is in the earlier part of the morning, too, or in the cool of the evening, that nature can be leisurely contemplated and admired in the simple loveliness of a verdant plain, a sequestered grotto, or a rippling brook; or in the wilder and more mysterious features of her beauty in the height of a craggy precipice, the silence and gloom of vast shady woods, or when those woods are gracefully bending to the passing gale.

An hour's ride brought us near the site of a town which was formerly peopled only by robbers. It was, however, destroyed some years ago, and its inhabitants either slain or dispersed, by order of the present spirited ruler of Kiama, since which time the road has been less dreaded by travellers. Our path lay through a rich country, covered with luxuriant grasses and fine trees, but very little underwood could be seen. It abounds plentifully with deer and antelopes, and other wild animals of a more ferocious nature, such as the lion, the leopard, the elephant, the wild ass, &c. ; but the solitary lowing of a buffalo was the only sound that we distinguished in the forest, and we had not the pleasure of meeting even with this animal.

At eleven o'clock we entered a very small and cleanly-looking village, where we halted for the day. Unfortunately, its governor, with most of the people, were at work in the fields at some distance, so that we could get nothing to eat till rather late in the evening. It appears that these poor villagers are forced to supply the soldiers of their sovereign with provisions gratis, whenever business leads them so far this way from the capital ; and that, in order to avoid the rapacity of these men, they have built another hamlet in the woods, far out of the way of the path, whither they carry their goats, &c., and the corn of which they may not be in immediate want.

On arriving, we were introduced into a small grass hut, which smoke has changed into the most glossy black we have ever seen ; and the interior of its roof is ingeniously decorated with large festoons of cobweb and dust, which must have been accumulating for a number of years. Its fetich is a dried grasshopper, which is preserved in a little calabash ; but as

if this were insufficient to protect it from all the damages to which huts in this country are constantly exposed, auxiliary charms of blood and feathers are likewise stuck on the inside of the wall. At sunset, not having anything to eat, I went out into the wood with my gun, and was fortunate enough to shoot a few doves; and Pascoe, who went in a different direction, shot a Guinea hen, which made us an excellent supper. Hunger had driven back our Keeshee carriers, who were to have accompanied us to Kiáma, and therefore we have been obliged to send a messenger to Yarrow, for men to supply their place. Late in the evening, the governor of the village returned from his labour in the fields, and presented us with corn and honey.

Friday, May 28th.—In the forenoon, the musical jingling of little bells announced the approach of a body of horsemen, who in less than a minute galloped up to our hut, and saluted us one after another with a martial air, by brandishing their spears, to our great discomfiture, within a few feet of our faces. To display their horsemanship more effectually, they caused their spirited steeds to prance and rear in our presence; and when they imagined we were convinced of their abilities, they dismounted to prostrate themselves before us, and acquaint us of the welfare of their prince. The carriers who had arrived from Kiáma had preceded them on the road, and the whole of the men now sat down to partake of a little refreshment. It was twelve o'clock exactly when we set out on our journey, and the day being so far advanced, we wished to make all the haste possible, but the weather was extremely warm, and our horses were hardly strong enough to carry their riders, so that we were obliged, after all, to travel very slowly. At five P.M. we reached the ruins of a small town.

The path was through the same forest as yesterday, but this part of it is less thickly wooded. At one place we remarked two immensely large trees, springing up almost close together; their mighty trunks and branches were twisted, and firmly clasped round each other, like giants in the act of embracing, and presented an appearance highly novel and singular. Ant-hills were numerous in the road; and a few paces from it, we observed, as we rode along, little cone-shaped mud-buildings, erected by the natives for the purpose of smelting iron ore, which is found in abundance in different parts of the country. At sunset we arrived at a village called *Benikenny*, which means, in the language of the people, "a cunning man;" and found there three women waiting our arrival with corn and milk from the King of *Kiáma*: this was very acceptable, for we had been without food thirteen hours. We rested at *Benikenny* a little, and fully expected to have slept there, for the afternoon had been excessively warm, and we were all much fatigued. But our armed escort were not in the same way of thinking as ourselves, and they encouraged us to proceed to another village, which they said was at no great distance. We therefore quitted *Benikenny*; yet no village could be seen; and then the escort confessed that they had deceived us, in order that we might arrive at *Kiáma* before night. The sun had gone down on our quitting the halting-place; but the moon and stars supplied us with a cooler and more agreeable light; and we journeyed on through the forest more slowly than before. In spite of our fatigue, we could not help admiring the serenity and beauty of the evening, nor be insensible to the delicious fragrance shed around from trees and shrubs. The appearance of our warlike and romantic escort was also highly

amusing. They were clad in the fashion of the East, and sought their way between the trees on our right and left; but sometimes they fell in our rear, and then again dashed suddenly by us with astonishing swiftness, looking as wild as the scenery through which their chargers bounded. The effect was rendered more imposing by the reflection of the moonbeams from their polished spears and the pieces of silver affixed to their caps; while the luminous fire-fly appeared in the air like rising and falling particles of flame.

My brother's horse was unable, from weakness and exhaustion, to carry him farther than Benikenny; so that he was obliged to walk the remainder of the journey to Kiáma, which is full six miles. About eight o'clock Kiáma appeared before us, and in a few minutes we entered the city, and rode directly to the king's house. He came out to receive us after we had been waiting outside a very short time, and welcomed us with much satisfaction and good-will. He is an elderly man, almost toothless, and has a beard as white as wool. We observed nothing remarkable in his dress or appearance. His first question was concerning the health of our sovereign, and his second and last respecting our own welfare. He seemed to be exceedingly well pleased at seeing me again. We then took our leave, and were conducted by one of his slaves to a hut, or rather an assemblage of huts, adjoining his own residence. But they were not entirely to our satisfaction, for many of them had only one aperture in each, which was scarcely three feet square; so that we could not get into them, excepting on our hands and knees. They were, besides, so very close and warm, that we found great difficulty in breathing; and we preferred a hut which was cooler and better ventilated, though it had the

inconvenience of a thoroughfare. No sooner were we securely housed, than half a dozen of the king's wives introduced themselves with huge calabashes of sour milk, fried pancakes, and beef stewed in rice, the first we have yet seen. Various coloured mats of excellent workmanship were afterwards brought for our use; and with thankful hearts and comfortable feelings we lay down to rest.

CHAPTER VI.

Kiáma—Visit to the King—Wooden Figures—Yarro's Hut—His objection to the former route to Wowow being adopted by the Travellers—Instance of Native Friendship—Mohammedan Priests—Their Character—Tradition of the Falàtahs—Ceremonies of the Bebung Sálah—Celebration of the Festival—Native Horse-racing—The King's Sons—Poisonous Lizard—Superstition of the Natives—Comparison between the Natives of Borgoo and Yarriba—Traits of Character—Falàtahs—Law relating to them.

Saturday, May 29th.—Tired with yesterday's journey, we lay on our mats rather later than usual; and, before we had arisen, the king's messengers and others entered our hut, to give us the salutations of the morning. I returned Yarro's compliment by calling to see him at his own house, while my brother remained at home, to take care of the goods. The natives of the country, having a very indifferent reputation for honesty, compel us to keep a watchful eye over all their actions. A number of mallams from Háussa paid us a visit about the middle of the day; but a body of more ignorant Mohammedans, I should suppose, can nowhere be found; for not one of them, even to their chief, who has a youthful appearance, understands a word of Arabic.

Just before sunset, my brother selected a present, consisting of the following articles, for the king:—viz., six yards of red cloth, a quantity of printed cottons, a pair of silver bracelets, a looking-glass, two pairs of scissors, a knife, two combs, and a tobacco-pipe. The goods having been properly secured, we repaired with this present to the king, who received it with much apparent satisfaction.

Yarro professes the Mohammedan faith; yet it is easy to perceive the very slender acquaintance he has obtained of the precepts of the Koran, by the con-

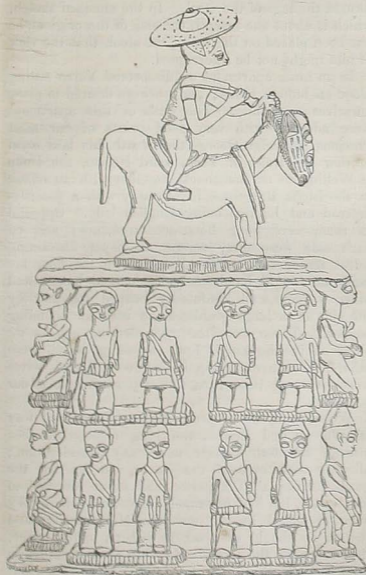


fidence which he still places in the religion of his fathers, in placing fetishes to guard the entrance of his houses, and adorn their half-naked walls. In one

of the huts we observed a stool of very curious workmanship. The form of it is nearly square, the two principal sides of each supported by four little wooden figures of men; and another, of large dimensions, seated on a clumsy representation of a hippopotamus, is placed between them. These images were subsequently presented to us by Yarro; and we learnt that



the natives, before undertaking any water excursion, applied for protection from the hippopotami and other dangers of the river, to the principal figure, which is represented as mounted on one of those creatures. This important personage is attended by



his musicians, and guarded by soldiers, some armed with muskets, and others with bows and arrows, who formed the legs of the stool. In the annexed sketch, which is about one-seventh the size of the original, he has been placed on the top of the stool, that the view of him might not be interrupted.

In an inner apartment we discovered Yarro sitting alone on buffalo hides; and we were desired to place ourselves near him. The walls of this apartment were adorned with very good prints of our most gracious sovereign George the Fourth, his late royal brother the Duke of York, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington on horseback, together with an officer in the Light Dragoons, in company with a smartly-dressed and happy-looking English lady. Opposite to them were hung horse-accoutrements; and on each side were dirty scraps of paper containing select sentences from the Koran. On the floor lay muskets, several handsomely-ornamented lances, and other weapons, all confusedly heaped together by the side of a large granite stone used for pounding pepper. These were the most striking objects we observed in the king's hut; adjoining which were others, through whose diminutive doors Yarro's wives were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse of our persons.

When we spoke of proceeding to Yàoorie by way of Wowow and Boossà, the king objected to our visiting the former state under any consideration; alleging that three of the slaves who carried the goods for Captain Clapperton had never returned to him again, but had remained at Wowow, where they were protected by the governor Mohammed; and that if he should send others with us to that place, they might do the same. He, therefore, promises to send us to Boossà, in four days' time, by another road.

Independently of the above consideration, the king is highly incensed against the ruler of Wowow, for harsh treatment of the widow Zuma, who is his friend and relative, and who has lately fled to Boossà for the purpose of claiming the protection of the king of that country.

It is said that Yarro's father, the late king of Kiáma, during his lifetime, enjoyed the friendship of an Arab from the desert, which was returned with equal warmth and sincerity. A similarity of dispositions and pursuits produced a mutual interchange of kind actions; their friendship became so great, that the king was never happy except when in the Arab's company; and, as a proof of his esteem and confidence, he gave him his favourite daughter in marriage. The fruit of this alliance is the restless widow Zuma, and hence her relationship to the present monarch of Kiáma. To return to his father and the Arab: their friendship lasted until the death of the latter. The king, however, was inconsolable for his loss, and looked around him in vain for some one to supply the place of his friend; but the ardour of his affections was too strong, and, led by the hope of following his friend to another world, he committed suicide. This is the most affecting instance of genuine friendship, and indeed the only one, that has come to our hearing since we have been in the country. Yarro is much attached to the widow Zuma; and she would have fled hither, instead of going to Boossà, if her intentions had not been suspected, and her actions narrowly watched, by the ruler of Wowow.

Sunday, May 30th.—Unwilling as we always are to break the proper observance of the Sabbath, we were, nevertheless, compelled this forenoon to submit to the mortification of cleaning and polishing a sword and pistols, which were sent us for that purpose by

the king against the approaching Mohammedan festival. Yarro shortly afterwards sent us a turkey, and one of his women presented us with a roasted badger, a quantity of yams, &c., for the use of one of our people. This evening the king's wives unanimously bestowed a severe reprimand on their husband for neglecting to offer them a portion of a bottle of rum which we gave him yesterday; and they scolded so lustily, that the noise was heard outside the wall surrounding their huts, which led us to make the discovery. To appease the indignation of these ladies, and to reconcile them to their loss, I presented them with a few beads and some other trifles; but we much doubt their efficacy.

Monday, May 31st.—It is supposed that the ruler of Wowow will make war on this state as soon as he shall be made acquainted with the fact of our being in Borgoo without having visited him. Although it is within the dominions of the King of Boossà, who is acknowledged to be the greatest of the sovereigns of Borgoo, Wowow is reported to have lately received a body of Nouffie horse soldiers, consisting of eight hundred men, which has rendered its chief more powerful than either of his neighbours. These soldiers are the remnant of the army of *Ederesa* (the *Edrisi* of Captain Clapperton), who is the rightful heir to the throne of Nouffie: they deserted him in his misfortunes, and sought a refuge in Wowow from the fury of their successful countrymen, leaving their leader to his fate. Shortly after my return to England, it is reported that *Magia*, who is a younger son of the late King of Nouffie, was reinforced by soldiers from Soccato; that he took immediate advantage of the panic into which this intelligence had thrown his brother, by attacking and routing his army, and expelling both him and them from their native

country. Ederesa was for some time after a wanderer; but at length he is said to have found an asylum with one of the chiefs of a state near the kingdom of Benin, where he now resides in tranquillity and retirement.

We receive visits almost every hour of the day from a number of Mohammedan mallams residing at Kiama, as well as from those merchants who formed part of the *fatákie* that accompanied us through the forest from Keeshee. The former sent two young boys this afternoon to pray for us, in the expectation, we believe, of obtaining something more substantial than thanks for the good that might result to us from their charitable remembrance of the frailty of our nature. The boys dropped on their knees, and recited the lesson that they had been taught without committing a blunder; but a few needles was the only recompense we thought proper to make them, so that it is not likely their masters will desire any more prayers to be offered at the shrine of their Prophet for Christians so illiberal and irreligious. Of all the vices of which these Mohammedan priests are guilty (and by all accounts they are not a few), slander and defamation of character appear to be by far the most general. Never do we hear a mallam speak of his neighbours in terms of common respect. By his account they are all the vilest creatures under the sun, not one escaping the lash of his censure. "Avoid that man," said a complacent and comfortable-looking old Mohammedan last night, pointing to one of his companions as he quitted the hut, (he had just blessed him in the name of Alla,) "for, believe me, he will take every opportunity of deceiving you; and if you go so far as to trust him with any of your property, he will cheat you of every cowrie." The venerable speaker had a quantity of gilt buttons, nearly new,

in his possession, which we had given him to sell, for we are frequently obliged to make such shifts for a meal; and when his invective was finished, he arose to take his leave, but the self-righteous priest had neglected, in the hurry of discourse, to secure a few buttons which he had purloined, for as he stood up they dropped from the folds of his garment on the floor. The man's confusion was immediately apparent; but we did not wish to punish him further by increasing his shame, and we suffered him to go about his business in the belief that the circumstance had wholly escaped our observation. Gilt buttons fetch a high price here (from two to three hundred cowries each); and as we have a great quantity of them, it is likely that from henceforth they will be of infinite service to us. Women use buttons to ornament their necks, fingers, and wrists; and they imagine that the brightest of them are made of gold.

A man arrived at the king's house this evening, with the information that *Doncassòn*, the ex-king of Hàussa, has recently retaken no less than twelve towns in that empire from the Falàtahs, in which he was greatly assisted by the sheik of Bornou. The Falàtahs have a tradition, that when Danfodio (Bello's father, and the first king of Soccatoo) was a simple shepherd, he made a vow to the great author of evil, that if he would assist him in subjugating the kingdom of Hàussa, he would be his slave for ever after. Danfodio's request, they say, was complied with on his own conditions, but for no longer than thirty years, after which the aborigines of the country were to regain their liberty and re-establish their ancient laws and institutions. The term is now nearly expired, and the Falàtahs begin already, say the Hàussa men, to tremble with apprehensions at the prospect of this tradition being realised.

Tuesday, June 1st.—This is the eve of the “Bebun Sálah,” or “Great Prayer Day,” and is generally employed by the Mussulmen in Kiáma in making preparations for a festival which will commence to-morrow, and be continued till the evening of the next day. Every one here, who possesses the means, is obliged to slaughter either a bullock or sheep on the anniversary of this day; and those who may not have money sufficient to procure a whole bullock or sheep, are compelled to purchase a portion of the latter, at least, for the purpose of showing proper respect and reverence for the “Bebun Sálah.” The Mohammedan mallams, on this occasion, make a practice of slaughtering the sheep which may have been their companion in their peregrinations during the past year, and as soon as the holidays are over, they procure another to supply its place, and, at the return of the festival, to undergo a similar fate. The company of one of these animals is preferred by the natives to that of a dog.

At sunrise to-morrow, all the Mussulmen in Kiáma, with the king at their head, will repair to a convenient spot, about a mile on the road to Wowow, for the purpose of publicly performing their devotions. Presently after returning from thence, horse-racing and other sports will be indulged in by all classes of the inhabitants, who are already filled with joy at the bare anticipation of the diversions.

A company of eight or ten drummers awoke us this morning by the dismal noise of their drums, and by the exclamation of “*Turawa awazhie!*” signifying, “White men! we wish you fortune!” which was repeated in a high, shrill tone every minute.

Last night Kiáma was visited by a thunder-storm, which continued with dreadful violence for many hours; and the torrents of rain which fell threatened

to overwhelm us in our hut. Before we were aware of it, the water had rushed in at the door, and had completely soaked our mats and bed-clothes, setting every light article in the room afloat. After much trouble, we succeeded in draining it off, and preventing its further ingress, when we lit a large fire in the centre of the hut, and laid ourselves down by the side of it to sleep. It also rained heavily again this morning; and, to all appearances, the wet season has at length fairly set in. If this be the case, it will be next to impossible to travel much farther; and if we be fortunate enough to reach Yàoorie, we shall be obliged to remain there some time till the roads shall have become sufficiently hard and dry for our future progress. We have only to hope that the rains may not be so incessant at their commencement, as to render the path to Yàoorie impassable.

Wednesday, June 2nd.—The threatening appearance of the weather prevented the Mohammedans from repairing to the spot which they had selected for the purposes of devotion, so early in the morning as they could have wished; but the clouds having dispersed, they had all assembled there between the hours of nine and ten. The worshippers arranged themselves in six lines or rows, the women forming the last, and sat down on as many ridges of earth, which had apparently been thrown up for the purpose. The chief mallam no sooner began a prayer, than the talking and noise of the multitude immediately ceased, and the deepest attention seemed to be paid by every one, though the substance of what he said could only be guessed at, because it was in Arabic, which none of them understand. The ceremony much resembled that which was performed at Badágy; and the forms which are generally practised, I believe, on all public religious meetings in Mohammedan countries, such

as ablution, prostration, &c., were observed on this occasion. The king, however, did not rise, as he should have done, when the worshippers stood up, but satisfied himself by uttering the name of Alla, and by simple prostration only. When the usual form of prayer had been gone through, the head mallam placed himself on a hillock, and for about five minutes read to the people a few loose pages of the Koran, which he held in his hand. While thus engaged, two priests of inferior order knelt beside him to hold the hem of his robe, and a third, in the same position, held the skirts from behind. After he had finished reading, the priest descended from the hillock, and, with the help of his assistants, slaughtered a sheep which had been bound and brought to him for sacrifice. The blood of the animal was caught in a calabash; and the king and the more devoted of his subjects washed their hands in it, and sprinkled some of it on the ground. This conclusion of the ceremony was announced by the discharge of a few old muskets; and with drums beating and fifes playing, the people returned to their respective homes. Most of them were smartly dressed in all the finery they could procure. About a hundred of the men rode on horseback, with lances and other weapons in their hands, which, with the gay trappings of their horses, gave them a respectable appearance.

In the afternoon, all the inhabitants of the town, and many from the little villages in its neighbourhood, assembled to witness the horse-racing, which takes place always on the anniversary of the "Bebun Sálah," and to which every one had been looking forward with impatience. Previous to its commencement, the king, with his principal attendants, rode slowly round the town, more for the purpose of receiving the admiration and plaudits of his people than to observe

where distress more particularly prevailed, which was his avowed intention. A hint from the chief induced us to attend the course with our pistols, to salute him as he rode by; and as we felt a strong inclination to witness the amusements of the day, we were there rather sooner than was necessary, which afforded us, however, a fairer opportunity of observing the various groups of people which were flocking to the scene of amusement.

The race-course was bounded on the north by low granite hills; on the south by a forest; and on the east and west by tall shady trees, among which were habitations of the people. Under the shadow of these magnificent trees the spectators were assembled, and testified their happiness by their noisy mirth and animated gestures. When we arrived, the king had not made his appearance on the course; but his absence was fully compensated by the pleasure we derived from watching the anxious and animated countenances of the multitude, and in passing our opinions on the taste of the women in the choice and adjustment of their fanciful and many-coloured dresses. The chief's wives and younger children sat near us in a group by themselves; and were distinguished from their companions by their superior dress. Manchester cloths of inferior quality, but of the most showy patterns, and dresses made of common English bed-furniture, were fastened round the waist of several sooty maidens, who, for the sake of fluttering a short hour in the gaze of their countrymen, had sacrificed in clothes the earnings of a twelvemonth's labour. All the women had ornamented their necks with strings of beads, and their wrists with bracelets of various patterns, some made of glass beads, some of brass, others of copper; and some again of a mixture of both metals: their ancles

also were adorned with different sorts of rings, of neat workmanship.

The distant sound of drums gave notice of the king's approach, and every eye was immediately directed to the quarter from whence he was expected. The cavalcade shortly appeared, and four horsemen first drew up in front of the chief's house, which was near the centre of the course, and close to the spot where his wives and children and ourselves were sitting. Several men bearing on their heads an immense quantity of arrows in huge quivers of leopard's skin came next, followed by two persons who, by their extraordinary antics and gestures, we concluded to be buffoons. These two last were employed in throwing sticks into the air as they went on, and adroitly catching them in falling, besides performing many whimsical and ridiculous feats. Behind these, and immediately preceding the king, a group of little boys, nearly naked, came dancing merrily along, flourishing cows' tails over their heads in all directions. The king rode onwards, followed by a number of fine-looking men, on handsome steeds; and the motley cavalcade all drew up in front of his house, where they awaited his further orders without dismounting. This we thought was the proper time to give the first salute, so we accordingly fired three rounds; and our example was immediately followed by two soldiers, with muskets which were made at least a century and a half ago.

Preparations in the mean time had been going on for the race, and the horses with their riders made their appearance. The men were dressed in caps and loose tobies and trousers of every colour; boots of red morocco leather, and turbans of white and blue cotton. The horses were gaily caparisoned; strings of little brass bells covered their heads; their breasts

were ornamented with bright red cloth and tassels of silk and cotton; a large quilted pad of neat embroidered patchwork was placed under the saddle of each; and little charms, inclosed in red and yellow cloth, were attached to the bridle with bits of tinsel. The Arab saddle and stirrup were in common use; and the whole group presented an imposing appearance.

The signal for starting was made, and the impatient animals sprang forward and set off at a full gallop. The riders brandished their spears, the little boys flourished their cows' tails, the buffoons performed their antics, muskets were discharged, and the chief himself, mounted on the finest horse on the ground, watched the progress of the race, while tears of delight were starting from his eyes. The sun shone gloriously on the tobes of green, white, yellow, blue, and crimson, as they fluttered in the breeze; and with the fanciful caps, the glittering spears, the jingling of the horses' bells, the animated looks and warlike bearing of their riders, presented one of the most extraordinary and pleasing sights that we have ever witnessed. The race was well contested, and terminated only by the horses being fatigued and out of breath; but though every one was emulous to outstrip his companion, honour and fame were the only reward of the competitors.

A few naked boys, on ponies without saddles, then rode over the course, after which the second and last heat commenced. This was not by any means so good as the first, owing to the greater anxiety which the horsemen evinced to display their skill in the use of the spear and the management of their animals. The king maintained his seat on horseback during these amusements, without even once dismounting to converse with his wives and children, who were

sitting on the ground on each side of him. His dress was showy rather than rich, consisting of a red cap, enveloped in the large folds of a white muslin turban; two under-tobes of blue and scarlet cloth, and an outer one of white muslin; red trousers, and boots of scarlet and yellow leather. His horse seemed distressed by the weight of his rider, and the various ornaments and trappings with which his head, breast, and body were bedecked. The chief's eldest and youngest sons were near his women and other children, mounted on two noble-looking horses. The eldest of these youths was about eleven years of age. The youngest being not more than three, was held on the back of his animal by a male attendant, as he was unable to sit upright in the saddle without this assistance. The child's dress was ill suited to his age. He wore on his head a tight cap of Manchester cotton, but it overhung the upper part of his face, and together with its ends, which flapped over each cheek, hid nearly the whole of his countenance from view; his tobe and trousers were made exactly in the same fashion as those of a man, and two large belts of blue cotton, which crossed each other, confined the tobe to his body. The little legs of the child were swallowed up in clumsy yellow boots, big enough for his father; and though he was rather pretty, his whimsical dress gave him altogether so odd an appearance, that he might have been taken for anything but what he really was. A few of the women on the ground by the side of the king wore large white dresses, which covered their persons like a winding-sheet. Young virgins, according to custom, appeared in a state of nudity; many of them had wild flowers stuck behind their ears, and strings of beads, &c., round their loins; but want of clothing did not seem to damp their pleasure in the entertainment, for they

appeared to enter into it with as much zest as any of their companions. Of the different coloured tobés worn by the men, none looked so well as those of a deep crimson colour on some of the horsemen ; but the clean white tobés of the Mohammedan priests, of whom not less than a hundred were present on the occasion, were extremely neat and becoming. The sport terminated without the slightest accident, and the king's dismounting was a signal for the people to disperse.

We then paid our respects to the chief as usual, but our réception was formal and chilling, though nothing could have been more gratifying to him than our attendance on the present occasion. We had half a mind to be vexed at this mortifying repulse, but consoled ourselves with the reflection that we had no right to expect anything more than common courtesy and politeness. Besides this, he was surrounded by the loveliest of his women and the most warlike of his subjects ; and being a rigid Mohammedan when it suits his convenience, he might have considered us as the enemies of his religion. To have shown, therefore, too great familiarity with us in the sight of his people, would, perhaps, have been unbecoming the dignity of the chief of Kiáma.

We have here endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to describe an African horse-race ; but it is impossible to convey a correct idea of the singular and fantastic appearance of the numerous groups of people that met our view on all sides, or to describe their animation and delight,—the martial equipment of the soldiers and their noble steeds, and the wild, romantic, and overpowering interest of the whole mass. Singing and dancing have been kept up all night, and the revellers will not think of retiring to rest till morning.

Thursday, June 3rd.—Our hostess is a poor, but kind, pleasant, and comfortable-looking widow, rather stricken in years. To be sincerely grateful for favours received is not in the disposition of her country-people generally; yet this poor woman has given us an affecting instance of this virtue, although our presents to her were so poor and trifling, that we were almost ashamed to offer them. This little specimen of genuine gratitude repays us for hundreds of sour looks and discontented countenances, which of late we have been compelled to witness.

Behind our hut grows a tall and beautiful tree, on the branches and shoots of which reside a whole commonwealth of sparrows, in their ingenious pendent nests. The constant noise of these little creatures, and the twittering of swallows, which remain here all the year round, form our usual morning's entertainment. This sparrow is a very handsome bird, and belongs to a species which, at Sierra Leone and other places, is called the "rice-bird." We are also favoured by the visits of turtle-doves and wood-pigeons. A few days ago, one of the latter, trusting too much to the forbearance of our people, ventured into one of their huts, and was there taken and destroyed. The disconsolate mate witnessed the act; he has been lingering about our habitations ever since, and is wasting himself away in mourning the loss of his companion. His fidelity has called forth our sympathy, and we do not suffer him to be molested.

Lizards, in great number and variety, infest the walls and roofs of our huts, among which is one of a black species, whose bite is considered fatal.* This reptile is very rare, and is dreaded by every one, not

* It is deemed as odious by the natives as the toad in England, or the *tarantula* in Italy, which is also a kind of lizard.

on account of the venomous properties which are ascribed to it, so much as from the belief that the person who sees one, and suffers it to escape him, will soon after experience some heavy calamity. The natives also believe that if a black lizard be destroyed as soon as it is found, fifes are played and drums beat in the celestial regions, where there is great rejoicing at the circumstance ; and that good fortune is sure to be the reward of the person who may rid the world of such a nuisance. We observed a lizard yesterday with two tails, which phenomenon, we are told, is not uncommon here. Other lizards, of every species and colour, are numerous.

As this is a holiday at Kiáma, it has been spent by its inhabitants in visiting each other, in walking up and down the public places to display their finery, or in singing, dancing, and musical parties. Little boys and young men have been on their knees praying for us to-day ; and as they were not impertinent, but, on the contrary, evinced gentleness and modesty in their demeanour, we would not suffer them to leave us without rewarding each with a darning-needle.

We have been detained in Kiáma thus long by reason, it is alleged, of the holidays ; and as to-morrow will be the Mohammedan Sabbath, we shall not be able to procure carriers till the following morning. We expected, naturally enough, that plenty of good provender, and a few days' rest, would recruit the strength of our horses ; but, unfortunately, a contrary effect has been produced. My brother's, more especially, has fallen away to a perfect skeleton : certainly, with the exception of *Rosinante*, no horse, either in ancient or modern times, ever presented a spectacle more piteous and woe-begone ; it is quite painful even to look at his fleshless carcase.

Friday, June 4th.—Perhaps no two people in the universe, residing so near each other, differ more widely in their habits and customs, and even in their natures, than the natives of Yarriba and Borgoo. The former are perpetually engaged in trading with each other from town to town; the latter never quit their towns except in case of war, or when engaged in predatory excursions: the former are pusillanimous and cowardly; the latter are bold and courageous, full of spirit and energy, and never seem happier than when engaged in martial exercises; the former are generally mild, unassuming, humble, and honest, but cold and passionless; the latter are proud and haughty—too vain to be civil, and too shrewd to be honest; yet they appear to understand somewhat of the nature of love and the social affections, are warm in their attachments, and keen in their resentments.

The king visited us at our hut this morning, attended by three or four of his younger wives. The object of his coming was to get something from us; therefore we considered it no compliment.

Yarro has seen all the articles which we have given to his people—a custom which prevails here as well as in Yarriba; but, unlike the monarch of that country, he has converted to his own use those among them with which he was best pleased. Even his brother, who is a very good young man, and who accompanied us from Keeshee as messenger, has suffered from his selfishness, having been deprived of half the few things we had given him for his services.

The king's eldest son is governor of a town through which we shall have to pass on our way to Boossà, and it is agreed that he shall accompany us to that city. It is customary to give the messengers a

present proportionate to the services they may have rendered us ; and in the course of conversation this morning with the king, he wished to see the present it was our intention to offer his son. This was presently shown him, and he took from it the only piece of cloth which it contained, and which we are unable to replace. He then begged a little medicine for weak eyes ; and my brother presented him with a quantity of Epsom salts, and a small syringe. The king immediately began trying experiments on the instrument by spirting water into the faces of his wives, who did not appear to enjoy the diversion so well as himself. After a long, but uninteresting conversation, Yarro took his leave, followed by his women, and it is not likely that we shall see him again till the time of our departure to-morrow morning.

I have given him my fowling-piece and a pistol, having promised him this present when I left, if I should live to return to Kiáma ; the king has also had some of our best new gilt buttons.

In the evening, a very old and respectable Falàtah, the chief of a village at a short distance from Kiáma, came to see us with several of his people. This singular race are dispersed all over the Borgoo territories, where they have resided from time immemorial. They are generally styled *Fouàlnie* ; but although this word is evidently derived from *Foulah*, and although they speak the same language and follow the same pursuits as the Foulahs near Sierra Leone, who are supposed to be the white Ethiopians of Ptolemy and Pliny, yet they have not the slightest idea of their origin, nor of the period when their ancestors first emigrated from their native land. The Falàtahs in Borgoo maintain no intercourse whatever with their countrymen in Hàussa ; and in order to prevent mis-

chief and disturbances from taking place, none of them are permitted, on any consideration, to wear a sword, or carry about his person any offensive weapon.

A few years ago, there stood a village not many miles from Kiáma, which was inhabited solely by emigrants from Nouffie; but it is said to have been lately plundered and destroyed by Yarro's subjects, who first broke faith with the unfortunate people, and afterwards made them slaves.

The mean state of the thermometer of Fahrenheit has been 84; the extremes 75 and 94 in our hut.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Kiáma—Native Gratitude—Village of Kakafungi—Native Dance—John Lander taken ill—Deserted Route—Cross the River Oly—Story of the Falátahs—Encampment—Tornado—Illness of John Lander—Messengers from Coobly with assistance—Arrival in that town—Reception—Presents from Boossà—Mount Cornwall—Recovery of John Lander—Leave Coobly—Ruins—Town of Zalee—Arrival at Boossà—Reception.

Saturday, June 5th.—THE *adieu* of an African prince is the most unceremonious piece of business in the world: whatever expressions may be used, little regret is felt. Such at least is our opinion, from the coolness we have almost invariably experienced in parting from the principal people of the towns and villages through which we have passed. We were on horseback between seven and eight o'clock this morning, having previously paid our late visit to the king, and taken our farewell of him; and proceeded in good health and spirits through the northern gateway of the city, towards a town called *Kakafungi*, followed by a number of the lower class of people,

who sneered at my brother's horsemanship as he rode by, and diverted themselves by laughing heartily at the sorry appearance of his poor beast.

We had travelled about half a mile from the wall of Kiáma, when, looking behind us, we observed a great fat woman running after us at her full speed. She soon overtook us, almost breathless with the exertion. We then found that the object of her care was to present us with a bowl of new milk, which she had neglected to bring in time for us to drink before we set out. From the violence of her exertions, her whole person was thrown into the utmost disorder imaginable. This woman is a favourite singer to the king, and had supplied us with milk and provisions two or three days before our departure, for which we gave her a few trifling articles in payment; these, it appears, had produced so sensible an effect on her, that, when taking leave of us last evening, she began to shed tears, and sobbed aloud. This was now renewed, and we were obliged to spur on our horses to spare our feelings. We were afterwards told, that the woman's sorrow was only feigned in our presence for the purpose of obtaining a reward, and that she has always an abundance of tears at command.

Three or four Falàtah villages lay to the right and left of our path, one of which is of some extent; but we did not see a single inhabitant belonging to either of them. The greater part of the road lay through a thickly-wooded forest, by the side of a very gentle range of hills; and, excepting a fine plantation of yams, which we passed outside the walls of Kiáma, and which belongs to Yarro, we did not see a foot of cultivated ground during the whole journey. We arrived at *Kakafungi*, the halting-place, shortly after ten o'clock in the morning. This town is distant

from Kiáma about nine or ten miles; yet if an opinion may be formed from the nature of the path, which is uncommonly narrow, and almost hidden with rank grass, the intercourse between the two places is very little. Kakafungi is a straggling, but extensive and populous town, and is delightfully situated on an even piece of ground. The inhabitants are so clean and well-behaved, and their dwellings so neat and comfortable, that before we had spoken many words to one of them, we were prepossessed in favour of all. Nor was this opinion in any degree lessened, when, after we had been introduced into a commodious and excellent hut, we received the congratulations of the principal people. They came to us in a body, followed by boys and girls carrying a present of two kids, with milk and an abundance of pounded corn, and have remained with us the greater part of the day.

Late in the evening, when our people were asleep, the sound of singing tempted my brother to go out alone, and he soon discovered a little group of thoughtless, happy creatures, amusing themselves by dancing in the moonlight to the sound of a large drum. He described their dance as being very different from that practised in Yarriba; their motions being sometimes swift and violent, and sometimes slow and graceful; their gestures expressive of mild delight rather than vehement passion, and remarkable for propriety. They appeared to be singing something very comic in recitative, and kept time by clapping their hands. My brother's intrusion was of no importance to them, for the party still kept up their dance with as much spirit and good humour as before. In returning homewards he missed his way, and wandered among several deserted, empty huts and yards, and others guarded by dogs, before he discovered the

right, his total ignorance of the Borgoo language disqualifying him from asking questions of the inhabitants.

Sunday, June 6th.—I found my brother in a high fever this morning, and so ill that he was obliged to lie on his mat till the carriers were ready to depart. In consequence of the length of the journey from Kakafungi to Boossà, and there being no town or village on the road beyond a few miles' ride from hence, the carriers were employed till the afternoon in obtaining provisions sufficient for three or four days' consumption. A crowd of people assembled round our hut to take leave of us, by whom we were loudly cheered. My brother was so ill that he could not mount his horse without assistance.

We quitted Kakafungi about two P.M., by a path which lay in a northerly direction, through a perfect wilderness, some part of which was more stony and barren than anything we remember to have seen. The foot-marks of various wild animals appeared to be freshly imprinted in the path; but we observed only a very few antelopes, which would not suffer us to come near them, but scampered away the moment they saw us. The few stunted trees that we found, afforded us a very indifferent shelter from the heat of the sun, which was almost insufferable; and this, with the length of the journey and the speed with which we were obliged to travel, greatly increased my brother's fever. He was occasionally obliged to dismount and lie down on the ground for relief, being lifted off and replaced on his horse by our attendants. We saw the sun set behind some magnificent clouds, whilst we had yet a great way to go; and the narrow footpath which was here overgrown with bushes and rank grass, was hardly discernible by the light of the moon. In the afternoon all had been silent in the

forest; but in the evening the jackal, the hyæna, and the baboon, had forsaken their retreats, and mingled their dismal howl with the sprightly chirping of innumerable insects.

My brother and I were far behind the rest of the party, because he had been unable to keep pace with them; and we discharged a pistol every now and then as a signal to the carriers of our approach. As each report echoed through the forest, it was answered by the increased howling of wild animals, till at length we gladly saw the gleam of a large fire, and arrived at the encampment which had been prepared for us. Here we took possession for the night of a few deserted huts, which were falling to decay. A quantity of broken earthenware pots, calabashes, &c., were lying about, indicating that these abodes had been occupied at no very distant period; and on the trees which grew near them, we discovered several immense buffalo horns, and those of a very large kind of antelope.

The river *Oly*, which is said to take its rise in Ashantee, is at a short distance to the northward of our encampment. It appears, that not long ago this path was much frequented by merchants from the interior, trading to the westward, in order to avoid paying the accustomed duty on the Wowow road. But the chief of that state threatening to punish them if they did not pass through his city, their own interest induced them to conform to his wishes, and from that time, the route through this forest has been entirely deserted, and the poor ferrymen, who formerly inhabited these huts, were thus compelled to seek a livelihood elsewhere.

Monday, June 7th.—The rest which my brother had obtained during the night seemed to have revived him, and he appeared in better spirits, with an abate-

ment of fever, this morning. At eight A. M., after bathing, we crossed the *Oly* in a canoe, which we found tied to a tree. This pretty little river was here about forty paces in breadth, and about seven or eight feet deep in the middle, but gradually shallowing to each bank. It winded very romantically through the overhanging woods; and its current was so sluggish, and its surface so smooth, that it was for some time doubtful which way it ran. In the forenoon we passed near a spot where, our guides informed us, a party of Falàtahs a short time ago had murdered twenty of their slaves, because they had not food sufficient for their support. These same Falàtahs are already spoken of as having taken possession of a Yarriba town on the borders of the river Moussa. They had been despatched by Bello from Soccatoo to collect the accustomed tribute from the towns of Ràkah and Alòrie (in Yarriba); but it is said that the inhabitants of the latter town shut their gates against them, and declared themselves independent of the Falàtahs. On the return of the disappointed party through Borgoo, the king of Kiáma forbade any of his people from selling them provisions, and they were consequently obliged to find their way through this long and dreary wilderness without food. We remarked a great many holes which had been dug by these unfortunate men in the hope of finding a kind of wild yam, that abounds in the forest, besides the remains of fires which they had kindled to dress this scanty fare. No doubt they had been reduced to a dreadful extremity before they could kill their slaves; and perhaps the number of victims has been greatly exaggerated; for the natives, their enemies, are fond of impressing strangers with the most unfavourable idea of their characters and dispositions, so that their stories are to be received

with caution. We observed the skeleton of one of the slaves by the way-side.

After a long and tiresome journey under a burning sun, we pitched our tent in the evening near a small stream. My brother was very ill, his fever having returned with increased violence; but he took no other medicine than a common soda powder, as I was fearful of our progress being retarded. A storm gathered over our heads a few minutes after the tent had been fixed, and presently burst with terrific violence. While it lasted we were occupied with the thoughts of our forlorn condition. The deafening noise of the thunder, as it echoed among the hills, the overpowering glare of the lightning, the torrents of rain, and the violence of the wind, were truly awful. The whole of our party, amounting to twenty, were collected in the tent for shelter from the storm, and, in spite of the water which ran through it, contrived to sleep till morning.

Tuesday, June 8th.—We were obliged to lie in our wet clothes all night, and the effects of this were visible on my brother this morning. I endeavoured in vain to rally him, but he was scarcely able to stand. The tent was packed up in its wet state, and the carriers hastened onwards as fast as they could, for the provisions were consumed, and we were anxious to get to our journey's end without delay. This proceeds from Pascoe's negligence in having obtained only provisions enough for one day instead of three. My brother and I lingered behind with old Pascoe and another of our men, and proceeded on at a very slow pace, for our horses were worn out with fatigue, and my brother's was quite lame. As we advanced he became worse, till at length he was completely overcome, and, to prevent falling off his horse, dismounted, and lay down. There was no tree near

us that would afford shelter from the sun ; so, with the assistance of our people, I obtained some few branches, and formed a sort of bower, our horses' pads answering the purpose of a bed. The croaking of frogs indicated that water was not far distant, and we soon procured some. During the rest of the day my brother became worse, but the coolness of the evening appeared to revive him a little. Our medicine-chest had been sent with the other things ; I despatched Pascoe for it, but do not expect his return till to-morrow. In the meantime I went into the wood, and shot the only bird I saw, which was about the size of a sparrow. With this I returned, made a fire, and prepared a little soup in a half-pint cup, which we had reserved for the purpose of getting water from the streams, instead of a calabash. The soup was rather unsavoury, from want of salt ; nevertheless, it was of service to my brother : the flesh of the bird I divided between myself and my man, as we were both weak from want of food. We contrived to make a more substantial habitation for my brother in the evening, of some stout branches of trees, and thatched it with long grass ; and lighted large fires round it to keep away the wild beasts. But neither of us could sleep, for, independent of his illness, we were attacked by myriads of mosquitoes and buzzing flies. A prowling tiger was the only savage animal that approached near enough to be seen during the night.

Wednesday, June 9th.—Notwithstanding his bad night's rest, my brother had little fever on him this morning ; in fact, he found himself so much refreshed and strengthened, as to be able to go in search of our horses, which had strayed from us in the night. Having found them, we immediately made the necessary preparations, and proceeded on our journey ;

and in an hour's time we descried Pascoe approaching us with five men, who brought us corn and milk, and little cakes made of pounded corn and honey. The governor of *Coobly*, the town to which we were going, had also kindly sent us a horse and a hammock for my brother. The animal was to carry my brother over some rivulets which we should have to cross, whose banks were too steep and rugged for the hammock-men to perform that service. He thought himself strong enough to dispense with their assistance altogether, but accepted the horse with thankfulness. We all set forward together in good spirits about half-past ten in the morning; and, with occasional halting for my brother to rest himself, we arrived near Coobly shortly after sunset, without experiencing the extraordinary fatigue we had anticipated.

Outside the town is a vast number of straggling Falàtah hamlets, which are built on marshy ground. Our attention was attracted by a vast number of fire-flies, which were sporting over a swamp, and, together with numerous little lights from the huts of the Falàtahs, had a very pleasing appearance. During the journey we crossed several rivulets, and travelled over three or four hills. The soil on the latter is scanty and sterile, but the valleys appeared fertile. The exhalations from decaying vegetable substances near Coobly were highly offensive; and the air being likewise impregnated in many places with a strong odour, similar to that of musk, rendered it very disagreeable.

Having waited on the governor to thank him for his attention, we were detained but a few moments; and without having seen him we repaired to a hut that was assigned to us, where soon after my brother was seized with a return of the fever, more severe than the former.

Thursday, June 10th.—The governor sent us a bowl of rice, one of milk, two calabashes of butter, and a fine fat bullock. I was too anxiously and intently employed about my brother to make a return for his present, or to bestow my attention on any other matter, and therefore promised to visit him to-morrow. I administered ten grains of calomel to my brother, after which he fell into a kind of stupor and an insensibility to surrounding objects, which did not leave him till this afternoon, when his reason returned. Towards the evening he became worse, and I expected every moment was his last. During the few intervals he had from delirium he seemed to be aware of his danger, and entered into arrangements respecting his family concerns. At this moment my feelings were of too painful a nature to be described, The unhappy fate of my late master, Captain Clapperton, came forcibly to my mind. I had followed him into this country, where he perished; I had attended him in his parting moments; I had performed the last mournful office for him which our nature requires; and the thought that I should have to go through the same sad ceremonies for my brother overwhelmed me with grief.

Friday, June 11th.—Between eleven and twelve last night I rejoiced to find that my brother's illness seemed to take a favourable turn, and towards the morning he became tranquil and free from pain.

Two messengers arrived from Boossà last night, and another on horseback this morning, with a quantity of onions as a present from the queen. They were commanded by the king to await our departure from this town, and escort us to the city of Boossà, which is said to be two days' journey from Coobly, though we had been given to understand it was no more than a few hundred yards.

The governor has been very importunate in his desire for my brother to sell him one of his pistols ; and as we are in want of nothing so much as a horse, he offered it in exchange for the one my brother rode on Wednesday. He would rather have given us a boy instead of the horse, but this did not satisfy us ; and at last he consented to part with the animal, on condition that some trifling article should be given with the pistol, which was agreed to, and the bargain concluded.

Saturday, June 12th.—My brother's health is rapidly returning. An old woman applied to our lodgings to-day for medicine that would produce her an entire new set of teeth ; or, said she, " If I can only be supplied with two large and strong ones, I shall be satisfied with them." The woman was becoming rather impertinent, when I recommended her to procure two iron ones from a blacksmith, which so much displeased her, that she went away in a pet. The governor supplies us every day with abundance of milk and rice.

Coobly is situated on the slope of a cone-shaped mountain with a very broad base ; and may be plainly distinguished to the westward at the distance of above thirty miles. We have named this mountain after our own county, *Mount Cornwall*. The town is fortified by a strong fence, made by driving stakes firmly into the earth, and placing them closely together ; but notwithstanding this defence, the Falàtahs attacked and entered it about four years ago ; since which period, it is said, the governor has been in the habit of paying an annual tribute to King Bello. The inhabitants grow quantities of rice and corn, though none of the latter is now to be procured at any price, owing to the treachery and rapacity of the Falàtahs, who, when they quitted

the town, not only carried away all the corn that was in store, but tore up and destroyed all that was growing in the fields. The people, therefore, are but just recovering from the effects of this malicious act. Above a thousand Falàtahs, it is conjectured, reside with the flocks and herds on the plains near the town of Coobly; but they are very different in their manners from their marauding countrymen, and maintain a friendly intercourse with their neighbours.

Sunday, June 13th.—Last night we were visited by a thunder-storm, and the rain entered the roofs of our dwellings, and nearly inundated us. My brother's health still continues to improve. Although this is the Sabbath, I was obliged to send Pascoe in the morning to endeavour to shoot a Guinea hen, because we were unable to procure any description of fowl from the inhabitants, on religious considerations: the old man speedily returned, having been successful; great numbers of those birds abounding in the fields and woods near the town.

Monday, June 14th.—The governor's old wife returned from Boossà this morning, whither she had gone in quest of three female slaves, who had fled from her about a fortnight since. She has brought the fugitives back with her, and they are now confined in irons. As soon as she heard of our being in the town, the old lady sent us a sheep and a calabash of honey, which we accepted; and she shortly afterwards paid us a visit in person, when we took the opportunity of returning her present. The old matron's establishment is separate and distinct from that of her husband, the governor, who has not the slightest control over it. She is reported to have a multitude of slaves, and to be in other respects extremely opulent. No one can surpass the governor in benevolence and general good humour.

Tuesday, June 15th.—My brother, by the blessing of God, is now perfectly recovered from an illness that had nearly proved fatal to him. At an early hour this morning, we paid our respects to the hospitable governor, and quitted the town of Coobly. Our route was in a south-easterly direction; and we travelled through a thick forest, over hills and through deep valleys, till noon, when we halted for the day amidst the ruins of a large town, which, we are told, has recently been deserted by its inhabitants. Near the remains of a wall, we perceived a human skull, and other bones, which had been bleached white by the sun. This circumstance excited in us a desire to learn the fate of the former inhabitants of the town, and the reason of its present ruinous state. One of our messengers soon satisfied our curiosity by informing us, that a short time ago the town was taken by surprise and pillaged by a large party of Falàtab, who put to the sword all that made any resistance, and carried the remainder away with them as slaves. The ruins are very extensive, and the population of the town must have been considerable. The plain whereon it stood is large, verdant, and eminently beautiful, and is ornamented with fine trees. The ruins are at present inhabited by a variety of birds, and a large troop of monkeys; the latter walked away very composedly on hearing the report of one of our guns. Here one of the horses died; the poor animal had been our fellow-traveller from Jénna: another is too weak to walk with us a mile farther, so that we shall be compelled to leave him behind, for we cannot make up our minds to destroy him; and the third cannot live many days. The affection of these poor brutes towards each other is most extraordinary. The Boossà messenger rode to a little village at a short distance from the ruins this afternoon, and

returned in about four hours with an excellent mare, which he had borrowed of the governor for our use. In the evening we pitched the tent; and our own men, with the carriers and messengers, having constructed little temporary grass huts for themselves, made large fires all round them, and retired to rest.

Wednesday, June 16th.—A man on horseback arrived at our encampment before sunrise this morning, and looked round for a minute or two without dismounting. He neither explained his intentions nor even uttered a syllable; but when we wished to address him, he galloped off again the same way he had come. We rather suppose this horseman to have been despatched by the King of Boossà, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not we were on the road; for we hear he awaits our coming with much anxiety. At six A.M., we quitted our encampment among the ruins, and continued our journey in excellent spirits. The country was as woody as any which we remember to have seen, and the soil, generally speaking, as dry and sterile. We passed the ruins of two or three deserted villages, which originally stood near the pathway; and between nine and ten in the morning, we entered a snug, pretty little town, called *Zalee*, which, in the language of the country, means "thread." This town is surrounded by an excellent and well-built clay wall, with turrets, which is by far the best that we have anywhere seen, and outside of it is a broad and deep moat. *Zalee* lies in a rich and romantic valley, formed by a gap in a triple range of elevated hills, which run from east to west. The *Falàtabs*, in hopes of plunder, entered the town a year or two since whilst the male portion of its inhabitants were chiefly at work in the bush; but the women having given the alarm, they

returned to their homes in a body, and succeeded in expelling the intruders, before they had time to do any mischief.

The governor sent us a goat, a fowl, a calabash of rice, and a quantity of corn for the horses. Zalee contains about a thousand inhabitants.

Thursday, June 17th.—At the usual hour this morning we were on horseback, but the tardiness of our messengers occasioned some little delay after we had got beyond the walls. A heavy shower lasted for some hours during the night, which filled the path through the valleys with water, so that travelling was neither so safe nor pleasant as we have found it to be. We saw a surprising number of land-crabs on the road; these animals are esteemed as excellent eating by the natives. At nine A.M. we observed from an eminence the Sugar-loaf Mountain, near Wowow, lying to the right of our path, which, if we are not mistaken, was named “George the Fourth” by the late Captain Clapperton. One of the guides pointed out two hills on our left which could hardly be distinguished in consequence of their distance, and informed us that the city of Yàoorie stands at their base. Our course from Zalee was in a south-easterly direction. Shortly after this we came to a fine extensive plain, on which stood a few venerable and magnificent trees. Numerous herds of antelopes were feeding, which, on hearing the report of our guns, bounded over the plain in all directions. From hence we first beheld the city of Boossà; it lay directly before us, at the distance of two or three miles, and appeared to be formed of straggling clusters of huts. But what was our astonishment, on a nearer approach, to find Boossà standing on the *main land*, and not an island in the Niger, as represented by Captain Clapperton! We could discover nothing that

could warrant such an assertion. At ten o'clock we entered the city by the western gateway, and discharged our pieces as the signal of our arrival.

After having waited a few minutes, we were introduced to the king, whom we found in an interior apartment of his residence, in company with the *Midikie*, the title bestowed on his principal wife, or queen. They welcomed us to Boossà with every appearance of cordiality. They told us very gravely, and with rueful countenances, that they had both been weeping in the morning for the death of Captain Clapperton, whose untimely end they would never cease to lament. They might, it is true, have been thus engaged; but, as on our entrance we observed no outward signs of tears, we rather mistrusted their assertion. Pascoe having loitered behind, our conversation was limited to a few general remarks only; and having taken our leave of them, we repaired to a hut which had been selected for us. In the evening, rice and corn, with several dishes of meat, fish, &c., were sent us for supper.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Widow Zuma—Present to the King—Visit to the Niger—The King of Boossà and the Midikie—Object of the mission explained—The tobe of Park recovered—Park's papers—Boossà described—Resources of the Country—One of Park's books discovered—Equity of the King—The hostess—Departure from Boossà—Kagogie—Canoes—Embark on the Niger—Description of the river—Village of Soolo—Rocky barrier—Arrival at Yáoonie.

Friday, June 18th.—The noted widow Zuma visited us to-day without the slightest pretensions to finery of any kind, either in her dress or ornaments, for she was clad in very humble apparel of country

cloth. She related to us with great good humour her quarrels with her prince, the ruler of Wowow, and her consequent flight from that city to escape his resentment. It appears that, in order to effect this, she was actually obliged to climb over the city wall in the night, and travel on foot to Boossà, which is a very long journey, and to a woman of her size must have been an arduous task. She alleged that she had done nothing whatever to merit the displeasure of the Wowow chief, notwithstanding which he had robbed her of all her household furniture and a number of her slaves. But, from another quarter, we learn that one of her sons had committed a theft in the city, for which he would have suffered death, if he had not made his escape with his mother, who it is said had instigated him to the deed. The widow complained sadly of poverty and the hardness of the times; she had fought with the Yarribeans against Aldrie; but instead of receiving a recompense for her bravery, she had lost half her slaves in an engagement, which so disgusted her with the military profession, that she immediately abandoned it and returned home. Yet in spite of all her losses and misfortunes, she has gained so much in corpulency, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could squeeze herself into the doorway of our hut, although it is by no means small. The widow Zuma is a very good-looking elderly person of matronly appearance. Her skin is of a light copper colour.

After the widow had left us, I carried the presents which had been selected to the king and queen. Each appeared delighted with them, and the former more especially was extravagant in expressions of admiration and thankfulness. A pair of silver bracelets, a tobacco-pipe, and a looking-glass, seemed to

rivet the attention of the king, who could not take his eyes off them for a full half-hour, so much was he pleased with them.

This morning we visited the far-famed *Niger* or *Quorra*, which flows by the city, about a mile from our residence, and were greatly disappointed at the appearance of this celebrated river. Black, rugged rocks rose abruptly from the centre of the stream, causing strong ripples and eddies on its surface. It is said that, a few miles above Boossà, the river is divided into three branches, by two small fertile islands, and that it flows from hence in one continued stream to Funda. The Niger here, in its widest part, is not more than a stone's-throw across at present. The rock on which we sat overlooks the spot where Mr. Park and his associates met their unhappy fate; we could not help meditating on that circumstance, and on the number of valuable lives which have been sacrificed in attempting to explore this river, and secretly implored the Almighty that we might be the humble means of setting at rest for ever the great question of its course and termination.

Saturday, June 19th.—This morning the king, accompanied by his consort, who is said to be his counsellor and only confidant, honoured us with a visit at our hut. They came without any kind of state or ceremony, and were both dressed more plainly than many of their subjects. The king wore a white cotton tobe over another of blue and white, a cap of red cloth, and leathern sandals of the same colour. The Midikie was clad in a common check shirt, of Nouffie manufacture; a plain piece of blue cotton was fastened round her head, wholly concealing the hair; a larger piece of the same kind was thrown over the left shoulder, and a third, tied round her waist,

reached so far as the middle of the leg. Her feet were bare, as were likewise her arms up to the elbow; a brass ring ornamented each great toe, and eight silver bracelets each wrist, the least of them weighing little less than a quarter of a pound. Besides these ornaments, the queen wore a necklace of coral and bits of gold, and small pieces of pipe-coral were stuck in the lobe of each ear.

We had almost forgotten to mention that the Sultan of Bornou is considered the most powerful chief of Northern, as the King of Boossà is of Western, Africa. The queen is the daughter of the last, and sister of the present, ruler of Wowow.

The demand for coral has been very great in every town of consequence which we have visited. All ranks of people appear passionately fond of wearing it, and it is preferred to every other ornament whatever. The midikie asked us, this morning, if we had brought any coral with us; and seemed rather disappointed, though not displeased, on being answered in the negative. She then pulled out a little box, made of sheepskin, which was filled with coral beads and little golden trinkets, and requested me to polish the latter for her. We offered her a few plated buttons, which we had just before been cleaning, and they were accepted with transport; but, as their brightness had excited the admiration of her consort, a scramble took place as to which of the two should have them. After a long struggle, it ended in the triumph of the king, who first chose the largest and best for his own use, and then gave his spouse the remainder, taking care, however, to show her the inside of the buttons he had selected for himself, which were tarnished by use, and to display those intended for her to the greatest advantage. The royal couple were like two great children, yet they were each well pleased with their

own, and expressed their thankfulness with much warmth.

We imagined that it would have been bad policy to have stated the true reason of our visiting this country, knowing the jealousy of most of the people with regard to the Niger; and therefore, in answer to the king's inquiries, I was obliged to deceive him with the assertion that our object was to go to Bornou by way of Yáoorie, requesting, at the same time, a safe conveyance through his territories. This answer satisfied the king, and he promised us every assistance in his power. Our visitors remained with us a considerable time; and, in the course of conversation, one of them observed that they had in their possession a tobe, which belonged to a white man who came from the north many years ago, and from whom it had been purchased by the king's father. We expressed great curiosity to see this tobe, and it was sent us as a present a short time after their departure. Contrary to our expectations, we found it to be made of rich crimson damask, and very heavy, from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time when the late king is said to have purchased this tobe corresponds very nearly to the supposed period of Mr. Park's death; and as we never heard of any other white man having come from the north so far south as Boossà, we are inclined to believe it to be part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveller. Whether Mr. Park wore the tobe himself, which is scarcely probable on account of its weight, or whether he intended it as a present to a native chief, we are at a loss to determine. At all events, the article is a curiosity in itself; and if we should live to return to England, we shall easily learn whether it was made there or not. The chief himself has never worn the tobe,

nor did his predecessor, from a superstitious feeling ; “ Besides,” observed the king, “ it might excite the cupidity of the neighbouring powers.”

Sunday, June 20th.—The king sent a messenger this morning, to inform us that he was a tailor, and that he would thank us for some thread and a few needles for his own private use. By this man he likewise sent a musket for us to repair ; but as it is Sunday, we have declined doing it till to-morrow. Eager as we are to obtain even the slightest information relative to the unhappy fate of Mr. Park and his companions, as well as to ascertain if any of their books or papers are now in existence at this place, we had almost made up our minds to refrain from asking any questions on the subject, because we were apprehensive that it might be displeasing to the king, and involve us in many perplexities. Familiarity, however, having in some measure worn off this impression, and the king being an affable, obliging, and good-natured person, we were emboldened to send Pascoe to him this morning, with a message expressive of the interest we felt on the subject, in common with all our countrymen ; and saying that, if any books or papers which belonged to Mr. Park were yet in his possession, he would do us a great service by delivering them into our hands, or at least by granting us permission to see them. To this the king returned for answer, that when Mr. Park was lost in the Niger, he was a very little boy, and that he knew not what had become of his effects ; that the deplorable event had occurred in the reign of the late king's predecessor, who died shortly after ; and that all traces of the white man had been lost with him. This answer disappointed our hopes, for to us it appeared final and decisive. But in the evening they were again raised by a hint from our host, who is the

king's drummer, and one of the principal men in the country; he assured us that there was certainly one book at least saved from Mr. Park's canoe, which is now in the possession of a very poor man in the service of his master, to whom it had been entrusted by the late king during his last illness. He said, moreover, that if but one application were made to the king on any subject whatever, very little was thought of it; but if a second were made, the matter would be considered of sufficient importance to demand his whole attention,—such being the custom of the country. The drummer, therefore, recommended us to persevere in our inquiries, for he had no doubt that something to our satisfaction would be elicited. At his own request, we sent him to the king immediately, desiring him to repeat our former statement, and to assure the king that, should he be successful in recovering the book we wanted, our monarch would reward him handsomely. He desired the drummer to inform us that he would use every exertion, and examine the man who was reported to have the white man's book in his possession, at an early hour to-morrow. Here the matter at present rests.

In the afternoon, the king came alone to see us, and wished to know when we were inclined to depart. We answered, that we were quite ready; that we were only waiting his pleasure, and would gladly proceed on our journey whenever he would give us permission. He said, if the King of Yáoorie should not have a canoe for us by Monday evening, we should have the use of one of his own, and that we should have liberty to embark on the following morning. We thanked him for his kindness, and took the opportunity of paying him and his spouse a compliment, which their treatment of us has really deserved. The king took it in good part, was

extremely affable and obliging, and quitted us in an excellent humour.

I have been very unwell during the last day or two, but am now much better.

Monday, June 21st.—The city of Boossà, as we have before observed, consists of a great number of groups or clusters of huts, all within a short distance of each other. It is bounded on one side by the river Quorra or Niger, and on the other by an extensive turreted wall, with moats, forming a complete semicircle. Notwithstanding, however, its natural and artificial defences, Boossà was taken by the Falàtahs many years ago; on which occasion its inhabitants fled, with their children and effects, to one of those little islands in the Niger, which we have already mentioned. But the chiefs of Niki, Wowow, and Kíama, having been made acquainted with the circumstance, assembled together, and having joined their forces with those of Boossà, drove the Falàtahs, their common enemy, into the Niger, where many of them perished. Since that period the city has never been invaded, nor threatened with attack. The soil of Boossà is, for the most part, very fertile, and produces rice, corn, yams, &c., in great abundance. *Dowah*, a kind of corn, is obtained here in the greatest perfection; it yields five hundred-fold, and forms the principal food of the inhabitants, both rich and poor. Another variety of corn grows here, which has eight ears on a single stem; the grain is very small and sweet, but it is not cultivated to any extent. The butter-tree flourishes in and near the town; and palm-oil is imported from Nouffie; but the latter is only used as an article of food, because it is very scarce and dear, and is purchased only by the king and a few of the principal inhabitants. The king and his midikie have each great numbers of fine

cattle, but none of their subjects are in possession of a single bullock; they have, however, flocks of sheep and goats, and obtain immense quantities of fish from the Niger. Very good salt is brought from a salt lake on the borders of the river, which is about ten days' journey to the northward of this place; and pepper grows in every part of the country. Guinea-fowl, pheasants, partridges, and a variety of aquatic birds, are found here in the greatest plenty, and have afforded us excellent sport. The natives sometimes endeavour to shoot them with their arrows; but this method of procuring game is at all times very precarious and difficult, and two birds only have been thus killed during several years past. Deer and antelopes also abound near the city; but they are timid and shy, and rarely, if ever, caught by the inhabitants. The fish, with which the river abounds so plentifully, are eaten by all classes of people: they are tough, dry, and unsavoury; yet they form part of the daily food of the inhabitants, who appear exceedingly fond of them.

The Hàussa language is understood by the generality of the natives of Borgoo, both young and old, almost as well as their mother-tongue, and it is spoken by the majority of them with considerable fluency. The government of the country is despotic; but this unlimited power, which is vested in the monarch, is almost invariably exercised with lenity and forbearance. All private disputes are settled by the king, and he punishes misdemeanors just as his inclination may lead him. It was reported that the queen ruled her husband, and influenced his conduct in all matters; but the affair of the buttons shows the rumour to be ill-founded. The king's address is superior; and his whole demeanour, in our presence, though mild and unassuming, displays a good deal

of natural dignity. He sent us a fine turkey this morning; which was acknowledged on our part by a couple of guinea-fowl and two brace of partridges, which my brother had shot.

In the afternoon, the king came to see us, followed by a man with a book under his arm, which was said to have been picked up in the Niger after the loss of our countryman. It was enveloped in a large cotton cloth; and our hearts beat high with expectation as the man was slowly unfolding it, for by its size we guessed it to be Mr. Park's journal; but our disappointment and chagrin were great, when, on opening the book, we discovered it to be an old nautical publication of the last century. The title-page was missing, but its contents were chiefly tables of logarithms. It was a thick royal quarto, which led us to conjecture that it was a journal; between the leaves we found a few loose papers of very little consequence indeed; one of them contained two or three observations on the height of the water in the Gambia; one was a tailor's bill on a Mr. Anderson; and another was addressed to Mr. Mungo Park, and contained an invitation to dinner. The following is a copy of it:—

“Mr. and Mrs. Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr. Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half-past five o'clock.

“An answer is requested.

“*Strand, 9th Nov., 1804.*”

The king, as well as the owner of the book, looked as greatly mortified as ourselves when they were told that the one produced was not that of which we were in quest, because the reward promised would not of course be obtained. As soon as our curiosity had been fully satisfied, the papers were carefully collected

and placed again between the leaves, and the book as carefully folded in its envelope as before, and taken away by its owner, who values it as much as a household god. Thus all our hopes of obtaining Mr. Park's journal or papers, in this city, are entirely defeated. The inquiry, on our part, has not been prosecuted without much trouble and anxiety, and some little personal sacrifices likewise; which, had they been ten times as great, we would gladly have made whilst a single hope remained of their being effectual.

Tuesday, June 22nd.—When Captain Clapperton was at Wowow on the former expedition, Pascoe purchased a slave of the widow Zuma to be his wife; but, for some reason or other, the bargain was not completed, and the woman remained with her mistress. A part of the purchase-money only was given back to Pascoe, and he was obliged to quit the town with his master, without having had an opportunity of recovering the remainder. The widow's late change of residence from Wowow to Boossà seemed to offer a fair chance for Pascoe to obtain his money, and he accordingly made an early application for it; but, though she acknowledged the debt, she refused payment on the ground that, as the Prince of Wowow had forcibly obtained possession of the girl in question, he had no right whatever to the money. Pascoe, unwilling to lose so large a sum, then laid the matter before the King of Boossà, for his decision; and, in consequence, the widow has undergone two or three examinations, without producing any good whatever. The monarch has declared that he sees the justice of his demand; but, as the woman obstinately refuses to pay the debt, he cannot think of forcing her to do so against her inclination. Pascoe subsequently offered the whole of the money which

the widow owed him to the king, provided the latter could obtain it. But this was altogether repugnant to the monarch's notions of right and wrong. He replied, "The widow came here to me alone, and in distress, to claim my protection, which I granted her without hesitation; it would therefore ill become me to break my faith, and turn my back on an object so utterly defenceless and unprotected, by exacting from her the money of another for my own use, in the recovery of which I had previously refused to interfere. I cannot break my word; I cannot grant your request."

It is amusing to discover the shifts to which the people of Boossà and other places have resorted, in the hope of obtaining a little present of some sort from us. The day after our arrival here, a man, who represented himself as brother to the king of Nouffie, sent us a large bowl of dried fish and onions; and another individual has sold his only *tobe*, for the purpose of obtaining a little money to purchase some *bum*, which is a fermented liquor extracted from the palm-tree and the bamboo, and which he is about to present to us. The former of these presents was rejected, because such kind of things had become, by their frequency, so serious an inconvenience, that we have determined to accept of nothing for the future in the shape of a gift, except from the chiefs and governors themselves. Yet we have repented of our resolution in this instance, having been informed yesterday that the pretended brother of the king of Nouffie was not long ago taken prisoner by the Falàtahs, and his only son with him, and that they were both sold by them to a company of Hàussa merchants; that the father had redeemed himself from slavery by his own exertions, and that he had had recourse to the above expedient of sending us a

quantity of dried fish and onions, in the expectation of obtaining a little money from us towards emancipating his son. The poor man went away quite crest-fallen and unhappy at the ill success of his project, and quitted the city immediately after, to visit his enslaved son, who is at *Koolfu*, so that when we were made acquainted with the circumstance it was too late to relieve him, and we very much regretted it.

Our hostess is an agreeable and good-natured woman, but she is excessively vain of her person; so much so, indeed, that she employs several hours in the day in dressing her hair, which hangs down below the face in three plaited *queues*, one of them from the forehead, and one from each side of the head; after which she affixes ornaments on different parts of her body, stains her lips and teeth a shining red colour with *hennah* (a species of myrtle); and when all this is done she admires herself in a broken looking-glass which we have given her. This is the most whimsical and diverting part of the ceremony: she approaches the glass and retreats from it again; smiles when she fancies that she looks pretty; and distorts her features and throws her body into all manner of comical attitudes, to ascertain which is the most engaging. Although only a drummer's wife, our hostess is considered as a person of respectability, for her husband's situation is one of the most important in the kingdom. And all the more respectable females of Borgoo adorn their persons in much the same manner as she does, and have an almost equal share of affectation and vanity. The men sometimes stain their lips and teeth, and finger and toe nails, like their wives; but this custom is by no means general among them. The king and queen of Boossà disregard it altogether.

We brought three horses with us to Coobly from Jénna ; two of them have died from fatigue, and the third is in so miserable a state, that he can be of no further service to us. The king paid us a visit this afternoon, and informed us that everything will be in readiness for our departure to-morrow. On this occasion he presented us with an excellent and handsome horse, which is the more acceptable, as we have only one, which we fortunately purchased a few days ago from the governor of Coobly. The monarch strongly enjoined us to accept of no provisions, particularly milk and honey, from any person whatever, excepting the governors of towns through which we may pass, for he was apprehensive that poison would be mixed with them. He did not explain to us on what grounds he entertained his suspicion, but left us to form our own conjectures on his unexpected advice. If we are not mistaken, the king warned Captain Clapperton of a similar danger.

During the whole course of our journey, we have nowhere experienced greater kindness, attention, and hospitality, than from the amiable ruler of this place, and his no less amiable companion ; and we shall have occasion to remember their civility to us as long as we live.

Since we have been here the king has given us a horse, bullock, sheep, and turkey, which were all very valuable, while our present to him is considerably less than that which the king of Kiáma received.

Wednesday, June 23d.—Last night Boossà was visited by a tornado, which did a little mischief to the town. At an early hour in the morning the king and queen paid us a farewell visit, when the former again cautioned us to beware of poison. We then expressed our acknowledgments to both for all their favours ; and an hour or two after they had taken

their departure, we rode out of the city, accompanied by two horsemen as an escort, and a foot-messenger to the sultan of Yàoorie. Not far from the walls of Boossà we came to a spot where the herds of the king and midikie were grazing; finer cattle can nowhere be seen; they are under the care of Falàtah slaves, because the natives do not understand their management. From hence we journeyed along the banks of the Niger, at an easy pace, owing to the hollows in the path, and two hours afterwards entered a pleasant little walled town called *Kagogie*, where we were desired to halt till to-morrow. The town is peopled solely by the king of Boossà's slaves; and is distant, in a northerly direction, from the capital about eight or nine miles. We have been sent hither by land, because a canoe could not be paddled up the river without the greatest difficulty and danger, on account of the rocks. The inhabitants of *Kagogie* appear to enjoy an easy kind of life. The chief part of their time is employed in husbandry, fishing, and taking care of the king's horses; and though but indifferently clad, they all seem well fed, contented, and comfortable.

In the afternoon a young woman presented herself with a few loose leaves of "Thomson's Seasons," which we had thrown away at Boossà. She had been despatched purposely by the king, her master, who imagined that they were valuable to us, and that we had overlooked them in the hurry of departure.

Even here, in this insignificant and sequestered place, the Arabic language is professed to be taught in schools, and boys are put under the tuition of men who can only teach them a few very short Mohammedan prayers, and who do not themselves understand a single Arabic character.

Our nights were spent most unpleasantly at Boossà, by reason of the swarms of mosquitoes and black ants which infested our dwelling, and whose sting is keener than a needle's point; the latter insect, in particular, is a great nuisance, and we are told that there is not a town on the banks of the Niger that is free from either.

Thursday, June 24th.—Though the governor of Kagogie had been made acquainted with our intentions no less than three days before our arrival, yet no canoe had been got ready for our use; and this morning, when we expected to embark, the "King of the Canoe," as the person who has the care of it is ridiculously styled, informed us with the utmost unconcern that it was out of repair, and that it would not be fit for our reception for some hours at least. This intelligence was very disagreeable and provoking, for we were so anxious to embark on the Niger, that the shortest delay was painful to us. Besides, the appearance of the morning foretold a hot day; and as we had neither awning nor umbrellas to screen us from the burning sun, this circumstance tended to increase our uneasiness. The natives have no forethought, and imagine that all men value time as little as themselves: everything is deferred till the very last moment, and they look up into one's face with wonder when they see one anywise impatient.

In the course of the forenoon we repaired to the side of the river, which is about twenty or thirty paces from the town, for the purpose of endeavouring to encourage and hurry the workmen in their labour about the canoe. Promises and threats were employed to effect this object, but the men would neither be coaxed nor intimidated: they would not overwork themselves, they said, for all the riches in our possession; so that we were obliged to leave

them, and exercise our patience. The branch of the Niger which flows by Kagogie is about a mile in width; but it is rendered so shallow by large sandbanks, that, except in one very narrow place, a child might wade across it without difficulty. Mr. Park chose a deeper and safer branch, though it led to the same dangers.

Our horses were conveyed across from here to the opposite side of the river, from whence they will be taken to Yàoorie by land, because the canoes of the natives would be too frail a conveyance for them. These canoes are of great length, but the workmanship employed in making and fashioning them is exceedingly rude and careless. Owing, perhaps, to the want of proper trees of sufficient magnitude, they are made of *two* blocks of wood, which are sewn together by a thick cord, under which a quantity of straw is placed, both inside and out, to prevent the admission of water; but the whole is altogether so clumsily executed, that every canoe in the country is always leaky.

About mid-day, the workmen having finished our canoe, the luggage was presently put into it, and between twelve and one we embarked with our people, and were launched out into the river. The direction of this branch was nearly east and west; and we proceeded some distance down the stream for the purpose of getting into the main branch of the Niger, where there is deeper water. This object was soon attained, and we found it flowing from north to south, through a rich and charming country, which seemed to improve in appearance the farther we advanced. We were propelled at a good rate up a channel, which, from half a mile in breadth, gradually widened to rather better than a mile. Beautiful, spreading, and spiry trees adorned the

country on each side of the river, like a park : corn, nearly ripe, waved over the water's edge ; large, open villages appeared every half-hour ; and herds of spotted cattle were observed grazing and enjoying the cool of the shade. The appearance of the river, for several miles, was no less enchanting than its borders ; it was as smooth as a lake ; canoes, laden with sheep and goats, were paddled by women down its almost imperceptible current ; swallows, and a variety of aquatic birds, were sporting over its glassy surface, which was ornamented by a number of pretty little islands.

The heat of the weather distressed us greatly, till the approach of evening, when large sand-banks and shallows engaged our attention. A little after eight, P.M., we landed on the eastern bank of the river, not far from a small village, where we fixed our tent on a plot of rising corn, and, having nothing to eat, went supperless to rest.

Friday, June 25th.—The most remarkable object which we saw, on rising this morning, was a rugged and romantic range of hills, appearing to the eastward of our encampment. It is called *Engarskie*, from a country of the same name in which the hills are situated, and which was formerly an independent kingdom, but is now become a province of Yàoorie. At a little before seven, A.M., our canoe was pushed off the sandy beach on which it had been secured last evening, and propelled down a very narrow channel, between a large sand-bank and the shore. This conducted us into the main branch of the Niger, and we again admired its delightful and magnificent appearance.

We had proceeded only a few hundred yards when the river gradually widened to two miles, and continued so as far as the eye could reach. It looked

very much like an artificial canal, the banks having the appearance of a dwarf wall, with vegetation beyond. In most places the water was extremely shallow, but in others it was deep enough to float a frigate. During the first two hours of the day, the scenery was as interesting and picturesque as can be imagined. The banks were literally covered with hamlets and villages; fine trees, bending under the weight of their dark and impenetrable foliage, everywhere relieved the eye from the glare of the sun's rays, and, contrasted with the lively verdure of the little hills and plains, produced the most pleasing effect. Afterwards, however, there was a decided change: the banks, which before consisted of dark earth, clay, or sand, were now composed of black rugged rocks; large sand-banks and islands were scattered in the river, which diverted it into a variety of little channels, and effectually destroyed its appearance.

About eleven o'clock, dark clouds from the west foretold an approaching storm; and our boatmen used their utmost exertions in endeavouring to reach a village, or some place of security, before it should burst upon us, but in this hope we were disappointed, for in a very few minutes it blew a hurricane, accompanied by thunder and lightning of the most awful description, and the rain fell in torrents. It became, besides, so dark that nothing could be clearly distinguished at the distance of only a few yards. We were wetted to the skin in a moment; and our canoe was in danger of sinking as we came abreast of a little fishing village, on an island close to the water's edge. We jumped on shore as soon as possible, and ran, without shoes or hats, into the first hut we came to, for protection from the storm. Here our unlooked-for intrusion frightened away a poor woman,

who rushed out of the hut as we entered it ; but we commenced throwing off our dripping clothes, and displacing a pot of fish which was stewing over a few expiring embers, heaped up all the dry wood we could find. Not till then did we discover that our situation was little better than it had been in the canoe ; the hut had two large open doorways opposite each other, through which the wind swept the rain, and filled it with pools of water. This was too much for us, and sallying out immediately, half-dressed, we hurried towards a hut which we perceived at a short distance, but this was no better than that which we had left,—all seemed alike ; and rushing back again through the pelting rain, we regained our deserted hut, and resigned ourselves to all its inconveniences. Our people shortly afterwards came up to us, quite benumbed with cold and wet ; and, notwithstanding their distress and our own comfortless condition, we could not forbear laughing at their comical and ragged appearance. Meantime the hostess and her husband, with several of the other villagers, summoned up resolution enough to visit us ; and by way of a peace-offering, they brought with them firewood and a small quantity of provisions. This enabled us to kindle two large fires in the hut, which, as the storm was abating, soon dried up the water ; but we were unavoidably obliged to lie down in damp clothes. My brother and I sat up during the best part of the night, for we found it impossible to sleep, not only on account of myriads of mosquitoes, but the groaning and snoring of men, the barking and growling of dogs, an incessant drumming at an adjacent village, and the startling roar of a lion, which was prowling about our quarters nearly the whole of the night.

Saturday, June 26th.—The tempest of yesterday was succeeded by a cool evening, and a remarkably

clear night. In the morning, on leaving the village, we were followed to the beach by a few of its inhabitants, and when the canoe was pushed off at seven o'clock, they cheered us loudly. These people are harmless and good-natured, but dirty in their persons and singular in their manners. Their language is different from that spoken at Boossà. Most of the villages on the islands, as far as Yàoorie, it is said, are inhabited by the same race of people, and they are also scattered on the banks of the river. The women daub their hair with red clay, but they are too poor to purchase many personal ornaments, and the men use none whatever. They appear to have the necessaries of life in abundance; they are partial to agriculture, and cultivate large portions of land with corn, rice, and onions; besides which fishing is carried on by them on an extensive scale, and numbers of the men go three days' journey up the Niger to catch fish. Most of their huts are supported on clay pillars, which are wonderfully small; or on stone slabs not more than an inch in thickness. The walls of the huts are only two or three inches in thickness; but these have no large doorways like that which we occupied; and instead of them, they are furnished with a small single aperture near the roof, to which their owners are obliged to climb; and even then they cannot enter without great exertion. These huts approach nearer to the shape of a common English oven than anything else we have ever seen. Situated between Boossà and Yàoorie, the inhabitants of most of the islands speak the language of those countries, but they have also one of their own, which nobody but themselves understands; a smattering of the Hàussa tongue, which they have attained, is the only method of communication which is adopted in their trading transactions.

We had passed the island whereon we slept last night but a few minutes, and had just entered into the main river, when we came to a spot where it spreads again into branches, and each channel was literally filled with dangerous rocks, sand-banks, and low islands covered with tall rank grass. The appearance of them was extremely disheartening. We were conducted up the main branch of the river, but were soon obliged to land with our people in order to lighten the canoe, which, after a deal of exertion, was lifted over a ridge of rocks into deeper water. During the greater part of the morning, indeed, our canoe was continually striking against concealed rocks, or running on hidden sand-banks, but sustained no apparent damage by the concussion; the only inconvenience we experienced from it was the fatiguing one of being obliged to get out and in whenever it was found necessary. It therefore afforded us much pleasure to be landed, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the left bank of the river, for we were heartily tired of our morning's work, and felt highly gratified that it was over.

At a short distance from the water's edge the country was thickly studded with clusters of huts, which altogether are called the village of *Sooloo*; and we took up our quarters in a large one, which is nearest the landing-place. The inhabitants resemble very much the islanders already spoken of; they cultivate much land and catch vast quantities of fish; but though they live well, they are clothed very indifferently. The only ornaments they wear are made of the backbone of a certain species of fish, which are tied round the loins and other parts of the body. Besides corn, &c., the inhabitants also grow immense quantities of onions, and they have

large store-houses full of these, ready to be exported to different parts of the continent. The price of an onion here is two cowries ; at Katunga forty, and at Badàgry they fetch so high a price as a hundred cowries each.

We were treated this afternoon with much hospitality by them, and they did all in their power to render our short stay as agreeable as possible.

Sunday, June 27th.—Both of us awoke this morning rather unwell, which was most likely occasioned by our exposure to the tempest of Friday. The old chief of the village accompanied us to the water's edge when we quitted our hut for the purpose of embarking, and enjoined the "King of the Canoe" to be particularly careful of his charge. "Careful!" answered the man; "to be sure I will; do I not know that white men are more precious than a boat-load of eggs, and require as much care to be taken of them?" We entreated the same man a short time afterwards to be more active and diligent in the management of his canoe, for he was rather inclined to be lazy, and suffered every one to go before ours; but he replied gravely, "Kings do not travel so fast as common men; I must convey you along as slowly as possible."

We had heard so unfavourable an account of the state of the river at one particular place which we should have to pass, that our people were compelled to disembark, and walk along the banks a considerable way till we had passed it, when we took them in again. We found the description to be in nowise exaggerated; it presented a most forbidding appearance, and yields only to the state of the Niger near Boossà in difficulty and danger. On our arrival at this formidable place, we discovered a range of black rocks running directly across the stream, and the water,

finding only one narrow passage, rushed through it with great impetuosity, overturning and carrying away everything in its course. Our boatmen, with the assistance of a number of the natives, who planted themselves on the rocks on each side of the only channel, and in the stream at the stern of the canoe, lifted it by main force into smoother and safer water. The last difficulty with respect to rocks and sand-banks was now overcome, and in a very little time we came to the termination of all the islands, after which, it is said, there is not a single dangerous place up the Niger. The river here presented its noblest appearance; not a single rock nor sand-bank was any where perceptible; its borders resumed their beauty, and a strong, refreshing breeze, which had blown during the whole of the morning, now gave it the motion of a slightly agitated sea. In the course of the morning we passed two lovely little islands, clothed in verdure, which at a short distance looked as charming as the fabled gardens of Hesperia; indeed no spot on earth can excel them in beauty of appearance. These islands are inhabited by a few individuals.

About eleven A.M. we landed at the foot of a little village on the east bank of the river, where our horses and men had arrived before us. Here a little milk was presented to us by a Falàtah in the service of the sultan of Yàoorie, and we rested under a large tree an hour or two, awaiting the arrival of carriers from the city of Yàoorie, who had been sent for yesterday by one of the Boossà messengers that had charge of our horses. These men arrived at the village between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, and we immediately mounted and rode onwards.

The path was in a N.N.E. direction, and we

travelled over a sterile country, which was gradually rising at every step, and abounded plentifully in game. The weather was oppressively warm, and we were obliged to refresh ourselves by halting occasionally and resting in the shade. The soil, which at first was so indifferent and barren, improved greatly as we drew near Yàorie; and immense patches of land, cultivated with a variety of corn, also with rice, indigo, cotton, &c., were visible on every side. Labourers were employed in these plantations, attended by a drummer, that they might be excited, by the sound of his instrument, to work well and briskly. On attaining the summit of a steep hill, we rode over a very narrow pathway, so much overhung by an impenetrable thorny shrub, that there was not room for more than one man to walk. This led us to the wall of Yàorie, and we entered the city through an amazingly strong passage, in which was an immense door, covered with plates of iron, rudely fastened to the wood-work. We were almost exhausted with fatigue on our arrival, insomuch that we excused ourselves from visiting and paying our respects to the sultan, and we were conducted to a convenient habitation, which had been prepared for us. Yàorie is about eight miles N.N.E. from the village at which we landed.

CHAPTER IX.

Remarks on the River—Intelligence of the fate of Mr. Park—His Gun obtained—Visit to the Sultan—Unsuccessful Application for Mr. Park's Papers—The Kingdom and City of Yàoorie and its Natives—The Sultan's Son—Insurgents—The Sultan's Daughters—Mischiefs of the Widow Zuma—Application of the Travellers to the King of Boossà—Wars in Nouffie—Provinces of Hàussa—Detention of the Travellers—The Sultan of Yàoorie—His Character—Farewell Visit.

WITH the exception of the dangerous rocks at Boossà, we were informed that, during our four days' passage up the river, we had passed all the most difficult places in it; neither rocks nor sand-banks, it is said, being either above Yàoorie, or below Boossà. We have said nothing of the course of the river, because it is pretty well understood that this city lies nearly due north of Boossà; and also that, notwithstanding its windings and the number and variety of its channels, the Niger or Quorra flows past Boossà in a single undivided channel. In its natural bed, when uninterrupted by rocks and other impediments, the river runs at this time of the year at the rate of between one and two miles in an hour: whenever it is obstructed by them, however, the velocity of the current is considerably increased. Although, during the dry season, no communication or intercourse is maintained by water between Boossà, and the countries or states lower down the river, by reason of the dangerous rocks which have been already alluded to more than once; yet in the wet season, after the "Malca" (or fourteen days' incessant rain) has set in, when all the rivers which are dry during the remainder of the year, pour their overplus into the

“Great Father of Waters,” as the Niger is emphatically styled, then canoes, it is said, pass to and fro between Yàoorie, Nouffie, Boossà, and Funda. It is immediately after the “Malca,” also, that the Niger, by the depth and velocity of its current, sweeps off the rank grass, which springs up annually on its borders. Every rock and every low island is then completely covered, and may be passed over in canoes without difficulty, or even apprehension of danger. The enterprising Mr. Park must have had a thousand difficulties to overcome in his voyage down the Niger. It was about this time of the year that he arrived at Yàoorie, and the river, it is said, was then about the same height as it is at present. The canoe-men, who in all probability were his slaves, were said to be chained to the canoe, in order to prevent their running away; his pilot was unacquainted with the river any farther, and therefore he received his wages here in Yàoorie, and returned to his own country; and Mr. Park, with a companion and three white boys, continued their journey down the Niger without any person whatever to point out the safest channel, or warn them of their danger. When the accident happened at Boossà by which they lost their lives, it is said they preferred being drowned, to avoid, as they imagined, a more dreadful death.

Many years ago, a large boat arrived at Yàoorie on a trading voyage from Timbuctoo. Having disposed of their merchandise, the boatmen returned to their country by land, because they asserted that the exertion of working their vessel back so great a distance against the stream was too much for them, and therefore they left it behind at Yàoorie.

Monday, June 28th.—This morning we were visited by the chief of the Arabs of this city, who (if such a title can be used with propriety) is Prime

Minister to the Sultan. He is a very old man, as dark as a native ; and was dressed in the costume of his countrymen, which is very becoming. His beard was long, and as white as snow, and a singular tuft of hair, which was directly under the lower lip, did not look much unlike the tail of a white mouse. Though toothless, the old man was yet very communicative and intelligent, and, among other things, he informed us that Mr. Park did not visit the city of Yàoorie, but remained in his canoe at the village where we landed yesterday, and despatched a messenger in his stead to the sultan, with a suitable present. This Arab had been sent by the sultan to the village with presents in return ; and, by his description of Mr. Park's dress, he must have worn the laced tobe that we received of the King of Boossà, and which may account for the facility with which we obtained it, as well as the reluctance of the king to enter into an explanation of the manner in which his ancestor had got possession of it. Mr. Park is stated to have been drowned in this same dress. The Arab informed us that he had in his possession a cutlass and a double-barrelled gun, which was part of Mr. Park's present to the sultan. We expressed a wish to look at these weapons, and they were immediately sent for. The gun was very excellent, and handsomely mounted ; and we offered our own fowling-piece in exchange for it ; which was cheerfully agreed to, but not till after the sultan's consent had, in the first place, been obtained.

Not long after the old Arab had taken his leave of us, several of his country-people, of much fairer complexions, came to pay their respects ; and among them was a young man named *Ali*, who arrived in this city yesterday, in ten days, from Soccatoo, having stopped to trade on the road.

The journey from hence to the city of Soccatoo,

when no stoppage is made on the road, may easily be accomplished in five days only; and this is the regular time the natives take to go there. Koolfu is two days' journey from Yàorie. He represented himself as one of the Arabs that accompanied Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and their party, over the Desert from *Mourzuk*, in Fezzan, to Bornou.

Last night the sultan sent us a bullock, a fine large sheep of a peculiar species, the handsomest we ever saw; a great quantity of milk, and several hundred-weight of rice; and this evening we received a large turkey and a bowl of rice from the chief of the Arabs.

Tuesday, June 29th.—This evening, by desire, we went to pay our respects to the sultan. We soon arrived at the palace, which is a very large building, or rather a group of buildings, enclosed by a high wall; and dismounting, we were presently conducted through a low avenue formed by pillars, which was as dark as a subterraneous passage. This led to a large square yard, which we entered, and found it to communicate with the sultan's apartments by the number of domestics that were hurrying about. Several people were sitting on the ground, but we were obliged to stand a long time, during which a profound silence was preserved, and no one was polite enough to offer us a mat to sit on. At length we received a summons to advance, and were introduced into another square, very much resembling a clean farm-yard. Here we discovered the sultan sitting alone in the centre of the square, on a plain piece of carpeting, with a pillow on each side of him, and a neat brass pan in front. His appearance was not only mean, but absolutely squalid and dirty. He is a big-headed, corpulent, and jolly-looking man, well stricken in years; and, though there is something harsh and forbidding in his countenance, yet he was generally smiling

during the conference. The conversation commenced in the usual complimentary way ; and then our object in visiting Yáoorie was briefly and indirectly hinted at. When we asked him whether he did not send a letter to the late Captain Clapperton while that officer was at Koolfu, in which he had affirmed that he had certain books and papers in his possession which belonged to Mr. Park, he appeared very much confused. After thinking and hesitating a good while, he answered, with an affected laugh, " How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was lost at Boossà ? " and this was all he said on the subject. He subsequently wished to know the reason that Captain Clapperton refused to visit him when he passed through the country ; but more especially why, after his death, I had not paid him that mark of respect on my return to the coast from Soccatoo. My reply to him was, that I had been told that he was the greatest monarch in the country, and therefore I should have felt ashamed to have visited him with the trifling present which I had to offer, as he might consider it an insult to his dignity. A frown of disapprobation settled on his countenance at hearing this, and he sharply rejoined, that he was perfectly well acquainted with the nature and value of the presents which had been made to the various chiefs I had visited ; but that if I had nothing to offer him, it was my duty, and should have been my first care, to have paid my respects to him at Yáoorie. Here the conversation was abruptly ended ; the sultan was more than half inclined to be angry with us ; and we were not at all sorry to be reconducted to the open air.

Wednesday, June 30th.—This morning I carried the sultan's present to him ; but it was very coldly received. I stated, that by reason of the selfishness

and bad faith of the chief at the sea-side, and the length of the journey from thence, the presents we had brought from England were nearly all expended; insomuch that we found it would be impossible to reach Bornou without receiving an additional supply of goods, which in our present situation we had no opportunity of obtaining; and that this being the case, we had no other resource left but to get to the salt water, when our wants would be promptly supplied. I observed that going down the river in a canoe would be the easiest and best means of effecting this object; to which the sultan replied, that the price of a canoe would be a hundred dollars; but he was told that we had not property enough to purchase one. The road overland to Funda, by way of Koolfu or Guarie, was then mentioned, and the sultan promised to send us thither in two or three days. Here the conversation ended, and I took my leave.

The young Arab from Soccatoo visited us again to-day, and presented us with dried dates which he had brought from Fezzan, and a quantity of trona. Ali is a handsome and intelligent young man, and is extremely open and communicative. But all his good qualities are cast in the shade by a mean and rapacious habit of begging, which he displays in common with his countrymen who reside here, and which has disgusted and displeased us more than once. He tells us that he is on his way to Aldrie, in Yarriba, with goods and horses for sale; but he is suspected to be a spy sent by Bello to examine the fortifications, and ascertain the state of public feeling in the city, with intelligence of which he is to return to him.

Thursday, July 1st.—Yesterday nothing occurred worthy of observation, nor has anything taken place to-day which requires more than a passing remark. The sultan sent us ten old guns to clean and repair

this morning ; we are unable to execute the latter part of his commands, but fortunately the mulatto who accompanied us from Badàgry is fully competent to the task, and in such cases always acts in our stead. The sultan sent for Pascoe two hours afterwards, and desired him to ask us for medicine to cure sore eyes and complaints in the bowels. We are pestered with such applications as these all day long. Pascoe embraced the opportunity of making inquiries of the sultan concerning the lost papers of Mr. Park, as we had desired him ; but he shook his head, and would say nothing about the matter, and immediately shifted the conversation to another subject. This prince assumes more consequence than any chief or monarch that we have yet seen ; he never receives a visit but he exacts from the visitor the most humiliating forms of address ; and even when the Arabs themselves obtain an audience, they are obliged to deliver what they have to say to him on their knees. Perhaps he expected a similar servile position from us, for such his countenance seemed to indicate, but whatever might have been his expectation, we had no notion of demeaning ourselves so grossly in his presence. Since our arrival in this city, my brother and I have been very seriously indisposed, as might be expected, for the air is humid and unwholesome, being impregnated with all manner of noxious effluvia, from the swampy nature of the soil at this season of the year, and the number of large pools of impure water which exist more or less in every quarter of the town.

Friday, July 2nd.—It is rather unfortunate for us, that so immense a quantity of needles was distributed through the country by the last mission ; the market here is even now completely overstocked with them, so that we find it difficult to dispose of

ours for a quarter of their value. In Yarriba and elsewhere, it was a general practice with us to pay the carriers of our luggage with needles only, but here we are endeavouring to dispose of them in order to purchase provisions for our people. We brought with us from England nearly a hundred thousand needles of various sizes, and amongst them was a great quantity of "Whitechapel sharps," warranted "superfine, and not to cut in the eye!" Thus highly recommended, we imagined that these needles must have been excellent indeed; but what was our surprise some time ago, when a number of them which we had disposed of, was returned to us with a complaint that they were all *eyeless*, thus redeeming with a vengeance the pledge of the manufacturer, that they "would not cut in the eye." On an examination afterwards, we found the same fault with the remainder of the "Whitechapel sharps," so that to save our credit we have been obliged to throw them away. Our best, and almost only resource, has been in the metal buttons attached to our English clothes. These, when polished brightly, look well, and have completely won the people of all ranks, from the sultan to the slave, who freely offer three or four hundred cowries each for those with silver gilt, and double that sum for one with gold gilt; whereas for a good looking-glass we can only obtain three hundred cowries. Our clothes are nearly all stripped of their buttons; and we now place our dependence for future support principally on a quantity of livery and soldiers' buttons, which are, however, rather dull and dirty, and will require many hours' labour before they attain any degree of brightness.

Sunday, July 4th.—Yesterday was barren of incident of any kind. To-day I visited the sultan to make a last application for Mr. Park's papers. He

would give no decisive answer ; but in the course of the day, he said he would tell the chief of the Arabs everything relative to them, and would send him to us with the information. Accordingly, in the afternoon, the old man came as commanded ; but instead of delivering the expected communication, he said that we should certainly inspect the books to-morrow ; and in the mean time, the sultan would thank us to sell him some gunpowder, and whatever red cloth we might have left. This refinement in begging, or, in other words, this mean rapaciousness on the part of the sultan, was never more apparent than in this instance. He had previously requested us to sell him a quantity of beads, &c., to which he expressed a wish that we should affix our own price. We did so ; but on applying for payment, he has uniformly returned for answer, that we had asked too large a sum for those articles. Notwithstanding this, we gave the Arab the powder and red cloth which he had requested in the name of his master, with a message that the sultan was at liberty to give whatever he thought proper for them. Instead, however, of returning us the money, he has kept the goods without making the slightest acknowledgment ; and sent an eunuch in the evening to beg a few needles, which of course it would be impolitic to refuse.

Monday, July 5th.—It has rained very heavily all day, insomuch that on our parts we could not visit the sultan, nor could a messenger come from him to us.

Tuesday, July 6th.—This forenoon we sent Pascoe with a message to the sultan, that we earnestly wished to receive a final and decisive answer with regard to the restoration of Mr. Park's papers, which we declared to have been the sole object of our visiting him, and that it was our desire to quit Yáoorie

immediately. This bold, and to us unusual language, seemed to have surprised and startled the sultan, and he instantly despatched the old Arab to inform us, that "he declared to G—d in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen, any books or papers of the white travellers that perished at Boossà." The Arab likewise assured us that we were at liberty to proceed on our journey whenever we should think proper. Thus, notwithstanding all the false hopes which the sultan artfully held out to us, that Mr. Park's papers were actually in his possession, his letter to Captain Clapperton, which expressly stated this to be the case, and the pitiful shuffling which he has displayed to keep us so long in suspense with respect to any true information, it appears then, without doubt, that he has not, and never has had, a single book or paper in the English language. His only motive for the dastardly conduct he has displayed could have been neither more nor less than the hope of getting us into his power by misrepresentation and falsehood, in order to obtain some of the European articles which we had in our possession. That the sultan has succeeded so well with us has not been our fault entirely; but even now he is by no means satisfied, nor is it likely that he will be whilst we remain with him. It is a satisfaction at least for us to know that the long-sought papers are at present nowhere in existence.

Wednesday, July 7th.—Yàoorie is a large, flourishing, and united kingdom. It is bounded on the east by Hàussa, on the west by Borgoo, on the north by Cubbie, and on the south by the kingdom of Nouffie. The crown is hereditary, and the government an absolute despotism. The former sultan was deposed by his subjects for his violent measures and general bad conduct; and the present ruler, who

succeeded him, has reigned for the long period of thirty-nine years. The sultan has a strong military force, which has successfully repelled, it is said, the repeated attacks which the ever-restless Falàtahs for a number of years past made on the city and kingdom of Yàoorie; it is now employed in a remote province in quelling a rising insurrection, occasioned partly from the inability of the natives to pay their accustomed tribute, and partly from the harsh measures adopted by the sultan to compel them to do so. The city of Yàoorie is of prodigious extent, and is supposed to be as populous as any other in the whole continent, or at least that part of it which is visited by the trading Arabs. Its wall is high and very excellent, though made of clay alone, and may be between twenty and thirty miles in circuit; and it has eight vast entrance-gates or doors, which are well fortified after the manner of the country. The inhabitants manufacture a very coarse and inferior sort of gunpowder, which, however, is the best, and we believe the only manufactory of the kind in this part of the country; besides which they make very neat saddles, country cloth, &c.; and they grow indigo, tobacco, onions, wheat, and different kinds of grain; and vast quantities of rice, of superior quality.

The inhabitants have likewise horses, bullocks, goats, &c., but notwithstanding their industry and the advantages which they enjoy, they are very poorly clad, have little money, and are perpetually complaining of their bad condition. An indifferent market is held in the city daily under commodious sheds, in which the above articles are offered for sale.

The better sort of women, or those that can afford time and money for the purpose, wear their hair platted very ingeniously, and dyed blue with indigo; their lips are likewise stained yellow and blue, which

gives them an inexpressibly odd appearance; and their eyes are blackened with powdered antimony, or something of the same nature and properties, which is imported from a place called *Jacoba*. This is in general use, not only here, but in every other place which we have visited.

The use of hennah is as general at Yàoorie as elsewhere; the more opulent females make use of this most beautiful dye in profusion: they simply apply the pounded leaves of this plant to the teeth, and to the finger and toe nails; for the latter it is made into a kind of poultice, and in the evening is put on those parts, and remains till next morning. The poorer sort of females, however—from necessity, we suppose, rather than from inclination—make use of neither of these ornaments to enhance their natural charms; and, save tattooing, they have no personal embellishments whatever.

The sultan's residence, as well as the houses of many of the principal inhabitants of the city, are two stories in height, having thick and clumsy stairs of clay leading to the upper apartments, which are rather lofty; and, together with rooms on the ground-floor, have doorways sufficiently large to enable a person to enter them without putting himself to the inconvenience of stooping. The principal part of the houses are built in the circular or coozie fashion, but the inhabitants have a few square ones; and the sultan's are of no regular form whatever. It may be considered somewhat singular that the generality of the natives of western and central, and we believe also of northern Africa, "moisten the floors of their huts and the inside of their walls with a solution of cow-dung and water, two or three times a day, or as often as they can find the materials." "Though disagreeable to the smell of an European, this keeps

the interior of a dwelling as cool as it is dark." We should have thought that Dr. Johnson, from whom this quotation is taken, was speaking of the native dwellings of this part of the world, instead of those of the East Indies, so exactly does he describe them.

Between the clusters or assemblages of huts in Yaoorie there is a considerable quantity of fertile land, which is left for cattle to graze on, or for the purposes of husbandry and agriculture.

There is a great variety of trees within the walls of the city, consisting of the lime, the palm, the micadania, and the date; but the latter, though it appears very luxuriant, never was known to bear fruit. The palm tree adorns the banks of the Niger, and increases in quantity the further we advance up the river; yet that variety of it which bears the cocoa-nut is nowhere to be seen, owing, most likely, to the distance from the sea. For a reason already given in a preceding part of this Journal, no proper estimation can be formed of the number of inhabitants which Yaoorie contains, but it is surprisingly great.

Thursday and Friday, July 8th and 9th.—During both these days we have been honoured with long visits from the sultan's daughters, eldest son, and sister; the faces of the former are familiar, because they come to see us every day. The old Arab also visited us on Thursday morning, to pay his respects, according to his custom; but when he entered the apartment and discovered the heir-apparent in conversation with us, he seemed surprised and displeased, and immediately ordered the young man to quit the apartment with his suite, which was instantly obeyed by the prince, without a syllable of complaint or disapprobation at this peremptory command. We subsequently desired an explanation of such arbitrary

conduct on the part of the Arab, and he informed us, in answer, that it was done in order to prevent the young man from soliciting us for poison, which he might employ in the destruction of his father's life,—so suspicious are the sovereigns of this country of the intentions of even their own children.

The sultan has sent to inform us that he will be occupied three days in writing to the king of England an explanation of his conduct with respect to Mr. Park's papers; and he would therefore thank us to remain in Yáoorie till the expiration of that period.

A *fatàkie*, which left this city for Koolfu this (Friday) morning, had orders from the sultan to return while they were on their journey; and they accordingly re-entered Yáoorie in the afternoon. It is reported that the ringleader of the insurgents in *Engarski*—the province in which the customary tribute was refused to be paid—left the rebels a short time ago to fight for themselves, and fled to the kingdom of Nouffie. On his arrival he besought the Magia to assist him against the soldiers of Yáoorie, and succeeded so far, that assistance was promised him by the Nouffie king; but as soon as this news had reached Engarskie, the sultan's soldiers all deserted their posts, and returned to him without delay. Both these days the men have been entering the city; and they have brought with them only between forty and fifty slaves. This is the reason that the *fatàkie* were stopped on their way to Koolfu; and in all probability, if the news be true, it will likewise affect our journey thither.

This evening the war-drum was sounded outside the sultan's house; the noise of which is not peculiarly loud or dissonant, and is a much more *civilized* kind of sound than the startling war-cry of

the people of Yarriba and Borgoo. The sultan has just sent word that he wishes to see us to-morrow morning concerning the price of the red cloth which he recently purchased of us; and at the same time he desires to see a specimen of each kind of button in our possession, because he has a great inclination to purchase a quantity, or the whole of them, for the use of himself and family. By the man that brought us this message, he sent us, for the first time, a number of goora nuts, alleging, as an excuse for not offering us any before, that he did not imagine that Christians liked them.

Saturday, July 10th.—Horse-soldiers are continuing to arrive by one and two at a time from Engarski, and the dead body of one of their captains has likewise been brought into the city. This individual came by his death in rather a mysterious manner, insomuch that the public opinion is divided on the subject; some saying that he fell by an arrow, and others asserting with equal confidence that he was poisoned by his wife, who, after the consummation of her crime, fled to the embraces of an Arab who had been her lover before her marriage with the deceased.

During the war, which has continued these four months, the loss on the part of Yàoorie has been about a half-dozen men killed; and the slaughter on the part of the rebels, it is said, has been no less. This sanguinary contest is a specimen of their warfare, so that there will never be any great danger of depopulation from foreign wars or domestic broils.

The sultan has been shut up in his house all day, and will not be spoken to, owing to the ill-success of the Engarski expedition; but though this circumstance is publicly known, the inhabitants of the city

have shown no inclination to mourn with their sovereign : on the contrary, they have been employed in making a "*berka*" (blessing) for the safe return of the warriors, and feasting, rejoicing, and merriment were freely indulged in, this evening, in consequence. In the midst of their jollity, however, the people were thrown into confusion by a rumour, that the "clashing of arms" was heard in Koolfu, or, in other words, that preparations were making in that city for a *great* war ; that Falàtahs and Nouffie men were assembling there from all quarters ; and that they were on the eve of making a fierce attack either on Wowow or the metropolis of Engarski ; but which of these cities is to be devoted to destruction no one can tell. Groups of people are expressing their hopes and fears in whispers, in every part of the city.

Sunday, July 11th.—Having been sent for, I visited the sultan to-day with a piece of red cloth, two pair of scissors, a quantity of buttons, and a canister of powder. When introduced, I found him cheerful and merry, and his good-humour continued throughout our interview. He observed, that the war which was just terminated had cost him a great deal of money, so that he regretted his inability to pay so large a sum for the articles as I had demanded. At length, after a little civil contention on both sides, a bargain was made, by the sultan's agreeing to give twenty-five thousand cowries for the powder, scissors, and red cloth, and two hundred cowries for every *little* button that we have, which he prefers to the larger ones. Four hundred were asked ; but as these little buttons are the commonest sort, and have been besides much worn, I did not long hesitate in acceding to his terms. In allusion to our departure, the sultan observed, that the path was dangerous ; but when the obstacles should be removed, which

would doubtless be in a few days, and when his letter to the monarch of England should be written, we might quit the city without further delay, for which intelligence I thanked him, and took my leave.

The sultan sent us a large ostrich a day or two ago, to look at, and subsequently offered to give it to us; but as this immense bird would require two or three men to take care of him on the road homewards, we declined to take him, and could only thank the sultan for his intended kindness.

Monday, July 12th.—Nothing of consequence has occurred to-day in the city. The greater part of the morning was employed in cleaning and polishing the buttons promised to the sultan, who had sent for them before they were finished. Two or three of his daughters are our daily visitors, and they trifle a good deal of their time away in our company. They sometimes bring with them a pleasant intoxicating liquor called "booza" (a kind of beer), which they offer us to drink; but they contrive to get tipsy with it themselves. These ladies are occasionally so troublesome, that we are obliged to frighten them away with our pistols.

Tuesday, July 13th.—The "great war," for which there was said to have been such mighty preparations in Nouffie, and which caused so much consternation in this city an evening or two ago, has terminated in the capture of a herd of the king of Wowow's bullocks near the walls of his town. The plunderers, it is said, were incited to undertake this predatory excursion, by the representations of that wicked and turbulent woman, widow Zuma, through the agency of her son, who, since his elopement from Wowow, has been residing in some part of Nouffie. The widow imagined that she was not safe in Boossà, after this malicious act, and she left that city and fled to a

town in the province of Engarski. But the governor refused her his protection, and sent her back again to Boossà with an escort; and the king, in all probability, will either deliver her into the hands of the monarch of Wowow, in which case she will lose her head, or he will have her severely punished at Boossà.

The sultan told us to-day, in plain and decisive terms, that he can send us neither by way of Koolfu nor Guàrie, because the Falàtahs, he affirms, are in both those places. He wishes, however, to be expressly understood, that it is from no disinclination on his part to send us to either of those places, but that his great regard for us will not permit him to lead us into danger. Now we know very well that the Falàtahs have neither the upper hand at Koolfu nor Guàrie. The natives of the latter state, in particular, not long since, cut off the heads of all the Falàtahs that could be found in their country, and from that time they had enjoyed the most perfect independence. The sultan of Yàoorie said further, that the best thing he could do was to send us back again to Boossà, and from thence, he was sure, we might have liberty to go anywhere. The moment we found that this was his intention, we returned to our house, and having formed our resolution, we instantly despatched one of our men with a message to the king of Boossà, to the following effect:—

“ That finding our presents insufficient to defray our expenses on the road to Guàrie and Bornou, we were under the necessity of returning to the salt-water, to obtain more. That the chief of Badágry, who is governor of that part of the coast at which we had landed, had treated us so very ill, while we were with him, that he would detain us in his town for the remainder of our lives, if we were to return by the

way we had come, and by so doing that we should be unable to avoid falling into his power. Besides which, the journey thither is so long, that we would experience the same or even greater inconvenience, than if we were to proceed to Bornou through Catsheeah. Under these circumstances, we were extremely desirous of travelling to the salt-water by a shorter and safer route, and would therefore prefer going by Funda, as the easiest and likeliest means of accomplishing that end. But as we had heard that the road to that kingdom by land is infested with Falatahs who live by plunder and violence, we should feel infinitely obliged to him (the king of Boossà), if he could either sell or lend us a canoe to proceed thither by water; and if so, that we would remunerate him to the utmost of our ability."

We sent away the messenger this morning on his errand, and shall wait his return with considerable anxiety. If an unfavourable answer be returned, we are resolved, instead of proceeding to Boossà, to proceed on to Guârie, and thence to Funda, as we originally intended, whatever may be the consequence.

Wednesday, July 14th.—We were favoured with visits this morning from several respectable females, the wives and daughters of a number of distinguished chiefs, whom they had accompanied to the late war. The inhabitants of this place, as well as of many other towns, are of opinion that it is in our power to cure every disorder under the sun. Applications are daily made to us for medicine to cure a variety of complaints; and more than one married lady has been entreating us to remove the cause of barrenness from them. Other requests, equally serious and equally absurd, have been made, with which of course it is wholly out of our power to comply; but the applicants do not readily believe our assertions, nor

can we induce or compel them to leave our house till something in the shape of medicine has been given them.

Thursday, July 15th.—Falàtahs, it is said, have pillaged and burnt the city of Engarski, and taken Koolfu, so that the road to Boossà is also for the present denied us. These “setters up and pullers down of kings,” for some reason, are offended with the Magià, the present monarch of Nouffie, and have determined to appoint his elder brother, the exiled Ederesa, as ruler in his stead. Several revolutions have already taken place in Nouffie, through the instrumentality of these ambitious Falàtahs, which have all terminated in the confusion of the greater part of that distracted country, and to the advancement of their deadliest foes, who have now gained a footing in that land.

We have been repeatedly informed that Ederesa succeeded his father in the government of Nouffie, and was acknowledged their legitimate monarch by the whole nation. A rebellion, however, headed by the Magià (Ederesa's younger brother), broke out shortly after his accession; and to aid his ambitious designs upon the liberties of the people, the former made a journey to Soccato, to request the assistance of Bello. This wily chief eagerly seized so fair an opportunity of promoting the interests of his country, by meddling with the domestic policy of the government of Nouffie; he had wisdom enough to foresee the advantages which would in all probability accrue to him by granting the Magià his request, and taking him under his protection; and he immediately reinforced the rebels by a choice body of soldiers. This first civil war was not of long continuance; Ederesa's army was defeated by the mercenary troops and their adherents; the whole country was soon overrun and

subjugated by these soldiers ; Ederesa was obliged to flee from his dominions, and the Magiā governed Nouffie in his stead. The chief benefits resulting to Bello from the success of the rebels, were a half-yearly tribute which the Magiā agreed to pay him, in slaves, and handsome tobos of native manufacture ; and what was of more consequence, he gained a footing for his people in a flourishing and beautiful kingdom, which may be styled the granary of this part of the continent.

The Falàtah soldiers remained in Nouffie to defend and support the interests of the new king ; but the country did not long enjoy peace and tranquillity, for the foreigners observing their influence and numbers considerably augmenting, found occasion to quarrel with the Magiā, which was the occasion of another civil war. Turning from him whom they had elevated to the throne, they recalled Ederesa, and succeeded, after an ineffectual resistance on the part of his brother, in restoring him to the dignity of which they themselves had so eagerly stripped him only a short time before. Ederesa subsequently formed the patriotic and laudable resolution of expelling these dangerous and intriguing strangers from his dominions ; for he was convinced that his country would never be at peace whilst they were suffered to remain in it. No sooner, however, did he set about putting this project into execution, than his watchful brother raised a party in opposition to it, and the Falàtahs of course flew to his assistance. The fruit of this combination was the total defeat of the king's party, and the reinstatement of the Magiā into his former usurped rights. Meantime the Falàtahs increased fast in Nouffie—they inhabited towns which they had not built, and subsisted by the labour of others. The head of their party was a cousin of Bello,

named Mallam Dendo, who resided on the banks of the Niger, in a large city of his own which is called *Rabba*. He and the Magia divided the sovereignty of the kingdom between them till very recently, and remained at peace with each other; but now, they say, there has been a third quarrel, and the Falatahs have taken possession of Koolfu, till Ederesa shall have been made acquainted with the revolution in his favour. The Magia is too helpless and insignificant to offer the slightest resistance to this intended change in his estate, and is living in retirement at a town about a day and a half's journey from Koolfu. These domestic broils have been very prejudicial to the interests of Nouffie, and the people greatly lament their misfortunes. The Falatahs are the only gainers by them; they are now in actual possession of more than half of the kingdom, and have enslaved a very large portion of its industrious population. Some of the finest and most opulent of their towns have been sacked and destroyed, and others they have taken for themselves. In this distracted state of affairs, Nouffie, whose inhabitants, it is everywhere acknowledged, are the most ingenious and industrious in all these parts, is fast falling to decay, and is become a prey to all manner of abuses, and to every species of crime.

Friday, July 16th.—Although the Falatahs have been so successful in Nouffie, and are gradually spreading themselves throughout the countries composing Western Africa, so as to be near the sea, where it is the great object of their ambition to get, they have within this year or two suffered many defeats, and lost much ground in Hausa, which is the scene of their first operations, and they are likely to lose much more. The following are the names of the kingdoms or states which form the country called

Hàussa. With the exception of *Kotonkora* and *Womba*, they were all conquered by Danfodid shortly after his first appearance with the Falàtahs; but those marked with an asterisk have regained their independence since his decease. That marked with an F. is now in the occupation of the conquerors; and those with F. and H. partly belong to the Falàtahs and partly to the original natives. Catsheeah was the head or principal state, and all the others used to pay a small tribute to its sovereign.

1. Catsheeah, F. H.	5. Kano, F.
2. Cubbie, *	6. Gober, *
3. Guàrie, *	7. Kotonkora, Natives.
4. Zumfra, F. H.	8. Womba, Natives.

Catsheeah, the capital of Hàussa, in the state or kingdom of Catsheeah, together with an insignificant town, are the only two places at present in the possession of the Falàtahs in that country. Soccato stands on the extreme borders of Cubbie, yet it is not considered as being in that province.

The natives of Guàrie lately rose simultaneously, and cut off their oppressors to a man; nor has Bello yet been able to revenge their loss.

Zulamee, and other towns of consideration in Zumfra, have within these few months been retaken from the Falàtahs. Properly speaking, the province of Kano is in Hàussa; but, previous to its conquest by the Falàtahs, it had, from time immemorial, been tributary to Bornou, so that it is considered by many as belonging to that empire. The inhabitants of the city and state of Gober, against which Bello was directing all his power at the period of Captain Clapperton's last visit to Soccato, have successfully resisted every attack that has been made against them, and are now enjoying tranquillity and independence.

Doncassà, who is the present King of Catsheeah, resides at a place called *Maràdie*.

Doncassà is the hereditary prince of Hàussa, and, notwithstanding his former misfortunes and reverses, he is still very powerful, and his strength daily increases. The Sheikh of Bornou assists him with men and horses; and his son is also with him, fighting against the common enemy. Doncassà, it is said, can bring no less than forty thousand horsemen into the field at one time. Recently, his military operations have been attended with better success; and Bello, despairing of vanquishing him and of subjugating the whole of his country, is turning his thoughts to the conquest of Yarriba. His soldiers have already spread a panic through that kingdom, and frightened the timid natives out of two or three of their most important towns; and they will have very little difficulty in depriving them of the whole. It is said that after the rains the Falàtah monarch will send a strong military force to complete the conquest of Yarriba, and that experienced captains are already nominated to accompany the expedition. In the meantime, Bello is at war with Bornou and some of the states of Hàussa; and many thousands of his men, fearing no law, and having no ostensible employment, are scattered over the whole face of the country. They commit all sorts of crimes; they plunder, they burn, they destroy, and even murder, and are not amenable to any earthly tribunal for their actions.

The boasted good government of Bello does not extend beyond the precincts of Soccatoo. In other parts of his empire the civil department of his administration is most wretchedly conducted; and hence the predatory bands of Falàtahs which annually go forth to ravage the country.

Saturday, July 17th.—The sultan's daughters are very numerous; and, in accordance with the usual custom of the country, we have been obliged to make them a present of a button or a string of beads, or some such trifle. Many of these ladies are not very young, for they have passed the meridian of life; but, notwithstanding their seniority, they have had bitter disputes and quarrels with their sisters for the fancied better place which the latter have in our good graces, and the consequent kinder treatment which they have experienced at our hands. A breach is thus made in the affections of the royal sisters towards each other, and it may be years before domestic harmony is re-established among them. One or other of these females complains to us every day of having been engaged in wrangling or fighting with a sister, on the score of jealousy; and we are obliged to muster all our patience and condole with them in their little misfortunes, without, however, having the ability to relieve them. The Arab, who appears to be the sultan's factotum, came to see us this morning, agreeably to his usual practice; and, with joy sparkling in his countenance, he informed us that his master had been inquiring for a canoe in which we may return to Boossà. We wished to know when the sultan would be inclined to give us permission to leave Yàoorie. "What!" said he, "is not the news I have told you sufficient for one day?"

The Arabs in this place (Yàoorie), and all those that have passed through the city since our arrival in it, who have had no connexion whatever with each other, have assured us that the Niger flows from a place called *Musser* (query *Mesr*), where silks and other fine articles are manufactured; and that the natives of that country trade to Timbuctoo in large vessels, carrying thither their silks and manufactures.

We have neither been able to ascertain the European name of *Musser*, nor its distance from Timbuctoo; we can only learn that the space between the two cities is very great indeed.

In this part of Africa not the slightest jealousy exists in respect to the Niger or any other river; for the people cheerfully answer every inquiry concerning what they may happen to know of its course, &c.

Sunday, July 18th.—Our man has not yet returned from Boossà, and nothing has taken place to-day worthy of observation or remark.

Monday, July 19th.—The premises which we occupy are situated at the northern end of the city, and are the property of one of the sultan's married daughters, who, with her family, accompanied her husband to the late war, and returned from thence only a few days ago.

They form a little circular enclosure of huts, one of which is two stories high; and it has the convenience of three small yards, in which is good stabling for the horses. From the distance of time which elapsed after the departure of the sultan's warlike daughter to the period of our arrival at Yàoorie, the houses had fallen fast to decay; so that, when we were introduced into them, one or two of the roofs were entirely wanting; and the rain, which fell daily, was freely admitted into all the remainder for want of repair, that with two stories alone being an exception. For our own comfort, therefore, we took possession of the upper room of this hut, which is a long, narrow, and gloomy apartment, having a solid clay floor, and five or six small apertures, like pigeon-holes, for the purpose of admitting light and air.

As we have been unable, from the almost constant rain and the marshy nature of the soil of Yàoorie, to walk abroad, this room has been, in a great measure, our prison, for we have rarely stirred

out of it. During the first few days and nights after our arrival we were pretty comfortable, and, everything considered, we liked our quarters tolerably well; but an envious wind having blown a swarm of mosquitoes into our apartment, we have ever since been deprived of sleep at night. And as if this was not an evil sufficiently annoying, we are likewise visited by myriads of gnats, cockroaches, black ants, &c.; besides a number of bats, which flutter even in our faces, and cause us much uneasiness. Other descriptions of animals and insects intrude into our apartment in the night season, which, however, do not molest us. Under this pressure of grievances, my brother and I, finding it impossible to sleep, either sit up or lie awake, and employ ourselves in doling away the long and wearisome hours of the night in chatting about indifferent matters, or in reading aloud, by lamp-light, some moral or religious work. As soon as the light or dawn of the morning penetrates our dismal chamber, our tormentors cease to molest us, and we generally find this the most favourable time for procuring a little sleep. But then the whole world is awake and abroad; and human visitors, whose society is scarcely less tolerable than the visitation of our nightly companions, intrude their unwelcome persons on our sleeping moments, and compel us to listen and answer to their vexatious nonsense. Deprived of our natural rest, the day is spent with scarcely more enjoyment than the night;—we are heavy, languid, peevish, and uncomfortable, and wholly unfit for exertion of any kind. The happy freedom from such torture as this in Old England can only be appreciated by those who have experienced it: even an hour of such relief now would be worth more than we could express.

This forenoon our Boossà messenger returned, and, to our unspeakable joy, informed us that the king had consented to procure for us a canoe, to proceed to Funda, provided the road by land could not be depended on. He candidly stated, however, his inability to protect our persons from insult and danger beyond his own territories, and that we must solicit the good-will of the prince of Wowow and the other rulers on the banks of the Niger; and further, that our own men alone must manage the canoe, because no one at Boossà would be willing, for various reasons, to accompany us in this journey. We are therefore in a fair way of accomplishing the object of the expedition; and though we are convinced that we shall be beset with dangers from the shore, yet we are in high spirits, and humbly hope that, by attending to the necessary precautions, we shall be able to overcome them.

Tuesday, July 20th.—The news of the day is very agreeable to all ranks of the good people of this city. A body of Falàtahs, amounting to about two hundred in number, which left Koolfu a few days since for the purpose of attacking Engarski, or rather the remains of that body, returned yesterday morning to that town, having been completely unsuccessful in the object of their expedition, owing to the jealousy and apprehension of the rebels. It appears, that whilst they were besieging an insignificant *Cumbrie town* in the above province, a contagious disease broke out among them, and reduced fifty of their number to a state of the greatest misery and helplessness. The remainder, becoming alarmed at this frightful disorder, fled with the utmost precipitation, and left their sick and languid companions to the mercy of their enemies, who, however, showed them none, for as soon as they became acquainted with

the departure of their besiegers, a number of them came out armed, and with savage coolness deliberately cut off the heads of their helpless and prostrate foes, and immediately despatched intelligence of the bloody exploit to the sultan of Yàoorie. The road to Boossà is by this means once more declared to be open, and we shall leave hence as soon as we receive permission. The sultan has not yet paid the money he owed us, nor, since the sale of the buttons, &c., have we heard a single sentence about the matter. Our cowries, likewise, are nearly expended; and for this fortnight past we have depended for subsistence on Pascoe's success in shooting. Happily, Guinea-fowl, of the most delicious flavour, and large doves, abound here in amazing numbers; and a large species of wild duck, besides geese, cranes, widgeons, herons, and other aquatic fowl, are most plentiful.

Wednesday, July 21st.—Last night we were visited by an awful and terrible tornado, which lasted for two or three hours. It commenced about midnight with a gust of wind which threatened to overturn our dwelling-house. Never since we have been in the country have we heard thunder so loud and tremendous, nor seen lightning so excessively vivid. Our hut rocked as if it had been shaken by an earthquake, and we were in momentary apprehension of its falling with us to the ground; the tempest, however, became less and less violent in the midst of our fears, and soon after it ceased altogether, and an universal stillness prevailed.

Owing to the wet weather and the moist state of the atmosphere, most of our friends the sultan's daughters have caught slight colds, and they have been very importunate to-day in their entreaties for medicine. We hardly knew what to give them to ease their complaints, and we hesitated a good deal

about complying with their wishes ; but as they are not very delicate ladies, being stout withal, and masculine as Hercules, we at length resolved to risk the consequences, and accordingly administered to each of them a powerful dose of jalap.

The Falàtahs in Nouffie are thrown into the utmost consternation by the reported death of their chief and leader, Mallam Dendoo, which is said to have taken place at Rabba two or three days ago. The deceased was much esteemed by Bello, and revered by his countrymen. A successor will be immediately appointed, to counteract any fresh disturbance which may take place in the country.

The sultan of this place puts off our departure from day to day, and from week to week, under a variety of nonsensical excuses ; and we are persuaded that it is his intention to detain us here till he has drained us of everything we have.

Monday, July 26th.—For the last five days my brother has been laid up with intermittent fever, which totally disqualified him from making the slightest exertion whatever till this morning. The sultan continuing, day after day, for so long a time, to refuse his permission for us to quit Yàoorie, on grounds the most inconsistent and contradictory that can be imagined, we became rather apprehensive that he would detain us for an indefinite period—much longer, indeed, than might suit our convenience ; but to-day, to our surprise and pleasure, a messenger from the king of Boossà arrived in this city to ascertain the reason of such unwarrantable conduct on the part of the sultan, and to request our immediate release, so that it is supposed we shall leave hence in a day or two at the latest. One of the *inducements* urged by this monarch for our longer stay with him is rather whimsical. He has

made us a present of a quantity of worthless feathers, which he had caused to be plucked from the body of a live ostrich ; and because he entertained an opinion that if others were added to them, they would altogether form a very acceptable present to our gracious sovereign, he informed us that it would be necessary we should wait till such time as the ostrich should regain its plumage, in order for that part of its body which had not been previously plucked to undergo a similar operation ; for the weather, he asserted, was much too cold for the bird to lose all its feathers at one and the same time. And further to encourage their growth, he would order that two thousand cowries worth of butter (about twelve pounds weight) should be diligently rubbed into the skin of the animal. This money has actually been deducted by the sultan, for this express purpose, from the sum which he was indebted to us, because he said he did not approve of paying for the butter from his own pocket.

When a person entertains fear or suspicion of the intentions of another towards him, it very commonly happens that every little thing which he might have heard unfavourable to the character, or prejudicial to the manners of the latter at any former period, rises fresh in his memory, though he might have taken no notice of it at the time, and leads to the establishment and confirmation of an opinion which had before been unsettled and wavering in his mind. This has been very nearly our case in regard to the sultan of Yaoorie ; and owing most likely to ill health, rather than any other cause, we had not only come to the conclusion, before the arrival of the Boossà ambassador, that we were in "durance vile" here, but had conceived a thousand ways and means of making our escape privately from the city ! The violent detention

of the six Dahoman messengers within the walls of Yàoorie for a whole six months, without any cause being assigned for it, has already been alluded to in Captain Clapperton's last narrative ; and many similar injurious actions on the part of the sultan have been related to us by some of his own people. But he has been guilty of more treacherous and criminal deeds than these, both to native merchants and to Arabs who have visited this city for the purposes of trade ; and the following story, if it be true, argues very unfavourably for the monarch's sentiments of feeling, honesty, and justice :—

An Arab, it is said, arrived here many years ago with three camel-loads of merchandize from Tripoli, and according to the custom of the country he displayed them all before the sultan of Yàoorie. His admiration of them was very soon raised, and he purchased the whole of the Arab's goods on credit. The poor merchant made repeated and pressing applications for his money, but in vain ; and month after month, and year after year passed away, without his ever having received a farthing, the sultan deceiving him with promises continually. The Arab became at length very uneasy at the sultan's prevarication, and imagined that he should never receive payment for his goods. He was therefore unable to exercise his forbearance any longer, but was constrained to demand of his creditor the restitution of his property, or the payment of his debt, that he might depart from the city and return to his family. But the covetous sultan pertinaciously refused his request, and sent him away with abuse ; and the Arab shortly after died of a broken heart, or, as many say, of poison. He left behind him, however, at Yàoorie, his eldest son, who had accompanied his father hither from Fezzan. This person the sultan

deluded with promises similar to those by which his father had been deceived ; and the young man abode in the city several years in the anticipation of being able to procure the property which had devolved to him on the Arab's decease. He also died not long ago, and the boy's uncle (Moussa, of Koolfu), who was employed by Captain Clapperton, is now the only surviving creditor. He has sent several messengers here with the view of having the debt cancelled by the sultan ; but up to this day the money has never been paid, nor have the Arab's camels nor any part of his property been restored to his surviving relative.

During our own short stay, even, the sultan has been guilty of several petty offences, such as defrauding individuals of small sums, and the like ; and one poor fellow, belonging to a *fatàkie* from Hàussa, has had the imprudence to let him have some of his property, on the faith of his word, in return for which he has met with nothing but promises and refusals. The sultan did, indeed, command him to purchase whatever things he might want at the market, and refer the seller to him for payment ; independent of this, as a mark of his favour, he sold the merchant one of his own bullocks, which is however found to be diseased and worth nothing. By such mean subterfuges does this great prince procure the property of others ; and in this manner does he treat every merchant that may have occasion to pass through the city.

All these circumstances considered, it was with much pleasure that we received notice of the king of Boossà's kind interposition in our behalf, which will at least accelerate our departure ; for though, when soberly considered, the behaviour of the Yàorie monarch towards us has not been on the whole

unkind, forming a strange compound of generosity and meanness, yet he might have been inclined to detain us here till the only favourable moment at which we could descend the Niger should have passed away, in which case we should have to retrace our steps the way we have come, without having accomplished the object for which we had left England.

We have now only to arrange matters with this singular old chieftain, which we foresee will be no very easy task. It is confidently affirmed, that a canoe has been prepared for us, and two days hence, we have little doubt, permission will be granted for us to leave this city to return to Boossà.

Thursday, July 29th.—The sultan has been complaining sadly of poverty these two days, and has begged us to accept a female slave of him in lieu of the money he owed us, and which he has declared his inability to pay. We hesitated a good deal at first about the matter, but we soon felt convinced it would be useless to demur, for the sultan was fixed in his determination, and we have taken the girl, who is become Pascoe's wife. This unpleasant affair was not settled till this morning, owing to the above cause.

We brought a quantity of new shillings with us from England, which are vastly admired by all classes of people here, on account of their shining property; and whilst the Spanish dollar sells for fifteen hundred cowries only, one of these little pieces is purchased willingly at a thousand. Each of these coins is attached to a ring, and worn on the finger of a lady as an ornament.

Yàorie has been visited with so much rain lately, that the corn is rotting on the stalk, and it is by no means likely that the dry weather will commence for sometime to come. The corn is fully ripe, and only

wants a little sun to harden the grain in the ear ; and the people are sorely lamenting that they cannot obtain even this. Nevertheless, the rice crops look well, and promise an abundant harvest ; and the onions, of which vast quantities are grown here, are also expected to produce plentifully. At present Yàoorie is little better than a complete swamp, and, if possible, it will be worse after the *malca*, which is daily looked for, shall have set in.

Sunday, August 1st.—This morning the sultan sent a messenger to inform us that we were at liberty to pay our respects and take our farewell of him previous to our departure from the city, which we have been assured will take place to-morrow without any further procrastination or delay. We presently obeyed the summons, for such we considered it ; and on our arrival at the sultan's residence, we were introduced into a large, gloomy, uncomfortable apartment, wherein the monarch generally receives his more distinguished visitors. A number of naked girls and boys, his domestics, were continually passing through it to other parts of the building, carrying dirty calabashes in their hands ; a quantity of swallows' nests were attached to the ceiling of the room (for neither here nor elsewhere are these birds ever molested), and their twittering owners, which were flying about in all directions, fed their young without interruption, and added not a little filthiness to the unswept and unclean apartment. In the centre, and opposite the door-way, the ruler of Yàoorie was squatting on a platform, which was covered with faded damask, and smoking from a pipe of huge dimensions. On each side of him was a large pillow ; and behind him, affixed to the wall, was a large square piece of ancient-looking figured silk, very rich and of various colours, with a beautiful deep fringe.

It was, however, a little tarnished, owing to the length of time it has been in the sultan's possession. This once splendid and valuable article is said to have been brought from the celebrated *Musser*,* a place of which every one here speaks in the most rapturous and extravagant terms. The dress of the sultan corresponded with the dirtiness of the apartment.

Just before our introduction we had been cautioned not to offer to shake hands with him, for that would be considered too familiar on our parts, and would be rejected by the monarch. Our compliments were therefore confined to simple inquiries after his health. The conversation during the interview was as uninteresting and spiritless as our conversations with other native rulers have always been—a description of one being a sample of the whole. The most important points were, an urgent request on the part of the sultan for one of our lancets which he had seen, and the promise of a calabash of honey, which we received in the evening. We then took our leave and returned home. Here we were soon intruded upon by the sultan's daughters and friends, who, finding that we were actually to go on the morrow, had come to purchase buttons, beg medicine, and pay their last respects; and we were not only subjected to the most wearisome and provoking ceremonies in the world during the remainder of the Sabbath, but we were likewise compelled to be bartering and wrangling with a parcel of noisy women till sunset, when we ungallantly drove them away.

During our stay at Yàorie, the thermometer of Fahrenheit has ranged from 75° to 94° in our dwelling.

* *Mesr*, as the Arabs pronounce the word, is the *Cairo* of Europeans.

CHAPTER X.

Leave Yáoorie—Method of watching the Corn—The Cumbrie People—Their Treatment—Sleeping Huts and Spear of the Cumbrie—Arrive at Warree—Garnicassa—Ignorance of the Natives concerning the course of the River—Their Amusements—Return to Boossà—Visit to Wowow recommended—The River consulted by the King of Boossà—Kings of this City—Scarcity of Provisions—Journey to Wowow—First Interview with the King.

Monday, August 2nd.—ALL was hurry, bustle, noise, and confusion, at a very early hour in the morning, in getting our things ready for starting; but in spite of our exertions we had to wait a long time outside our house, after the beasts had been laden, and our people had their burdens on their heads, for the sultan's long-expected letter to our most gracious sovereign. A Mallam was at length perceived hurrying towards us with it; and after him came, mounted on a large bony horse, and extremely well dressed in the costume of his country, the venerable Arab chief, to honour us with his company a little way on our journey. His appearance was stately and patriarchal in the extreme. But this crafty old man was not our friend, for he had used us deceitfully, and misrepresented us and our goods to his master; and we had enjoyed an innocent kind of revenge, in administering to him, after repeated applications, a powerful dose of medicine, which, though harmless in its effects, had yet been very troublesome to him. Indeed it was not till we had "jalaped" the sultan, his sister, and all the royal family, that we were permitted to take our farewell of Yáoorie. The city was literally covered with water on our passing through it, and the deep hollows

formed by the rains were very numerous, and dangerous by being invisible; nevertheless, with care and patience, we all got outside the gates in safety.

It is pleasant, very pleasant, after an imprisonment of five weeks in a close, dark, and unwholesome chamber, subject to every kind of inconvenience and much anxiety, to be set at liberty; to know and feel that one is free; to admire again the beauties of God's creation, and enjoy once more the cheering freshness of the country. It is only in health that such feelings can either be excited or indulged. Objects ever so charming are looked on with indifference by an invalid. For our parts, we had entered Yàorie in sickness, and had suffered much in that city; but we left it in all the strength and vigour of health. During our residence there, the growth of vegetation had been astonishingly rapid; the face of the country wore an aspect entirely different and improved; the trees and shrubs had put on a greener and a lovelier "livery;" the grasses, stunted as they were before for want of moisture, had sprung up to the surprising height of ten or twelve feet; and the corn and rice had grown up with no less vigour.

Owing to the reputed badness of the path, that by which we had entered Yàorie was rejected for a more northerly one, leading in almost a direct line to the river Cubbie. About a mile or two from the walls of Yàorie, the old Arab stopped suddenly, and we imitating his example, he offered up a short, though animated Mahomedan prayer for our success; and bidding us an affectionate farewell, he turned his horse about and returned to the city. In the anticipation of journeying to Guârie, we had purchased an ass of Ali, the Arab; and this animal, as well as the horses, suffered greatly from the attacks of a species of large fly, which is to them by day what mosquitoes

are to mankind by night; and this evil, combined with the ruggedness and inequality of the road, which was intercepted by deep and rapid rivulets, caused us much delay and annoyance. About mid-day we arrived at the walls of a pretty considerable town, called Guàda, and halted near a small creek of a river flowing from Cubbie, and entering the Niger a little lower down. Here, as soon as we had taken a slight refreshment, we sent our beasts across the Niger to proceed by land to Boossà, and embarked in two canoes, which were each paddled by four men. These canoes are about eighteen or twenty feet long, and formed from a single log of wood, unlike those of Boossà. When we got into the main body of the Cubbie river, the canoemen kept us exposed to the sun for a considerable time, waiting the arrival of two companions, because the men with whom we had been supplied were unable to manage both canoes by themselves. Though we entreated the four men to go a little way with us, or at least to convey us into a cool and shady place, which we pointed out to them, for protection from the sun's rays, they would not hearken to us; we found scolding, threats, and supplication, to be all equally unavailing; they maintained the same calm, yet mortifying placidity of countenance, than which, in such a case, nothing can be more vexing. At length we were fain to hold our peace, and patiently resigned ourselves to the inconvenience.

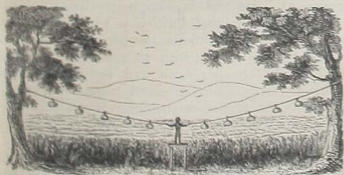
The Cubbie river falls into the Niger about four miles from the creek where we had embarked; and on entering the Niger, we found it running from two to three miles an hour, and with trifling labour on the part of the canoemen, we could have journeyed very rapidly; but though we had taken on board their two companions, the whole of them were so obstinately indolent, that we travelled very slowly indeed, insomuch that we did not expect to arrive at the

appointed halting-place for the night. The canoes, however, were passing along almost close to the shore, and we saw a woman at the water's edge who had a quantity of cheap country beer for sale, and thinking it might animate the men to a little more exertion, we purchased as much as they could drink, which in a few minutes completely metamorphosed them. The meekness, innocence, and composure of their listless countenances soon passed away; their heavy eyes sparkled with fire and animation; they trembled all over with anxiety to display their strength, dexterity, and vigour; and each being emulous to rival his companion, they snatched up their paddles, and by their united efforts the canoes glided through the water with inconceivable velocity, even to the danger of upsetting. Thus we proceeded down the river till the sun had set, and the moon was shining beautifully on the water, as we drew near to a small Cumbrie village on the borders of the river, where we landed and pitched our tent. The thermometer to-day has varied from 75° to 92° .

Tuesday, August 3d.—Arising at an early hour, we shot a partridge and Guinea-fowl, and breakfasted in the open air, under the intense scrutiny of a hundred bright black eyes; then, striking our tent, we hastened to the canoes which we had left secured, and embarked on the river while it was yet morning, and the air cool and pleasant. Though the lowering appearance of the firmament seemed to betoken a violent storm, the black clouds dispersed as the sun gathered strength, and he burst out on us, an hour after our departure, with peculiar heat and splendour.

On all the borders of the numerous branches of the river, as well as on its small islands, vast quantities of corn were growing; and it being near the time of harvest, it was nearly ripe, and waved over the water's edge very prettily. Platforms were every-

where erected to the height of, or rather above the corn, which grows as high as ten or twelve feet. People were stationed on these to scare away the numerous flights of small birds, which do great mischief, and would, without this precaution, destroy the hopes of the cultivator. A boy or girl, and in many cases a woman with a child at her breast, and even a whole family together, we observed on the platforms amusing themselves in this manner, without the slightest shade or covering of any kind to shelter them from the fierceness of the sunbeams. Standing erect and motionless, many of them looked like statues of black marble rather than living human beings; but others, particularly the women, disregarding their duty, were industriously employed in plaiting straw, supplying the wants of their children, manufacturing mats, dressing provisions, &c. In order the more effectually to frighten away the birds, several of the watchers were furnished with slings and stones, in the use of which they seem to be very skilful; besides these, pieces of rope were fastened from the platform to a tree at some distance, to which large



calabashes were suspended, with holes in them, through which sticks were passed, so that when the rope is pulled they make a loud clattering noise. The

calabashes are sometimes fastened whole to the rope, containing about a handful of stones, which answer the purpose of making a noise when put in motion as well as the sticks. To this is often added the hallooing and screaming of the watchers, which is dismal enough to frighten an evil spirit, and it rarely fails to produce the desired effect.

The inhabitants of many of the numerous walled towns and villages on the banks of the Niger, and also of the islands, we find are for the most part Cumbrie people—a poor, despised, and abused, but industrious and hard-working race. They are but too often oppressed and persecuted by their more fortunate and powerful neighbours, who affirm that they are fitted by nature only for slaves, and are therefore invariably treated by them as such.

The Cumbrie also inhabit many parts of Hàussa and other countries; they speak different languages, but they have all the same pursuits, superstitions, amusements, and peculiar manners, to which they firmly and scrupulously adhere, both in good and bad fortune, in sickness and in health, in freedom and slavery, at home and in foreign countries, notwithstanding the scorn and derision to which it subjects them; and they are known to cherish and maintain them to the end of life, with as much pertinacity as the Hebrew does his faith and national customs. Inheriting from their ancestors a peaceful, timid, passionless, incurious disposition, they fall an easy prey to all who choose to molest them; they bow their necks to the yoke of slavery without a murmur, and think it a matter of course; and perhaps no people in the world are to be found who are less susceptible of intense feeling and the finer emotions of the human mind, on being stolen away from their favourite amusements and pursuits, and from the

bosom of their wives and families, than these Cumbrie people, who are held in such general disesteem. Thousands of them reside in the kingdom of Yàoorie and its province of Engarski ; and the most of the slaves in the capital have been taken from among them.

The tribute, or rather rent, which they pay to the sultan for the land they cultivate, consists of a quantity of corn, about the size of a bundle as much as a man can carry, for every plot of land, whether it be large or small. When, however, the harvest fails, they are at liberty to give a certain number of cowries in lieu of the accustomed duty of corn. If the poor have no means of paying their rent when it becomes due, the sultan immediately despatches a body of horsemen to their villages, with a command to seize and carry away as many of the people as they may think proper. It sometimes happens, however, that the sultan of Yàoorie pulls the reins of oppression with too tight a hand ; and as cowards, when driven to desperation, often give specimens of extraordinary courage and resolution, so the negligent and despised Cumbrie, writhing under the lash of injuries which they have never deserved, defend themselves with extraordinary determination and bravery, and not unfrequently come off victorious from the conflict. The benefit which results to them from these advantages is an exemption from the payment of rent for two or three subsequent years.

During our residence in Yàoorie, an expedition, despatched by the sultan for the above purpose, returned unsuccessful from Engarski. The most unfavourable trait in the character of the Cumbrie is the extreme dirtiness they display in their habits generally, from which not one of them appears to be free. They are generally considered good agriculturists and expert fishermen : they grow abundance of corn and

onions, but a great part of the former is disposed of to the natives of Boossà and Yàoorie, to whose monarchs they are subject. Most of them are rather slovenly about their persons, and make use of few ornaments, and even these are of the commonest description. They bore immense holes in the lobe of the ear for the admission of bits of fine-coloured wood; and the soft part of the septum of the nose is perforated in like manner, through which is thrust a long piece of blue glass. When the females have a mind to appear with unusual smartness and effect, a crocodile's tooth is inserted through both lips, and projects upwards as far as the nose. These useless, unbecoming, and singular ornaments impart to the countenance an unnatural and barbarous expression, which is very far from agreeable, and produces an unpleasant and painful emotion in the mind of the beholder. In *our* intercourse with the Cumbrie, they appeared mild, innocent, and even amiable in their manners; and they behaved to us with all the civility, hospitality, and kindness of their natures, untinged by insincerity or lukewarmness.



The annexed sketch is a representation of the sleeping huts of these people (Cumbrie), which we

alluded to on our passage up the river. The doorway, which is the only opening they have, is closed by a mat which is suspended inside. They have no steps to enter by, but scramble into it as well as they can. The common coozie hut is used by them for ordinary purposes, such as cooking, &c., during the day, but never at night. These sleeping huts are about seven or eight feet wide, they are nearly circular, are made of clay, and thatched with the palm leaf; they are elevated above the ground so as to secure the inmates from the annoyance of ants, snakes, and the wet ground, and even for protection from the alligators which prowl about at night in search of prey. We were informed of instances where these creatures have carried off the legs and arms of natives, who have incautiously exposed themselves to their attacks. The huts will hold about half-a-dozen people. Sometimes the pillars supporting the hut are walled round, but this is not often done, and they generally appear as in the sketch.

The natives frequently kill the alligators by means of a heavy spear about ten feet long, like the sketch.



One end is furnished with a heavy piece of iron-wood to give it force, and the other with a sharp-pointed barbed iron. It is attached to the bow of their canoe by a piece of grass rope, which is fastened to the upper end, and is a formidable weapon. A smaller spear of the same description is used by these people for killing fish, in which occupation they are very expert.

As we proceeded down the Niger by a different channel from that by which we had ascended it to

Yáoorie, we had fresh opportunities of remarking the more striking features on its banks. The river, as might naturally have been expected, is much swollen, and its current more impetuous than when we passed up in our voyage to Yàoorie; and many of the stones and rocks which then annoyed us are now under water, and completely hidden. In the earlier part of the evening we landed at a small Cumbrie village, and our canoes were pulled up on a sandy beach for the night in security. The thermometer has been at 95° to-day.

Wednesday, August 4th.—The inhabitants of the village wherein we slept last night had nothing to offer us to eat either then or this morning; but we had the good fortune to shoot a partridge, and we had it dressed for breakfast. But it was, like many others, a most unsavoury repast, for we had nothing to eat with it, not even a little salt; the people of the village, as well as most of their countrymen, making use of a quantity of wood-ashes instead, which contain saline particles, because salt is too expensive an article for these simple villagers to purchase for their own consumption! We had everything conveyed to the canoes at an early hour, and at seven o'clock, A.M., we were once more upon the Niger. The canoemen, as well as our own people, had forecast and contrivance enough to supply themselves with a few ears of Indian corn last night, which they thought themselves warranted to pluck from a field at no great distance from their sleeping quarters; yet all of them complained of hunger this morning, and left the village in a very ill humour. To satisfy their appetites, our canoes were pulled on shore repeatedly during the forenoon, for the men to steal some of the corn which overhung the margin of the river. They were, however, perceived by the

more diligent of the watchers, but they did not take any measures to prevent them, because they saw that they were the sultan's servants, and the whole of these have the privilege of stealing as much corn from the Cumbrie as they may have occasion for. One poor man had a canoe laden with new corn, which was pounced upon by these hungry plunderers, who compelled its reluctant owner to transfer it from his canoe into their own, without remunerating him in anywise for the loss he thus sustained. Another individual who happened to be in a canoe was chased a considerable distance down the river, under the impression that he had likewise corn with him, the robbers endeavouring to palliate their conduct by saying, that as the man paid no tribute to the sultan, his effects were at all times liable to be seized. The man, however, exerted all his strength, and happily succeeded in making his escape.

About noon we observed a herd of Falàtah cows grazing on the banks of the river; and in the water, a little way from them, we saw an immense crocodile floating on the surface like a long canoe, for which it was at first mistaken, and watching an opportunity to seize one of them, and destroy it by dragging it into the river. As soon as he was perceived by the canoemen, they paddled as softly as possible towards him, intending to wait at a short distance till the crocodile should have accomplished his object, when they agreed to pull rapidly towards the shore, and reap the fruits of the reptile's amazing strength, by searing him off from his prey, or destroying him with harpoons, for the skin of a crocodile is not considered impenetrable here. Their intentions, however, were frustrated by the sudden disappearance of the crocodile, which dived the moment he perceived the canoe so near him, making a loud

plashing noise, and agitating the water in a remarkable manner in his descent. We waited in vain for him to rise again. A very short time after this the canoemen landed at *Warree*, which is the most celebrated market-town in the dependency of Engarski, and consists of several clusters of huts encircled by a dwarf clay wall. The market is attended by many thousands of people from different parts of the country, besides *Yàoorie*, *Boossà*, and *Wowow*, yet nothing peculiar to Engarski is exposed for sale in it; and the cheapness at which the productions of the country are disposed of is most likely the principal inducement for buyers to resort to *Warree*. Vast numbers of canoes, filled with people and goods, were passing from one side of the Niger to the other during our limited stay outside the town, and the countenances of both buyers and sellers betrayed a very anxious and business-like expression. As soon as our curiosity was fully satisfied, we also crossed over to the *Boossà* side of the river, and landed at a small walled town called *Garnicassa*, which is inhabited by the *Cumbrie*, and situated about five miles north of the city of *Boossà*. At no great distance from this place, and within sight of it, all the branches of the Niger meet and form a beautiful and magnificent body of water, at least seven or eight miles in width; and it is truly astonishing what becomes of it, for at *Boossà* the river is no more than a stone's-throw across, and its depth is in proportion to its narrowness. But about an hour's walk from thence, it again becomes a noble river, and maintains its width, it is said, even to *Funda*. This singular fact favours the opinion, that a large portion of the waters of the Niger is conveyed by subterraneous passages from the town of *Garnicassa*, to a few miles below *Boossà*.

Shortly after our arrival, when we were making some allusion to the river to one of the inhabitants, a Falàtah hearing us, came forward and made the extraordinary assertion that, instead of running to Funda, it took a turn to the eastward, and disembogued itself into the lake Tshad in Bornou. But theories respecting the Niger are even more various and contrary in this country, than the hypotheses of the learned of Europe on the subject. Scarcely two people are to be found that agree in the same opinion, and their suppositions are not confined to the course and termination, but include also the source, of this mysterious river; yet, with all their talk, it is easy to perceive that the natives are all entirely ignorant of the matter.

The earlier part of the evening, after our arrival at Garnicassa, was calm, serene, and delightful; and the silvery moon shone with unusual resplendence. It was a favourable time for the inhabitants of the town to enjoy themselves; and accordingly they were thus employed in good earnest. Singing, dancing, and music-playing, are the only diversions with which the generality of the Cumbrie are acquainted; and though this people are even more despised than the slothful Hottentots of the southern part of the continent,—though their rights are unheeded and their liberties abused, yet these considerations do not seem to impress them with gloomy reflection; and they trifle away their leisure hours in play with as much zest and thoughtless jollity as though they were the most favoured people in the world.

A sudden and confused noise of merriment awoke me from a pleasing kind of reverie in which I was indulging in the moonshine. I went out instantly to ascertain the cause of such obstreperous mirth,

and discovered a number of young girls, and married women with children on their backs, dancing, singing, romping, and clapping their hands, after the manner of the country; and a group of their male relatives standing beside them as judges and spectators of their proceedings. A female would spring suddenly from amidst her companions, and after skipping and dancing with great animation till she became quite exhausted, would fall backwards into the arms of her associates, who, anxiously watching her movements, had put themselves into a suitable attitude to receive her. Another would then supply her place, and then another, till all the festive party had danced in turn; and this amusement was kept up with so much spirit, that screams of laughter and other violent tokens of delight continued as long as it lasted. The dance (if it deserve the name) commenced with the whole of the females, married and single. They first formed themselves into a circle, holding fast of each other's arms, and then they moved round very slowly without lifting their feet from the ground. This exercise seemed to have occasioned them much exertion and difficulty, if we might be allowed to judge from the violent and peculiar manner in which they shook and twisted their bodies, as well as from the failure of several of the younger girls, who were obliged to quit the ring almost as soon as it was formed. This slowness of motion was gradually succeeded by a sprightlier movement, till they ran round so swiftly that the circle was suddenly broken, and many of the women were thrown with violence to the ground. The singing, or rather screaming, and clapping of hands, together with other noises, more vociferous and wild than these, were continued till the approach of morning, when a heavy shower drove every one

home. Nothing, perhaps, in this country is more capable of producing a wild, romantic, and pleasing effect than such a spectacle as this, and at such a time. In front of us lay the celebrated Niger, reflecting from its unruffled surface the splendid canopy over our heads, with the radiant clouds of departing day. On each side of the river Nature had scattered with a lavish hand the most lovely of her gifts; and verdant trees cast their tall shadows on the water. Almost close to the place where we stood was a circle of naked savage women, all black as a coal, who were performing the oddest antics imaginable; and still nearer stood a wild-looking group of their male companions, resting on their tall spears, and participating in the frolic with all their hearts. A three-cornered rush or straw hat, having a high peak, but without a brim, was the only article of dress worn by these men. Altogether, as we have already said, the scene was such as to fill the mind with the highest gratification and delight. To us it was irresistibly charming, and we contemplated it a long time with emotions of the most pleasing description.

Thursday, August 5th. — It rained incessantly till between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, when the sun made his appearance at intervals, and the weather became fine, which we promptly availed ourselves of, in pursuing our journey along the banks of the Niger to Boossà. The path was filled with water and broken up by the force of the rains. After an hour's ride we drew near to the walls of the city, and soon arrived at the drummer's house, which had been our former residence. Here we found the Midiki on her knees to receive and welcome us back again to Boossà in the name of the king. But we were not permitted to enter and

take possession of our old apartments, for the queen conducted us to other huts, which form part of a cluster inhabited by Falàtahs, and emigrants of both sexes from Yarriba and Nouffie, who are mostly slaves to the king. A quantity of milk and large calabashes of rice and fish, stewed in palm oil, were sent us a few minutes after our arrival; and in the evening we were visited by the monarch, who said he had been apprehensive that we required a little repose and quietness after our journey, and therefore he did not like to intrude on us before. He expressed the pleasure he felt on seeing us again, and welcomed us with the utmost cordiality. The Midiki, who had accompanied him to our house, paid us a similar compliment. It has been told us that the drummer's wife had excited the envy of the queen by wearing round her neck a smart gilt button which we had given her; and that this is the only reason that we were not allowed to occupy our former lodgings in her house. Yet, to be even with her *fair* rival, the queen had extracted from her little sheepskin box, wherein they had been confined for a quarter of a century, a small number of round and flat golden ornaments, with which she has adorned her sable bosom, and thereby totally eclipsed the transitory splendour of the button belonging to the drummer's wife.

On our arrival at Boossà, the face and hands of both my brother and self were much swollen and highly inflamed by exposure to the sun, and this circumstance, simple as it was, excited the queen's sympathy almost to tears.

Friday, August 6th.—In a conversation with the king this morning, he intimated that it would be necessary for us to visit Wowow, previous to our going to Funda, because the prince of that state, he

said, had already made war on Kiáma on our account, and captured a few of its people. The king had been induced, from the representations of the Midiki, who is sister to the chief of Wowow, to urge our taking this step; and as we dare not raise objections, we have promised to go thither in a day or two, although we are well aware that the little present we shall be necessitated to offer him will by no means answer his expectations. The king has himself repeated to us the promise which he made to our man, of furnishing us with a canoe sufficiently large to contain the whole of our people and ourselves, and whatever goods we may have left; and in order to bind him to his word, we have given him our tent and the horse which was lately his own; so that, deprived of these, we shall not have the means of travelling on land, and shall therefore of necessity be obliged to proceed by water. To the queen also, whose influence over the mind and actions of her husband is unbounded, we have made a present much greater than our means warranted, with which she is more than pleased. We have further endeavoured to win her favour by kindness, compliment, and flattery; and these means are the most powerful and effective in the world. The simple-hearted females of this country are quite unable to resist them. Thus far everything is favourable to our enterprise, yet doubts sometimes arise in our minds; and should a canoe be denied us after all that the monarch of this place has said, we are determined, when the time draws near for our departure, to take a canoe of our own accord, and steal away from Boossà by night. "Falàtahs," said the king to-day, with much seriousness, "reside on each side of the river in considerable numbers, and I begin to fear that they will endanger your personal safety."

“But,” answers Pascoe, our interpreter, “Englishmen are gods of the waters, and no evil can befall them in boats, even though all Africa, or the whole world, should fight against them.” “I will, however,” said the king in reply, “go down and ask the *becken rouah* (dark or black water, which the Niger is everywhere emphatically styled) whether it will be prudent and safe for the white men to embark on it or not, and I will be sure to acquaint you and them of my success, be it good or bad.” To-morrow morning, we understand, he intends making this singular experiment; and we have only to hope that the Niger may return him a favourable answer to his question.

To-day, when we ascertained that it was the actual intention of the king to supply us with a canoe, we thought proper to present him, in the name of our sovereign, with one of those beautiful silver medals which were cast during the American war, for the purpose of distributing amongst those Indian chiefs who were favourable to the English interests. A large and valuable chain of the same metal was attached to it, and nothing which we had previously given the king seemed to have pleased him so much as this medal and chain; he regarded it indeed with childish admiration. We assured him that he might now consider himself as the king of England's most particular friend, and that he could not offer a more grateful return, than by favouring and assisting us in our plan of journeying to the salt water, by way of the Niger.

Saturday, August 7th.—Just after we had arisen this morning, the king came to us with joy beaming in his countenance, and quickly informed us that, according to his promise, he had been down to the Niger, with his mallam or priest, and that the result

of his visit was highly favourable to our wishes as well as his own, "the river having promised to conduct us in safety to its termination." One of our greatest apprehensions is by this means removed. He likewise observed that the canoes of the chief of Wowow were much superior to his own, and he should therefore request him to sell us a large and good one, made of a single trunk, instead of one joined in the middle, which he said would not be either so strong or so safe. We thanked him, and expressed a desire to purchase such a one as he had recommended without delay, that we might have time to make whatever alterations we should deem necessary, and procure a mast, awning, sail, &c. before our departure.

Monday, August 9th.—The king told Pascoe this morning, that neither himself nor the midiki had tasted animal food for the last three weeks, and that if we would make him a present of a guinea-fowl he would be greatly pleased, as he had been living upon fish till he was tired of it. This was jocosely spoken, and not intended for our ears, as the king subsequently informed us; but when he knew, by our compliance with his expressed wish, that Pascoe had made us acquainted with it, his delicacy was so much hurt that he was ashamed to visit us for a whole day after.

The king is one of the tallest and finest men in the country, as well as one of the most active and industrious. He is oftentimes unwell, owing, according to his own account, to having, many years ago, swallowed a quantity of poison which had been administered to him as an excellent medicine, by one who sought his destruction. Other chiefs "and great men," not only in Borgoo, but in every place that we have visited, either doze and sleep away the

greatest part of their lifetime, or spend it in the most childish and frivolous pursuits; whereas his majesty of Boossà, when he is not engaged in public affairs, usefully employs all his leisure hours in superintending the occupations of his household and making his own clothes. The Midiki and he have distinct establishments, divided fortunes, and separate interests; indeed they appear to have nothing in common with each other, and yet we have never seen so friendly a couple since leaving our native country. The manners of the Africans, too, are hostile to the interest and advancement of woman, and she is very rarely indeed placed on an equality with her husband. Perhaps the prevalence of polygamy, which the religion of the people tolerates, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, is one of the chief causes of the disesteem in which females are generally held.

The kings of Boossà, as we have before had occasion to observe, have the reputation of being the greatest monarchs, next to the sovereigns of Bornou, between that empire and the sea; and this enviable distinction is acknowledged by every rival chief. Yet it cannot be owing either to their power, their state, or their opulence, for of all the Borgoo rulers, they are perhaps the poorest and feeblest. The superior dignity of the kings of Boossà, and the honour and reverence which are universally paid them, have arisen, it is said, from the respectability of their origin, for they are believed to be descendants of the oldest family in Africa, which in ancient times, long before the introduction of the Mahomedan religion, was the great head of the fetich: hence the profound respect which is yet shown them by the professors of the new faith, and those who still cling to the superstitions of the old, and the

influence which they exercise as far as their name is known.

Tuesday, August 10th.—The Midiki sends us a bowl of bruised corn, boiled in water, which is called *tuah*, twice a day for our people; and the king sends daily a little rice and dried fish, seasoned with pepper, salt, and palm oil, for our own consumption. But we find this insufficient for our people, who are eight in number, and ourselves: their appetites are extremely keen. Guinea-fowl and partridges, which we used to shoot here in great quantities, and which formed the principal part of our food, are now procured with the greatest difficulty and fatigue, owing partly to the prevalence of heavy rains, which have rendered the ground soft and boggy, and partly to the surprising height and stiffness of the corn-stalks, between which these birds always shelter themselves. We are, therefore, often much perplexed about the means of procuring a meal. With buttons the market is already overstocked: they have lost all their powers to charm, because those we have heretofore sold were of inferior quality, and not new, so that they begin already to lose their polished lustre, and to look dull and black. Needles are unsaleable; we have disposed of all our bits of coloured cloth, and common red stuff, tea canisters, powder canisters, and almost everything indeed that *would* sell, reserving the very few articles of greater value which are left, for presents to the different chiefs along the banks of the Niger. Amongst other trifles disposed of were several tin cases, which contained worthless and unpalatable portable soups, &c. These were labelled with slips of tin, which, though rather dull and dirty, nevertheless attracted the admiration of many; and we have been highly diverted to see one man in particular walking at large, and strutting about with “Concentrated Gravy” stuck

on his head in no less than four places. He appeared quite proud and vain of these ornaments, and was simpering with pleasure wherever he went.

Our men bear fatigue and hunger extremely well, yet when they have food in abundance they eat, or rather devour it, voraciously. One of them, who has the appetite of a horse, but who is himself unconscious of it, understanding that anything bitter would sharpen this propensity, and enable him to consume a greater quantity of provisions, has been in the constant habit of swallowing the contents of every bullock's gall-bladder he could meet with. Six such stomachs as his we have daily to satisfy, if we can; and having also two women (Pascoe's wives) in our train, we think it will be no easy matter, at a future period, to supply them even with the bare necessaries of life, more especially after our embarkation in the canoe.

Wednesday, August 11th.—By a previous intimation, we prepared ourselves early this morning to depart for Wowow; but because the road to that city was supposed to be bad, we were obliged to wait on horseback by the king's house for a considerable time, in order that a person might be found to show us the most proper path. However, wearied with waiting, we left the city without him, and he overtook us about three or four hours after we had been on our journey. The account of the badness of the path, we soon saw, had not been exaggerated; it was filled with holes and pits, and overgrown with grass, so tall that it reached far above our heads, and sprinkled a shower of water on our persons. Thorny shrubs tore our clothes and lacerated our flesh, and the branches of decayed trees, which had fallen across the pathway, made it everything but impassable; while small rivers, rushing along with the impetuosity of a torrent,

and their rugged and almost perpendicular sides, conduced to render travelling dangerous and even dreadful. In crossing a large and not very rapid stream, my horse fell with me; but my brother's refused to carry him over, and he was obliged to wade through the water, which reached above his arm-pits. The bed of the stream was filled with rocks, against which he struck himself several times, and was thrown down more than once, but without doing him any injury.

A few miles from Boossà we crossed in a canoe a branch of the Niger forming a pretty little river, and running nearly west, and which is said to encompass the whole of Wowow, and to fall into the parent stream below that state. This is the river which Captain Clapperton was informed encircled the city and part of the kingdom of Boossà; whereas it takes quite an opposite direction, and where that officer supposed it returned to the Niger, it actually takes its rise. It was likewise told us, that this same river joins the *Oly*; and if this be the case, the principalities of Kiàma and Wowow must form an island of themselves. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, when the most difficult part of the journey had been accomplished, we halted at a farm belonging to the king of Boossà, for we were all excessively fatigued. Here we were regaled with parched corn and water, and refreshed ourselves further with an hour's rest; and we again set forward with renewed spirits and additional cheerfulness, and about sunset entered a pleasant little village, encompassed with flourishing plantations of corn and yams, which was situated near Mount George the Fourth. We slept here, and before we retired to rest we made an unsuccessful attempt to procure provisions for our famishing attendants, yet they had wisdom enough not

to forget themselves, for they had recourse to their old expedient of pilfering Indian corn in the night-time ; and though a watch was kept by the inhabitants, who suspected their intentions, yet they escaped detection. Fires were made in our hut, which was very large, with branches of trees and a large trunk ; and around these sat our men, dressing and eating their ill-gotten food till morning. In the course of the day's journey we observed traces of lions and elephants. The latter animals infest the woods between Boossà and Wowow in incredible numbers, and by the impressions of their feet on the pathway, their size must be prodigious.

Thursday, August 12th.—As soon as it was day, we were again on horseback ; and, after a very pleasant ride over an excellent footway of somewhat less than twelve miles, we entered the city of Wowow through the western entrance. Here we found ourselves on the race-course, and by desire we galloped swiftly towards the king's residence, and fired off a couple of pistols as a signal of our arrival. He presently came out to see us ; but as the messenger from Boossà was not at hand, and as it is the custom never to enter into any kind of conversation without him, the old chief awaited his coming with much patience for more than half an hour, nor could we approach him during that time. Indeed no foreigner is permitted to do so, whatever may be his rank, unless in presence of the representative of the chief from whom he last came. A number of well dressed Mallams walked before the king on his coming out, and a man bearing on his shoulder a heavy sword came after them ; and, last of all, followed a long train of his wives and children, who squatted themselves on the ground and filled up the doorway. In the wall on each side of the entrance of the town is a large niche,

in one of which the king stood fixed and motionless, with his hands clasped under his tobe, and supported on his bosom; and round a pole which had been placed erect in the other niche, a naked youth had entwined his legs, remaining in breathless anxiety to be a spectator of the approaching interview. No two human beings ever bore a more striking resemblance to statues than these; the deception was indeed complete. For ourselves, we had sent our horses to graze, and sat about a dozen paces from the doorway under a large tree; the Mallams were sprawling on the earth between the king and us; and at a respectful distance on each side, groups of the inhabitants had assembled to gratify their curiosity.

While the king remained in the above position without moving a single muscle, and which lasted till our messenger had made his appearance, a singing-woman drew near the person of her sovereign, and began to exercise her vocation in a tone of voice that displayed anything but sweetness or melody, and so loud and shrill as to frighten away the birds from the trees near the spot. After this salutation, she fell on her knees, and repeatedly threw handfuls of earth over her left shoulder down her back, &c. The Boossà messenger, who had been so anxiously expected, at length arrived, and the spell which had bound every one to the spot was dissolved in a moment. We were then conducted to the king, and formally introduced to him; but the grave, eccentric old man, shook hands with us without taking them from the tobe in which they had been enveloped, or even condescending to look in our faces; for he never makes it a practice to raise his head above a certain height, fearing he should discover the person to whom he may be conversing gazing full in his countenance, to which he has a very strange but unconquerable

antipathy. The interview lasted but a moment, and we were hastily conducted to the house which was occupied by the late Captain Clapperton; and here we were soon visited by a number of the principal people of the city. In the course of the morning we received a quantity of eggs, milk, yams, and a fat sheep, as a present from the king.

CHAPTER XI.

Horse-racing at Wowow on the Mohammedan Sabbath—Indignation of the King of Wowow against the King of Kiàma—Religious Procession of Females—Policy of the King of Wowow—Richard Lander taken ill—leaves his Brother at Wowow, and returns to Boossà—Narrative of John Lander—The Blessing of the Priestess—Religious Sects—their Creeds and Ideas of a Future State—Funeral and Marriage Ceremonies—Park's Books—The States of Borgoo—The last of Park's Effects—Farewell to the King of Wowow—Departure—Village.—Apprehensions of the Natives—the Travellers meet at Boossà.

Friday, August 13th.—TO-DAY is the Mohammedan Sabbath, which is constantly kept as a holiday by the inhabitants for public recreations and festivities. The king's musicians were engaged in playing a very few simple airs during the whole of the morning. For native music it was certainly excellent; elsewhere we have heard nothing equal to it, not even at Katunga, Kiàma, or Yàoorie. Boossà seems to have little music, and few amusements of any kind: no city is so dull and lifeless as that. In the evening, the weekly horse-racing commenced by a run of eight or ten ponies, as handsome as they were swift, and the competition between them was most spirited. It was not till after this contest had been concluded, that the king made his appearance at the lower end

of the race-course; and from thence he rode slowly towards the starting-place, preceded by singing and dancing women, who bawled and capered before him. When he came up to it, he was saluted with a report from a few guns and pistols. The king was more appropriately attired, or rather, his clothes seemed to sit more easily and gracefully on his person than those of any other prince we have seen. His horse was gaily, if not richly caparisoned; it was a noble beast, and both horse and rider looked extremely well. As he passed us, he neither turned his head aside, nor even honoured us with a single glance, from a desire to make an impression on our minds by pomp and show; perhaps he thought it would have been degrading to have given us a familiar look.

The weather was not so favourable as could have been wished; and to this circumstance was owing the few horses, comparatively speaking, which had been brought to the sport. The horses were rode chiefly by little boys, one of whom was the king's son: when they galloped past their sovereign, they invariably doffed their caps as a mark of respect. This race was by no means so well contested as the former, and indeed was unworthy of the name; and as soon as it was over, the king returned to his residence, and his example was presently followed by the prince and the other part of his household. But all these were obliged to return by a different path, because it is against the rules of etiquette for any one of the natives to attend the footsteps of his sovereign on the celebration of any public amusement. After their departure the music ceased, and terminated the entertainments of the day.

The king's head drummer, a little Nouffie man, came to see us this afternoon; he informed us that he was one of the followers of Prince Ederesa, and

had fled hither, with a host of fellow-fugitives, from the resentment of the successful Magia and his allies, the Falatahs. The other day, his emigrant companions divided themselves into two unequal parties; the weaker left Wowow to join the standard of the Magia, and the stronger that of his brother Ederesa; the drummer, however, had preferred to remain behind and serve the king in his present capacity. He stated, in answer to our inquiries, that the *Tshadda* (Shary) flows into the Niger at Funda, and a regular intercourse is kept up with the natives on its banks, for the purposes of trade, by means of very large canoes. The sheikh, he said, resided very near the *Tshadda*, which, in Bornou, spreads into a large body of water. He further informed us, that canoes, capable of containing five hundred men in each, and having "thatched houses" in them, are taken to *Binnie* (Benin), with great quantities of cotton cloths, &c., by his countrymen, who sell them to the natives; and that Funda is very near the salt water; yet the drummer appears to know nothing of *any* river which runs to Bornou.

This morning, I carried the few things, which we had brought from Boossà for that purpose, to the king. The monarch appeared well pleased and cheerful, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the present, though in a few minutes afterwards he despatched a messenger to inquire if we had not brought any coral beads with us from England. The articles forming the present consisted of two pair of silver bracelets, a piece of coarse muslin, sufficient for a couple of turbans, a tobacco-pipe, two razors, a new gilt button, two small and inferior looking-glasses, a clasp-knife, a pair of scissors, and two combs. In compliance with my request, the king informed me that he would sell us a canoe with the

greatest pleasure. He was convinced, he said, that we should return in safety to our country by way of the Niger, which did not contain a single rock from *Inguádzhilligee* to Funda. He had heard of the refusal of the prince of Kiàma to send us by the road of Wowow to his friend the king of Boossà, and his recommending us a path through a dreary wilderness, which had caused the destruction of all our horses, and in which we ourselves had narrowly escaped with life. He had felt for us in that situation, and his heart had been touched with grief at the recital of our misfortunes. After the rains should be over, he was determined to resent the affront which had been thus offered him by the ruler of Kiàma, and make him repent his cruelty. It had been his intention, he continued, to despatch a body of soldiers for the purpose of escorting us to his city in a handsome and becoming manner, but he had been deterred from his purpose by the information which he had received of our having plenty of guns and ammunition with us, which he feared we might have employed against the escort, under the mistaken opinion of its being a band of robbers. He rejoiced, however, to see us, because it would convince his neighbours that the white men neither disliked nor despised him. "I am now infinitely happy," he concluded, "for surely I could not have left the world in peace if you had departed from the country without having visited the old king of Wowow." When this long explanation was concluded, I was permitted to take my leave. Guns were subsequently fired off in compliment of our arrival; and the king and his wives, elated with joy, passed the day in dancing, laughing, and singing.

In the evening, several of their daughters favoured us with a visit; and after their departure the monarch's brother and his friend came to pay us the compliments

of the day, and salute us in the country fashion. The *aboikin sullikee* (king's friend) is a very important and influential personage in Borgoo and other countries, and in point of rank is considered the second man in the empire. He transacts all the public business for the king when the latter is incapable of attending to it from indisposition, or any other accidental cause.

Saturday, August 14th.—Yesterday morning a messenger was despatched in haste to Inguázhilligee, which is a town and ferry on the banks of the Niger, where the king's boats are kept, to ascertain if a large canoe can be appropriated to our use, without interfering with or interrupting the business of the ferry. He returned at a late hour last night, so that we had no opportunity of speaking to him; but this morning he informed us, that we shall be able to have the best and most commodious canoe in the place, because a new canoe had very recently been made for the ferry, on account of the old one, which has since been recovered, having drifted down the river. Another individual was sent by the king this morning to settle the business about the purchase-money, but he is not expected to return from Inguázhilligee till to-morrow.

This day a long and gay procession, formed by the female followers of the ancient religion of the country, passed through the town, walking and dancing alternately, with large spreading branches of trees in their hands. The priestess, at the time we saw her, had just swallowed fetich-water, and was carried on the shoulders of one of the devotees, who was assisted by two female companions, supporting the trembling hands and arms of their mistress. Her body was convulsed all over, and her features shockingly distorted, whilst she stared wildly and vacantly on the

troop of enthusiasts and other objects which surrounded her. The priestess was then believed to be possessed with a demon; indeed to us they all appeared to be so, for not one of them seemed in their sober senses, so indescribably fantastic were their actions, and so unseemly did they deport themselves. A younger woman was likewise borne on the shoulders of a friend, and carried along in the same manner as her mistress; but she was by no means so uncouth a figure, nor was her agitation so great as that of the priestess, by whom she was preceded. The whole of the women forming this strange procession might amount to between ninety and a hundred; they were clad in their "holiday best:" their motions were regulated at times by the sound of drums and fifes, and to this music they joined their wild, shrill voices. They were arranged in couples, and with the branches of trees shaking in the air, presented one of the most extraordinary and grotesque spectacles that the human mind can conceive.

The king of Wowow is making new roads, and repairing and widening the old ones leading to and from the city. This is the only instance we have yet seen wherein even the slightest attention has been paid by a chief to the state of the public pathway, during the whole of the journey from Badagry to Yaoorie; and the reason urged by the ruler of this place for undertaking the business is somewhat singular, though shrewd and just. "If," says he, "an enemy were to come towards my gates with a hostile intention, and find the roads broken up or overgrown with weeds, would they not say among themselves, 'Oh, this king of Wowow is a careless, slothful, cowardly governor; his town contains but few inhabitants, for see! the path is green and untrodden by human feet; let us go and attack it, for

it will easily fall into our hands?' But," he continued, "should they find it of convenient width, smooth, and free from grass, they would immediately say, 'This road is trodden by the feet of many people; the town must be populous, strong, and flourishing, and its monarch watchful and brave; if we venture to make an assault, we foresee that we shall be overpowered and slain: it is better for us all to turn back while we are yet undiscovered and unharmed, lest some evil fall upon us when it is too late to retreat.'"

Thus the talkative old king argues with his people, that they may throw off that laziness which is natural to them, and be animated to industry and labour in the common cause.

A greater quantity of yams is cultivated in the vicinity of Wowow than is grown in all the other principalities of Borgoo put together. It is a common question on the path when the natives meet a stranger, "What! are you going to Wowow to eat yams?" And the king of Boossà jocosely observed to us in parting, "That after we had tasted of the yams of his relative, he was apprehensive we should be inclined to remain a longer period in Wowow than he had proposed, for that they were a powerful inducement."

Rice and corn are also cultivated to an unlimited extent here, and two species of beans, so that the necessaries of life are very plentiful and cheap. Reaping has commenced, and the wet season, it is said, is nearly over. As in most other places, indigo and cotton are yearly produced at Wowow in abundance.

Sunday, August 15th.—Yesterday, and this morning, I was seized with giddiness of the head and other symptoms, which are the usual precursors of fever in

this country. We had left our medicine-chest behind at Boossà ; and as I was apprehensive that I should be laid up in this city, if I remained in it longer, my brother agreed with me in opinion that it would be advisable for me to return without delay to Boossà, and leave him here to settle the business respecting the canoe, &c. I therefore got on horseback as soon as the vertigo had passed away, and without stopping to bid adieu to the king, immediately departed on my journey with two attendants. My brother furnished me afterwards with the following account of the events which fell under his own observation, during the time we were absent from each other :—

“ A very few minutes after my brother had departed from Wowow, the prince sent me a young bullock and a number of yams ; and his brother likewise presented me with a quantity of milk, rice, and a fatted goat.

“ About mid-day the female worshippers of the ancient gods, who have already been alluded to, performed a second mystical ceremony, which is enjoined by their religion, and afterwards paraded the streets in the same order as on a former occasion. When it was over and the procession had dispersed, without intimating their intention, several of them paid me a visit, attended by musicians with drums, flutes, and guitars, and a great number of little boys and girls. I was sitting in a shed outside our hut at the time, with a sheet spread before me to keep off the eyes of the curious ; and when it was pulled up by the priestess herself, who was fantastically dressed in man's apparel, and when, with her large rolling eyes, and frenzied countenance and manner, she performed her antics before me, uttering at the same time a

piercing yell, more dismal than a dog's at midnight, I started and shuddered a moment, for I was quite unprepared to witness such an object. But the poor enthusiast had no evil intention, for she fell down on her knees, gazed at me with tears in her eyes, and with a look of tenderness, held out her hand as a token of friendship, blessed me, and then arose and went out to make room for her principal attendants, who shrieked like her, and offered their hand in the same manner. Our Boossà messenger, and other individuals, who had come in before this most singular method of salutation was ended, subsequently received the benediction of the devotees, which was bestowed on them by the elder of the females. The method of doing it was novel and peculiar. In the first place, the man was placed in a stooping position; the female then twisted his left arm, and pulled it over the back with all her might; it was then let go, to the great relief of the man; and she placed both her hands on his shoulders, which she pressed down with great energy, muttering between her teeth, during the time, the blessing which he had sought; but this was so inaudible that it could not be understood. It was not the woman, said the bystanders, but a spirit within her that spoke, and that influenced her and her companions in all their actions. So the people went away confirmed in this belief, and quite happy.

“The religion which these enthusiasts profess, and which was not long since the prevailing religion of the country, is still held in great reverence here; so much so, indeed, that the king's daughters were early initiated into its mysteries, and invariably attend the celebration of all its superstitious rites and ordinances: in fact, the priestess herself is one of them. Their parent also is still favourable towards the

religion of his fathers, which is blended with Arab fables and traditions (for the Mohammedan creed in its purity is unknown here); and these form the foundation and superstructure of his faith.

“The priestess and her followers believe in the existence of a God, and a heaven wherein he resides; that this glorious and Almighty Being superintends the destinies of man in this life, and in a future one rewards or punishes him according to his deserts. Yet of a hell, or a place of eternal torment, they have no idea whatever. The souls of good men, say they, are translated into a tranquil, happy, and beautiful region, wherein but one monkey is permitted to reside, and where they remain for ever; whereas the wicked, before they can be allowed to participate in so much felicity and enjoyment, are forced to endure sorrow, pain, and punishment; a variety of tortures is in store for them, such as scourging and beating, till it is considered sufficient punishment has been inflicted for their misdeeds, when they are exalted to a happier state of being.

“Others, who waver between the Mohammedan religion and the ancient faith, believe that at the end of the world a voice will sound from heaven to invite all black men to the world of bliss, but that these will be too much unconcerned and too lazy to embrace the offer; a second voice will then proclaim the same invitation to white men, who will spring up with alacrity and transport, and enter the celestial regions before them with books in their hands. They profess to believe, also, that two men were originally created, one black and the other white, from whom the whole world is descended.

“The professors of the ancient superstition sacrifice a bullock, a sheep, or a black goat to their divinities, but they shudder at the very idea of a human offering.

Instead of agreeing with us that the world will be destroyed by fire, they suppose that its Divine Maker will roll it up like a parchment scroll, and put it aside for a future occasion.

“It is somewhat remarkable that in Hàussa the people have a tradition that the name of our great forefather was *Adam* (pronounced exactly in the same manner as we pronounce the word). *Da Adam*, in the same language, signifies an object when observed indistinctly at a distance, bearing the least resemblance to a man. The mother of the human race is called *Ameenatoo*, in Hàussa.

“*Monday, August 16th.*—The more respectable classes of society in Wowow and Boossà, after their decease, are buried in the yard of the house in which they resided when alive; whilst the people in the common walks of life are interred in a spot of ground selected for the purpose in a thick wood, which is at some distance from the city, and answering to our own places of burial. The friends of the former, as soon as they are made acquainted with his dissolution, resort to his house, and make lamentation for him for the space of seven days, wearing during that period their very worst apparel. But the relatives of a poor man attend his remains to the burying-ground, and abide in the wood till their grief is assuaged, and the time of mourning expired.

“Marriage among free people is exceedingly simple, and is attended with little mirth or festive recreation of any kind. The intended husband is allowed to have nothing to do in the affair, though it concerns him so nearly, and the parents of the girl are equally out of the question. When the parties become attached to each other, the female goes immediately to acquaint her *grandmother* of the circumstance, and coaxes the old woman to give her

consent for her to live henceforward with her suitor, for she alone has the power of giving the maiden away. If it happens, however, that she has no grandmother, the girl is at liberty to act as she pleases. Several days are always allowed for the old woman to reflect and ponder over the whole matter in her mind; and this interval is generally embraced by the man in making her trifling presents, and doing her other little acts of kindness, in the hope of gaining her over to his interests. When a free man forms an affection for a female who is a slave, and he has money sufficient for the purpose, he goes to her master, whoever he may be, unbosoms his mind to him, and informs him of his intention of taking the woman to wife, if he will give him permission. Should the owner of the girl approve of the connexion, the suitor pays him twenty thousand cowries for his consent to the match, though a smaller sum is oftentimes offered and accepted; and the object of his affections from that time becomes his spouse. Yet the children which she may bear him cannot be retained by the father, but are considered the exclusive property of the wife's master, who lays claim to them and takes them away as soon as they are able to run about. Nor does the marriage ceremony break the bonds of the woman's slavery, for she is liable to be called upon whenever the master thinks proper, when she is obliged to serve him in the same manner as if she had remained in a single state. The union of slaves amongst each other depends entirely upon the will and pleasure of their owners.

“A man is at liberty to return his wife to her parents at any time, and without adducing any reason for his dislike and dissatisfaction. When this is his intention, he treats his spouse with disrespect and unkindness, which she soon understands the meaning

of, and of her own accord she goes back to her friends, and tells them of what has occurred. These subsequently repair in a body to the husband's house, and question him in a formal manner whether it is his desire that his wife should not continue to abide with them. If so, the connexion is forthwith dissolved, and she is again considered in the light of an unmarried woman. The children (if any) the mother is by no means permitted to take along with her, but they are left behind with their father, who delivers them over to the care of his other women.

“The king of Wowow daily inquires after my health, and sends me a quantity of yams, milk, and eggs, every morning. Although this old chief has received a present infinitely smaller than we have given any other ruler, yet his treatment of us has been more generous than that of all of them together. His brother also, and one or two other respectable individuals, have been equally kind, and have endeavoured all in their power to render our stay among them perfectly agreeable. They expect nothing in return for their hospitality, for we have nothing but a few needles to offer them, and we have told them so again and again; nevertheless their attention and kindness do not diminish.

“*Tuesday, August 17th.*—I was taken extremely unwell this morning with an indescribable and very unpleasant sensation in the head, which made me so lifeless and stupid that I could scarcely keep my eyes open for the remainder of the day, and obliged me to lie on my mat till evening, where I dozed away the hours more uncomfortably than I can describe. It is very remarkable that hitherto, in the evening preceding the day on which we have been taken ill, we have ever been surprisingly brisk and lively, with an unnatural flow of spirits; and we are

so well aware of this, that we always anticipate what is sure to follow, when we find ourselves in this merry mood, namely, an attack of illness on the ensuing morning.

“The messenger sent by the king to procure us a canoe is not yet returned from Inguâzhilligee; another was despatched after him yesterday, and this morning a third, it is said, has left the town on the same errand; so at least people have informed us. The object of the first of these men is not confined to his visiting the ferry; but if he could not meet with a canoe to his satisfaction there, he has been desired to proceed farther down the Quorra, until he should see one that would answer our purpose. He is also to examine and report the appearance of a *reef of rocks like that at Boossà, which runs across the river below Inguâzhilligee,** and collect monies and duties owing to his master. It is therefore not much to be wondered at that he is not yet returned to Wowow. In the evening one of our men arrived from my brother at Boossà; he informed me by letter of his convalescence, and of his intention of returning to this city yesterday, which, however, had been frustrated by desire of the king. The letter stated further that the Midiki would settle with her brother, the prince of Wowow, for the canoe which he has promised to sell us; and therefore I was at liberty to take my leave of him whenever I might think proper. Also in the evening I received an intimation from the king to remain in the city till his messenger, who is hourly expected, shall have returned from the banks of the Niger. Indeed it is more than unlikely, if my present indisposition continue, that I shall be able to undergo the fatigues of a journey to Boossà, for a day or two at

* The same as *Comie* in the map.

least; so that this restraint of the king I shall scarcely feel.

“*Wednesday, August 18th.*—My curiosity has again been highly, and perhaps painfully excited, by hearing to-day that a certain man in the town was known to have had in his possession several books which he had picked up from the Niger at the period of Mr. Park's dissolution. As soon as I had learnt this, I instantly sent to the man's house to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the rumour, but he happened to be from home, and it was not till night, after his return from the bush, that I heard with disappointment and sorrow that the report was indeed well-founded, but that the books had all been recently destroyed. The man said he had shown them to the Arabs who were in the habit of visiting the town, but they could not understand the language in which they were written, and merely conjectured that their contents related to money matters, and were therefore of no kind of use whatever to any one. Yet notwithstanding their uselessness, the man is reported to have kept the books carefully concealed in his house till the arrival of Captain Clapperton at Wowow; but when he found that this officer made no inquiries for such books, he neglected to pay any further attention to them, and they were destroyed shortly after; or, to use his own words, they ‘dropped or fell to pieces.’ By the description which has been given of one of the books alluded to, I am inclined to believe that it must have been either Mr. Park's journal, or a book of manuscripts of some sort. Thus have all our inquiries for the recovery of the lost papers of this traveller ended in disappointment: even when we had made almost sure of them, and our feelings excited to their highest pitch on more than one occasion, we

have felt all the bitterness of hope suddenly extinguished.

“ A number of visitors has called to see me to-day ; but owing to my indisposition I have been unable to remain in a sitting posture longer than a very few minutes at a time, and therefore these visits have been agreeably short.

“ *Thursday, August 19th.*—I have learned with some surprise to-day that Boossà and Wowow are not considered as being in the empire of Borgoo, but that they actually form a separate and distinct country, where a different language is spoken, and different manners prevail. The principality of Kiàma, however, is included by the natives in the former country ; but owing to the long-continued and unceasing intercourse which has been maintained between it and Boossà, &c., the original Borgoo language has given place to the Boossà and Wowow tongue ; and the customs and amusements of the people likewise bear at this time so great a similarity to those of their neighbours, as not to be distinguished from them. Yet a stranger can scarcely fail to remark a surprising difference between the demeanour of the more respectable inhabitants of Kiàma, and the behaviour of the same class of people at Boossà and Wowow. The former are bold, haughty, fierce, and rapacious—the latter are mild, humble, and sedate ; the former are held in no better light by merchants and traders than a band of robbers—whereas the latter are respected everywhere, and held in high reputation for honesty, integrity, and honour. Kiàma, it is said, formerly paid a tax to the king of Niki, but now it has sworn allegiance to the Falàtahs.

“ The following is a statement of the names of the different states, which form the extensive country called Borgoo. The monarch of Niki, as a title of

distinction and eminence, is styled 'King or Sultan of Borgoo,' viz. :—

1. Niki	4. Sandero	7. Loogoo
2. Buoy	5. Kingka	8. Pundi
3. Kiàma	6. Korokoo	

“These follow in the order of the importance in which they are held by the people. Niki pays a small tribute to the king of Boossà, as an acknowledgment of his superiority; Wowow does the same, ‘because,’ said an intelligent man of that city, ‘in the beginning of the world the Almighty appointed his ancestor monarch of the whole of western Africa.’ The present king of Boossà is, notwithstanding, too feeble to enforce payment of this tribute; it was originally offered voluntarily, and it has been continued by courtesy to the present time, though Niki and Wowow begin to be indifferent about the matter.

“The relative position of the first five states of Borgoo, with respect to each other, may be thus expressed; the letters N, W, S, E, indicating the positions of the four cardinal points of the compass:—

Buoy
N.
Kingka W.—Niki—E. Kiàma.
S.
Sandero

“*Niki* is seven days' journey nearly west of Wowow; and the four states surrounding it as above are each three days' journey from it in the direction in which they are placed.

“*Korokoo* is sixteen days' journey west of Wowow.

“*Loogoo* twenty days' journey south-west of Wowow.

“*Pundi* twenty days' journey west of Wowow.

“It is, however, hardly possible for a native of Wowow to give the exact situation of a country

remote from his own, when it is considered that he has neither a compass, nor indeed any instrument whatever to assist him in his observations, the sun alone being his guide in such cases. It is therefore likely enough that the individuals who furnished me with the preceding information might have erred, perhaps, as much as two or three points of the compass; and consequently, it would be better, instead of east, west, north, &c., to read *easterly, westerly, northerly, &c.*

“Niki is the largest and most powerful of the Borgoo states. Its capital, which is extremely populous, is of the same name, and though unwallled, it is of immense extent, and said to be of equal size to the city of Yàorie. Its monarch has a thousand horses which are all his private property, and he is, in other respects, wealthy and affluent. His soldiers, who form a good part of the population of the capital, are reputed to be brave, bold, and enterprising men; those on foot have one side of the head shaved to distinguish them from their fellow-subjects. These are like the ‘half-heads’ of the king of Dahomey. Niki is almost the only country in the west, against which the Falàtaba have not yet dared ‘to lift the spear.’

“There is reported to be not less than *seventy* considerable and important towns dependent on the state of Niki, all of which have several smaller towns and villages under their control and management. The chiefs of each of these large towns present to their sovereign, once in their lifetime, a young and pretty woman to be his wife, by which means his seraglio is always kept full. Yet, if the girl fail to win the affections of the king, and she be not liked, or if, after she becomes his mistress, any fault is found with her, or any personal blemish or defect, she is instantly

dismissed, and the chief of the town from whom she had been received, is obliged to supply her place by sending another girl. This is an odd and singular kind of tribute, but it is slight, and the inhabitants of the 'seventy' pay no other. The next state in rank, extent, and importance to Niki, and the great rival to that country, is *Buoy*, which, like the former, has seventy towns of much consequence, that acknowledge its supremacy, and pay a tax of ladies to the monarch in something the same manner as their neighbours of Niki. There is great plenty of horses in the state of *Buoy*, and in *Sandero*; but the states of *Kingka*, *Loogoo*, and *Korokoo*, are destitute of a single animal of this description. With the exception of *Loogoo*, these latter states are said to be excessively poor, and their inhabitants to live in a pitiable state of penury and wretchedness; but the people of *Loogoo* have the necessaries of life in greater abundance, and they are enriched by the thousands of merchants who trade to *Gonja* for the goora nut, &c. Their chief, or king, is the most opulent ruler in the whole of *Borgoo*, having obtained by this means more money than the monarch of *Niki* or *Buoy* ever had in his possession. *Pundi* was at one time a dependency of *Niki*, but the natives have recently thrown off the yoke, and formed themselves into an independent power; but with the acquisition of their liberty they soon lost the little sense of right and wrong which they once had, and having no leader for whom they cared, and no law which they obeyed, they threw off all manner of restraint, and, from robbing each other, they turned to plundering the property of their neighbours, and waylaying every unprotected stranger or traveller that had occasion to pass through their country. The same unruly, outrageous, and turbulent spirit, and

desperate conduct, prevail among the natives of Pundi to the present time; and similar acts of rapacity and violence are consummated by them every day, so that their country is dreaded and shunned by every one acquainted with their character and habits. Even among their bad neighbours, these people are regarded as the worst in the world; but perhaps the fears of strangers and enemies cause them to misrepresent and exaggerate the depraved manners of the people of Pundi.

“ This evening, the king's *first* messenger returned from Inguâzhilligee, and has succeeded in obtaining a large new canoe for our use, which it is understood will be sent up the river to Boosà as soon as the queen shall have paid the purchase-money to her brother, the chief of Wowow. We had much rather bargain for it ourselves, but the desires of the meddling Midiki are imperious, and it would not be prudent on our part to balk her wishes.—Very unwell all day.

“ *Friday, August 20th.*—The widow Zuma has left a son at Wowow, who is about thirty years of age, and is suffered to reside here only because he is at variance with his captious mother, and disapproves and condemns all her measures. This young man has been a constant daily visitor to me, and brings me occasionally a dish of pounded yam and palm-oil, a few goora nuts, or some such trifle. At our request he has busied himself surprisingly in endeavouring to procure information respecting the papers of Mr. Park. Though nearly blind, *Abba* (for that is his name) is a handsome and intelligent young man, of an equable temper, and of a mild, modest, and amiable disposition, which has rendered him a great favourite with us. From the information with which he has supplied us, we learn that

the late king of Wowow, who was father to the present ruler, became possessed of much of Mr. Park's property, amongst which was a great quantity of guns and ammunition, particularly musket balls, which we have seen. Before that monarch's dissolution, he left them to be divided amongst his sons. Abba ascertained yesterday that a large fat woman, belonging to the king, had a great pillow which her deceased husband had snatched, amongst other things, from the Niger, near Boossà, and with which he had fled to Wowow, where he continued to reside till his death. This pillow, as it is called, had perhaps been used for a seat, for it was covered with bullock's hide, and strengthened by ribs of iron; but the covering having been worn into holes with age and use, it was yesterday pulled to pieces by its owner, who found it to be stuffed with rags and cloth cut into small bits. In the centre of the pillow, however, to the woman's surprise, she discovered a little bag of striped satin, and feeling something like a book, as she says, within it, she was afraid to open it herself, but presently sent word to Abba of the circumstance, who forthwith came and imparted it to me, bringing the little bag along with him. On opening it I found a little iron frame, round which had been wound, with much ingenuity and care, a great quantity of cotton thread, which encompassed it perhaps not less than ten thousand times; and in consequence of its entangled state, it was provokingly troublesome to take off. Affixed to the little iron instrument, which is said to be a child's handcuff of foreign manufacture, and underneath the cotton, was an old manuscript, which, according to Abba's opinion, is a native charm. But as I mistrusted his knowledge of the Arabic language, and doubted his ability to give a proper

interpretation of the contents of the paper, in my own judgment, I was induced to believe it to be neither more nor less than a charm of some kind. Therefore, I purchased the manuscript, because it might be of greater consequence than I imagined, and because the bag in which it had been enveloped was of European satin, and the ink with which it had been written very different from that which is used by the Arabs, resembling our own so closely, that the difference in the colour of both cannot be distinguished. We were advised by no means to intimate to the king the nature of Abba's inquiries; for the people are all afraid of him, and declare that if he knew of any individual that had secreted ever so trifling a part of Mr. Park's property, he would be beheaded without mercy.

"I felt considerably better this morning, and therefore determined to remain no longer in Wowow, but to leave as soon as my horse should be got ready. Accordingly, I went to the king, to pay my respects and take my farewell of him, before my departure. I expressed my acknowledgments for the good reception and generous hospitality my brother and I had experienced from him and his subjects, and then requested permission to take my leave. But the monarch was unwilling to part with me so easily, and detained me in his company rather longer than I liked, conversing on matters foreign to my purpose. I related to him, at his own request, an account of the power, the riches, and the glory of England, and kept him in an ecstasy and silent wonderment for some time. 'Is all this true?' said the old man to Pascoe, who was at my side. 'It is true,' answered Pascoe, 'for I have seen it.' 'Wonderful people!' said the king. We then chatted for a long time about other things. The canoe, he

observed, which he had procured for us, was an excellent one. He much admired the appearance of the horse he had often seen me ride; and said that, as that animal could be of no service to us on the water, he had no objection to exchange his excellent canoe for him; and if one should be of greater value than the other, he would cheerfully give the difference in cowries, provided we would consent to the same measure if the horse was of less value. All this I told him was undoubtedly very fair, but as the Midiki herself had agreed to take all the trouble of making the bargain, it was useless on our parts to enter into any arrangements with him; indeed he was candid enough to tell me so, yet he wished to beguile the time away as well as he could, and he continued the conversation for no other purpose; whereas I was weary of it, and impatient to be gone, for the sun was already high, and the day promised to be oppressively hot.

“Before I was suffered to leave him, however, he endeavoured with energy to impress upon my mind the high sense he entertained of Europeans, who were so widely different, he said, from the Arabs; so much kinder, so much better, so much superior in every way. He loved white men of the west, because good-fortune was always sure to attend their footsteps wherever they went; all lands which they had visited had been blessed in them; and he had no doubt that after our departure Wowow would be similarly favoured. He would pray to God, therefore, to prosper us in our undertaking, and he felt assured that we should reach our native country, and he should see us at Wowow again before he died. Then, thanking the old king again for the various kindnesses he had shown us, and likewise for his good wishes, which I returned fourfold, we shook

hands heartily, and having taken my farewell, I rode out of the city.

“The journey was long and irksome, and the weather proved, as we had prognosticated, inexpressibly warm; but at three o'clock in the afternoon we entered and halted for a while under a tree at a rural little village embosomed in magnificent trees, which is peopled with emigrants from Nouffie; and as I was exhausted by fatigue, and too unwell to travel farther, we agreed to tarry here for the night. The poor harmless villagers, loving quiet and tranquillity rather than noise and disturbance, fled some few years ago from the persecutions and exactions of the Magia, and from all the horrors of a civil war, which was ravaging their country like a consuming fire, and desolating all the most beautiful of her provinces, and sought refuge in this peaceful village, which lies in one of the most sequestered valleys in the world. They have now sons and daughters, who seem to enjoy with them the delights of privacy and retirement which they had been so solicitous to obtain; for here these simple blessings are in their fullest perfection. They seldom see the face of a stranger, because their hamlet is situated at a good distance from the road-side, and because the way to it from thence is dark, difficult, and lonely; nevertheless, a traveller sometimes strays to their dwellings; and when that is the case, they receive him with hospitality, and endeavour to make him comfortable by kindness. A river flows near the village, which is said to be full of fish, and this is a source of employment to some of its inhabitants, and of advantage to all. The men are not only skilful fishermen, but they understand husbandry as well as their neighbours; they cultivate large quantities of grain, and grow beans, indigo, and yams, in abundance. They

likewise keep poultry, and have flocks of sheep and goats ; so that though their dress be poor and mean, yet they are rich as regards the necessaries of life, and have the means of enjoying a few of what are considered in this country as its luxuries.

“ In the evening, when the sun was going down, and when the birds, recovering from the sultry heat of the day, had begun to warble in the coolness of evening, the elders of the village assembled under the spreading branches of a noble tree to spend an hour or two in familiar chat, in pursuance of their common practice. To promote their cheerfulness and assist their conversation, large calabashes of strong home-brewed beer were placed by the side of them. Having swallowed two or three large draughts, the old men drew close to each other, and the venerable chronicler of the hamlet, in an under-tone, started a conversation respecting their guest, the fearful white man of the west ; and various and horrible were the conjectures of each on the cannibalism of his countrymen—their mysterious, supernatural powers, and their partiality for the blood of black men in particular. Their conversation became more serious as the beer began to operate on the old men, and, as the dusk of evening came on, they drew still closer together ; their legs, which had before been stretched out carelessly and comfortably at full length on the ground, were now gathered up under them ; and every now and then they ventured to look back over their shoulders to steal a glance at me, for I was not far off ; but this only seemed to inspire them with greater fear than before. The younger natives were about this time returning to the village from their usual occupations by the river side and in the fields, and they stopped to join the company of the old men. The latter were almost naked, and the

young men and girls were perfectly so, as well as the children of both sexes, which had been attracted to the party, and stood listening to the tales of horror which were related. One of our men had been sitting all the while with them, partaking of their beer, and had been silent till he conceived it almost time to retire, when he endeavoured to undeceive them in regard to their opinion of the unnatural propensities of white men, and to overthrow all the visions of bloody adventures which they had imbibed in their infancy, and cherished in their old age, and which had this evening been strengthened almost to realities by my presence, assisted by the effects of the beer they had drunk. But their love of the marvellous could not so easily be eradicated from their minds, and they turned a deaf ear to his remarks. The children shunned my hut as if it had contained a serpent or a scorpion; and one or two of them that met me by accident, started, then looked anxiously, eagerly, and entreatingly at me for a moment, as if overcome by terror, and then shrieked aloud, and ran away.

“The elderly men of the village perform no manner of work, but reserve it for their children and grandchildren, who labour for them without reluctance. The former lounge away their existence chiefly under the large tree above-mentioned; where they may be seen at all hours of a fine day, sitting in a group, the very picture of indolence, ease, peace, and comfort, and where they chat away the hours as thoughtlessly as if they were to live in this world for ever. They have no troubles, no difficulties, and no cares to interrupt their enjoyment. With what tranquillity and happiness does their life pass away! How smoothly and serenely do they go down to the grave!

“*Saturday, August 21st.*—We breakfasted early this morning on a cold fowl and yam, which was last night sent me by a blacksmith; but we found it impossible to leave the village as early as could have been wished, owing to a heavy shower which was falling. As soon as the rain had ceased, we set out on our journey. Four men, sent by the king of Wowow, and three other individuals, amongst whom was his brother, accompanied us to Boossà for eye-water, which they had induced us to promise them by their importunities and solicitations. Another man was in our train, who was the bearer of a present from the king of Wowow to his sister, the queen of Boossà. This present consisted of seven or eight yams, which are just the value of double the number of kidney-potatoes in England! Thus attended, we journeyed to the river-side, which is only a short distance from the village. A large quantity of fish had just been inclosed, which was announced by loud drumming from the fishermen, as a signal to their companions at the hamlet to come and assist in securing them. The river happened to be rather shallow, but it was interspersed with dark projecting rocks, that would render it impossible for any one to proceed even in a canoe either up or down the stream; yet we crossed it with little or no difficulty.

“We found the road to be overgrown with rank grass and luxuriant vegetation, and so intricate that we were obliged to travel very slowly, and my horse stumbled and fell with me repeatedly. In crossing the next river, where there is a ferry, for the first time since we have been in Africa, we saw a mother beating her child very unmercifully. The woman was wild with passion, but we succeeded in reconciling her to the object of her cruelty. Between eleven and twelve o'clock we came in sight of the walls of Boossà;

it was raining, and one of our men, who had been sent by my brother for that purpose, met us on the road with a change of apparel for myself. I was rejoiced to find my brother perfectly recovered from his indisposition, and we felt as much pleasure in the meeting as friends that had long parted. On my entrance, he was busily engaged in making preparations for our voyage down the Niger. The king of Boossà's messenger is expected here in a day or two, when we hope and expect that everything will be settled to our satisfaction."

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ADVENTURES ON THE NIGER.

PART II.

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OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

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Monday, August 23rd.—It was the earnest and oft-repeated desire of the chief of Wowow, while we resided in his town, that we should return from Boossà and spend the approaching holiday with him, to which we thought proper to accede; indeed the old man had behaved so well to us, that we did not like to make him an ungrateful return. But his sister, the Midiki, is always jealous of her brother, because, perhaps, we have given him so good a character, and she says that she is apprehensive he may procure from

us more than she is willing that he should have ; and so she has not only set her husband's mind against the measure, but she has slandered and defamed the character of her brother to us most shamefully.

This is positively the worst trait in the character of the queen, for in other respects she is an amiable good kind of woman enough. In more civilized, or rather more polished countries, among the reasonable part of mankind, a mutual interchange of benevolent intentions produces a reciprocity of kind feeling, and we would hope that the present of yams from her brother would excite the Midiki's more generous and affectionate sentiments for him. Yet this despicable vice of slander is universal in Africa ; the people all speak ill of each other, from the monarch to the slave. We shall now be compelled to remain in Boossà, till the period arrives for our final departure from the country.

This afternoon the expected messenger arrived from Wowow, with full power to treat with the Midiki for the purchase of our canoe ; and though we are the parties most concerned in this business, we are allowed to say nothing at all about it. We have just learnt that the bargain has been concluded ; we are to give both our horses for the canoe ; and if the king of Wowow should fancy the animals to be more than equivalent to the value of the boat, he has promised to send us the balance in money (cowries). This is infinitely better than we could have done ourselves : we should not have contrived matters half so well, for the youngest of the horses we had previously made a present of to the king of Boossà, but most likely, owing to Pascoe's misrepresentation, or misinterpretation, the monarch was not made sensible of the circumstance. The canoe will be sent here in

a day or two, when we shall begin to prepare her for the water without delay. Our men have made an attempt to drive the bullock, which was given us by the king of Wowow, from that city to Boossà, no less than four different times, but each time the ungovernable and furious animal has broken its ropes, gored the people, and returned to Wowow. As we have no means of preserving its flesh, should we slaughter the bullock before we leave, we intend to sell it here, if by any means it can be brought into the town.

Tuesday, August 24th.—Accounts have reached Boossà of the total discomfiture of the Falàtahs in the kingdom of *Càtsheena*, where, it is said, there has lately been much fighting; and that every Falàtah has been expelled from the city of *Catsheena*, which had been occupied by that singular people ever since the first successes of their prophet and general, *Danfodio*. *Doncassà*, who is the true and legitimate king of *Hàussa*, has been solicited to quit *Màradie*, wherein he has resided for many years, and invited to return to his ancient capital.

The reverses of the Falàtahs have not ended here, for the people of the little but fertile kingdom of *Zaria*, of which *Zeg-Zeg* is the capital, have also, with the assistance of the *Bornouese*, risen against their conquerors, defeated them in two or three engagements, driven out the Falàtahs, and returned to the allegiance of their own native Prince, who was formerly, and will be again, tributary to the sheikh of *Bornou*. *Zaria* is not in *Hàussa*, but adjoins that country; the natives also have a different language from the people of *Hàussa*. It appears that the faith and confidence which the Falàtahs had in the prophetic mission of *Danfodio*, and which infused in them a degree of boldness, courage, and impetuosity,

which is not natural to their dispositions, has not been extended to Bello, his son and successor, and to this is attributed the serious reverses and defeats which they have lately experienced; for, though they considered themselves invincible, they are constitutionally as spiritless and cowardly in war, and as indolent in peace, as the original inhabitants.

The sheikh of Bornou has recently issued a proclamation, that no slaves from the interior countries are to be sent for sale farther west than Wowow, so that none will be sent in future from thence to the sea-side. The greatest and most profitable market for slaves is said to be at Timbuctoo, whither their owners at present transport them to sell to the Arabs, who take them over the deserts of Zahara and Libya, to re-sell in the Barbary states. An Arab has informed us that many of his countrymen trade as far as Turkey in Europe, with their slaves, where they dispose of them for two hundred and fifty dollars each.

Wednesday, August 25th.—We despatched one of our men, named Ibrahim, this morning, to Coufô, with our ass, and a quantity of needles to sell. With him the king has sent a messenger, who has been commissioned to visit all the towns and villages on the Nouffie side of the Quorra, as far as the Falàtah town of *Rabba*, and to request their chiefs and governors, in the name of the king of Boossà, to suffer us to pass down the river without inquiry or molestation.

Rabba is reported to be four days' journey from hence by water, and seven by land. It is said to be a fine handsome town, whose inhabitants are rich, numerous, and powerful, and that it is embellished all round with a vast quantity of graceful palm-trees.

Indeed all the palm-oil which is used in this country is brought from thence; and European salt is brought from towns a little farther down the Niger, so that Rabba cannot be a great way from the sea. The old prince of Wowow intends following the example of the king of this place, by despatching a messenger as far down the Yarriba side of the river as he is acquainted with. Should any of the chiefs be averse to our travelling by water through their territories, they may have it in their power to annoy us and impede our progress, but if the measure should please them, they will be able to render us the most essential service. The Falàtahs will be the most difficult people to deal with; they never approve of a foreigner or stranger of consequence coming into their dominions, unless he consent to visit their monarch at Soccatoo. We intended passing Rabba by night, and so avoid meeting with any of its inhabitants; but now, as they will receive intelligence of the exact period of our departure from Boossà, and our consequent approach to their town, it is useless to think of shunning them. We never dreamt of requesting such a thing from the king; in fact it met with our decided disapprobation; but he would not listen to our objections, and observed that no exertion should be spared on his part to ensure our safety and promote our intentions, which he could not promise before he had officially acquainted the different chiefs on the banks of the river that the white men were under his protection, and had set out under his auspices, and therefore he hoped and believed that our persons would be respected, and our property and people held sacred by them all. The messenger is not expected to return for a fortnight, for the journey is long and disagreeable; but whether we shall be obliged to wait till he comes back, we have not yet ascertained.

Friday, August 27th.—This forenoon we sent Pascoe's wife to the king for the favour of a little unadulterated salt, because there is such a great quantity of ashes and other spurious ingredients mixed up with that which is publicly sold in the market, that we could never eat it with pleasure. Both king and queen embraced the opportunity of admiring the shape and beauty of the salt-box, and spoke in rapturous terms of the lustre of its appearance, and the ingenuity of its contrivance. "Alla, how wonderful!" said they; "even the most trifling articles belonging to the white men are fit for the use of the mightiest kings. Alas! Alla has given them all the glory and riches of the world, and its knowledge, and left none whatever for black men!"

The king was affected! He thrust the vessel into the pocket of his tobe, smoothed it down with his hand, looked melancholy, and said, "How nicely it fits! what a beautiful thing! how convenient it would be in travelling!" He then took it out again, turned it round and round, opened and shut it repeatedly, and then bestowing on it a last commendation, as outrageous as any of the former, it was returned to us filled with genuine salt. Who could not understand the meaning of all this? Now this handsome salt-cellar is of latten, and was formerly a common round tinder-box; and because we had nothing better for the purpose, we deprived it of the candlestick on its cover a short time ago, and converted it to its present use. The tin, moreover, has been burnt off from many parts of it, and Pascoe's wife not being an admirer of cleanliness, it has lost much of its original brightness. The king's encomiums were therefore nothing more than an indirect and ingenious solicitation of the article for his own use; which was further apparent by desiring the woman to relate to

us no part of the conversation that had passed between them, or in other words, that she should tell us every syllable. We could not help admiring the delicacy of the king, and sent back the tinder-box to him immediately. The bearer was rewarded handsomely for her trouble, and we received as many thanks as when he accepted the silver medal and chain which we had offered him.

It is by such means as this that the chiefs and rulers of this country, ashamed of making a direct application for anything in our possession to which they may have taken a fancy, endeavoured to obtain it. If, however, the hint does not succeed in making a visible impression, less delicate measures are presently resorted to; and, when every other expedient fails, they cast aside the reserve and bashfulness which had influenced them at first, and express their meaning in language which cannot be misunderstood. In this respect the chiefs and governors are all alike, from Badágyry to the metropolis of Yáoorie.

Tuesday, August 31st.—A messenger with a canoe arrived to-day from the king of Wowow, but it is so very small that it is wholly inadequate for our purpose. This is a most provoking circumstance, because a larger canoe must be procured, and this will occasion much loss of time. Between the chief of Wowow and his sister, the Midiki, we have been completely taken in. Boats of a considerable size are kept, it is said, at a small town on the banks of the Niger, called *Lever*, and thither we have resolved to proceed as soon as the Boossà messenger shall have returned from Rabba, and get a canoe prepared with as much expedition as possible. The horses given in exchange to the prince of Wowow are large, handsome, and superior animals, worth in England at least sixty pounds, and their value here is little less;

yet this canoe which has been sent us is scarcely worth as many pence. There is infinitely more difficulty, and greater bustle and discussion, in simply purchasing a canoe here, than there would be in Europe in drawing up a treaty of peace, or in determining the boundaries of an empire: such vast importance do the people attach to the most trifling matters in the world.

A man also arrived in this city to-day from a town near Jenna, in Yarriba, whither the king had sent him some time since. He reports that a vessel has lately arrived at Badágyry, and by the man's account, she is in all probability a slaver, either from the Havana, or from the Brazils.

This is the eve of the much-talked-of Mohammedan festival, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages, resolving to enjoy themselves in the holidays, are already resorting here in great numbers. The disposition of every one appears to be softened into good-nature, by the bare anticipation of the festival, and joy beams from their countenances. The very dogs, which at other times receive unkind treatment, and are always badly used, now run about wagging their tails with an air of cheerfulness and courage which they assume only on such important occasions as these, for they are days of grace and respite to them, poor brutes! Men and women, elated with the thoughts of the pleasure which awaits them to-morrow, are enjoying themselves in singing and dancing, and are seen talking and laughing in every corner; while the younger children, quite naked, are as frolicsome as their grandmothers, and are either rolling on the ground, or skipping along the turf, "like little playful fawns." On this extraordinary and momentous occasion, a bullock nearly half grown has been slaughtered by the Midiki, to supply

the wants of the good people of Boossà, and those of a great influx of strangers and visitors, so that every one who can afford it may buy and eat. There has been also in the market a more than usual quantity of corn and rice,—indeed, nothing is wanting to please the taste, and satisfy the appetite of all, and to render the festivities and rejoicings complete.

A circumstance, however, occurred this morning, which threw a damp and chill on the spirits of the king, and threatened to turn a day of gaiety and enjoyment into one of mourning and sorrow. It appears that a few weeks since, our *quondam* host, the drummer, was guilty of criminal conversation with the wife of the king's eldest son, who is governor of a town a few miles from Boossà, and since the affair happened, he has not visited the city till to-day. Nothing would either have been said or done to the drummer by way of censure or punishment, if he had not, like rakes of whiter faces, boasted of his gallantry, and spoken in disrespectful terms of his paramour. When this had reached the ears of the elderly females of the town, in order to vindicate the honour of their sex, and chastise the calumniator, they arose in a body, waylaid the unfortunate musician, and applied their hands and fists so vigorously to his face and person, that he will remember the drubbing as long as he lives. On the arrival of the prince to-day, he sought the drummer to slay him, for he felt his character injured, and his honour tarnished; and therefore commanded his attendants to lay violent hands upon him the moment they could find him. Now the drummer had recovered from the effects of the women's punishment, and was exercising his profession outside the king's house, totally absorbed in the inspiring music of his instrument, when by the sudden appearance of the prince

before him, he started as though he had been in the folds of a serpent. He was self-convicted, and trembled with fear; he knew and felt that no time was to be lost, so uttering a faint cry, he sprang from the spot, fled from the presence of his enemy, drum and all, and ran with astonishing celerity towards a corn-field, where he endeavoured to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. But his instrument was large and clumsy, and becoming entangled in the corn-stocks, he was confused and perplexed, and lost much time in casting it from him. Meantime he was chased by the prince's servants, who were all armed with large heavy bludgeons, and by them he was soon overtaken. These applied their weapons with such good heart, and so effectually, on the person of the licentious, sinful drummer, that his head was broken, his countenance disfigured, his hands and arms rendered powerless, and the other parts of his body almost pommelled to a mummy. When they were tired of their task, the men desisted from further punishment; and the drummer, covered with blood, by the assistance of people that were passing near at the time, dragged his limbs after him to the king's house. Here he made a long and grievous complaint to his master, who compassionated the musician, and was so infuriated against his son, that he commanded his servants to behead him instantly. The monarch, however, was restrained from repeating this sanguinary mandate by the supplications of his principal people, who had sided with the prince, and now attempted to justify his conduct, and together with every woman in the place, more especially his own wife, declared that the drummer richly deserved the chastisement which he had received. The wounded man refused at first to be comforted, but he was at length appeased by the

condolence and encouraging words of the king, who has made him a present of a handsome *tobe*; and thus the affair was compromised, and joy again reigned in Boossà.

Wednesday, September 1st.—Day was drawing to a close, and evening fast approaching, when the king came out of his residence to show himself to his people. He was attended by a number of his head men, with whom he perambulated the town; and afterwards proceeded outside the gates to offer up a short prayer with them to the gods of his religion, for he is still a pagan, as all his fathers were, though he employs Mohammedan priests to pray for his welfare, and intercede with their prophet in his behalf, agreeably to their form of worship. Several musicians were in attendance with drums, fifes, and long Arab trumpets of brass; these men preceded their sovereign, and played lustily on their instruments all the while he was returning to his house. He shortly came out again and rode slowly up the race-course, attended by people of both sexes most uncouthly dressed, singing and dancing before him, and followed by a party of well-dressed men mounted on mettlesome horses, and equipped as if for war. On our saluting him, the monarch stopped and sent us a goora-nut, which, on such an occasion as this, is considered as a mark of great condescension, and a sign of peculiar favour; and he staid opposite us at least ten minutes, to give us a fair opportunity of admiring his grandeur, and diverting ourselves by the frolicsome gambols of his attendants. Smiling at our wonderment, and gratified with the respect we paid him by discharging our pistols close to his person, he nodded and passed on. The king was mounted on a fine handsome grey horse, sumptuously caparisoned; while he himself is a noble and

commanding figure on horseback, and was dressed extremely well, in a red cap and large turban of the same colour, a silk damask tobe of green and crimson, made full and flowing, red cloth trousers and Arab boots. Groups of well-dressed individuals were seated under every tree with spears, quivers of arrows, long-bows, and ornamented cows' tails. These latter were flourished about as the people sang; their owners threw them high into the air, and danced at the same time in the most extraordinary manner, and flung their limbs about as though they had been actuated by a supernatural power. Every one was exhilarated and in motion,—both horseman and footman, woman and child. The musicians also, not satisfied by making the whole of Boossà echo with the most grating and outrageous sounds conceivable, both sung, or rather screamed, and danced, twisting their mouths with their exertions, into all manner of wry and comical shapes. The spectacle altogether was odd and grotesque beyond description, and such a one could never enter into the dreams or waking visions of a European. Guns were fired by the king's followers, and other obstreperous and astounding noises were made by the people. Never did we see the king in a happier mood; his satisfaction seemed to be quite complete. He smiled graciously on all around him; and bestowed many an arch and significant look upon us, as if he would have said, "Can *your* sovereign boast so splendid a retinue as mine, or display so much regal splendour?"

The ceremony was long and fatiguing; and though the king was screened from the sun's rays by two large ponderous umbrellas, and though two men were standing by, constantly fanning him, yet perspiration stood in large drops upon his forehead,

and he appeared nearly exhausted. After our curiosity had been amply gratified, the king rode away, preceded by his singing and dancing women, his musicians, his bowmen, and his spearmen, with all their noise and clamour, and instantly began to make preparations for a horse-race. The course was short, rough, and uneven, and the competition between the riders by no means animated. Indeed the race was of short duration, and very inferior to the horse-racing of either Kiáma or Wowow. The king is a graceful rider, and displayed his horsemanship to much advantage by galloping up and down the course; and, owing to his advantageous stature, his appearance was very becoming. The sun was then setting, and as soon as he had disappeared, the amusements ceased. The people, both strangers and inhabitants, were then collected together before the king's house, for the purpose of hearing an oration from their monarch; for, in pursuance of an ancient and established practice, the king of Boossà annually harangues his people on the celebration of this festival. The sovereign is at least a head taller than any of his subjects, so that he was a remarkable and conspicuous object to every one of his audience. If such a comparison may be ventured on, the commencement of his speech was in its nature not much unlike that delivered on the opening of Parliament by the Majesty of England. The king of Boossà began by assuring his people of the internal tranquillity of the empire, and of the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards him. He then exhorted his hearers to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to work diligently, and live temperately; and concluded with an injunction for them all to be abstemious in the use of beer. He declared that too much indulgence in it was the source of much evil

and wretchedness, and the cause of most of the quarrels and disturbances that had taken place in the city. "Go; retire to rest soberly and cheerfully," said the king, "and do as I have requested you, when you will be an example to your neighbours, and win the good opinion and applause of mankind." The king's speech lasted for three-quarters of an hour. He spoke vehemently and with much eloquence; his language was forcible and impressive, and his action appropriate and commanding; and he dismissed the assembly with a graceful and noble air. Instead of a sceptre, the monarch flourished the tuft of a lion's tail.

While the king was haranguing his subjects, and while all of them were listening with respect and attention to the precepts of morality and virtue which he recommended, two of our own men, one of whom was intoxicated, were fighting and blustering, and making a great uproar among the people: my brother endeavoured to separate them, but all his efforts were unavailing and abortive, and he only received severe blows on the breast for his pains. The fight was observed by the king, who seemed distressed and angry, and rode up to the men three different times, and commanded them to forbear and be quiet, but his interference was regarded with no more respect than my brother's. My brother and I, perceiving that the principal of the fellows would not be pacified by any other means, gave directions that he might immediately be secured. But the people of Boossà are gentle and compassionate in their disposition, and they not only regretted that the man was to receive punishment, but were actually afraid to come near him, for he was wild as a maniac, and our own men were obliged to lay hold of him, and attempted to bind him with ropes. This was no easy

matter, for he struggled hard with them ; but after an hour's desperate resistance, they succeeded in securing him, and he was subsequently confined in irons for the night, much against the wishes of the king and his people. This individual, whose name I forbear to mention, is a mulatto, and was born in the British colony of Nova Scotia, from whence he was removed in his childhood, with his parents, to Sierra Leone. While yet a boy, he was sent to sea ; and before he had attained to maturity, he had filled the different characters of a slave, a seaman, a pirate, and the master of a vessel. He afterwards volunteered into the British navy, and became a man-of-war's man ; but for a serious misdemeanour, he was flogged through the fleet in the Mediterranean, and deserted in consequence. We found him at Badàgry, where he had suffered a fortnight's imprisonment, by order of Adooley, for theft. When we first saw him, he told us a long and pitiful story, of his having been born a British subject, but falling sick on board of a merchant vessel, which was trading on the coast, he was set on shore about five years ago by order of his captain, and from that time up to the period of his joining our party at Badàgry, he had been a slave to Adooley, for the captain had left him to his fate. As we knew the man would be extremely useful in a canoe, to the management of which he has been accustomed from his infancy, and that he also understood the cleaning and repairing of guns, besides other useful matters ; and as we likewise believed his artful tale, we obtained the consent of the Badàgrian chief, whose slave he was, to part with him, provided we would pledge ourselves to bring him back with us in safety. In Yarriba, we could by no means complain of his general conduct ; he was always willing to do everything we required of him, and was by

far the most diligent and useful man of the party. At Boossà and at Yàoorie, however, his evil propensities and bad conduct began to display themselves; he became idle, drunken, and careless, and purloined several little articles, which, intrinsically, were of no value; but in the reduced state of our finances, they were of great consequence to us. Besides which, he is one of the most abandoned creatures in the world; and it was a common practice with him to absent himself from our party several days together, so that we saw nothing of him, and when he returned, was accompanied by complaints from the native women. This man's conduct has given us both much uneasiness, anxiety, and apprehension; we scarcely know what to do with him, he is so profligate and vicious: we thought of sending him back to Yarriba by a party of men who will leave hence for Keeshee in a day or two, but they dread the thoughts of his company, and refuse to take him along with them for any consideration. He has already threatened the lives of more than one of our men, and they begin to tremble with apprehension for their personal safety. In his sober moments he is quiet, orderly, and good-natured; and it is only when his furious passions are excited by drinking, that he becomes altogether ungovernable, and displays all his fiend-like disposition, to the danger of our lives. We are likewise apprehensive that the natives of the country will entertain but a despicable opinion of us, when they reflect upon the outrageous conduct of this man, for his features are cast in the European mould; he dresses in the English costume, like ourselves; he speaks our language with readiness, and writes it with facility.

Thursday, September 2nd.—Yesterday was considered as a day of amusement and recreation for men on horseback only; but this has been devoted almost

exclusively to dancing and singing, and other trifling diversions, which are more generally relished by people of all ranks, and of both sexes. At an early hour in the morning, the people of the city, with musicians in their train, assembled in large groups, and continued parading the streets all day, and singing and dancing were kept up without intermission till four o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing could surpass the hilarity and general good-humour which prevailed among the people during the day. The features of every one were animated with joy. There was no ordinary mirth; for, being naturally of a warm-hearted, sanguine disposition, they entered into the sports of the day with a fervency which displayed itself in all manner of extraordinary tricks, gestures, and movements. This was a holiday for all, from the king to the meanest of his subjects. The old seemed to have forgotten their weight of years; the young knew no restraint; and those who before had talked of love in secret, now openly exchanged with each other

“Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles.”

A short relaxation from this tumultuous pastime was now obtained by some in making preparations for joining the king's party, which was fast collecting at his house. Such diversions as theirs, so highly exciting and gratifying, are nevertheless wearisome to the strongest frame, and in this sultry climate must be particularly so to them. When they had all assembled, they presented a singular, grotesque, and striking appearance. A cluster of between sixty and seventy *Falàtahs*, men, women, and children, were, some standing and some sitting, in front of the doorway, leading to the interior apartments. Their

dresses were remarkably clean, neat, varied, and becoming; the long black hair of the women was ingeniously and prettily braided, and confined in nets and caps; and their flowing garments of striped cotton swept along the ground: the men wore red caps, loose white tobes, and full trousers; and their little children were pleasingly clad and decorated with all the finery and ornaments which their parents had been able to bestow on them. These well-looking Falatahs formed the most interesting and agreeable assemblage of the whole; they had likewise more vivacity in their looks, and more quickness of action than any of their companions. To the right of them, in an enclosure of mud, was seated the Queen of Boossà, dressed loosely, though not inelegantly, in rich English silks, as spectatress of the amusements; behind her were the king's other wives and her own female slaves, who were pretty numerous. They formed also a cleanly, decent group, inferior only to the former. On each side of the Falatahs, and behind them, was a great number of other spectators of all ranks, many of whom were standing, and many sitting on the turf, and reclining against the trunks of trees. Most of the men were clad in the Mahomedan costume, with cap, tobe, and trousers; and the majority of the women were dressed in neat and durable country cloths, which were carelessly thrown over the left shoulder, and reached to the ground, leaving the right arm and shoulder, and part of the right leg, uncovered. A few among them, however, wore common Manchester cottons, of a large, showy, and vulgar pattern, which were infinitely surpassed by their own country cloth.

Although the king had not made his appearance, the amusements were carried on with much animation; and the dancers, far from being tired, seemed

to imbibe fresh vigour and renewed activity; whilst the drummers, eight in number, with a fifer as an assistant, continued playing to them. A man first started from the crowd with a bundle of rushes in his hand, like a German broom, which he flourished over his head with inconceivable dexterity. After dancing awhile, he was joined by two Falatah women, who imitated his actions, and partook of his glee. One of them held a little girl by the hand; and the whole four individuals, man, women, and child, continued the dancing till they were completely fatigued, when they were succeeded by another party of three or four, and then another in like manner; so that there was not a moment's pause in the dance at any time. They kept good time with the music and singing. But instead of the quick, lively motion which is generally observed on similar occasions, the dancers moved with a slow and measured step, in which there was nothing unbecoming or improper, and all seemed consistent with the rules of delicacy. For want of a proper fan, the females used neat round mats of various colours; and it afforded us no little entertainment to see them placed before the mouth whenever they wished to hide their faces, or attempted to conceal their laughter.

Meanwhile, the king was expected by every one with much anxiety and impatience, for as yet he had not been present to witness the diversions of his people; and it was not till past four in the afternoon that he showed himself from one of his huts. His arrival was welcomed by a spirited rally upon the drums, while he took his seat on a stool between the queen's station and the group of Falatahs, and, perceiving us among the crowd, he invited us to place ourselves near his person. Several attendants who had followed their master stood on each side of him,

forming, if it may so be called, a "guard of honour." One of these men held two large bundles of spears, whose points or barbs were confined in caps of burnished brass, on which he rested his head with much solemnity, and with a slight inclination of the body; while from his temples was suspended a huge and enormous hat, made either of grass or rushes, which reached to the ground, and covered him like a shield. Others held loose bundles of spears, fans, and arrows, with the two prodigious Arab trumpets which have before been casually alluded to. Thus attended, the king entered into the spirit of the performances with a merry heart, and a determination to be pleased with them. He appeared to be by far the most delighted spectator of the whole, and signified his approbation by encouraging words and glances to those who danced or sung to his satisfaction. A cheerful smile animated his countenance during the whole time, and caused his features to assume an expression of good humour, which it is a particular custom in him never to display so fully except on occasions of public festivity and enjoyment, though he is one of the pleasantest and best-tempered men that we have met with in Africa.

There was an elderly female who danced alone before the king, and by the peculiarity of her looks, and her ludicrous and uncommon gestures, afforded us very great amusement. This woman is a tall, awkward, masculine, and uncomely figure; yet she endeavoured to look so serious, at the same time with so arch a countenance, and with a half-averted glance smiled with so much artfulness and loving-kindness on her sovereign and his attendants, dancing at the same time with such an extraordinary motion of her person, that she obtained universal applause. This was a fair challenge to the king; and as soon as she

had finished, the monarch himself arose and stepped into the ring to display his acquirements in the art. Every one stood on his legs, out of respect to their sovereign, as well to applaud his dancing as to obtain a fairer opportunity of beholding his person; and a great press was made by the crowd in consequence, that they might gain a better view of him. The king moved with much stiffness and stateliness, which is at all times unbecoming in a dance; but the populace expressed their admiration of his abilities in shouts of joy, and certainly his attempts to please and amuse them deserved the full extent of applause. To us, however, it does not appear that Nature, which has been so bountiful to this beloved monarch in other respects, has fitted him for so active an amusement as this; for, though his size approaches to the majestic—though he walks and rides with equal ease, and though the exercise by no means requires the greatest flexibility of body—his dance, to us at least, was a complete failure; for he has a foot which may be compared to that of a dromedary in point of size, and his toe is anything but “light and fantastic.” When his first dance, which was much the same as that performed by his people, was concluded, the king began a second by imitating the canter of a native horse when going to war. This, as may be supposed, was an inexpressibly odd and whimsical experiment, but it lasted a short time only; for in a very few minutes he disappeared from the spectators by cantering into one of his huts, followed by the cheers of admiration and the acclamations of every one present.

The sun had now set, and with the departure of the prince the singing and dancing ceased for the evening; nevertheless all the people patiently awaited his return to the spot. Now, of all the celebrated dancers in the country, none can excel or equal the

king of Wowow in grace, elegance, and vivacity; and the fame of his skill in this amusement, which is thought so much of in this country, is gone abroad into all lands: every one, even his enemies, acknowledge his superiority in this polite accomplishment; and the envious and malicious are compelled to own that he is without a rival from Bornou to the sea. Yet, notwithstanding his renown as a dancer, the chief is a very aged man, having a most solemn and forbidding aspect; and though he has evidently, to use a common expression, one foot in the grave, he is as active as a boy, and indulges largely in this his favourite amusement every Friday. It was in order for us to witness his elegant dancing, we have been told, that he pressed us with so much earnestness and importunity to spend the holidays at Wowow, which we should certainly have consented to, but for the discouragement our project received from the king of Boossà, who was envious of his celebrity, and therefore compelled rather than enticed us to remain here, that we might see his personal accomplishments to advantage—witness the public gaiety and festivities of his people—and, in his imagination, be struck with astonishment and admiration at his own perfection in the art of dancing.

The Boossà people did not wait long for the reappearance of their monarch, for shortly after he came out to them, followed by a boy with two calabashes full of cowries, which were to be distributed among the multitude. But, first of all, the king took up a handful, and gave to each of the singers, dancers, and musicians, that had contributed so essentially to his entertainment; nor was the tall old woman forgotten, who had danced alone before him, for she received a double allowance. We were rather pleased at this, for she is our next-door neighbour, a poor old

woman, who is very chatty and flippant, and has fallen in love with one of our young men, named Antonio. This having been done to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, the remainder of the cowries were scattered by the king's own hand among the crowd to be scrambled for, which occasioned the most animating and amusing sight that can be conceived. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, strangers and friends, were scrambling and tumbling over each other, some on their faces and some on their knees, both giving and receiving cuffs and kicks in the scuffle to get at the money. This scramble lasted about ten minutes, when the party before the king's house broke up; but the good-natured monarch, to show his affection for his subjects, whom he indeed regards with as much tenderness as if they were his children, was unwilling to send them to their homes without giving them another last treat, so he danced sideways half-way up the race-course and back again to his residence with much stateliness. This was indeed a royal attempt; the Midiki smiled with delight that she had *such* a spouse; the people were louder than ever in their shouts of approbation; all was noise, tumult, and confusion; their sovereign was more beloved than ever he had been; and as the evening closed in, silence was gradually restored, and the people retired to their homes. This was the last of the holidays, and the proceedings of this day have concluded their festivities.

About ten o'clock at night, when we were sleeping on our mats, we were suddenly awoke by a great cry of distress from innumerable voices, attended by a horrid clashing and clattering noise, which the hour of the night tended to make more terrific. Before we had time to recover from our surprise, old Pascoe rushed breathless into our hut, and informed us with

a trembling voice, that "the sun was dragging the moon across the heavens." Wondering what could be the meaning of so strange and ridiculous a story, we ran out of the hut half-dressed, and we discovered that the moon was totally eclipsed. A number of people were gathered together in our yard, in dreadful apprehension that the world was at an end, and that this was but the "beginning of sorrows." We learnt from them that the Mahomedan priests residing in the city having personified the sun and moon, had told the king and the people that the eclipse was occasioned through the obstinacy and disobedience of the latter luminary. They said that for a long time previously the moon had been displeased with the path she had been compelled to take through the heavens, because it was filled with thorns and briars, and obstructed with a thousand other difficulties; and therefore that, having watched for a favourable opportunity, she had this evening deserted her usual track, and entered into that of the sun. She had not, however, travelled far up the sky, on the forbidden road, before the circumstance was discovered by the sun, who immediately hastened to her in his anger, and punished her dereliction by clothing her in darkness, forcing her back to her own territories, and forbidding her to shed her light upon the earth. This story, whimsical as it may seem, was received with implicit confidence in its truth by the king and queen and most of the people of Boossà; and the cause of the noises which we had heard, and which were still continuing with renewed vehemence, was explained to us by the fact that they were all "assembled together in the hope of being able to frighten away the sun to his proper sphere, and leave the moon to enlighten the world as at other times." This is much after the manner of many savage nations.

While our informant was yet speaking to us, a messenger arrived at our yard from the king, to tell us the above tale, and with an invitation to come to see him immediately. Therefore, slipping on the remainder of our clothes, we followed the man to the residence of his sovereign, from outside of which the cries proceeded, and here we found the king and his timid partner sitting on the ground. Their usual good spirits and cheerful behaviour had forsaken them entirely; both appeared overwhelmed with apprehension, and trembled at every joint. Like all their subjects, in the hurry of fear and the suddenness of the alarm, they had come out of their dwellings half dressed, the head and legs, and the upper part of their persons, being entirely exposed. We soon succeeded in quelling their fears, or at least in diminishing their apprehension. The king then observed, that neither himself nor the oldest of his subjects recollected seeing but one eclipse of the moon besides the one he was gazing at; that it had occurred exactly when the Falatahs began to be formidable in the country, and that it had forewarned them of all the wars, disasters, and calamities which subsequently took place.

We had seated ourselves opposite to the king and queen, and within two or three feet of them, where we could readily observe the moon and the people without inconvenience, and carry on the conversation at the same time. If the royal couple shuddered with terror on beholding the darkened moon, we were scarcely less affected by the savage gestures of those within a few yards of us; and by their repeated cries, so wild, so loud, and so piercing, that an indescribable sensation of horror stole over us, and rendered us almost as nervous as those whom we had come to comfort. The earlier part of the evening had been mild, serene, and remarkably pleasant; the moon had

arisen with uncommon lustre, and being at the full, her appearance was extremely delightful. It was the conclusion of the holidays, and many of the people were enjoying the delicious coolness of a serene night, and resting from the laborious exertions of the day; but when the moon became gradually obscured, fear overcame every one. As the eclipse increased, they became more terrified. All ran in great distress to inform their sovereign of the circumstance, for there was not a single cloud to cause so deep a shadow, and they could not comprehend the nature or meaning of an eclipse. The king was as easily frightened as his people, being equally simple and ignorant; he would not therefore suffer them to depart. Numbers sometimes beget courage and confidence, he thought; so he commanded them to remain near his person, and to do all in their power to restore the lost glory of the moon.

In front of the king's house, and almost close to it, are a few magnificent cotton-trees, round which the soil had been freed from grass, &c., for the celebration of the games. On this spot were the terrified people assembled, with every instrument capable of making a noise which could be procured in the whole town. They had formed themselves into a large treble circle, and continued running round with amazing velocity, crying, shouting, and groaning with all their might. They tossed and flung their heads about, twisted their bodies into all manner of contortions, jumped into the air, stamped with their feet on the ground, and flourished their hands above their heads. No scene in the romance of Robinson Crusoe was so wild and savage as this; and a large wood fire, with a few men spitted and roasting before it, was alone wanting to render it complete! Little boys and girls were outside the ring running to and fro, clashing

empty calabashes against each other, and crying bitterly; groups of men were blowing on trumpets, which produced a harsh and discordant sound; some were employed in beating old drums; others again were blowing on bullocks' horns; and in the short intervals between the rapid succession of all these fiend-like noises, was heard one more dismal than the rest, proceeding from an iron tube, accompanied by the clinking of chains. Indeed, everything that *could* increase the uproar was put in requisition on this memorable occasion; nor did it cease till midnight, when the eclipse had passed away. Never have we witnessed so extraordinary a scene as this. The diminished light, when the eclipse was complete, was just sufficient to enable us to distinguish the various groups of people, and contributed in no small degree to render this scene still more imposing. If a European, a stranger to Africa, were to be placed on a sudden in the midst of the terror-struck people, he would imagine himself to be among a legion of demons, holding a revel over a fallen spirit; so peculiarly unearthly, wild, and horrifying was the appearance of the dancing group, and the clamour which they made. It was perhaps fortunate for us that we had an almanac with us, which foretold the eclipse; for although we neglected to inform the king of this circumstance, we were yet enabled to tell him and his people the exact time of its disappearance. This succeeded in some measure in suppressing their fears, for they would believe anything we might tell them; and perhaps, also, it has procured for us a lasting reputation "and a name." "Oh," said the king, "there will be sorrow and crying this night from Wowow to Yaorie. The people will have no one to comfort or condole with them; they will fancy this eclipse to be the harbinger of something very dreadful; and

they will be in distress and trouble till the moon shall have regained her brightness." It was nearly one o'clock when we left the king and queen, to return to our hut ; everything was then calm and silent, and we lay down to rest in peace.

Friday, September 3rd.—The king's messenger came to us this morning with the intelligence that his master had caught cold by exposing himself the preceding night, and was confined to his apartment with severe pains in the bowels. We have also to complain of a similar indisposition. One of our men, who offended so grossly at the horse-racing two days ago, has been liberated, and appears ashamed of himself and truly penitent. He promises to abstain from drink in future, to deport himself soberly and orderly, to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and to be ready and willing at all times to do anything which may be required of him. Notwithstanding his protestations, however, we are resolved to place our guns and ammunition beyond his reach, together with all edged instruments whatsoever ; for heretofore his temper has been known to be sullen, furious, and unforgiving, which may yet lead to disastrous consequences, and may involve us in difficulties.

Monday, September 6th.—The man we sent to Coulfò, a fortnight since, to sell our ass, needles, &c., is not yet returned to Boossà, though he has exceeded the period we had specified for his absence by three or four days. Fearing that something unpleasant may have happened to him, we this-day despatched one of the king's people to Coulfò, in order to ascertain the cause of his delay ; and if nothing detains him more than a want of sale for his goods, he is to return instantly with this messenger, rather than put us to inconvenience by a longer stay in that city.

The Niger is now completely full, and in many places

its banks are already overflowed, so that it is extremely favourable for our proceeding down the river. With the change in the moon, however, we have had a constant succession of heavy showers, which have compelled us all day long to remain within doors, in a close, black, and smoky hut; having the disadvantage of damp, dirty walls, and of being pestered with myriads of black and white ants; and so long as the rains continue, we shall be able to take no other kind of exercise than that of moving round this miserable abode, like prisoners in a condemned cell. It is perhaps fortunate, after all, that our canoe has not been got ready so soon as we had anticipated, for constant exposure to the rains upon the water, in an open boat, would be extremely unpleasant. Yet it is time that we should leave Boossá, for in spite of the friendship of the king and queen, more especially of the latter, which is declining very fast indeed, their benevolent feelings are growing colder every day; our resources at the same time are diminishing rapidly, and when they are gone, we know not what we shall do. We now receive only a calabash of *caffas* (a kind of dough or paste) from the king once in three days, so that we are compelled to eat them, at times, either in a state of putridity, or go without; and our men are half-famished from the careless inattention, or perhaps from the wilful negligence, of the Midiki; we cannot, like the chameleon, live upon air, and we have not a single cowrie to spare to purchase provisions. Our powder is reduced to a very small quantity, and in all probability we have not half so much as we shall require on the Niger; so that for some time past we have relinquished our sporting excursions altogether, though these once afforded us an ample supply of game for the consumption of our whole party.

Caffas are little cakes made of meal and water boiled together. There are several different kinds of corn at Boossà, all of which are also made into caffas. The method of separating the grain from the husk, is by cutting the ears from the stalk and placing them in a kind of wooden mortar, in which they are subjected to pressure from a heavy piece of wood. The whole is then exposed to the wind on an elevated situation, by which the husk is blown away. The process of grinding the corn is performed on a large stone slab, with another heavy stone which is worked by the hand. The slab is placed for the sake of convenience in an inclined position, and is sufficiently large only for the person to perform the operation on his knees, and it is one which requires no little exertion. Their only method of cooking the meal when thus prepared, is by boiling it with water to the consistency of thick paste, in which state it is poured out in small portions on leaves, and laid by for use.

Wednesday, September 8th.—Messengers from the king of Borgoo arrived this morning in the city from the metropolis of Niki, accompanied by a few of the principal merchants of a large *fatàkie* which is now resting at Zalee, a small town about two hours' walk to the westward of Boossà, and which we passed through on our journey. These men are on their way to the more easterly parts of the continent. They say here that, about twelve months since, a *fatàkie* consisting of an extraordinary number of traders, with horses and other beasts of burden, laden with merchandise, were travelling through Borgoo, on their route to Gonja, whither they were going to purchase the goora or kola nut. They were attacked, however, and plundered by the soldiers of Niki and Kiàma, who had lain in ambush for them; and rumour says, that the princes of those countries

shared the booty between them. It happened that in the train of these merchants, and who in fact formed part of the *fatàkie*, were six men from Boossà; and when the news of their disaster and enslavement was communicated to their king, he is said to have been irritated in the highest degree, insomuch that he instantly despatched men with a peremptory message to the sultan of Borgoo, to liberate his captured subjects, and restore to them their horses and property, or prepare for the consequences of his resentment in case of a refusal. This message was treated with contemptuous indifference by the Niki sovereign, and he returned to the monarch of Boossà a haughty and disdainful answer. But as soon as the latter heard it, he assembled the priests of the ancient religion of the country of which he is the head, and by their joint assistance, it is said, he made a powerful enchantment, by which the legs and arms of his enemy became entirely useless. The king of Borgoo finding himself in this helpless state, and his conscience reproaching him with the cause of it, he immediately liberated the Boossà merchants, restored to them their horses and property, and forwarded the messengers we have already spoken of as having arrived to-day from Niki, to solicit forgiveness of the king of Boossà for the crime which he had perpetrated, and implore that the spell which bound and was consuming him might be dissolved forthwith. The men came loaded with presents of goora-nuts, &c., and they have been joyfully received. Perhaps the Borgoo monarch hastened to make restitution for his offence, not on account of his enchantment, as these people imagine, but rather from public and political considerations; for, in consequence of the above quarrel, several of his towns had been taken possession of by the king of Boossà, which will now

be abandoned, if the differences be amicably adjusted between the parties, that their inhabitants may be permitted to return to their former allegiance. The king of Boossà was restrained from making further conquests in Borgoo, only by the interference of the king of Wowow, who represented to him that the revenge he had already taken was more than proportionate to the offence that had been committed against him, and that he ought to rest satisfied therewith. The Niki messengers have been treated with the greatest respect, and the most generous hospitality.

Like all earthly things, the pleasure and satisfaction excited by the novelty of our persons have passed away, and we are no longer either the objects of care and attention from the king and his Midiki, or of curiosity among the natives. If we stay here much longer, this neglect on the part of the former will become alarming. No provisions have been sent us to-day, and our wants have been entirely lost sight of in the important arrival of these messengers from Borgoo. All has been joy in consequence; music and its usual accompaniments of discordant sounds have been going forward since; and bustle and confusion prevail throughout the city. Our people alone are sad, for they have nothing to eat.

Thursday, September 9th.—The fatàkie mentioned yesterday as being at Zalee on the road to this city, arrived here this forenoon, preceded by a drummer on horseback, as usual, to animate the party by the sound of his instrument. They entered Boossà one by one, which is their usual method of travelling, and formed a very long train, the chief merchant of the whole bringing up the rear. This company consists of about four hundred individuals; and they have a great number of fine horses, a few mules, and two hundred asses, to carry their luggage. Their

chief, and in fact their only merchandise is the gooranut, for which they have been to Gonja, a place only a few days' journey from Accra.

Gonja was till very recently a province of Ashantee, and inhabited by a people between whom and the Ashantees there is no manner of difference whatever, the manners, language, religion, and pursuits of both being precisely the same. But these goora merchants report that it has lately been separated from that empire, and is now an independent state.

They say, that preceding the commencement of hostilities between the Ashantees and the British at Cape-Coast Castle, &c., and their allies the Fantees, the former power requested the assistance of the people of Gonja in a premeditated attack against their enemies, which was objected to on the ground that the British had not offended them, and therefore they disliked coming to an open rupture with our countrymen. Nothing was said at the time by the king of Ashantee concerning the refusal of the men of Gonja to assist him in the war; and when his subjects returned to Coomassie in triumph, after having defeated and slain Sir C. Macarthy, he seemed to have forgotten it altogether. For some time after his total defeat by the British at Cape-Coast Castle, he was still silent. But when he had recovered from the wounds he had received at this sanguinary battle, and the harmony of his subjects had been completely restored, he considered that then was the most proper time for punishing Gonja for its disobedience. For this purpose, say the merchants, he assembled a body of ten thousand men, most of whom were armed with muskets, and sent them, under the command of chosen captains, against the devoted province. But in the mean time the people of Gonja had been by no means inactive, for having heard of the great

preparations that were making at Coomassie, and being convinced that those preparations were designed against their own lives and liberties, they formed a plan of attacking their invaders and defeating their project, which succeeded to the utmost of their wishes, and even beyond their expectations. When they had learnt from a swift-footed messenger of the departure of the Ashantee army from Coomassie, and the road which they had taken, they stationed large bodies of stout, well-armed men in ambuscade at various places in the bush, close to the pathway, and awaited the coming of the foe. While the latter was drawing near to Gonja, not suspecting danger of any kind, and straggling about in imagined security, the men in ambush rushed out upon them, made a sudden and desperate attack on their whole force at the same moment, which threw the Ashantees into confusion, and the latter dropping their arms, fled into the woods. The carnage is reported to have been dreadful. The conquerors gathered up the arms of their enemies, sung a song of victory, and returned in triumph to the city of Gonja.

The king of Ashantee, according to the accounts of the merchants, on being informed of this disastrous and unlooked for event, was more exasperated than ever against the successful party, and vowed revenge against them, their city, and their country. He therefore, very shortly after the failure of the first expedition, sent another army, stronger than the former, with a command to destroy the rebellious city, and annihilate its inhabitants entirely. This news spread consternation among all classes of people in Gonja, and alarmed the strangers that had located in the country, insomuch that, on the advance of this second formidable army, they could not command sufficient resolution to go out against it, but deserted

their dwellings and dispersed themselves through all parts of the adjacent countries, till such time as their enemies should think proper to return to Coomassie. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the city of Gonja was set on fire by the Ashantee soldiers, in pursuance of their commands, and every house in it burnt to ashes. The people, however, fancying the king's wrath to be sufficiently appeased, were beginning to return again from the places of their concealment, on the departure of the fatakie, and were busily engaged in reconstructing their habitations.

We do not place entire confidence in this tale, for almost every African is guilty of gross exaggeration in his statements, and too many of them are confirmed liars; so that, after all, the above story may only be *founded* on fact.

Friday, Sept. 10th.—Ever since the arrival of the Borgoo messengers, nothing else is heard in the city but music, which is continued from sunrise to sunset; and the long Arab trumpets are likewise sounded constantly in the middle of the night, the king taking this whimsical method of displaying his consequence and grandeur to the foreigners, which has amused us not a little. The dress of these Borgoo men differs but slightly from that which is worn by the people of Boossà and the neighbouring nations. We were favoured with a visit from them to-day, and their behaviour was remarkably decorous, though at first somewhat reserved. In their address they are extremely humble; and when they accost a superior, they prostrate themselves on the ground in the most abject and humiliating manner. Their chief is an elderly, quiet, respectable man, and professes the Mahomedan religion. On his entrance into our hut, this forenoon, he had so little confidence in himself, and was so timorous, that he could not speak; he

shook like a leaf, and his lips also quivered from fear; indeed the poor man was distressingly agitated, —perhaps he thought that we were going to devour him; but he regained his assurance when he found that such was not our intention, and in a very few minutes he became chatty, agreeable, and communicative.

We have received two messes from the king lately, one consisting of a dish of stewed elephant's flesh, and the other of the flesh of a hippopotamus, which had been caught in the Niger a short time before. The latter was rank and fat, and bore a greater resemblance to pork than to any other meat with which we are acquainted, yet it is considered delicate and delicious eating.

The method adopted by the natives of destroying the elephant is very simple. A large harpoon is thrust into the ground in the middle of a path which they are known to frequent in their nightly excursions to the river for water, leaving the ragged points of the instrument above the ground in an inclined position, and concealing them with straw or stubble. The heavy beast, unsuspecting of danger, pursues the usual track with his companions; he comes in contact with the harpoon, which enters his breast or belly, and having no sagacity to draw back, the elephant, smarting with pain, forces himself forwards with all his might, which causes the weapon to penetrate still more deeply into his body, and he thus becomes a prey to his destroyers. Considering the vast number of elephants which inhabit the woods on the banks of the Niger hereabouts, it is singular that so few of them are annually destroyed by the natives. Perhaps one reason is the little encouragement they receive for their trouble; for the flesh of these beasts, except when very young, is

almost unsaleable, by reason of its toughness and rancid nature ; their teeth also are valueless here, no use whatever being made of them.

Saturday, September 11th.—Our ears were saluted, just after day-break this morning, by a dreadful noise between a man and his wife, who were squabbling about some money matters, and as is usual in such cases, they were surrounded by all their female neighbours, whose clatter exceeded, if possible, their own. They are slaves of the Midiki, and reside in our yard, within a door or two of our hut. The quarrel terminated in blows and tears, which was instantly made known to the queen, who commanded the delinquents to appear before her, and having entered into all the circumstances of the case, the differences between them were adjusted on the spot. The woman accused her husband of having stolen, from the place where she had concealed them, no less than four hundred cowries, which was the original cause of the dispute. The accusation could not be denied ; and the man endeavoured to soothe his wife by gentle words, and bring her into good humour by flattery, and expressed contrition for his offence ; but this aroused the anger of the furious woman, who abused her husband with all the reproachful epithets she could make use of ; and though she was blubbing all the while, she would have gone a still greater length, if he had not stopped her mouth by a severe beating. So little tenderness or sociability exists between a married couple, particularly if they should happen to be slaves, that they have nothing in common ; and though they eat and sleep in the same hut, they seek a separate livelihood.

Perhaps it would be speaking within compass to say, that four-fifths of the whole population, not only

in this country, but likewise every other hereabouts, are slaves. Many of them are permitted to roam at large, provided they attend upon their masters when called upon; these procure their own subsistence, and devote part of their time to the service of their owners: others reside in the houses of their masters as domestic servants, and are likewise expected to contribute towards their own support. The queen of Boossà has a great number of Falatah slaves; the men are constantly employed in taking care of her herds, and milking the cows, and the females dispose of the milk: half of the money obtained by this means, the Falatahs keep to maintain themselves. Thus are the slaves treated in their native country;—they enjoy much freedom; are never overworked; have plenty of leisure time, and are rarely punished, and even then but slightly. If a slave run away from his master, and is afterwards taken and brought back, he is simply confined in irons a day or two for his offence; but he is sold to another the first opportunity. The natives have a strong antipathy to flogging, or severe chastisement of any kind, and very seldom have recourse to the means of punishment which they have in their power to inflict.

Sunday, September 12th.—Our man, who has been expected with some anxiety and apprehension for his safety, arrived this afternoon from the city of Coulfô, but with very little money indeed, having disposed of the ass for less than half its value, and sold, comparatively speaking, a very small quantity of needles. The remainder, which were valued at thirty thousand cowries, were stolen from him, he asserts, a few days before his departure; but we strongly suspect that this is a falsehood, and that the fellow has converted them to his own use.

Since the messenger to Rabba left Boossà on his errand, we have heard no intelligence whatever concerning him; and as everything is now ripe for our enterprise, we begin to feel impatient and uneasy at our long, and to us, unnecessary detention in this place, and the irksomeness of our present dependent situation; for we are often troubled with painful apprehensions and surmises, that something unpleasant may yet intervene to frustrate our intentions, embarrass us with difficulties, and extinguish all our anticipations of success.

The king had not visited us for a fortnight, and therefore we sent a message to him this forenoon, intimating the great anxiety we felt to proceed on our journey, and our earnest hope that he would permit us to do so immediately, even before the return of his messenger from Nouffie. We complained that we were destitute of almost everything, that we were wearied out with repeated disappointments, and with having nothing to do for so long a time; that our health was fast declining, and our life wasting away; and concluded by assuring him that if we did not quickly return to our country, the worst consequences might ensue, and then what would become of his good name? To this the king made answer, that it was our future welfare alone which had induced him to take those measures and precautions which he perceived with sorrow we disapproved of and disliked so much; that we did not display our wisdom by our impatience: and that to attempt proceeding down the river before the return of his ambassador, would, in his opinion, be not only presumptuous and improper, but would likewise be highly injurious to our interest.

The king promised to come and see us in the evening, and talk over the matter with us himself.

According to his promise, therefore, he paid us a visit at the time appointed, and recapitulated that which he had before told Pascoe, but added that it would be absolutely necessary for us to make a good present to the king of Nouffie, and another to the Falatah chief of Rabba. He then gave broad hints for one of our pistols, which he admired in the usual way; but as we were not *obliged* to comprehend his enigmas, and as we could ill spare the pistol, we appeared very stupid, and would not understand his meaning. The king shortly afterwards took his leave, yet he was by no means angry at the failure of his ingenious device. In respect to his recommendation that we should endeavour all in our power to make friends of the king of Nouffie and the chief of Rabba, we have nothing left worthy of their acceptance, and shall therefore attempt to shun one of these rulers at least.

Monday, September 13th.—It is reported here, that *El Kanemee*, the celebrated Arab so often spoken of in Major Deuliam's Journal, has fallen into disgrace with the sultan of Bornou, who has had him imprisoned, and would have punished him with death, but for the interposition and remonstrances of the Mohammedan priests in the capital, who diverted him from his purpose by a solemn declaration, that if he should carry his resentment to such an extremity, there would be no rain in the country for seven years, for so their book, the Alcoran, had predicted; but that if the sultan would be merciful, and resort to a milder punishment, by liberating the Arab after a short confinement, these prophetic priests promised him that "his horse should certainly drink of the waters of the Quorra," that is, he should vanquish all his enemies that were at that time between Bornou and the Niger, at the

end of three years. The superstitious prince hearkened to these sayings of the crafty priests, and set his minister at liberty after a short imprisonment. The Arab was accused by the sultan of treasonable practices, and of having in particular made various attempts to obtain the affection of the people, by caresses and flattery, and of enticing them to revolt, so that he might at a future day usurp the rights of his sovereign, and cause himself to be proclaimed sultan in his stead.

Tuesday, September 14th.—The same superstitious notions and prejudices respecting witches, wizards, and ill-wishers, and the same belief in necromancy, prevail here at this day, as were current in enlightened Europe as recently as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The king sent a messenger this morning to request the favour of a couple of charges of powder, stating that two women had absconded to *Foco*, which is a town on the banks of the Niger, a little way below Inguâzhilligee, and that if it should be found necessary, the powder might be used to frighten the runagates into a compliance with the wishes of their pursuers. In the evening the women, who had surrendered themselves at *Foco*, landed here from a canoe, and were immediately put in confinement. We are told that these two poor old creatures resided on an island a little way up the Niger, and were lately accused by their town's people of the crime of witchcraft, and with two old wizards, their neighbours, and friends, of "*having eaten the spirits of five individuals,*" who all are said to have died by this means. The men, aware of the persecution and the fate that awaited them should they be taken, succeeded in making their escape as soon as this crime was laid to their charge; but the females were not quite so fortunate,

for the place of their concealment was made known to the king, and he caused them to be apprehended, as above-mentioned. One of the reputed witches is a very aged woman, but her companion is not quite so old. The punishment that awaits them is perpetual slavery; whereas if the men had been caught, they would have been bound hand and foot, and flung into the Niger, and there left to perish. All witches, wizards, and ill-wishers, are treated in the same manner; the punishment of witches not being so rigorous as that of their male associates in the black art, in consideration of their sex. The belief in their power is very general, and instances of people fancying themselves bewitched, and suffering from their malignant incantations, are by no means uncommon.

Saturday, September 18th.—During the last fourteen days my brother had been extremely indisposed from a slight attack of bilious fever, which has brought him to a very low and languid state, inasmuch that I urged the king on Wednesday to send us away, to try if change of air and scene would not produce a beneficial effect on his health. The monarch, after many scruples and much hesitation, at length appointed the second day of the moon, that being, he pronounced, the happiest and luckiest of all days. He could not, however, forbear expressing his deep regret at our determination of leaving Boossà before the return of his messenger from Nouffie; it might be detrimental to our personal interests, and his own reputation also would suffer if anything should befall us on the river, but he had already given his word for our departure, and from this promise he could not swerve. To-day is the second of the moon, but the Africans calculate upon it as the first only, because they never see that orb

plainly till the second time of her appearance. This afternoon we wished to pay our respects to the king, previous to our departure, which we understood was to take place to-morrow morning, but to our surprise he asserted that the moon would not be discernible that evening, and therefore that Monday next will be the day which was specified. The moon, however, *did* shine fairly in sight of all the people; nevertheless we have made no further remark to the prince on the subject, thinking it might confuse and irritate him.

Sunday, September 19th.—This morning we were so unlucky as to upset a large bowl of milk, one of which we are daily supplied with from the king's house. We sent to have it replenished, because in our present circumstances we could ill afford to lose so great a luxury. Instead of gratifying us in this particular, however, he expressed himself quite overjoyed at the circumstance, and asserted that it was the most happy omen in the world, and that we ought to consider ourselves as peculiarly favoured and fortunate. So we were obliged to content ourselves without breakfast, of which the accident had deprived us, because of the superstitious nonsense of the monarch.

Everything is now got ready for starting. As it is not our present intention to call at many inhabited places on the banks of the Niger, we have provided ourselves with a great quantity of provisions, which consists chiefly of three large bags of corn and one of beans. We have likewise a couple of fowls and two sheep, so that we are of opinion we shall have food enough for all hands for three weeks or a month at least. To add to our stock, the king and Midiki between them have given us a considerable quantity of rice, honey, corn, and onions; and two large pots of vegetable butter, which weigh not less than 100 lbs.

This afternoon, to our unspeakable joy, the long-expected and wished-for messenger arrived in this city from Rabba, accompanied by two messengers from the king of Nouffie, one of whom, a modest-looking, respectable young man, is his own son. These men are to be our guides as far as Rabba ; after we have passed which city, all the Nouffie territory to the southward is under the *surveillance* of Ederesa and his partisans. "The Magia," says the Boossà ambassador, "was delighted with the intelligence that white men were to honour his dominions with their presence : he showed me the presents made him by Captain Clapperton three years ago, and said a great deal in his favour and commendation. And as a proof," continued the man, "of his friendly disposition towards you, and his interest in your welfare, he has not only sent his son as your companion and guide, but he has likewise despatched a messenger to every town on the banks of the Niger, either considerable or unimportant, even as far as Funda, which is beyond the limits of the empire ; and he is commissioned to acquaint their inhabitants of the fact of your intention of proceeding down the river, and to desire them to assist you with their encouragement and support, so far as it lies in their power to do."

After some little consideration, we knew not whether we ought to feel pleasure or regret, thankfulness or indifference, at the arrival of these men, and the occasion which brought them hither : at present we can only foresee that they will be a heavy burden on our funds ; and as it happens that we have the utmost difficulty in the world in supporting ourselves, it will cause us additional trouble, expense, and uneasiness, in providing them with the bare necessaries of life. The king, however, had but one feeling on the subject, and that was unbounded

delight ; he capered around his hut with transport, when he saw our guides and heard their message ; and after a burst of joy, he began to cry like a child, his heart was so full. " Now," said he, when he had become more composed, " whatever may happen to the white men, my neighbours cannot but acknowledge that I have taken every care of them, treated them as became a king, and done my best to promote their happiness and interests. They will not be able," continued the monarch with exultation, " they dare not have the effrontery, to cast at me a reproach like that which they bestowed upon my ancestor. I can now safely entrust the white men to the care, protection, and hospitality of a neighbouring monarch, who, I am convinced, if not for my sake, at least for his own, will receive and entertain them with every mark of distinction and kindness. I know and feel that towards them I have done my duty, and let my neighbours see to it that they do theirs." And so he has ; for though we have been his guests for so long a time, and been occasionally not a little troublesome to him with our importunity, yet we have observed nothing either in his manners or character to condemn, but much, very much, to approve of and admire. His disposition is open and ingenuous, and his sentiments candid and sincere ; no child is more simple, innocent and unsuspecting than he. The little we have had to complain of is owing to our detention here longer than we wished ; but then, perhaps, we have been a little too hasty and petulant ; and it must likewise be remembered that in regard to us the king's reputation and honour were at stake, and after all he may be perfectly right in his opinions and conjectures.

This evening an old Mahomedan priest, whose countenance seemed to radiate with meekness, sim-

plicity, loving-kindness, and good nature, entered our dwelling, and entreated us with earnest importunity to give him before our departure a quantity of deadly poison, a very small portion of which he wished might destroy life in a few moments after it should be taken. The hoary old villain did not hesitate to confess, in confidence, that his motive for making this strange request arose from the desire he felt to administer the poisonous drug to a neighbour, whom he longed to put out of the world, because he had done him some slight imaginary wrong. Of course we execrated the horrid intention of the man, who, rather than listen longer to our reproaches, turned his face and walked away. In the night Boossà was visited by a thunder-storm. During the time we have been at Boossà, the thermometer has ranged between 76°, and 93°, but it has most generally been between 80° and 90°, and the weather very oppressive.

CHAPTER XIII.

The King and Midiki take leave of the Travellers—They embark on the River and depart from Boossà—Island Melàlie—Inguáz-hilligee—Island Patashie—The Chief of Teàh—Messengers from the King of Wowow—Perplexity of the Travellers respecting their Route—Terror of the Natives at their appearance—An Invalid—Diseases of the Natives—Their Medicines—Richard Lander goes to Wowow—Superstition of the Natives—Charms—Return of Richard Lander to Patashie—His Interview with the King of Wowow—House of Correction at Patashie—Native Pagan Priest—Departure from Patashie—Raah—Arrive at Lover—An officious Friend in the Priest Ducoo—Disappointment of the Travellers.

Monday, September 20th.—As may be supposed, our hearts beat high this morning with the anticipation of at length leaving Boossà, and of proceeding

on our journey ; and we were all on the *qui vive* at a very early hour, ransacking our lumber, packing it up, and turning it all out into the yard, from whence it was conveyed to the water-side. About breakfast-time the king and queen arrived at our hut, to pay us a farewell visit, and bestow upon us their last blessing. They brought with them two pots of honey and a large quantity of goora nuts, strongly recommending us to present the latter to the Rabba chieftain, for that nothing we might have in our possession could so effectually conciliate his favour, procure us his friendship, and command his confidence. When mutual compliments were passed, we expressed our acknowledgments to both of them, with sincerity and earnestness, for the benevolence, hospitality, and attention, with which they had uniformly treated us ; for their kindness to us ; for their zeal in everything that regarded our welfare ; and for the protection they had afforded us during a period little short of two months, in which we had enjoyed the utmost security, and as much of happiness and gaiety, as it had been in their power to bestow. And we assured them, that should we be so fortunate as to return to England, it would be our first care to acquaint our countrymen of all their kindness to us, which we would remember as long as we lived. We then shook hands heartily, and concluded by wishing them a continuation of the simple blessings and the felicity they enjoyed ; that they might ever be loved by their subjects, and feared and honoured by the neighbouring nations ; that they might live to a good old age and die in peace with all mankind. They were both touched with sorrow at our words, for they were the last which they would hear us utter ; tears were glistening in the eyes of each as they were making an affecting and suitable answer ; and the good couple

walked out of our hut with heavy and mournful countenances, and immediately repaired to their own abode in order to make a powerful spell for our preservation and success.

When we ourselves quitted the hut, which was shortly after their departure, we found our yard filled with neighbours, friends, and acquaintances, who all fell down on their knees to bid us good bye. They blessed us earnestly with uplifted hands, and those among them that were of the Mohammedan religion, fervently implored for us the favour and protection of Allah and their Prophet. The eyes of many of them were streaming with tears, and all were more or less affected. As we passed by these poor creatures, we spoke to them all, and thanked them again and again for their good wishes. Our hearts must have been of marble if we could have beheld such a scene without some slight emotion. On our way towards the river, also, the path was lined with people, some of whom saluted us on one knee, and some on both, and we received their benedictions as we walked along.

It was exactly half-past nine in the morning when we arrived at the river side, where we found two canoes lying to receive our goods, which we quickly loaded. But with that indolence and indifference which distinguish all ranks of people here, the canoe-men did not make their appearance till nearly two hours after, though we had sent messengers repeatedly to them to hasten their coming; the head of them is the "Sullikin Zhilligee," (king of the canoe) that conveyed us from Kagogie to Yáoorie. When our people were all embarked on the Niger, and ourselves, we humbly thanked the Almighty for past deliverances, and fervently prayed that He would always be with us, and crown our enterprise with success.

We had been but a short time on the water, when we discovered that the smaller canoe, in which were six individuals and a number of sheep belonging to the Nouffie messengers, was overladen and in danger of sinking, and that both were very leaky, insomuch that it required three men to be constantly employed in bailing out the water to keep them afloat. To lighten the smaller canoe, we took a man from her into our own, and afterwards we proceeded more safely and with less apprehension; yet, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we were obliged to put into a small island called *Melàlie*, to get it repaired, for we were afraid to proceed any further with the small canoe, on account of the rocks and the velocity of the current.

The chief of the village, a decent-looking, elderly man, came down to salute us at the water side, and would not suffer us to depart till he had prevailed on us to drink beer with him and fire off our guns, when he compelled us to accept of a fine kid, which we were too polite to reject. He was dressed in a robe made of a mixture of country cloth and Manchester cotton, &c. After we had remained on the island about half an hour, which was occupied in making the necessary repairs to the canoe, we launched her out into the water, expressed our thanks to the chief, and took our leave. *Melàlie* is tolerably cultivated, and is inhabited solely by Borgoo men. It lies on the western side of the river. Between this island and *Boossà*, the river is full of small islands, with channels of deep water between them. The banks on both sides are very fertile, as well as the islands themselves, which are mostly inhabited and well cultivated.

The current, according to our estimation, was here running at the rate of five or six miles in an hour;

and the bed of the river was full of rocks, some of which were only a few inches below the surface of the water, which occasioned it to make a loud rushing noise, and forewarn the canoeman of his danger. Owing to the skilfulness of ours, we succeeded in crossing one or two sunken reefs, which, in a dry season more especially, must be extremely dangerous; even as it was, we experienced considerable difficulty in getting over them. At two o'clock we passed the boundaries of Boossà, on the eastern side of the river, and entered the dominions of the king of Nouffie. A town belonging to the former power, on the eastern bank of the river, marks the spot; but we were unable to ascertain its name. We then travelled along by the side of an island, very woody, called "Any Man's Land," which, though fertile, is uninhabited, in consequence of the vast number of wild horses which it is said to contain.

At five P.M. we came to Inguâzhilligee, having passed, just before, a very large and pleasant, but straggling town, called *Congie*.^{*} Inguâzhilligee† is the first town on the Wowow ground, all above on the western bank of the Niger belonging to Boossà. Journeying along for a quarter of an hour without stopping here, we put into a market town, on a large and beautiful island called *Patashie*, just in time to save ourselves from a heavy shower; and here we shall

* This is most probably the Songa of Clapperton, he having passed through it on his way to Comie from Boossà; and his name, therefore, has been adopted in the map.

† This place has three names. Clapperton calls it *Comie*, "or, more properly, *Wonjerque*," and Lander *Inguâzhilligee*. It appears to be the first place below Boossà where the river is entirely clear of rocks, and is therefore adopted as the ferry, and called the "King's Ferry." It is the general thoroughfare for merchants passing and repassing from Nouffie and the countries to the north-east of Borgoo.

be obliged to remain till the return of a messenger whom we landed in the middle of the day, and sent to Wowow for the purpose of informing the king of our departure from Boossà, and of our intention to abide at Patàshie till he chooses to send us the large canoe that we have purchased of him. We are now out of the protection of the friendly monarch of Boossà, who will have nothing further to do with us.

About twenty or thirty paces from the river side, we discovered a great quantity of huge bones and skulls of hippopotami, piled up on a high platform which has been erected for the purpose. These, we understand, are preserved as trophies by the natives, on much the same principle as foxes' tails are kept by many country gentlemen in England. From the decayed appearance of some of the skulls, we are inclined to believe that most of the animals must have been destroyed very many years ago. We were speedily introduced to the chief, who gave us a hearty welcome, and who we found to be a little, round, fat, jolly-looking old man; and as soon as was convenient, we were conducted to an excellent hut, received a quantity of provisions from the chief, and then lay down to rest. Thermometer 76°, 86°, 88°, during the day.

Tuesday, September 21st.—Patàshie, as we have said, is a large, rich island, unspeakably beautiful, and is embellished with various groves of palm, and other noble trees. Its distance from Boossà, as nearly as we can guess, may be between forty and fifty miles. It abounds with horses, asses, bullocks, sheep, goats, poultry, &c., and produces abundance of corn and yams; in fact, the soil is so exceedingly fertile, and its inhabitants so industrious, that not an acre of ground in the whole island, it is said, is left without cultivation. Patàshie is tributary to Wowow, though

it is inhabited solely by Nouffie people, who are considered honest, active, laborious, and wealthy. We find the river very much swollen; the banks are of a shelving nature, and the water is now nearly on a level with the highest part of them. We observed several small villages on the Nouffie side.

Our hut has this day exhibited a scene of revelry and mirth more becoming a native inn than a private dwelling.

The chief of the island, accompanied by our four messengers from Boossà and Nouffie, our canoemen, and several of his own people, all dressed "in their holiday best," paid us a visit in the earlier part of the morning, and, out of compliment, I fancy, remained with us till evening, with the exception of a short absence in the middle of the day, during all which time they were employed in swallowing palm-wine, which is procured in the island in great plenty, and in telling nonsensical stories. We were glad when they said it was time to depart; and having shaken hands with the ardour of drunkards, they took their leave, staggered out of the hut, and all went laughing away.

It is rather singular that though the chief is a sooty black, he has bright blue eyes. We received from him about noon a fine goat, and messes of pounded yam and meat, stewed in palm-oil. These were brought in well-carved wooden dishes of huge dimensions; and we subsequently received a ewe-sheep, and similar dressed dishes, from the chief of an island belonging to Nouffie, which lies abreast of this, and whom we have not yet seen.

The Magia's son (whose name is Mohammed), and whom we find to be a very intelligent youth, informs us, that if the prince of Wowow be unable to furnish us with a canoe sufficiently large for our

purpose, it would be well to demand the restoration of our horses, which we could dispose of advantageously in Nouffie, and purchase a quantity of beads, and other trifles, with the money, as presents to the various chiefs along the banks of the river. Instead of purchasing a canoe ourselves, which would be very expensive, the young man promised, in the name of his father, to obtain one of commodious size, which should answer all purposes, and take us to *Tagra*, with men whom it should be his business likewise to get. *Tagra*, we believe, is very near Benin. In our own opinion, this would certainly be the safest and best means of journeying down the Niger, as the protection of all the chiefs would thereby be ensured to us. But we are apprehensive that we have gone too far towards adopting a different scheme, and we see very little likelihood, indeed, that we shall be able to embrace the plan suggested, and so strongly recommended by Mohammed, unless the Wowow ruler be not in a condition to perform his engagement, and is willing to return our horses, which does not appear to us at all probable, under existing circumstances. The messenger we sent to him is not yet returned. Thermometer 74°, 83°, 85°, during the day.

Wednesday, September 22nd.—This morning we were visited by the revellers of yesterday, who brought with them several gallons of palm wine, which they swallowed in a very short time, and to every appearance we were threatened with a renewal of yesterday's debauch: but luckily for us they went out for a few minutes to procure more liquor, when we embraced the opportunity of closing the door of our hut against them, and thus prevented their re-entering it.

In the morning we were favoured with a visit from the chief of Teah, the Nouffie island alluded to

yesterday. He is a venerable-looking old man, of advantageous stature, and exceedingly corpulent. He expressed the utmost delight and satisfaction on seeing white men before he died, and declared it was a pleasure which neither his father, mother, nor uncle, had ever enjoyed, and a gratification which his ancestors had never hoped for; he should therefore cherish the remembrance of it as long as he lived. We have with us a quarto edition of natural history, with plates; these, though incomprehensible to the natives of Yarriba, appear to be extremely well understood here, and have excited in the minds of those that have seen them the highest degree of admiration, rapture, and wonderment. The old chief of Teah gazed upon them in silent astonishment; but when we took out a watch and mariner's compass for his inspection, and their uses were explained to him, he became at first very uneasy, and afterwards perfectly wild with amazement. No one in the world could express more naturally or forcibly the emotion of wonder, or the passion of fear, which the countenance of this old man displayed as he looked at the watch; nor could he be persuaded for a long time but that it was in possession of life and being, and had the power of moving. After a long and friendly chat, the good old chief saluted us and took his leave.

Teah lies very near the island of Patashie, from which it is divided only by a very narrow channel. Of the two, Teah is said to be the larger and more populous; but with regard to agreeableness of appearance, amazing fecundity of soil, and natural productions, they are pretty much alike, both being beyond description fertile and beautiful. In both provisions are reasonable, and in the greatest plenty; they are both inhabited by individuals of the same

nation, who enrich the islands by their industry and labour; and both have been equally exempt from those intestine broils and commotions which have for so long a time agitated and impoverished the natives of the mainland.

In the evening a messenger arrived from the king of Wowow, with news not at all to our liking. He informs us that we were anxiously expected in that city from Boossà at the time of the holidays; and because we did not come agreeably to our promise, the prince could not conceal his chagrin, and was exceedingly angry, not only with the king of Boossà, who was the cause of our absence, but with us likewise. The messenger continued, that his sovereign had most certainly procured for us a canoe, which is laid up at *Lever*; but that if we wished, or rather if we were determined, to have our horses back again, the king would send them to us in compliance with our wishes; "for who," said he, with much emphasis, "would presume to assert that the monarch of Wowow would keep the property of others? It would not be paying him that respect," he continued, "which his rank and situation demanded, were the white men to leave his dominions and the country altogether, without first coming to pay him their respects, and he would therefore entreat us to pay a visit to Wowow immediately for that purpose; or if both of us could not leave Patàshie, he requested that I would come and bid him adieu, because I had not done so when my illness compelled me to leave his city."

The man finished his message by complaining bitterly of the conduct of the king of Boossà, who, he said, had acted towards his sovereign deceitfully, unhandsomely, and inconsistently, throughout all the transactions in which we have been principally con-

cerned. We ourselves are confident that the king of Wowow will strongly object to the arrangement of his relative, regarding our being sent either to the Magia or to the chief of the Falatahs at Rabba, if not endeavour to frustrate it, because he is at enmity with the one, and both fears and hates the other. But how he can positively prevent this scheme from being carried into effect, seeing we shall have the Magia's son and a Nouffie messenger in the same canoe with us, we cannot imagine.

The monarchs of Boossa and Wowow seem to have very opposite opinions regarding our journey. The former insists on the necessity of our proceeding down the Niger on the eastern or Nouffie side, which would certainly be the most interesting and desirable; whereas the other makes use of strong language to persuade us that the Yarriba side of the river would be the most convenient, the most agreeable, and the safest; and that if we would make up our minds not to attend to the king of Boussa's advice, he would send a messenger with us, who should protect us even to the sea. This difference of opinion, we are apprehensive, will involve us in a thousand perplexities; yet we must be guided in our choice entirely by circumstances. Interest, present or remote, and prejudice and passion, seem to sway the minds of both these rulers, though each of them avows his disinterestedness. The king of Boossa, a good man, but of an humble, yielding, peaceful, enduring temper, and of a timorous, wavering disposition, requests us earnestly to visit the Magia and the Falatahs, because he knows it would gratify their vanity, and make them his friends for ever,—the king of Wowow, of a firm, sagacious, and unbending mind, scorns the friendship and defies the power of either, and is inveterate in his dislike both of the

very name of Falàtah, and that of the brother of Ederesa ; he is aware that our visiting their territories in person would not only be paying them a very high compliment, but would likewise, in some measure, be advantageous to them, and is guided by this decided partiality in doing all in his power to bring us over to his own views and sentiments. From the treatment I experienced at Soccatoo, I must say that I entertain a very great aversion to the whole Falàtah nation ; and am of opinion, that if we put into Rabba, according to the suggestions of the king of Boossà, we shall be detained there till Bello be informed of the fact, and his intentions with regard to us be communicated to the chief. I am therefore inclined to adopt the advice of the king of Wowow, rather than to comply with the wishes of his august relative, though there is no just or reasonable ground to fear either ill-treatment or detention at the hands of the Falàtahs, more especially since we have received ample and satisfactory assurances from the powerful chief of Rabba himself of their favourable disposition towards us,—that we shall be received as friends, and meet with every encouragement and support, as far as their power and interests extend, and as far as their name is known and respected. Yet we cannot follow the bent of our own inclinations ; we are involved in difficulty ; and though everything appears propitious to our enterprise, yet we are not masters of our own actions : we must follow where others lead, and we are still in doubt as to what we shall do. At all events, we shall be guided in our choice entirely by circumstances ; “ we shall trust our fortune to the powers above ; ” and can only pray that an indulgent Providence will succour, befriend, and protect us in all circumstances, as it has heretofore done.

The Wowow ambassador will rest with us tomorrow; and on the day following I intend accompanying him to that city, not only to pay my respects to the sovereign, but likewise to have a final and decisive answer from him regarding the canoe, without further subterfuge or procrastination. Thermometer 76°, 87°, 89°, during the day.

Thursday, September 23rd.—At Boossà, latterly, we had the greatest difficulty and trouble in procuring the bare necessaries of life; but here, in this flourishing Patàshie, provisions have been sent us from the chiefs of the two islands in such abundance, that half of them, we regret to say, have been unconsumed by our people and thrown to the dogs; we have received from each of them, daily, as much as a strong man could carry, consisting of the usual gigantic bowl of pounded yam and meat, stewed in palm oil. People here, of all ages, display the most anxious, though perhaps natural curiosity to see us; and large crowds of them assemble every day, and wait from morning till night patiently, till they have gained the object of their visit. However, they are all as timid as hares, and if we happen to look fixedly in their faces for a moment, most of them, more especially the females, and the junior classes of both sexes, start back with terror, as if they had seen a serpent in the grass; and when we attempt to walk near any of them, they run away screaming, as though they had been pursued by a lion, or were in danger of falling into the jaws of a crocodile; so horrified are these poor people at the bare sight of a white man, and so frightful do their imaginations picture him to be.

In the evening, long after the sun had gone down, the chief brought a youth for us to pass our opinion on, whom he introduced as a near relative. He has been ill for the last fourteen months, and the chief

prayed that we would endeavour to cure him of his complaint. He is a tall, lank young man, of humble, modest, and reserved manners. From a state of robust health and vigour, which it appears he formerly enjoyed, he is wasted away almost to a skeleton; and his temper, once pleasant, cheerful, and sprightly, has lost its elasticity, and he is become thoughtful, dejected, and melancholy: however, though the invalid rarely enjoys sound and refreshing sleep, yet he has a wonderful appetite, and he eats with voracity. We sincerely regret our ignorance of the nature of his disorder, and therefore our utter inability to do him the slightest benefit; nevertheless, the old chief solicited us so warmly for medicine, and with such pressing importunity, that rather than give offence, and because the young man complained of a sore throat and neck, which seemed to annoy him at present more than anything else, we chafed those parts with a little spirits of hartshorn, and wrapped round them several folds of warm flannel. It was all that we could do to relieve his pain, and it seemed to give complete satisfaction. Poor people! how happy did this little service make them!

The natives are subject to very few diseases, and those, generally speaking, are not of a dangerous or malignant tendency. As far as we are able to judge from the symptoms he describes, the complaint under which the old chief's *protégé* labours approaches nearer to the nature of consumption than to any other disease with which we are acquainted. Small pox is very prevalent, but we do not hear that it often terminates fatally. The Guinea-worm is frequently met with; ulcers, of that frightful description which prevails on the coast, are unknown; but agues and slight fevers are by no means uncommon; and of all complaints, sore eyes and affections of the bowels are

by far the most general. Properly speaking, the natives have no active medicine of their own, though they boast an acquaintance with a variety of medicinal plants, which, as far as our observation extends, are wholly inefficacious; they likewise ascribe the most wonderful healing properties to a quantity of roots and fibres of trees, which are sought after and vended by a number of idle, lazy fellows, who pretend to be Mohammedan priests: however, from our experience, these do neither good nor harm, being perfectly innocent in their effects, and altogether useless. The root of a large and scarce tree holds so high a reputation for the astonishing properties which it is supposed to possess, that it has obtained, by way of distinction, the name of the "mother of roots." Besides its other virtues, the credulous people believe that, whilst they have the smallest portion of this celebrated "mother of roots" about their persons, they can assuage every sorrow, alleviate every misfortune; banish care from their minds and want from their dwellings, avert pain, and secure happiness. From the Arabs, however, the natives obtain great quantities of *trona*, which is a fossil alkali, and is found on the borders of the desert. It is a strong and active aperient, and possesses other medicinal properties which are understood by the people. It is taken by all ranks in every complaint, of whatsoever nature it may be. *Trona* is likewise beat to a powder and mixed with snuff, to which it imparts a great degree of pungency; and lastly, it is given to horses, sheep, and other animals, which eat large lumps of it with the greatest avidity. Thermometer 78°, 89°, 91°, during the day.

Friday, September 24th.—The Boossà canoemen, who have been intoxicated every day since they have been here, returned to their homes this morning in a

state of ebriety, having received a shilling each and a few needles, as a reward for their labour. Shortly after their departure, I landed for the purpose of proceeding to Wowow, and took possession of a house on the bank of the river which had been prepared for me. The king of Wowow's messenger accompanied me, and having got everything ready as soon as we could, we commenced our journey towards his city. It was the intention of the man from Boossà to have taken his leave of us here, and return to his sovereign; but when he heard the extraordinary communication and insinuations of the prince of Wowow, he changed his mind, and resolved to accompany me as above related. I left my brother on the island to take care of our things, and the following remarks were made by him in my absence:—

“The Nouffie messengers remain here with me, and the queen of Boossa's ‘master of the horse’ has determined not to leave us till after our arrival at *Lever*, though we would much rather dispense with his company. They tell us that *Rabba* is two days' journey by water from the town of *Lever*, and three from *Funda*, and that *Funda* is four days' journey from the sea. On our arrival at *Rabba*, says Mohammed, or after we shall have delivered a present to its chief, and the formalities of introduction are gone through, he will supply us with horses to convey us to a town wherein the *Magia* resides, and which is about two days' journey from thence, for it will be necessary that we should pay our respects to him in person.

“The chief of *Patashie* came to see me this evening by lamp-light, accompanied by his sick relative, whom he pronounced to be much better, having slept soundly during the night, and experienced a mitigation of pain. I applied a little more spirits of harts-

horn to his throat, and recommended temperance in eating, gentle exercise in the open air, to beware of chills, and avoid exposure to nightly damps and dews. The old chief and his nephew (for that is the relationship between them) took their leave of me with many expressions of thankfulness. Our hut has been literally crammed with visitors nearly the whole of the day. Thermometer 77°, 88°, 92°, during the day.

“*Saturday, September 25th.*—Nothing worthy of particular notice has occurred to-day; I continue to receive the utmost hospitality and kindness from the old benevolent chiefs of Teah and this island, the latter of whom stays with me almost all day long. He took a fancy to the only English coat which is now left me, its green colour seeming to be the principal cause of his admiration; and as it is of little consequence here how uncouthly soever a European may be dressed, I cut off part of its skirts to make him a cap. A woman belonging to the chief died to-day in a state of insanity. According to the people’s account, the deceased was in good health three days ago, but this morning a malicious female demon entered into her, and began to exercise her malign propensities by tormenting her victim, throwing her upon fires, and into the water, causing her eyes to roll in a frenzied manner, and making her lie along the ground, raving and roaring most furiously. Last of all, they say the evil spirit put an end to her torture by *eating her life*, and she died. Thermometer 70°, 80°, 83°, during the day.

“*Sunday, September 26th.*—A Mohammedan priest, furnished with pen and ink, arrived at Patashie to pay his respects to us, and without wearying me with questions, he sat down very composedly and commenced writing an Arab charm or prayer, for

our health, preservation, and success. I felt no inclination to interrupt the man's benevolent intention; and when he had finished, the Magiā's son, who happened to be present, animated by the same laudable impulse, produced a charm possessing, no doubt, as many virtues as the mallam's. These are nothing more than short extracts from the Koran. Both men appeared to write the Arabic character with a readiness and facility which one would scarcely expect to find in this remote country. Charms or amulets are in universal use, more especially in Yarriba, where, perhaps, the Mohammedan religion is least felt, and has made least progress. They are generally encompassed with red cloth or leather; are worn for the most part on the left arm; and from ten to twenty are sometimes observed on the person of one individual. This custom might have originally been introduced into the country by the Arabs, and disseminated by their means through all these parts of the continent. The phylacteries of the ancient Jews, which were little rolls of parchment, containing written passages from the Holy Scriptures, and which used to be worn upon the forehead and the wrist of the left arm, might have given the Arabians the hints of wearing extracts from the Koran in like manner, and which, by the lapse of ages, have degenerated into the present superstitious practice of wearing charms, which is so prevalent in Africa. The same idle stories with regard to reputed wizards, necromancers, &c., which are current in Boossà, obtain as great a degree of credit here; and the people likewise believe in other absurdities equally detestable. To-day a man has been accused of eating the spirit or living principle of another; but in what manner he is to be punished, no one has yet informed us. Thermometer 76°, 86°, 91°, during the day."

Monday, September 27th.—I returned in the warmest part of the day from my visit to Wowow, with no less than three men as messengers from the king, the whole of whom are to accompany us to Lever. It has ever been the policy of all the African rulers of the cities and kingdoms through which we have passed since leaving Badágyry, to furnish us with a greater number of guides and messengers than we have either required or wished. In the present instance, one would have been amply sufficient for our purpose, but, as on former occasions, the Wowow men are the king's slaves, and will be obliged, on their return, to lay before their monarch whatever we may give them as a reward for their trouble; he will take from them as much as he likes, which most likely will not be less than seven-eighths of the whole, and the little left will then be divided among the messengers, so that self-interest alone has induced the king to send us three men, because three men will be entitled to more wages than one.

On my arrival at Wowow on the 24th instant, I felt too much fatigued from the length of the journey, and the heat of the weather, to pay my respects to the monarch, and therefore desired to be excused from visiting him till the morrow. Accordingly, on the following day, I had prepared myself to go to the king's house, in pursuance of my agreement, but was greatly surprised on learning that the eccentric old man had excused himself from being seen on that day, on the same plea as I had the day before, observing that he had taken a ride to view his gardens in the morning, and that the exercise had so much tired him, that he felt no inclination whatever to receive visitors till next day. Therefore it was not till the 26th that the king granted me an audience, and then he said, with the greatest indifference, "I

have not yet been able to procure you the canoe which I promised to get; but I have no doubt that the ruler of Patashie will have it in his power to supply you with one to your satisfaction, for which purpose I will send an express to that island without delay, whom I will furnish with the necessary instructions to effect an immediate purchase." Thus, with as much discussion as would fill a volume, continued with little or no intermission for seven weeks, between the sovereigns of two countries, who during that period were sending messengers to each other continually, the mighty business which had employed all their thoughts, and in which they were unceasingly engaged—the simple purchase of a canoe, is even now left unfinished; in fact, up to the present moment, no more has been done in the matter, than when we first made known our intentions and wishes to the king of Boossà from the city of Yàoorie two months ago. So much for the expedition with which Africans usually transact their affairs! The king took the opportunity of informing me that he should by-and-by set about erecting a suitable building for the reception of our countrymen, whenever it should please them to come up the river to trade; for the old man cherishes the belief, in common with other rulers on the banks of the Niger, that numbers of Europeans will, some time or other, certainly visit his country for the purposes of traffic.

Before my departure, the monarch showed me, in compliance with my request, the whole of his collection of charms, which are written on sheets of paper, glued or pasted together. Amongst them I discovered a small edition of "Watts's Hymns," on one of the blank leaves of which was written:—"Alexander Anderson, Royal Military Hospital, Gosport, 1804." It is perhaps unnecessary to say, that Mr.

Anderson was the companion, and I believe a very near relative, of the celebrated Mr. Park. From the Wowow chieftain, as well as from his good old brother, and our friend Abba, I and my attendants experienced the most liberal hospitality; and on taking my leave of them, they wished me farewell in the most cordial and affectionate manner. Besides the note from Mr. and Mrs. Watson to Mr. Park, which we obtained when at Boossà, we also saw another from Lady Dalkeith, of the same date, acknowledging the receipt of some drawings from him. Thermometer 76°, 89°, 93°, during the day.

Tuesday, Sept. 28th.—It is really tiresome to say anything further on the provoking subject of the canoe; yet we think it necessary to remark, that not a single one is to be found here sufficiently large for our purpose, or at all answering the expectations held out to us by the prince of Wowow. Lever is therefore again fixed on as the place where our wishes are to be answered, and our hopes realized; and we are given to understand that we shall leave this place for thence at an early hour to-morrow.

On walking across Patàshie to-day, in perhaps its narrowest part, we found the island to be about a mile in width; yet, in comparison to its breadth, it is very disproportionate, being several miles in length. Patàshie is extremely populous for its size, and large clusters of huts are scattered all over the island. From a gentle eminence on the main land opposite, its appearance bears a striking resemblance to the more beautiful parts of the sea-coast.

The people have a hut here, wherein all females who conduct themselves indecently, or commit any crimes or offences, are imprisoned. This building is distinguished from the others by its size, situation, and superior appearance. Outside the doorway, and

on each side of it, are two clay figures, nearly as large as life, which are affixed to the wall. One of them is intended to represent a woman in an upright position, and without clothing, so that every female who sees it may be reminded of the object and origin of the institution; but the thing looks extremely odd, and the execution, as might be supposed, is rude and contemptible. The figure opposite to it is a pretty good representation of a crocodile, and it is placed against the wall, I suppose, merely as an ornament. Nearly all the junior classes of the population here go entirely naked; and it is not before they attain to man's or woman's estate that they begin to clothe themselves. Red clay is in general use among females of all ranks. The Magia's son intends leaving us to-morrow, on a visit to his father, whom he will inform of our movements, &c. From thence he purposes proceeding to Rabba, where he will stay till our arrival. Thermometer 76° , 87° , 90° , during the day.

Wednesday, Sept. 29th.—After our luggage had all been packed up this morning in readiness for our departure, and everything had been prepared for that purpose, word was brought us from the chief, that we should be unable to start till to-morrow, because the Niger, he said, would receive a great influx of water to-night, which would be considerably in our favour. As it rained heavily and incessantly nearly the whole of last night, and as we had continued heavy showers almost the whole of this forenoon, we have made no complaint or fuss at our disappointment, but quietly await the coming of to-morrow. In the evening we were urgently solicited by the hospitable chief of Patashie for a charm to render him successful in all his shooting excursions, and in hunting the hippopotamus. This request was soon followed by a similar one from his brother. For

ourselves, we are obliged to follow the current of opinion, or consent to lose our credit, and be regarded with detestation ; and, as our charms are likely to be as effective as those of the Arabs, we sometimes oblige the natives in this respect. Thermometer 75°, 85°, 87°, during the day.

Thursday, Sept. 30th.—Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, horses were brought us from the chief and his nephew, to take us to the water's side, where the luggage had been previously conveyed. Here we waited a good while till our canoes were brought from another part of the island, there being but one got ready at the time of our arrival. While we stood near the water's edge, hundreds of people were collected there to look at us, and among them was a native Pagan priest, who was dressed more fantastically than any Merry-Andrew in Christendom. His clothing was manufactured almost solely of fine soft grass. His head and shoulders and part of his body were hid underneath an enormous thing, in shape like the roof of a hut, with a fringe and tassels of stained grass. A tobe, made also of grass, excellently woven and of various colours, encircled his body and reached as far as the knee ; and the man wore likewise trousers of the same material, and plaited in a similar manner, but this was unstained, and of the colour of dried grass ; it was turned up at the ankles, though a deep fringe hung to the ground. He approached several individuals that were sitting on the turf, and stooping over them, the priest enveloped the upper part of their persons in his uncouth head-dress ; shook it over them, which produced a strange rustling noise ; screamed in a most frightful and unearthly tone ; and then arose to perform the same barbarous ceremony to others.

When the canoes had arrived, and all our things had been removed into them from the beach, we were desired to ride to a landing-place farther down the island, because of the rocks, which are reported to intercept the stream at a little distance from the place whereon we stood, and to be very dangerous for canoes which are heavily laden. But first of all we took a cordial farewell of the hearty old chief of *Teah*, who had come over to see us before our departure. The venerable governor of Patashie, to whom we are under so many obligations, then preceded us on the footway, walking with a staff; and we reached the appointed place of embarkation exactly at the same moment as the canoes. There we found a man and woman sitting on a mat, which was placed on the grass, refreshing themselves with Guinea nuts and water. We partook of their fare by invitation, and as the canoes were waiting for us to come on board, we bade adieu, in the most expressive manner, to the good old chief of Patashie, and, thanking all the friends that had accompanied us thither, we jumped on board, and pushed off from the shore, cheered by the natives that were present.

The current bore us rapidly along, but we regretted to find the river again broken up by rocks and numerous small islands, which spoil its delightful appearance, and render it unnavigable. A few miles below Patashie, are three islands abreast of each other, and by no means destitute of beauty or verdure, which are called collectively *Ràah*. On one of them is a large trading town, and near it the canoemen landed to get some refreshment. We then continued our course for some time without meeting any obstacle to embarrass us; but afterwards, in order to get clear of a reef of rocks, we were obliged to make our way through an exceedingly narrow channel,

overhung with the branches of trees, and more than half filled with rushes and tall luxuriant grasses. This brought us into the main river again, and having passed along in front of one or two towns on the banks of the river, we came in sight of *Lever*, which was the place of our destination, and where we landed at one o'clock, after rather a short excursion from Patashie of three hours. Lever may be distant from that island about twenty miles.

Our surprise was great indeed, when, instead of the proper person whom we expected would have received us, we were welcomed on shore by a man called *Ducoo*, and who represented himself as agent and confidential friend of the prince of Rabba; but this surprise was not a little increased on learning that a party of forty or fifty armed Falàtah soldiers were also in the town. *Ducoo*, who is a Bornouese, treated us with the courtly politeness of a Frenchman, and was equally lavish in his compliments and his offers of service. He walked with us to the chief of the town, to whom he took the liberty of introducing us, almost before he himself knew who or what we were; went himself and procured excellent lodgings for us, returned and sat down in our company to tell us some droll stories, and impart to us in confidence some very disagreeable news; then hastily rose up, went out, and came back again with a sheep and other provisions, which he had obtained by compulsion from the chief, and finally remained with us till long after the moon had risen, when he left us to our repose. A man of such excessive volubility we never recollect to have met with; but at the same time he seems to be a most useful fellow.

This *Lever*, then, after all, does not belong to the king of Wowow, though it stands on his dominions; nor has that monarch a single subject here, or a

solitary canoe, so that we are as far from getting one as ever we were, and with the loss of our horses to boot. We have been cajoled and out-manœuvred very prettily by those fellows of Boossà and its adjoining state, whom we falsely conceived to be our dearest and best black friends. They have played with us as if we were great dolls ; we have been driven about like shuttlecocks ; we have been to them first a gazing-stock, and are now no doubt their laughing-stock, perhaps their mockery ; we have been their admiration—their buffoons—their wonder and their scorn—a by-word and a jest. Else why this double-dealing, this deceit, this chicanery, these hollow professions ? Why did they entrap us in this manner ? Why have they led us about as though we had been blind, only to place us in the very lap of what *they* imagine to be danger ? For, can it be possible that the monarchs of Wowow and Boossà were ignorant of the state of things here, which is in their own immediate neighbourhood, and which have continued the same essentially for these three years ? Surely they have knowingly deceived us.

As soon as we were convinced that no canoe could be had in this place, as we have all along been led to expect, we conceived it prudent, under existing circumstances, to detain the two canoes which were lent us this morning by the chief of Patàshie ; one of them is tolerably large, and nearly new, but the other is of much smaller dimensions. However, we are well aware that the king of Wowow has not yet paid for them, and we are afraid that he never will ; and it grieves and saddens us beyond expression to do this thing ; for the island-ruler is a simple, kind-hearted, and good, very good old man. But what can we do ? We have not the means of purchasing his canoes, for the king of Wowow has deprived us of them ; our

resources are nearly exhausted, and how should we be able to prosecute our journey? The Patàshie canoe-men stoutly resisted our claims, as it is natural to suppose that they would. For our own parts we were actually ashamed to look them in the face; but our busy restless friend, *Ducoo*, the priest, soon silenced their remarks, by threatening to cut off the head of him who should presume from that time to set foot in either of the canoes. To give his menace the greater weight, he stationed two of his men to guard the forbidden boats, till the sun went down, with drawn swords; and during the greater part of the night, another of his men paraded up and down the banks of the river, near the spot, as a watch, and this man was continually playing upon a large drum.

We are furnished with four messengers, besides him from Nouffie, one of whom is from Boossà and the other three from Wowow. The office of these men is to see that everything promised us by their respective sovereigns be executed in pursuance of their agreement; but no one can be more intimidated or alarmed than they. They have scarcely dared to open their lips for the purpose of speaking since our arrival; they look as silly as sheep, sneak about our lodgings, and hang down their heads like prisoners under sentence of death. They are of no service whatever to us, rather a disadvantage in fact, but yet their wages must be paid them.

After the departure of *Ducoo* in the evening, the chief of the town came to pay his respects and to wish us good night. He related to us a pitiable account of the evils which he and his people had undergone, and were still enduring, from the selfishness and rapacity of the Falàtahs; "and they never pay us a visit," said he, "but my spirits droop within me, and my heart becomes heavy and sorrowful, for these foreigners

come only to plunder and lay waste." The appearance of things at the present time seems to confirm this assertion, for a number of Falàtahs are here for no other reason; and the melancholy of the chief's countenance was an eloquent illustration of the embittered state of his heart and feelings. Thermometer 78°, 89°, 93°, during the day.

CHAPTER XIV.

State of the Town of Lever—The Falàtahs—The Travellers' Canoes claimed—Interference of Ducoo—Detention of the Travellers—Their departure from Lever—The Town of Bajiebo—Chiefs—Canoes of Bajiebo—Departure from Bajiebo—Scenery of the River—Town of Leechee—Visit to the Chief—The Passage continued down the River—Madjie Island—Mount Kesa—Land on Belee Island—Messenger from Rabba—Arrival of Suliken Rouah, or the King of the Dark Water—Grand Procession of Canoes down the River—Arrival at Zagōzbi* Island—Its swampy nature.

Friday, October 1st.—THIS morning, to our infinite relief, the four messengers from Wowow and Boossà, spoken of yesterday, were paid for having accompanied us hither, and in the forenoon they left the town in company to go to Wowow. The Patàshie canoeemen also received their wages at the same time, and embarked in two canoes a few minutes afterwards, on their return homewards, so that there only remains with us at present one of the Nooffie messengers who joined us at Boossà.

This town is called indiscriminately *Lever* and *Layaba*, though the latter name seems most generally applied here. Its population is great, and though it is very extensive, it has been built and occupied a

* The first *z*, in this word, is pronounced like our *z* in azure.

very few years only. Its inhabitants are all Nouffie people, and not long ago resided in a large village on the opposite side of the river ; but on account of the civil wars which raged in their country, setting every man against his friend, and against his neighbour, when property was insecure, freedom threatened, and life in danger, they were driven to seek an asylum here, where they fancied themselves out of the influence of these evils, and beyond the reach of the Falatahs, of whom they have an unconquerable dread. Here accordingly they erected their dwellings, and cleared the adjacent ground for cultivation. However, the poor people were not left a great while to enjoy unmolested the security which they had been in quest of, and which they imagined they had found at Layaba, for three years ago their relentless enemies invaded their retreat, ransacked the town, and destroyed their houses by fire. Fortunately for them, the inhabitants had timely notice of the approach of these marauders, and succeeded in recrossing the river, just before their arrival, without the loss of a single man ; nor could the Falatahs follow them there, because they had no canoes. But rather than have their property destroyed a second time, and rather than be liable to continual irruptions of their enemies, who would abuse their women and enslave themselves, after their return hither the people of Layaba consented to pay a certain tribute to the prince of the Falatahs at Rabba, independent of a kind of ground-rent or acknowledgment, which is paid to the owner of the soil ; so that a double duty is by this means exacted from them. Nor is this all : for parties of Falatahs, which are without employment at home, are generally prowling about the country, and levying contributions on those villages which are too feeble to resist their claims.

Such is the case here at this moment; the Falàtahs entered the town on Wednesday to take from its peaceful inhabitants whatever they thought proper. These men are all extremely well dressed, and are armed with large swords, which are carried about their persons wherever they go. It is likely enough that, in this town, their object, for the present at least, will be defeated, for it is affirmed that they are in terrible apprehension of us, understanding that we should interfere in their unjustifiable proceedings; and appearances seem to confirm this assertion.

This afternoon their party was assembled together by beat of drum, and they crossed the river in a hurry almost immediately after. Without asking our permission, or giving the slightest intimation of their intentions to either of us, they launched and took away the Patàshie canoe, which we call ours, and filled it with their people, which some one observing, he came running in haste to our hut, and informed us that the Falàtahs had stolen our largest canoe, and were taking it away. Unacquainted then with their true motives for this action, we were filled with apprehension, and believing the story which had been told us, my brother instantly repaired to the water-side, where he observed, sure enough, our canoe filled with Falàtahs, who were waiting the signal for starting. He was agitated at the insolence of the fellows, and ordered them to get out of the canoe immediately, or take the consequences. They were about to obey his commands, when our officious friend, Ducoo, the priest, stepped forward, put his hand upon his shoulder, and with his usual volubility, desired him to be cool, and he would tell him all. He then informed him that he had himself taken the liberty of launching the canoe for the use of his friends, made an apology for not asking permission, and said, that,

after the Falàtahs had crossed over on the other side, it should be brought back to us again. This satisfied my brother, and he left them, though he knew he had been telling a falsehood, for it was certainly his intention to send away the canoe, so that we should never have the use of it; but as Ducoo was to remain at Layaba a little longer, we had determined to keep him in "durance vile," till another, through his means, should be got for us.

In the mean time I had also repaired to the water-side with a pistol, which so terrified the Falàtahs, that those who were on shore jumped hastily into another canoe, and all of them stole away as fast as they could, in great trepidation, for they fancied that their end was come. The priest subsequently remarked, that since our arrival, they had been greatly alarmed on account of our presence, and that he had been unable to suppress their fears. Thinking to pay us a compliment, he said we were stronger and better looking than any chief in the whole country, with the exception of the sultan of Bornou. He is himself a tall handsome fellow, and was chuckling at his own ingenuity, but we took little notice of him, and gave him not so much as a needle for his remark. This same individual has begun to show himself in his true colours; in the morning he began begging with much importunity, not only for himself, but for others, nor would he be quieted until we had satisfied his covetousness; and he then laid claim to one of our canoes, which he had the impudence to offer us for sale, and entreated that we would purchase of him! Surely the man cannot be in earnest. This is impudence with a vengeance!

Another small party of Falàtahs entered Layaba this afternoon. An hour or two since, one of them attempted to take away a bow and arrows from an

inhabitant in the town, who disputed his right to do so ; but the Falàtah enforced his demand by cutting him across the right shoulder with his sword. The wounded man saw the blood and wept, and ran away to make a complaint to his chief, who hearkened to his tale and pitied him. After a good deal of trouble he caused the bow and arrows to be given back to their rightful owner, but he could do no more ; he dared not punish the assailant for his crime, and he was suffered to boast of it at large. How different are these people from the peaceful and happy Falàtahs in Yarriba and other countries, who spend their time solely in pastoral occupations and pursuits ! Thermometer 76°, 85°, 87°, during the day.

Saturday, October 2nd.—The chief sent us another fine sheep to-day, and a quantity of dressed provisions swimming in palm-oil. He was induced to make us this present from Ducoo's insinuations, who, no doubt, has his own private ends in view. The priest boasts an acquaintance with the late unfortunate Major Laing, and affirms that he was near the spot at the time of that gentleman's death. He can also relate the whole of the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of Mr. Park and his associates. But this man is an eternal talker, and therefore we receive all his communications with extreme suspicion.

In the afternoon a small party of men arrived here in a canoe from the chief of the island of *Teàh*, with a message to us purporting that the canoes which we had, to his infinite surprise, detained at Layaba, did not belong, as we imagined, to his friend, the chief of Patàshie, but were his own property ; and as he did not acknowledge the authority of Wowow, but had ever been subject to the king of Nouffie, he considered that we could have no right whatever to the

canoes in question, and therefore he would entreat us to return them by the hands of his messengers. He had lent them, because he was willing to oblige us and please his neighbour ; but he did not conceive or think it possible, that we could make so ungrateful and unkind a return for his hospitality, and the respect and attention which it had been his pride and pleasure to show us. For our own parts, we could not forbear acknowledging the truth and justice of the observations of the Teàh chieftain, and blaming ourselves for the step we had taken. We therefore expressed our deep and very sincere regret at the measure which we had, from a combination of circumstances, been compelled to adopt ; yet we assured the chief messenger, a quiet, respectable man, that it was not altogether our own fault, (for indeed it was not,) as the Patàshie canoemen well knew, for the men of Wowow had forbidden them to take back the boats, promising that their sovereign would pay for them, and the Falàtah agent had prevented them from doing so. We said further, that whatever might be the consequence, we had not the slightest objection for the canoes to be restored to their rightful owner ; and provided the men from Teàh could obtain the consent of the priest to take them away, they were at liberty to do so whenever they might think proper. But this they were by no means disposed to do, for they both feared and hated him ; and therefore they bribed the Nouffie messenger with a large sum of money to assist them in their project, and purposed taking away both canoes in the night-season by stealth. However, their intentions were frustrated by the watchful vigilance of the priest, who had mistrusted them long before they were made known to us ; and when he had actually detected their plans, he ordered the canoes to be pulled up on shore, two

hundred yards at least from the water's edge; and observed with vehemence, that after what he had done, should they be launched again into the water and taken away, he would instantly tie a rope round the necks of the chief of the town, and the Nouffie messenger that had accepted the bribe, and, in that humiliating state, they should be driven like beasts to their sovereign, the Magia.

In the evening, the inhabitants of the town assembled outside our house to amuse themselves by dancing and singing in the moonlight; for, notwithstanding all their misfortunes and oppressions, they never refrain from indulging with all their hearts in these sprightly and thoughtless entertainments. Every dancer held in each hand a cow's tail; they were all dressed grotesquely, and a great quantity of strings of cowries encircled their legs and bodies, which make a loud rattling noise by the violence and celerity of their movements. They sang as they danced, and excited, by the oddity of their gestures, loud clappings of applause, and bursts of laughter from all the bystanders. The spectacle was exceedingly ludicrous; we have rarely witnessed so much jocularity and thoughtless gaiety; and we have seldom laughed so much at any native exhibition. Though the performers panted from want of breath with their exertions, they yet continued their darling exercises, as is usual with them, till long after midnight.

Like many of their countrymen, and like the natives of Yarriba, the inhabitants of Layaba appear to bestow scarcely a moment's reflection either on public misery or individual distress—upon their own misfortunes or the calamities of their neighbours. Nature has moulded their minds to enjoy the life they lead; their grief, if they grieve at all, is but for

a moment ; sorrow comes over them and vanishes like the lightning's flash ; they weep, and in the same breath their spirits regain their elasticity and cheerfulness ; they may well be said to drink of the waters of Lethe whenever they please. As long as they have food to eat, and health to enjoy their frivolous pastimes, they seem contented, happy, and full of life. They think of little else—

“Thought would destroy their paradise.”

Thermometer 77°, 88°, 90°, during the day.

Sunday, October 3rd.—We were desired yesterday to get our things packed up, and ourselves prepared, for that this morning we should quit the island to proceed on our journey. In pursuance of this arrangement, we had got all our luggage in readiness, and only waited the coming of the chief to take our departure, when, to our great regret, one of his messengers entered our hut to apprise us that we should be unable to go away till to-morrow, his master having been dissuaded from his original purpose by the officious, bustling priest, our friend and enemy. We submitted to the disappointment as patiently and silently as we could ; and in the evening we obtained a solemn promise, that whatever might be the consequence, no one should divert him from the resolution he had formed of detaining us no longer than to-day ; and that early to-morrow morning we should certainly depart. Thermometer 76°, 88°, 89°, during the day.

Monday, Oct. 4th.—Our surprise and displeasure may be guessed, when, after our goods had been removed from our hut into the yard outside, we were informed that we should be compelled to abide in the town yet another day, notwithstanding all that the chief had told us yesterday. Our patience was now completely exhausted ; and we were in great anger,

for it is disheartening to be always deceived and trifled with by such scoundrels. Repairing instantly to a hut, wherein we knew the chief passed most of his time, we discovered him sitting on the ground in company with the artful Ducoo and our Nouffie messenger, and engaged in a very high dispute with both of them. Our unexpected and abrupt intrusion and angry looks, cut short their wrangling; and we spoke with much emphasis of the shameful manner in which we had been treated, and expressed our determination of leaving Layaba presently, in defiance of them and all their power. With the most insolent effrontery in the world, the priest smiled at us, and replied, that we were entirely in his power; that we should do as *he* liked, and quit the town whenever *he* thought proper. Such language as this, we thought, was rather too bold; we pretended to be in a violent passion, and quickly undeceived him in this point, threatening, that if either he or any of his men should presume to interfere with us in our intentions or proceedings, or attempt to hinder us from getting away from the town, we should feel no more hesitation or reluctance in shooting him than if he had been a partridge or a Guinea-hen! The priest, who had never before seen anything in us but mildness, was intimidated at the determined and resolute behaviour we had found it necessary to adopt: he was crest-fallen in a moment; and, from being one of the most boisterous and consequential fellows in the world, became quite passive; yet his presence of mind did not forsake him: he stammered out a kind of apology; attempted to soothe us by soft language and submission, in which he found little difficulty; and did all in his power to effect a reconciliation. Having settled this business, we went out, and assembling our men, attempted to draw our canoe

to the river-side ; but the ground was even, and the boat so long and heavy, that, notwithstanding all our exertions, we could move her only a few inches towards the river. The people were ashamed of themselves to see us labouring so hard, and to so little purpose ; and the priest, likewise, observing us, was convinced that we were in earnest : therefore, whispering a few words in the ear of the chief, they both came down to the spot where we were toiling at the canoe, followed by a number of men ; these, with the priest at their head, took the work out of our hands, and in less than two minutes the boat was floating on the water. Our luggage was then conveyed into the two canoes ; and shortly afterwards we were supplied with three men to paddle them with the assistance of our own. Here we took our farewell of the chief and the priest, the latter begging us very anxiously to speak well of him to his sovereign at Rabba.

It was not till after we were all in the canoes, and ready to push off, that those on shore discovered them to be overladen, and recommended us to hire one, of immense size, which was lying alongside. Without stopping to make them any reply, or listen to any further nonsense, we desired our own men to push the boats out into the middle of the current, which they did very promptly ; and the town of Layaba, with its chief and inhabitants, was speedily out of sight, and soon forgotten. This was about nine o'clock in the morning ; so that, after all, we had lost but little time in getting away.

The banks of the river near Lever are high, being, according to our estimation, about forty feet above the river, and steep to the water-side. The river itself appeared deep, and free from rocks of any kind ; its direction nearly south. We ran down the stream

very pleasantly for twelve or fourteen miles, the Niger, during the whole of the distance, rolling grandly along—a noble river, neither obstructed by islands, nor deformed with rocks and stones. Its width varied from one to three miles; the country on each side was very flat, and a few mean, dirty-looking villages were scattered on the water's edge. We then came to two small islands; the land appeared more elevated, and in some few places it rose in gentle hills. We observed three remarkable and lofty hills on the eastern side, which rose very abruptly from the plain, and were separated from each other only by a few yards of ground. Both banks of the river were overhung with large shady trees, between which we could perceive the land behind to be open and well-cultivated; and, if we may be allowed to form an opinion from the number of towns and villages which were scattered over the country, we should conceive it to be thickly-inhabited also.

At one o'clock, P.M., we landed at a considerably large and spacious town, called *Bajiebo*, which is inhabited by Nouffie people, though it is situated on the Yarriba or western side of the river. For dirt, bustle, and nastiness of all kinds, this place, we think, can scarcely be exceeded. For two hours after our arrival we were obliged to wait in a close and diminutive hut till a more convenient and becoming habitation could be procured for our reception, and the pleasure of the chief with regard to us should be known. Here we were visited by a number of the inhabitants, consisting both of Falàtahs and *Noufanchie* (Nouffie people). Among the former was a sagacious and intelligent old man, who has travelled a long, long way on the Niger, even beyond Timbuctoo; and he states that that town is several miles

from the banks of the river. We were sadly incommoded by these visitors, who scarcely allowed us to move or breathe; which, joined to the heat of the weather and the insufferable stench, rendered our situation truly comfortless and distressing.

We were at length removed from this horrible hole, and conducted to a hut in the heart of the town, in which wood fires had been burning the whole of the day, so that the wall was almost as warm as the sides of a heated oven, insomuch that it could hardly be endured. Yet, to render it more unpleasant still, a large, closely-woven mat was placed before the doorway, in order to prevent a thousand eyes from staring in upon us; this excluded every breath of air. Our feelings during the whole of the night were more distressing than can be conceived: we were almost suffocated with the closeness and intense heat of the room, and dreamt that we were being baked alive in an oven. It appears that this town is governed by two chiefs, separate and distinct from each other, one of whom is a Nouffie man, and the other a Falàtah; for, in the afternoon, each of these individuals sent us a bowl of rice, as a present.

Bajiebo is a flourishing and important trading town, although not walled, and one of the largest and most populous that we have yet seen. A considerable traffic is carried on by its inhabitants with their countrymen on the opposite side of the river; for which purpose they have a great number of canoes of large dimensions, which are continually employed every day in crossing from side to side. Their huts are erected so close to each other, and with so little regard to comfort and a free circulation of air, that there is scarcely a footpath in the town wide enough for more than one man to walk on at a time; and not having the advantage of shady trees, the heat of the

town is excessive and distressing. Its uncleanness, filth, and extreme nastiness, have already been alluded to, and the odour emitted from the dirty streets is offensive, and almost insupportable. The people formerly inhabited a town on the opposite bank of the Niger; but, as was the case with those of Layaba, they were induced, or rather compelled, to settle here, on account of the commotions occasioned by the civil wars; and, like them, too, they have been found out by their greatest enemies.

The power of the Falàtahs here is evidently very great. One of their number is styled chief, and has more authority and influence than the native ruler. We have been obliged to make a present to each of these individuals; and other high and mighty personages were likewise desirous of obtaining a similar favour at our hands; but we made light of their conversation, and would not understand their enigmas.

We have seen to-day several large canoes, the bottom of which is made of a single tree and built up with planks to a considerable height. In many of them sheds, or houses as they are called, have been erected, which are thatched with straw, and in which fires are kindled, food prepared, and people sleep, and indeed live, altogether. The roof is circular, and formed in much the same manner as the upper part of a covered waggon in England. These sheds are of the most essential service to the natives; as, with their assistance, merchants are enabled to travel with some degree of comfort, with their wives and household, several days' journey up and down the Niger, without being under the necessity of landing, except to purchase provisions, or whenever they feel inclined to do so. As the people have nothing that equals or answers to pitch, hemp, or tar, they use

iron staples for the purpose of repairing it and keeping the planks together when a canoe becomes leaky, or any part of it, as it frequently happens, is split by exposure to the rays of the sun. We have seen an old canoe, which had undergone repairs several times, with no less than from eight to ten thousand of these staples driven into her sides and bottom.

Our course to-day has been about S.b.E. The thermometer has been at 70°, 90°, and 95°.

Tuesday, Oct. 5th.— Before sunrise this morning, our luggage was removed to the beach; and between six and seven o'clock we were once more upon the water. Just below the town of Bajiebo the Niger spreads itself into two noble branches, of nearly equal width, formed by an island. We preferred journeying on the eastern branch, but for no particular reason. The country beyond the banks was very fine. The island in the middle of the river is small, but verdant, woody, and handsome; and we passed by the side of it in a very few minutes, with considerable velocity. It was then that both banks presented the most delightful appearance. They were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, which were clad in thick and luxuriant foliage, some of lively green, and others of darker hues; and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottoes, pleasing and grateful to the eye, and seemed to be fit abodes for the Naiades of the river. Yet, with all its allurements, there is something wanting in an African scene to render it comparable in interest and beauty to an English landscape.

“By secret charms our native land attracts.”

There is nothing here half so attractive or inspiring. It is seldom, very seldom, that the morn is ushered in by the “song of earliest birds;” which is so eminently enchanting at home, and which induces so much happiness and cheerfulness, benevolence and joy. Here there are no verdant fields, nor hedges, adorned with the jessamine, the daisy, the primrose, the blue-bottle or the violet, and the hundred other pretty wild flowers, which please the sight, and exhale in spring-time or summer the most grateful and delicious fragrance. No flowers here

“Waste their sweetness in the desert air,”

for not a solitary one is any where to be seen. Besides, generally speaking, a loneliness, a solemnity, a death-like silence, pervades the noblest and most magnificent prospects, which has a tendency to fill the mind with associations of sadness, and reflections of melancholy, very opposite to the silent cheerfulness, and that internal springing joy which we feel on contemplating those goodly and charming landscapes, which are the pride, the beauty, and the ornament of England. To look at the cleanliness of our cottages, and the tidiness of their occupants, is pleasant; but when the dirty mud huts of the natives of this part of the world, with the people themselves, do appear, in our opinion they banish every favourable impression, and destroy the effect of all.

In the course of an hour after leaving Bajiebo, we passed by two towns of considerable extent, and a hill was observed right ahead of us, covered with trees, one of which was of such singular appearance, that it might easily be mistaken at a short distance

for a tall pole, with a flag unfurled, and waving at the top of it.

At a little before eight in the morning, we saw, and passed along at the base of a high pile of loose granite rocks, large and dark-coloured, which are on the Nouffie or eastern side of the river; and almost close to them and on the edge of the water is a small town. In about half an hour afterwards we arrived at an extensive town, situated on the same side, and called *Leechee*, which is inhabited by Noufanchie, and said to be a place of considerable rank and consequence. Here we landed by express desire, and finding an empty grass hut near the spot, we entered and took possession of it, till such time as the chief should be made acquainted with our arrival. Here also our canoemen left us and returned to Bajiebo, where we had hired them.

We were not suffered to wait long, but in a few minutes received an invitation from the chief to come and see him; and having walked through a good part of the town, we at length approached his residence, and were introduced without ceremony or hindrance into a large and lofty hut, where we discovered the chief sitting on a platform of mud, in great state, with about forty natives and Falatahs in earnest conversation on each side of him. He received us with great civility and many demonstrations of gladness, and desired us to draw near his person, that he might have a better opportunity of looking at and talking to us. However, he appeared unwilling for us to quit *Leechee* till to-morrow, and pressed us strongly to remain with him for the day, which, however, not all his solicitations and importunities could induce us to accede to. A Falatah then commenced a long and pithy harangue, in which he endeavoured to prejudice the chief and those that were

with him against us, and to fill their minds with alarm and apprehension, on account of our malevolence, and the extraordinary power which he said we possessed; but his eloquence was unavailing, for we had the consolation to hear one of his own companions and countrymen desire him to hold his tongue, and mind his own business; and consequently his remarks were soon forgotten.

We had provided ourselves with a small present for the chief on our first setting out for his residence, but after what we had seen and heard, we fancied that it was too trifling, and feared that it would be returned as such by the chief, and that we should be exposed to abuse and ribaldry from those that were with him; therefore something was added to the gift before we presented it. We then took our leave of him and his people, and instantly made our way back to the water-side, where we waited in the grass hut, what appeared to us to be a long, long time, for the appearance of the canoemen with whom the chief had promised to supply us. In this interval, the governor sent us a pot of honey, a couple of fine lemons, and a few limes. After a considerable delay, a man for each canoe could only be procured for us, so that two of our own people were obliged to supply the place of others as well as they could.

The width of the Niger at Leechee is about three miles, and the inhabitants have plenty of canoes for the purpose of crossing the river, for fishing, and for other purposes. About half-past ten we got into our canoes, which we pushed off the shore, and proceeded at a good rate down the stream, along the side of a considerable island, which is within gunshot of the town; and after passing a large open village, of respectable appearance, which is on the western bank, we put in at a small town, a few miles below, also on

the Yarriba side of the river, where we were constrained to go in quest of other canoemen, because those from Leechee, though they had been with us only forty minutes, and had certainly not laboured very hard, had refused to proceed with us any farther, nor could all our enticements induce them to forego this resolution. Here we were detained in our canoes and exposed to the sun for an hour and a half, in order to obtain fresh canoemen, the inhabitants of the town being absent in the fields.

Immediately after leaving this town we passed another island, of goodly appearance, but we understand it is uninhabited. We then came in sight of a double range of rocky hills, one of which is close to the water, and both running from north-east to nearly due south. At one P.M. we were again obliged to put in and land at a small village, which is situated on an island, for an exchange of canoemen, for, like those from Leechee, these were unwilling to go a great way from their homes. In an hour's time a number of the islanders came down to us, and paddled us to the opposite side of the river, and from thence along the base of the hills already alluded to. The appearance of these hills is wild and gloomy, though highly romantic. Trees of hungry growth and stunted shrubs, whose foliage seemed for the most part dull and withering, shoot out of the hollows and interstices, and overhang immense precipices, whose jagged summits they partly conceal. Indeed, these hills look dismal and lonesome in the extreme, and seem to be visited only by wild beasts and birds of prey, or by the shadow of a passing cloud, which serves to increase, if possible, their dreariness and gloom. On the top of one of them is a huge and singular block of white stone, which, at a certain distance, greatly resembles an ancient fortification.

We arrived at the end of our journey, and the termination of the nearer range of hills, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, when we landed at a fishing-town on a small island, which is called *Madjie*, and belongs to the Noufanchie. Here we were received with cheerfulness by the chief, who accommodated us with a roomy hut, sent us a quantity of dressed provisions, and otherwise treated us in the most hospitable manner. The banks of the river that we have passed to-day are high and well cultivated. The direction of the river is rather to the eastward of south, and the distance from this island to Bajiebo about thirty miles. The thermometer has been at 78°, 92°, 94°, during the day.

Wednesday, Oct. 6th.—About seven o'clock in the morning we departed from the island of *Madjie*, where we had slept, and pursued our journey down the river, which for a short distance takes a turn to the east, by the side of another range of hills, and afterwards flows for a number of miles a little to the southward of east. Near the island of *Madjie*, the Niger branches into three streams, and we were recommended to follow the most easterly, because the other two were neither considered so deep nor so free from danger.

On leaving the island, we journeyed very rapidly down the current for a few minutes, when, having passed another, we came suddenly in sight of an elevated rock, which is called *Mount Kesa* by the natives, and almost at the same instant we found ourselves abreast of it. It forms a small island, and is probably not less than three hundred feet in height, which renders it a conspicuous and remarkable object. It is excessively steep, and, rising out of the river as it does, its appearance is irresistibly imposing, and majestic beyond expression. Its base is fringed by

venerable trees, and less magnificent vegetation, which also strives to spring forth from its barren and almost naked sides. The height of Mount Kesa, its solitary position, and the peculiarity of its form, distinguish it from every other, and render it an object of more than common interest. It is greatly venerated, by the natives of this part of the country, and, as may readily be imagined, favours the superstitious notions which are attached to it by a simple and credulous people, who, like the vulgar of Europe, are fond of the marvellous. The story attached to Mount Kesa is of a very romantic nature. The natives believe that a benevolent genius makes the mountain his favourite and continual abode, and dispenses around him a benign and heavenly influence. Here the misfortunes of the unhappy are alleviated, the wants of the needy supplied, and the lamentations of the mourner turned to joy: sin, sorrow, and suffering, are unknown; solemnity gives place to merriment, and the solicitude of futurity to present enjoyment and thoughtless jocularly. But more especially, say the natives, the weary traveller here finds a refuge from the storm, and a rest from his toils; here he reposes in the delights of security, and revels in the comforts of ease. However, to obtain all this, he makes known his wants and desires to the spirit of the mountain by supplication and prayer, when they are instantly answered; he receives the most delicate and excellent food from invisible hands, and, when sufficiently invigorated by refreshment, he is at liberty either to continue his journey or remain awhile to participate in the blessings of the mountain. Such is the story we received from these superstitious people of this celebrated mount. A little to the northward of it is a naked rock, which rises only a few yards above the surface of the water;

but, from its insignificance, it is unworthy of particular description.

A canoe, in which was a Mohammedan priest, with his women and train, kept company with us down the river, and Rabba was the place of its destination. A very spirited competition was for some time maintained between his canoemen and ours, in regard to the velocity with which they could impel their respective boats; but that of the priest was three times larger and heavier than ours, and he was at length constrained to forego the contest, the odds being so very much against him. This created a loud laugh and a little cheering on our side, and much merriment on both. All the canoes then proceeded abreast of each other, and the whole of the party were on the best possible terms. The priest's wives strove to entertain us to the best of their ability with specimens of their music. One of them played on a four-stringed guitar, and her companions accompanied the instrument with their voices; and though the noise was not very melodious, still it was more agreeable to us than silence; indeed, we were highly pleased with the attempt of these sooty ladies, for, how rude soever the performance may be, music has oftentimes a pleasant and soothing influence.

At nine in the morning we landed near a small town to procure a fresh supply of canoemen, and we waited for them above an hour, without visiting the adjacent village. As soon as we had obtained them, we journeyed along the eastern side of the river; and, at eleven A.M., perceived the smoke of the far-famed Rabba ascending many miles before us. In another half-hour we drew near an island, called *Belee*, which is exceedingly low, flat, and swampy. Here we stopped at a large, but mean and dirty-looking town, which stands close to the water's edge.

We were shortly introduced to the chief, who is a great, rich, and important personage, if we may believe the representations of our messenger. He informed us that Mohamed, the Magia's son, who had left us at Patashie, had returned from his father, in pursuance of his agreement, but, instead of remaining at Rabba, as we expected, he had come over to Belee, and been waiting three days on the island, in expectation of our arrival. However, having heard, in the earlier part of the morning, that we were to have slept at Madjie last night, he instantly left Belee in a canoe, and proceeded up the river to meet us. For ourselves, we had neither heard nor seen anything either of him or his canoe. The governor further said, "You will be obliged to remain at Belee till Mohamed's return to the island, for he has news of importance to communicate to you; to-morrow morning you will leave hence, and proceed to another island, which is farther down the river, wherein it is arranged that you shall abide till your affairs be finally adjusted." There was some mystery about this, which was unexpected and not very gratifying.

It was nearly evening before Mohamed returned to Belee, and he came to us in a dripping state, with an excuse that he had been upset in his canoe two or three times. After the first salutations were over, he informed us of his visit to his father, and its result. The Magia had desired him to assure us of his "best wishes in our welfare, and his determination to protect, support, and encourage us, as far as he was able." Mohamed then drew our attention to a young man who had entered the hut with him, but whom we had not before observed, and introduced him as a messenger sent to us by the Falatah prince of Rabba. This man said that his master, named Mallam Dendo, had commissioned him to acquaint us

that he heartily concurred with the king of Nouffie in the favourable opinions and sentiments which the latter entertained for us. With respect to our visiting Rabba, which he understood we were very much disinclined to do, he should not urge us; and rather imagined that we should be more comfortable and enjoy greater tranquillity on an island on the opposite side of the river, where he would recommend us to stop. The chief of Belee had previously made us acquainted with this arrangement. The Falàtah messenger concluded by observing, that we should be visited on the morrow by the "*King of the Dark Water!*" who would escort us to the island in question, of which he is governor.

In the evening the chief of Belee made us a present of a quantity of goora-nuts, a large pot of honey, a sheep, and dressed provisions in abundance, with a huge calabash of sour beer. He boasted that he was the king of Nouffie's head slave, and a mighty man of valour; and artfully insinuated that he expected a present from us in proportion to his rank and eminence. But we have seen such numbers of kings, princes, and great men lately, that we are heartily disgusted with all who bear the epithet; they are so numerous, that they would be as difficult to count as the drops of rain in a heavy shower.

The thermometer has been at 79°, 92°, and 94°, during the day.

The course of the river from Madjie to this island has been to the S.E.; the distance about twelve miles. The eastern or Nouffie bank of the river is moderately high, and overspread with low hills, and both banks are well cultivated.

Thursday, October 7th.—So early as five o'clock in the morning our canoes were loaded; and, having breakfasted on a slice of yam, we were fully prepared

to quit the island. But, as it was not deemed either politic or proper to go away till the arrival of the great *King of the Dark Water*, who was hourly expected, and who might be inclined to construe our departure into contempt, we consented to await his coming. Though we have been exposed to a thousand nuisances, and all manner of inconveniences, and are pretty well reconciled to them all; yet, rather than remain in a close, black hut, full of men, whose garments are generally covered with vermin, and rarely, if ever, cleaned, and who make it a common practice to sit on the mat whereon we sleep—rather than do this, we stepped into our canoes, and having pushed off from the land, we waited the islander's arrival under the branches of a large tree at a little distance from the town.

Between nine and ten, A.M., we heard a number of men singing, and keeping time to the motion of many paddles, but we could see no one. However, in a very few minutes, a canoe, which was paddled by a few men only, came in sight, and we knew by this that the *Water King* was approaching. It was instantly followed by another, and much larger one, propelled by above twenty very fine young men, whose voices we had been listening to just before, and who were still continuing their song. Their music was slower, but very similar to that which may be heard on many parts of the western coast. The *King of the Dark Water* was with them. As the canoe drew nearer, we were not only surprised at its extraordinary length and uncommon neatness, but likewise at the unusual display of pomp and show which we observed in her. In the centre a mat awning was erected, which was variously decorated; and on the front of it hung a large piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented with bits of gold lace stitched on

different parts of it. In the bow of the canoe were three or four little boys, of equal size, who were clad with neatness and propriety; and in the stern sat a number of comely-looking musicians, consisting of several drummers and a trumpeter, whilst the young men who had the management of the boat were not inferior to their companions either in decency of apparel or respectability of appearance. They all looked, in fact, extremely well.

As soon as this canoe arrived at the landing-place, the "Water King" came out from beneath the awning, and, followed by the musicians and a suite of attendants, walked to the hut wherein all public matters are transacted, and whither, in a few minutes, we ourselves were desired to repair. The chief of the island, with his elders and the more respectable of the people, were seated, on our entrance, on each side of their important visitor; and my brother and I, as a mark of distinction, were invited to place ourselves in front of him. When the usual compliments had passed on both sides, he informed us, with much solemnity, of his rank and title; he then alluded to the cause of his coming, which, he said, was to do us honour, and repeated what had previously been told us by the king's son. This being done, he presented us with a pot of excellent honey, and two thousand cowries in money, besides a large quantity of goora nuts, which are cultivated in the country, and which are held in so great esteem, that the opulent and powerful alone have the means of procuring them. Having nothing further to say or do, we shook hands with his sable majesty, whose name is Suliken Rouah, expressed our acknowledgments for his handsome present, and returned to our boats.

The "King of the Dark Water" is a fine-looking

man, well stricken in years ; his skin as black as a coal ; his features are coarse but benevolent, and his stature advantageous and commanding. He was dressed in a full bornouse, or Arab cloak, of inferior blue cloth, underneath which was a variegated tobe made of figured satin, country cloth, and crimson silk damask, all patched together ; he likewise wore a cap of red cloth, Hàussa trousers, and sandals of coloured leather. Two pretty little boys, about ten years of age and of equal size, and who acted in capacity of pages, followed him into the hut. Their clothing was neat and becoming, and their persons nicely clean ; each of them was furnished with an ornamented cow's tail, and they stood one on his right hand and the other on his left, to brush away flies and other insects from his person, and supply him with goora nuts and tobacco. The king was also accompanied by six of his wives, fine handsome jet-black girls, dressed in neat country caps edged with red silk. Native cloths, made of cotton and silk, were fastened round their waists, beneath which they wore a sort of short frock. The usual custom of staining their fingers and toe-nails with henna appears to be general among them ; their wrists were ornamented with neat silver bracelets and their necks with coral necklaces.

To such a man as the " Water King," with such a suite and such a title, the greatest honour is expected to be paid ; and we therefore showed our respect by saluting him with a discharge from two or three muskets, and by waiting patiently his return from the council-hut, wherein he staid two whole hours, during which we were sitting in our canoes, exposed to a very hot sun, for we had removed them from under the tree by the side of his own.

It was exactly mid-day when Suliken Rouah

re-embarked in his princely canoe, and quitted the island of Belee. Determined for once to make an attempt at a more respectable appearance (for heretofore it had been extremely mean and homely), we hastily constructed an awning of our sheets. It was the first time we had made use of such a thing, though we are without umbrellas, and till then had nothing but slight straw hats to protect our heads from the sun. Above the awning we elevated a slender staff, on the top of which we fastened our national colours, the union flag, which was kindly given us by a gentleman on the coast, who was commandant of Anamaboo. When unfurled and waving in the wind, it looked extremely pretty, and it made our hearts glow with pride and enthusiasm as we looked on this solitary little banner. We thought it would be of service to us also if we made as gay an appearance as the king and his followers; and accordingly I put on an old naval uniform coat which I had with me for state occasions, and my brother also dressed himself in as grotesque and gaudy a manner as our resources would afford. Our eight attendants also put on new white Mohammedan tobés: so that our canoe, with its white awning surmounted by the union flag, our canoe-men in new dresses, and ourselves appearing as officers, contributed not a little to the effect of the whole scene. "The august King of the Dark Water," with his retinue in twenty canoes, condescendingly gave us the precedence, and ours was the first that moved off from land, and led the way down the river towards Rabba.

For a little while we continued to take the lead; but the chief soon went before us, for two reasons—first, that he might have an opportunity of looking at us; and secondly, that we might have a fairer chance of seeing him in all his state, for which

purposes he had placed himself outside, his awning on an elevated and conspicuous seat. However he only wished to get a few yards before us, for his canoe-men soon lifted their paddles out of the water, and the boat fell back to its former situation. This going before and falling behind was done repeatedly. The musicians in the large canoe performed merrily on their instruments, and about twenty persons now sung at intervals in recitative, keeping excellent time with their paddles.

A brisk wind sprung up the river full in our faces, relieving us from the extreme heat of the weather, which was remarkably fine: the scene before us was very animating, and the whole of us were in high glee and spirits. Other canoes joined us; and never did the British flag lead so extraordinary a squadron. The "King of the Dark Water" might be mistaken for a river god; and his wives, now and then showing their pretty black faces from under the awning, cast many an arch look at us with their sparkling, jetty eyes. It was not long before our reverie was interrupted by a great noise from the adjacent land; and on turning we perceived the banks of an island, called *Zagōzhi*, which were lined with numbers of people, admiring our flag, and watching us very earnestly, by which we guessed that this was the place of our destination. The island is so uncommonly low, that the houses and trees appeared as if they were standing in the water, as indeed many of them actually were. Here we arrived, and landed between one and two P.M., having enjoyed a pleasant excursion of eight or nine miles. Ours being the first canoe, before we landed on the island we waited for the king to precede us, and the moment he set his foot on shore we fired a salute of four muskets and three pistols. Suliken Rouah was rather

alarmed at this, and demanded whether we were going to make war on him. He was soon relieved from his fear, by being told it was an honour that we had been in the habit of paying to all the princes we had met in our travels; which he no sooner understood, than he expressed himself much gratified by our attention. Suliken Rouah went in person in quest of a dwelling-house, and led us to one of the best which the island affords; however, it is miserably bad, for, as the town is built on a marsh, every hut in it has the disadvantage, during the whole of the rainy season, of soft damp floors and uncomfortable roofs. Our own has positively pools of water springing up out of the ground, and on this we shall be obliged to sleep. The walls of the huts are built of mud from the river, strengthened and supported by wooden pillars and ribs of the same materials: however, these do not prevent them from cracking in a hundred different places; and large chinks, admitting wind and rain, may be observed in the wall of every hut. They all have, indeed, invariably a very dirty and wretched appearance, though their inmates, generally speaking, are understood to be opulent, clean, and respectable. Having conducted us to our hut, the chief of the island shook hands very heartily with us, and assured us that we should want nothing. He soon provided us with doors of bamboo for our hut, and a number of mats to spread on the floor, which made it tolerably comfortable. In the evening, four large calabashes of stewed rice, with fowls, and no less than ten gallons of *pitto*, or country beer, were sent us. About seven in the evening, messengers arrived from Rabba, to inform us that they should come early in the morning for the presents we intended for the chief. They said that the king would not put us to the trouble of going to see

him, as the town is full of Arabs, whose begging propensities would be very inconvenient to us. I was much pleased with this intelligence, knowing very well the character of these Arabs; and I sent word back that I was much obliged to him, and should be still more so if he would dispense with my going to the sansan, or camp at a short distance from the town, to visit the king of Nouffie.

Rabba is opposite Zagōzhi, and appears from hence, a distance of two miles, to be an immensely large, populous, and flourishing town. It is built on the slope of a gentle hill, and on a spot almost entirely bare of trees. The Niger, both yesterday and to-day, has flowed in a direction to the south of east.

CHAPTER XV.

Stay at Zagōzhi—Presents sent to the Chiefs of Rabba—An old but troublesome acquaintance—Presents from the Kings of Nouffie and Rabba to the Travellers—Impertinencies of the King's messengers—An Arab merchant—Policy of the Falàtah Chief, Mallam Dendo, in securing the possession of his conquests—Former Expedition of the Falàtahs against Funda—Rabba Market—The King of Rabba discontented with his Present—Consternation of the Travellers—Park's robe sent to him—Joy of the King on receiving it—Permission to proceed—Treacherous conduct of the King of Nouffie—The King of Rabba's answer—Conversation among the Hàussa merchants—Mallam Dendo, the former King of Rabba—His character—Rabba Market—Island of Zagōzhi—The Islanders expert canoeemen—Manufacturers of Zagōzhi—Promise of a canoe.

Friday, October 8th.—MALLAM DENDO, the cousin of Bello, we find is still living, but in a very old and feeble condition. He is besides nearly blind, and thinks he has not many more years to live. Being a cautious, peaceful old man, his chief concern is to

establish his son as his successor, and fearing that there might be some dispute about it after his death, has already given up to him the reins of government. The usual form on these occasions will be observed, and is to take place on the first day of the new moon. The son is to ride through all the streets of the town on his father's white horse, preceded by all the principal people of Rabba, attended by trumpeters, &c., and thus proclaimed king.

Early in the morning, the messengers from the chiefs mentioned yesterday arrived, bringing with them two fine sheep and a great quantity of rice. They were accompanied by a messenger from the general, a Bornou man, with another sheep. We are obliged to accept of this latter much against our inclination, for it will cost us ten times its value, but it is a treat that we have not had since we left Yàoorie. It appears that we shall be required to give presents to nine persons before we shall get away from this place.

Having prepared the presents, I collected the messengers and laid out before each of them those that were intended for their masters; they expressed themselves pleased with them, and assured us that their masters would be also. In order to make them some reward and secure their good will, I gave something to each, and dismissed them. We also sent away Mohamed, his countryman and associate, the Nouffie guide, who had accompanied us hither all the way from Boossà. The presents we have made consist of a handsome looking-glass with a gilt-frame; a pair of silver bracelets; a snuff-box, tobacco-pipe, knife, razor, two pairs of scissors, four new shillings, and a number of books on natural history, with plates. Besides these, we sent the king of Nouffie a pocket-compass, and the prince of Rabba a camera obscura,

adds not a little to the deformity of his countenance and appearance. Therefore it was not very pleasant to be embraced, and almost hugged to death, by such a man as this. His companion is a pale, handsome, and agreeable youth, and is different from the other; in our presence his behaviour was decent, and his manners rather timorous and reserved, and when the villany of his associate was exposed, he felt more abashed of the two. My brother instantly accused the fellow of his former infidelity, and told him he was surprised that he could have the impudence to visit and salute him in the manner he had done after what had transpired between them. Instead of expressing his sorrow and contrition, the Arab made light of his offence, and endeavoured to laugh off the impression of it altogether; and then, in the most abject manner, begged everything he saw with so much importunity and selfishness, that we were out of all temper with the scoundrel, and I turned him out of the hut in disgust. However, he could not believe it possible that we were in earnest with him, and waited outside the door a long time, anxiously expecting an invitation to come in again. "Oh, it must be all in sport," said he; but at last we threatened to shoot him if he did not go about his business, and being apprehensive that we should put our threats into execution, he ran off as fast as he could. Before his dismissal, we gave his companion a few needles, and he took his leave in peace. The fellow's excuse for leaving me in the manner he did, was, that Al Hadjee Salah, the late Captain Clapperton's agent, had persuaded him, saying that I was going to travel among Caffres who knew not Allah, and who would therefore murder him. He was frightened, he added; but it was easy to see that this was a mere excuse. His pretext for coming to us now, was that Sceriffe

Asman, who was going to his native country, Timbuctoo, had offered to convey letters for us, from whence they might be forwarded to Tripoli; and that he himself would call for them in the morning. This I hoped to prevent, by saying that we had neither letters to send, nor presents to give to Sceriffe, therefore we did not wish to see him.

A great number of Arabs are at present residing in Rabba; they have come from various parts, and trade with the natives in red caps, trona, small looking-glasses of the most inferior description, red cloth, silk, &c., which they bring chiefly from Fezzan. Among these Arabs is a famous Sheikh, who, we understand, will set out in a few days on a journey to Timbuctoo and other places.

Sunday, October 10th.—Mohamed and the Falàtah messenger arrived at Zagōzhi in company this morning, in pursuance of their agreement. The former brought with him a fine sheep as a present from the Magia, and Mallam Dendo sent a large pot of honey by the hands of the latter. Both princes, according to the account of their representatives, were mightily pleased with their respective presents, and expressed their acknowledgments in the warmest and most grateful terms; they repeated the encouraging promises which they had before held out with regard to our journey, and have commissioned the "King of the Dark Water," under certain circumstances, to supply us with a commodious canoe, as excellent as our hearts can desire; strongly recommending us to enter into arrangements with him, and deliver our two Patàshie canoes, which are comparatively small and of little value, into his keeping till our departure from the country. A man is also to accompany us as far as the sea, to be our guide and interpreter on the voyage. This intelligence has made us quite

easy in mind, and filled us with hope and joy, for, previous to the arrival of these men, our hearts mis-gave us that everything would not prosper well. They seem to have forgotten the presents we had bestowed on them as well as their masters, for they have been very pressing to-day in their solicitations for money and needles, so that I have gone so far as to cut my coat in pieces for them to make caps of the cloth. Mohamed, in particular, has been incessantly annoying us in this manner, and brought a fellow with him from Rabba, who, he wished us to believe, was the Magia's eldest son, merely for the purpose of exacting a present from us proportionate to his rank; but we saw through his deceit in time to prevent our being taken in by him, and crushed it in its infancy.

It is provoking to be continually tormented so, and after all to receive nothing for our pains and the sacrifices we make but discontent, black looks, and grumbling without end. These fellows, instead of paying their respects in the first place to the chief of the island, had come to us directly from the landing-place: and, because they had something of consequence to communicate to him, in which we ourselves were intimately concerned, after having remained in our company long enough to ascertain that they could extort nothing further from us, Mohamed, who had come with them, declared that they were in a hurry to be gone, to make amends for their delay, and therefore boldly demanded two thousand cowries "to open," as he expressed it, or "clean out the mouth" of the "Water King!" or else, he declared, no business whatever could be transacted with him; it was the only method, he added gravely, with which he was acquainted, of enticing him to speak on any subject of importance. We knew all the time that the fellow was endeavouring to deceive us; but seeing

how much our success depended on keeping all these sort of gentlemen in good humour, and that our interest lay in being imposed on now and then, we complied with his request. Considering, after what had passed, that Mohamed and his colleagues might embezzle this sum, which in fact they strove to do, we sent Pascoe along with them to the chief's house. Both he and his people continue to show us every hospitality, and to treat us with all manner of respect and civility.

Monday, October 11th.—*Ali*, the Arab, who, it will be recollected, introduced himself to our notice in Yàoorie, paid us a visit to-day from Rabba, where he has been residing some time past. We hardly knew him again at first, on account of his altered countenance and the languid and emaciated appearance of his person, which, he tells us, has been the effect of sickness and anxiety, occasioned by an attack of the Guinea-worm, which had confined him within doors on his mat for three weeks. Instead of proceeding to Aloorie in Yarriba, which it was his intention of doing, he had changed his mind suddenly, and had come to Rabba, where he was at first courteously received and entertained. The horses which he had in his possession belonged to the good old Gadado of Soccato, by whom he was commissioned to sell them to the highest bidder. These animals were exceedingly large, handsome, and spirited; so much so indeed, that the prince of the Falàtahs took a great fancy to them, and purchased them, at an extravagant price, very shortly after they had been first exhibited in public by Ali. But not having money sufficient at his disposal at the time, Mallam Dendo promised to give the value of the animals partly in cowries and partly in handsome tobos of native manufacture, which the seller agreed

to receive as willingly. He has, however, been detained here ever since, and to the present time has been put off day after day with empty promises. Ali does not think that this procrastination proceeds from any dishonest feeling on the part of the prince of the Falàtahs, but that it is really from want of the means of paying him, owing to the expenses attending several warlike expeditions in which he has been recently engaged.

Such, generally speaking, is the manner of trading in this country, a few years' credit being thought very little of; and it is not unusual to meet with individuals who may have been unable to obtain payment of debts for ten or a dozen years at least.

We had a long chat with Ali, and gave him a few old things which were useless to us; but we soon found it necessary to send him away, as he began complaining very grievously of poverty and wretchedness.

The Arab, in course of conversation, remarked that it would be a good speculation to send some needles for sale at the Rabba market, which is extremely large and well attended; therefore we took the hint, and sent Jowdie and Ibrahim, two of our men, with a certain quantity to dispose of, and they both returned in the evening with the fruits of their success, having obtained the sum of eight thousand cowries for them. This has given us fresh spirits again, for we had not a single cowrie to give to our men. The inhabitants of Rabba purchased them very eagerly, at from fifteen to thirty cowries each needle, and they were anxious to get more, when they found that our men had disposed of the whole.

It has been the policy of Mallam Dendo, who, by all accounts, is an able and crafty chief, and a courageous man, to advance foreigners of all nations

to certain lucrative and important posts, either about his person, in the army, or as governors of conquered towns; and by this means he conciliates, in a great measure, the black, or original population of the country, confirms his reputation, and establishes his sovereignty with little trouble over lands and districts which he may have subjugated and added to his dominions. It appears that the prince of Rabba is wholly independent of Bello, the sultan of Soccatoo, or at most that he pays only a nominal allegiance to that monarch, though an amicable intercourse is constantly kept up between them.

Mallam Dendo lately planned an expedition against the kingdom of Funda, which was instantly carried into execution, though former enterprises of the kind had uniformly terminated in confusion and defeat. This also was a complete failure; for as his soldiers were drawing near the city of Funda, as the story goes, and had attained an eminence for the purpose of reconnoitering the surrounding country, they saw, or thought they saw, to their infinite amazement, a large army coming out to meet them, and all the soldiers armed with muskets, and clothed after the manner of foreigners in blue and white dresses. This put them all in a consternation; and without stopping to look behind them, they fled with the utmost speed, and returned to their own homes without accomplishing anything. Here they attempted to vindicate their cowardice by telling their countrymen a very marvellous story, of their having encountered an army of white men, whose formidable equipments and warlike appearance had made their hearts droop within them, and they had fled. In allusion to this story, Mallam Dendo asked Pascoe, in confidence, yesterday, whether he did not think that many of our countrymen were assisting their adversaries?

Mallam Dendo, it is said, can send one thousand horse soldiers, well equipped and mounted on noble animals, to the field; and the number of foot soldiers he has at his command is so great, that it is not known. All runaway slaves are encouraged to join the ranks on condition of receiving their freedom; and they are joined by a vast number from the surrounding country. The natives are commanded by captains from among their own countrymen, and the Falatahs also by theirs; the greatest good-will prevails among them, and we have nowhere observed quarrelling of any kind.

The Falatahs are now in possession of the whole of Nouffie, Ederesa having relinquished his claim, as he had been deserted by the greater part of his troops, who joined the army of Mallam Dendo. Both the Magia and Ederesa have little or no authority. The Falatah prince has sent his messengers, both by land and water, to collect the taxes and tributes throughout the country of Nouffie, which were last year paid to Ederesa. Yarriba will soon follow the condition of Nouffie, and the Falatahs, in the course of a few years, will reach the sea. An idea of their character may be formed from their usual boast, that they could conquer the whole world if the salt water did not prevent them.

Friday, October 12th.—As we have already said, Rabba market is very celebrated, and considered by traders as one of the largest and best in the whole country, of which it may be styled the emporium; a variety of articles, both of native and foreign manufacture, are there offered for sale; and it is generally well supplied with slaves of both sexes. Yesterday, one of our men counted between one and two hundred men, women, and children, who were all exposed for sale in ranks or lines. These poor creatures have,

for the most part, been captured in war; and, it is said, that the Falàtahs rarely treat them with unkindness, and never with brutality. The price of a strong, healthy lad, is about forty thousand cowries (8*l.* sterling); a girl fetches as much as fifty thousand, and perhaps more, if she be at all interesting; and the value of men and women varies according to their age and abilities. Slaves are sometimes purchased at Rabba by people inhabiting a country situated a good way down the Niger, and from thence they are delivered from hand to hand till they at length reach the sea. Ivory is likewise sold, most likely to the same individuals, and large tusks may be purchased at a thousand cowries each, and occasionally at a much cheaper rate. We have eleven elephants' tusks of our own, which were presented to us by the kings of Wowow and Boossà, but we have been unable to dispose of them at Rabba, because no strangers are at present in the city.

All the principal inhabitants of Rabba are complaining bitterly of the want of money, and the peculiar hardness of the times. Formerly, they say, it was not so; and they ascribe their present poverty and embarrassments to their late reverses in war, and misfortunes at home. Their recent unsuccessful attack on the *Cumbrie* people, who reside in the province of Engaskie, near Yàoorie, and which we have alluded to in our visit to that country, has quite humiliated and disheartened them. To be outwitted and overthrown by the unwarlike *Cumbrie*, who are considered as a despicable race by all people, and to have lost so many men and horses in that expedition, have been a source of great mortification to their vanity, and derogation of their high name. In order to redeem their national character from the stain which it has thus received, and to restore the reputation

for bravery and resolution which had before so eminently distinguished them from their neighbours, but which is now so deeply tarnished, the Falàtahs at Rabba are actively employed in hastening preparations for the invasion of Yarriba ; and are resolved, it is reported, to set out in a very few days for Katunga, the capital, which is to be their first object of attack. They anticipate success, without the dread of opposition ; and they already boast of acquisitions which they have not yet gained, and exult in the thoughts of the splendour and opulence they shall enjoy in cities which they have not yet seen. Our old friend, the monarch of Yarriba, on his part, has been put on his guard, and is, we hear, determined to resist any hostile attempt which may be made against his country.

Mallam Dendo sent for Pascoe this morning in a great hurry, with a message, that he was waiting impatiently his arrival at Rabba, having something of the utmost consequence to communicate. As may easily be conjectured, we were rather surprised at this unexpected summons, and waited Pascoe's return with much anxiety, for we had no doubt whatever that we were principally concerned in it. When, however, he *did* come back, and enter our hut, he looked very wistfully, and informed us, with considerable agitation both of voice and manner, that Mallam Dendo had expressed to him the greatest dissatisfaction at the things which he had received from us as a present, declaring them to be perfectly worthless, and, with the exception of the looking-glass, "fit only for a child!" that he well knew we could have sent him something more useful and of greater value, if we had thought proper ; but that if we persisted in our refusal to do so, he should demand of us our guns, pistols, and powder, before he would consent or

permit us to leave Zagōzhi. This news made us very uneasy and unhappy, and we sat down in gloom and thoughtfulness without uttering a word, for we believed this to be a death-blow to all our hopes. To part with the only defensive weapons in our possession, we felt-determined not to do; it brought to our recollection the fable of the lion deprived of his teeth and claws. We knew that if we were to be deprived of these, we should be entirely in the power of a set of fellows who are remarkable neither for generosity nor nobleness of principle, without the means of helping ourselves; and we resolved never to part with our guns, unless compelled to do so by force or from the most urgent necessity. Having reflected deliberately on our situation, we felt convinced that something on our part must be done by way of conciliation, if we had any intention of quitting the country, and of prosecuting our enterprise. The chief also wanted to know why we had not gone to Sansam to see the Magia, having been only five days' journey from him when at Yàoorie, and added, that one of us must go immediately. We were much hurt, and pointed out to the messenger our only box of presents, and told him it was all we possessed to last us to the sea, adding, that if we were to give his master more, we should have nothing left to obtain us even food on our voyage. At this moment we thought of Mr. Park's robe, which was given to us by the king of Boossà; and thought, that as it was the only thing which we had to offer, it *might*, in consequence of the splendour of its appearance, and its intrinsic value, prove an acceptable present to the covetous prince, and we fondly hoped that it might be the means of a perfect reconciliation on both sides; therefore, under these considerations, we immediately despatched Ibrahim with it to Rabba, though our

hearts misgave us at the time, that it would after all be thought lightly of, as an excuse for further extortions. Of course we deeply lamented the necessity to which we were reduced on parting with this curiosity, but it was inevitable. We sent word by Ibrahim also, that having no good presents to give him was the reason I had not visited Bello when we were at Yaorie, and that I declined doing so for the same reasons now. Our plan was to make friends with the Rabba chief, and this we have some hopes the tobe we have just sent to him will effect.

In less than two hours after his departure, Ibrahim returned from his errand with a quick step and cheerful looks, and informed us, that the tobe was accepted by the prince with rapturous admiration. By this present we had made him our friend for ever; he regretted that the Falàtahs had no canoes, but were they possessed of any, he would make us a present of as many as we might want, and accelerate our departure from Zagōzhi with all his influence. "Ask the white men," said he, "what they would desire, and if Rabba can supply them with it, tell them they shall always have it. Well!" he continued, "I must purchase this tobe: I will not accept it as a gift,—that would be against my principles, and besides it would be wrong for me to be guilty of such injustice. Now I shall be something like a king," he added, turning the tobe inside and out; "let no man know of it; my neighbours will behold me with envy; and as for my own people, I will surprise them some morning by putting it on when they are going to war; it will dazzle their eyes. How great will be their astonishment!" In this manner the prince of the Falàtahs talked to Ibrahim. We hardly know what conclusion to draw from it, but rather imagine that this present of the tobe will in the end be advantageous

to our interests, though we very much regret its loss. Our man has been desired to visit Rabba again tomorrow, when a present of some kind will be sent us as an acknowledgment, for such is the custom of the country.

Wednesday, October 13th.—In pursuance of the chief's arrangement, we sent Ibrahim and Pascoe to him this morning. He received them with civility, said he was highly pleased at their coming, and wished to know in what manner he could best express his acknowledgments to us for the present we had made him, which he termed a "princely gift," promising to make us all the return for it in his power, by forwarding our departure, and assisting us in the object of our visit as much as he was able. Pascoe, who had previously been tutored by us, and who is not deficient in sagacity, made answer, and said, that our first wish, and the one which he believed we were most anxious about, was to obtain a large canoe, and pursue our journey on the Niger as fast as possible; that as we had little money, and but few presents, and as the "King of the Dark Water" had refused to exchange a canoe of the above description for those which we had obtained at Patàshie, unless we would consent to pay him ten thousand cowries, we should be obliged to him to settle that little affair to our satisfaction, otherwise, he said, we should be embarrassed with insuperable difficulties. And that, if the prince of Rabba approved of it, a few mats, tobies, or sandals, would be highly acceptable, and would be considered by us as a sufficient remuneration for the presents we had made him. This answer pleased the prince, and he cheerfully agreed to the whole of Pascoe's propositions. He then went out and procured a bundle of the handsomest-coloured mats, for the manufacture of which Rabba is famous, and came

back and delivered them into the hands of Pascoe as an offering to us, with two large bags of rice, and a bunch of plantains. He gave Ibrahim also a handsome tobe and cap for himself, and promised to send a messenger to the *King of the Dark Water* to settle the business of the canoe, by whom he would likewise send valuable tobés, to be worn by my brother and myself. He then presented Pascoe with a thousand cowries ; and he returned with Ibrahim to Zagôzhi, quite overjoyed with success.

A foot messenger from the king of Nouffie arrived at Rabba in the morning. His sovereign had despatched him privately to Mallam Dendo, with an insinuation to him, "that if it met with his approbation, he (the Magiã) would order us to be detained at Zagôzhi until we should consent to make him a present of a certain number of dollars, or something equivalent to them in value ; that he disbelieved the story of our poverty altogether, and would therefore search our luggage, in order to discover whether our assertion was true or false, that we had no greater presents to make." So much dissimulation, meanness, and rapacity, which this trait in his character exhibits, we had little reason to expect from the king of Nouffie, after expressing for us, so warmly and repeatedly as he has done, protestations of the most cordial, candid, and lasting friendship. We could not forbear feeling very indignant at this foul breach of the laws of hospitality and good faith, which we had experienced in every part of the country previous to this. Perhaps it was well that we had presented the prince of Rabba with Mr. Park's tobe, for he treated the message and its bearer with contempt, and answered energetically : "Tell the Magiã, your sovereign, that I would rebuke him for this expression of his sentiments ; that I detest his base

insinuations ; that I will never consent to his wishes ; and that I reject his proposal with disdain. What ! shall the white men, who have come from such distant lands to visit our country, who have spent their substance among us, and made us presents, before we had leisure to do any good for them, shall they be treated so inhumanly ? Never. They have worn their shoes from their feet, and their clothes from their persons, by the length and tediousness of their journeys ; they have thrown themselves into our hands, to claim our protection and partake of our hospitality ; shall we treat them then as robbers, and cast them from us like dogs ? Surely not. What would our neighbours,—what would our friends—our foes, say to this ? What could be a greater reproach than the infamy which would attach itself to our characters, and to our name, should we treat these poor, unprotected, wandering strangers, and white men too, in the manner your monarch, the king of Nouffie, proposes ? After they have been received and entertained with so much hospitality and honour in Yarriba, at Wowow, and at Boossà, shall it be said that Rabba treated them badly ; that she shut her doors upon them, and plundered them ? No, never ! I have already given my word to protect them, and I will not forfeit that sacred pledge for all the guns and swords in the world." Such was the answer which the king of Nouffie's messenger received from the Falàtah chieftain. Surely it was worthy of a prince.

Our men saw and conversed with this Nouffie messenger, who had made no secret of his errand ; and the above answer was related to Pascoe by the prince of the Falàtahs himself.

The imbecility of the Magīa, and his want of power, are strikingly apparent ; he exercises a nomi-

nal authority only over his people, Mallam Dendó being evidently the ruling monarch of the whole kingdom of Nouffie. The former never enters into any public undertaking without consulting the Falàtah ruler, and first obtaining his consent to the measure, be it urgent or otherwise.

Several Hàussa merchants arrived at Rabba this morning, with a number of fine horses for sale. As soon as they entered the town, they went to pay their respects to the prince, when Pascoe happened to be in his company, and they conversed together in the Falàtah language, not thinking for a moment that it could be understood by him. In allusion to us, for we are generally brought on the *tapis* on such occasions, they spoke very much in our praise, mentioned Captain Clapperton, "the unfortunate Abdallah," in terms of the highest admiration, and had seen with wonder the splendid and curious presents which he had made to Sultan Bello at Soccatoo. "I know the white men, too," said the prince, "they are good men; in fact I have reason to speak well of them, for I also am a white man, and therefore I am of opinion that they are of the same blood as ourselves." It is in this manner that Falàtahs endeavour to claim relationship with Europeans, though these people are either of a swarthy complexion, or black as soot; and this passion to be considered fair is often carried to a most ridiculous height. White men, how sorry soever their outward appearance may be, are certainly considered, not only by Falàtahs, but by the native blacks, as a superior order of beings, in all respects more excellent than themselves. At Yàoorie we recollect having overheard a conversation between two men, who were quarrelling in the very height of passion. "What!" exclaimed one of them to his fellow, "thou pitiful son of a black ant! dost thou

presume to say that a horse was my father? Look at these Christians! for as they are, I am; and such were my ancestors; answer me not, I say, for I am a white man!" The speaker was a Negro, and his skin was the colour of charcoal.

Thursday, October 14th.—It is time that our journey should be completed, for our goods are very nearly exhausted; and so far from being in a condition to make further presents, our means will scarcely be adequate to procure the bare necessities of life. Our stock of cloth, looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, knives, scissors, razors, and tobacco-pipes, has already been given away, and we have only needles and a few silver bracelets left to present to the chiefs whom we may reasonably expect to fall in with on our voyage down the Niger. Henceforward we must endeavour to shun as many large towns on the banks of the river as we may venture to do with safety. In order to obtain a little money, in addition to what we have already been enabled to procure from the sale of a quantity of needles, both for present use and future convenience, I sent my watch, this afternoon, to the Falàtah general, who is the Bornouese that made us a present a day or two ago, and he agreed to purchase it for the sum of sixty thousand cowries; but having the misfortune to let it fall shortly afterwards, as he was in the act of mounting his horse, the glass was broken by the accident, and it was so much damaged outwardly, that its beauty of appearance is entirely destroyed. It was returned to us towards evening, with a present of a bunch of plantains and a beautiful leopard's skin, as a remuneration for the injury which it had sustained, but without sending any apology, or the most distant allusion to the accident! The watch, however, still *ticked*, and the brightness of its

inner case was untarnished, therefore we sent it over instantly to Mallam Dendo, who received it with eagerness, and purchased it on the spot for a large sum of money, which he has promised to pay us to-morrow, and Pascoe has accordingly left it in his hands.

The story which we heard when at Yàoorie, relative to the decease of old Mallam Dendo, father of the present prince of the Falàtahs, was not true, as that individual is still alive. But the rumour we suppose to have originated from the old chief's abdication in favour of his son, which took place at the time, and his relinquishment of all public business in consequence of that resolution, though it is said that he still influences his son's conduct in all private as well as public concerns. He now sits, as the Arabs tell us, in one position every day from morning till night, with three large calabashes around him, one of which is kept constantly filled with *tuah*, another with cowries, and a third with goora nuts; and he revels in the delights which these calabashes afford him all day long. He has the reputation, also, now that he is become old, of being both a miser and a glutton. He receives but few visitors, and those are of a particular description, with whom acquaintance has made him familiar, and whose company, equality of age, and a similarity in tastes and inclinations, have rendered desirable. These friends are at liberty to eat a handful of *tuah*, or chew a goora-nut in his company, whenever they please. Old Mallam Dendo is considered a very eccentric character by all those who have either seen or heard of him, and his singular manner of living is the common theme of conversation among all ranks. His son is said to inherit none of his father's foibles or propensities; he is revered as a leader, and beloved as a man,

though the Arabs do not speak well of his consistency. For some reason, the report of the old man's death is industriously propagated.

Friday, Oct. 15th.—We are generally awakened every morning at day-break, and on particular occasions long before the sun rises, with the noise of the grinding of corn and the loud cheerful singing which accompanies it from the females engaged in that laborious occupation; for females only are employed in it. The same custom prevails in Yarriba, in Borgoo, and at Yáoorie, and in fact throughout the whole of western, central, and northern Africa, as far as we can learn. Instead of the mill formerly used in Judea, and in all eastern countries, with its handle of wood or iron in the rim, the people here simply employ two large stones, flat and smooth, with the uppermost of which they rub the grain till it becomes sufficiently fine. Perhaps this is a more ancient, as it is a more simple contrivance, than the corn-mills used by the females of the East, to which it is greatly inferior. However, Dr. Clarke, the traveller, is of opinion, that the former “are the primeval mills of the world;” and he also says, that “they are still found in all corn countries where rude and ancient customs have not been liable to those changes introduced by refinement.”

Rabba, which has before been alluded to, appears from Zagōzhi to be a considerably large, neat, clean, and well-built town, though it is unwall'd, and is not otherwise fenced. It is irregularly built on the slope of a gently-rising hill, at the foot of which runs the Niger; and in point of rank, population, and wealth, it is the second city in the Falàtah dominions, Soccatoo alone being considered as its superior. It is inhabited by a mixed population of Falàtahs, Noufanchie, and emigrants and slaves from various

countries, and is governed by a ruler who exercises sovereign authority over Rabba and its dependencies, and is styled sultan or king. The regal power is despotic, though exercised with mildness, and the succession hereditary. The Arabs and all strangers have an enclosure of dwellings to themselves, which is in the suburbs of the town. Rabba is famous for milk, oil, and honey. The market, when our messengers were there, appeared to be well supplied with bullocks, horses, mules, asses, sheep, goats, and abundance of poultry. Rice and various sorts of corn, cotton, cloth, indigo, saddles and bridles made of red and yellow leather, besides shoes, boots, and sandals, were offered for sale in great plenty. Although they observed about two hundred slaves for sale, none had been disposed of when they left the market in the evening. The inhabitants grow abundance of corn and rice, and other productions common to the neighbouring countries; and they cultivate the plantain shrub with success. They possess large flocks and herds of the finest description, and their horned cattle are remarkable for their size and beauty. They have also a prodigious number of excellent horses, of which they take the greatest care, and they are universally admired for their strength and elegant proportions. These animals are used only for war, recreation, and in travelling. It is the pride and pleasure of the higher classes to dress well, and display their persons and their horsemanship to advantage; and it is gratifying to witness the grace and dexterity with which they preserve their command over these beautiful creatures. In the management of their horses, they are perhaps not inferior to the Arabs, from whom they have, in all probability, derived most of their lessons in the art. Rabba is not very famous for

the number or variety of its artificers, and yet in the manufacture of mats and sandals they are unrivalled. However, in all other handicrafts Rabba yields to Zagōzhi.

Zagōzhi, situated as it is directly opposite Rabba, participates in many of its advantages, though still it has various inconveniences peculiar to itself. The town is built on a bog, for such it appears to us, and it lies so close to the water, that in fact hundreds of huts are literally standing in it. So little regard do the people appear to have for what is termed comfort, that they suffer the walls of their dwellings either to fall to pieces, or permit large chinks and holes to remain in them, which freely admit the wind and rain; while the floors, which are made of earth or clay, are so soft and damp, that a slender stick may easily be thrust into them by the hand to any depth. Our own is of this description. In so moist a situation as this, it may readily be supposed the air in the night season is illuminated with fire-flies. The huts of the natives are infested with mosquitoes and other more disgusting insects, which abound indeed in millions. When the Niger subsides, and leaves Zagōzhi exposed with all its dirt to the influence of the sun, the noxious vapours and exhalations with which the air must of necessity be impregnated, will render it no doubt very insalubrious; but at present the inhabitants make few or no complaints.

In their huts the people exhibit no very favourable specimens of taste or cleanliness, and in this respect, certainly, they are greatly inferior to their neighbours on the other side of the river. However, in their persons they are by no means so negligent, for they always appear extremely well dressed; and we have rarely met with so large a number of tall,

handsome, well-formed men and comely women, as in this place.

The care which the Falàtah bestows, and the pride which he takes in his horse, are employed and indulged by the inhabitants of Zagōzhi in an equal proportion in their canoes: the Niger is covered with these little vessels, and to be skilful in the management of them is their greatest boast. The chief of the island has about six hundred canoes, all of which will be employed, when the young Mallam Dendo is proclaimed king, in conveying the Falàtah troops across the river on their expedition into Yarriba. They are fond of aquatic occupations, even to a passion, and carry them to excess. All the trade by water in these parts is in their hands; and they are proprietors of the ferry to and from Rabba, which is a source of considerable emolument to those engaged in this speculation. They are also excellent fishermen, and, in fact, the population of Zagōzhi are almost amphibious, so prone are they to be perpetually sporting in bogs or dabbling in water. But they do not confine themselves all the year round entirely to the river, for they cultivate the soil as well, and, like their countrymen of Nouffie, in the manufacture of various articles they evince considerable ingenuity and expertness. The cloth which they manufacture in common with their countrymen, and the tobés and trousers which they make, are most excellent, and would not disgrace a European manufactory; they are worn and valued by kings, chiefs, and great men, and are the admiration of the neighbouring nations, which vainly attempt to imitate them. We have also seen a variety of caps, which are worn solely by females, and made of cotton interwoven with silk, of the most exquisite workmanship. The people here are uncommonly

industrious, be they males or females, and are always busy, either in culinary or other domestic occupations.

In our walks we see groups of people employed in spinning cotton and silk; others in making wooden bowls and dishes, mats of various patterns, shoes, sandals, cotton dresses and caps, and the like; others busily occupied in fashioning brass and iron stirrups, bits for bridles, hoes, chains, fetters, &c.; and others again employed in making saddles and horse accoutrements. These various articles, which are intended for the Rabba market, evince considerable taste and ingenuity in their execution.

We have not seen a single public amusement since we have been among them. In this respect they are an example to their neighbours. They seem quite independent of all authority and above all restraint, except that of the legitimate *King of the Dark Water*, and their own interests induce them to obey him alone. They care as little for the Falàtahs as the Falàtahs for them; the peculiarity of their situation renders them secure from foreign invasion, and insensible to the calamities and distresses which overwhelm the natives of many parts of the continent. They have liberty stamped on their features; and lightness and activity, so rarely to be seen in this country of sluggards, are observable in all their actions. The generality of the people are well behaved; they are hospitable and obliging to strangers; they dwell in amity with their neighbours, and live in unity, peace, and social intercourse with themselves; they are made bold by freedom, affluent by industry and frugality, healthy by exercise and labour, and happy from a combination of all these blessings.

The population of Zagōzhi cannot well be estimated, on account of its lowness and the prevailing

flatness of the country round, on which neither a hillock nor eminence of any kind can be discerned. However, it must be immense; and we consider it to be one of the most extensive and thickly inhabited towns, as well as one of the most important trading places in the whole kingdom of Nouffie, not excepting even Coulfô. According to our estimation, the island may be about fifteen miles long and three in breadth, but the greater part of it is now nearly overflowed. Notwithstanding this, the natives appear to enjoy good health.

Novelties, however trifling, attract the notice of the people of Rabba, as glittering baubles excite the attention of a child; and as children, too, become tired of their plaything a few moments only after it is put into their hands, so do they throw aside in disgust, when it ceases to be a novelty, that which they would have given half their substance to obtain a few seconds before it actually became their own. They are

“Pleased with a feather, tickled with a straw.”

The prince of the Falâtahs is already tired of my watch, which he purchased yesterday, and he returned it this afternoon, with all its machinery broken; and, like the Bornouese soldier, without making any acknowledgment for his carelessness. However, we *have received permission to quit Zagôzhi to-morrow morning, to pursue our journey down the Niger*; and though all the promises of the Magia have terminated in nothing—though a Nouffie guide has been denied us—and though it is likely that we shall be perplexed with a thousand difficulties, yet we are in high spirits and great good humour at the thoughts of our release; for we know that we shall go our way with alacrity and confidence.

We have been busily employed in packing up and making preparations for our departure from Zagōzhi to-morrow morning. We are in hopes of having no difficulties about the canoe, and are desirous of obtaining one that will hold all our party, as it will be a much more satisfactory arrangement for us, and more convenient than two small ones. The chief of the island visited us in the morning, and promised to send a messenger with us as far as *Egga*, on the banks of the river. This is the last town, we are told, down the river belonging to the Nouffie territory, and its distance from hence is said to be four days' journey. He tells us, also, that the river is quite safe, according to the reports of the Nouffie people who trade between this place and *Egga*.

This afternoon, the chief was unwilling to part with a canoe under any consideration, yet, as a token of his friendship and regard, he has offered to spare us one for twenty thousand cowries! in addition to our own which we brought from Patàshie island. A messenger from the prince of Rabba arrived here just after this proposition was made us, with full powers to treat with the Water King for our canoe. "I will see," said the man, "whether I can make him comply with your wishes or not; he will not show me any of his airs, I am sure." This messenger brought with him a large bag of rice as a present from Mallam Dendo, who desired him to inform us that "he wished us well, and should be most happy to hear of our return to the country by way of the Niger." As soon as he had delivered his message to us, he repaired to the dwelling of the Zagōzhi chief, and returned to us from his errand shortly afterwards, with the intelligence of his having succeeded in obtaining the long-talked-of canoe, which would be in readiness to receive us on board at an early hour

to-morrow. This has removed a great weight from our minds.

Last night my brother was troubled and terrified in his sleep by a frightful dream of scorpions, and, to his astonishment, when he awoke this morning, he discovered one of those reptiles on his mat, which he had crushed to death in his sleep.

The "Dark Water King" has been informed of our poverty, we believe, and his goodness is declining very perceptibly in consequence. Nor do his people, we are sorry to say, regard us with the same respect and partiality as formerly, nor treat us with as much beer as they did. Doubtless they have imbibed a similar notion, that the white men are poor, and *their* kindness and good-nature are also fast dwindling away. Perhaps all this is natural: even from our friends and relations, hospitality and tenderness do not, under such circumstances, last for ever. It is true the natives have pitied us; but pity is composed of sorrow and contempt; and here, as in more polished countries, we have found it to be unsubstantial and fleeting. After the first gush of feeling, the tear of compassion gives place to the frigid indifference of contempt. To be pitied is to be despised. Such is the case here, and such is the way of the world.

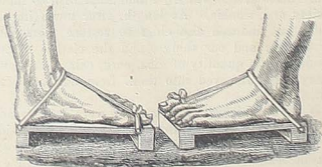
CHAPTER XVI.

The Canoe exchanged—Wooden Shoes of Zagōzhi—Departure from Zagōzhi—Difficulty of obtaining paddles—The Niger below Rabba—A night on the river—Hippopotami—Dàcannie Island—Progress of Mohammedanism—Scenery of the river—Gungo Island—Native canoes—Want of an Interpreter—Natives of Gungo—Danger of the canoe—Height of the river—Fofò Island—Falàtah mode of obtaining tribute—Arrive at Egga—The Chief of Egga—Curiosity of the People—An important Visitor—Fears of the Canoe-people, and their refusal to proceed.

Friday, October 16th.—WE were up and stirring at a very early hour in the morning, packing up our clothes and getting our luggage ready for embarkation. But when this was all done we met with a sudden and unforeseen embarrassment, — the sable “King of the Dark Water” laughed at the idea of giving us a canoe on the faith of receiving payment from the prince of the Falàtahs, and refused at first to deliver up to us our own, which we had obtained from Patàshie, and which we had kept with so much anxiety and trouble. At length, after much importunity, we induced the chief to restore them into our hands; and our things, and the clothes of our people, with a quantity of rice, corn, calavances, and honey, were removed into them from our late residence.

When all this was done, and we were quite ready to start, the old chief came down to the water-side to bid us farewell, according to his avowed purpose, but in reality to offer us a commodious canoe in exchange for our own, if we would consent to give him ten thousand cowries in addition to them. This was agreed to on our parts after a little delay, for we

considered that it would be infinitely more comfortable to have our people and all our things with us in the same canoe ; and that it would be less laborious, rather than be liable to casualties and accidents by separation. We had fortunately realised a sufficient number of cowries from the sale of needles at Rabba, and while I was shifting our things from our canoe into another, my brother walked back with the old chief to his residence, where he found all the people of the house gathered round the trunk of a large tree which was burning in the hut. Here he paid the chief ten thousand cowries for the canoe, which having done, he rejoined me at the water-side. I had forgotten to mention that the principal inhabitants, owing to the softness of the soil during the rainy season, wear large wooden shoes when they go abroad in bad weather ; but the lower class of people and ourselves generally went barefoot. It is merely a flat piece of a very hard species of wood as long as the foot, supported at each end by thick pieces, as shown in the sketch. A small piece of leather passing through holes in it, and leaving a noose on the



upper part, serves to confine the great toe to it, and the heel is also secured by another piece passing over the instep. The above sketch is a representation of it.

The canoes made here are of a particular description, very much resembling what are called punts in England, but are perfectly straight and flat-bottomed. They are generally formed out of one log of wood, and are of an immense size. That which we purchased is about fifteen feet in length and four in breadth, but they make them nearly as large again.

As soon as our goods were all transferred into the purchased canoe, which, after all, was not near large enough for our purpose, we found it to be extremely leaky, and patched up in a thousand places. We saw that we had been cheated by the artful "King of the Dark Water;" but rather than enter into an interminable dispute on the subject, which might involve us in further difficulties, we held our peace, and put up with the imposition without a murmur. We had been prevented from perceiving the canoe's defects before, by the excitement of preparation and the hurry of departure. And yet, after we had all got into her, we waited till we were weary for the arrival of a messenger that was to have accompanied us a little way on our journey; but he did not come, and



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we resolved to leave without him. Therefore, at nine o'clock in the morning, we bade farewell to the "King of the Dark Water" and the hundreds of spectators who were gazing at us, fired two muskets,

accompanied with three cheers, and launching out into the river, we were soon out of their sight.

Notwithstanding his recent artful proceedings, this old man had behaved to us with the most attentive hospitality, in which he was imitated by his principal people, who were as friendly to us as we could desire. We could not expect that the first flow of feeling and generosity should continue. "Whatever is violent," it has been often remarked, "is seldom lasting;" and when this remark is applied to the passions of unlettered and uncivilised man, surely we ought not to be surprised at their advances of friendship becoming less frequent, and their hospitality decreasing with their admiration.

It is inconceivable what difficulties we have experienced in obtaining paddles for our canoe; no where have we found people willing to sell us any, and, until we reached Zagōzhi, we could induce no one to spare us a paddle; they would not do it for the world. However, at Madjie, and other places, we returned the hospitality which we received from the chiefs, by suffering our men to go out at night, when it was dark, and when the villagers were asleep, and steal what we found an invincible difficulty in procuring by fairer means. The paddles thus obtained were concealed from their owners, and from our ill-natured Nouffie guide, in the bottom of a canoe, under a quantity of mats; and though our men were suspected of the offence, yet we were permitted to pass on unmolested. It was by such mean and unworthy shifts as these that we found ourselves in a condition this morning of proceeding down the Niger, for the first time, without any foreign assistance whatever. We were overjoyed at this, for nothing can be more irksome and unpleasant than to be at the beck and under the control of an interested

guide or messenger, to stop the canoe whenever he may think fit, and to land at every town which might suit his own convenience. It is pleasant, very pleasant, to *feel* that one is his own master.

As we have already said, Zagōzhi was soon out of sight; but though we journeyed with tolerable rapidity, the city of Rabba remained long in view. We fancied at first that we were pursued from thence by several canoes which were filled with people, but we learnt soon after that they were engaged in trade, and only pursuing their customary avocations. The breadth of the channel between Zagōzhi and Rabba is not more than two miles in our estimation, and the direction of it about south-east. Our course from the landing-place was along the shore of the island, on the Rabba side, for about twenty minutes, when we arrived at its extremity. The river then ran east, and its breadth appeared to be about four miles.

A little before nine A.M. we passed a ferry, where we observed a great many canoes crossing and re-crossing with passengers and horses to the Yarriba side. On inquiry, we found that they were going to the market of Alōrie. This is the same place mentioned as lying to the south-west of Katunga. A range of low hills appeared on each side of the river as far as the eye could discern, but at some little distance from the bank, sometimes about five miles; and we passed along the side of a large cone-shaped hill, completely detached from the range, and rising with abruptness at a few paces only from the water's edge. The borders of the river were exceedingly flat, low, and swampy, and appeared as though they were partially overflowed, for trees and shrubs were shooting up in many places out of the body of the water.

We observed several large and small towns as we paddled along, all of them in situations extremely low, which gave them a truly uncomfortable and wretched appearance. Besides fish, the principal food of the inhabitants is rice, of which they cultivate vast quantities. The rice-grounds are now almost all inundated; some of them are as much as three or four miles from any perceptible human habitation.

We made no stop whatever on the river, not even at meal-times, our men suffering the canoe to glide down with the stream while they were eating their food. At five in the afternoon they all complained of fatigue, and we looked around us for a landing-place, where we might rest awhile, but we could find none, for every village which we saw after that hour was unfortunately situated behind large thick morasses and sloughy bogs, through which, after various tedious and provoking trials, we found it impossible to penetrate. We were employed three hours in the afternoon in endeavouring to find a landing at some village; and though we saw them distinctly enough from the water, we could not find a passage through the morasses, behind which they lay. Therefore we were compelled to relinquish the attempt, and continue our course on the Niger. We passed several beautiful islands in the course of the day, all cultivated and inhabited, but low and flat. The width of the river appeared to vary considerably; sometimes it seemed to be two or three miles across, and at others double that width. The current drifted us along very rapidly, and we guessed it to be running at the rate of three or four miles an hour. The direction of the stream continued nearly east.

The day had been excessively warm, and the sun set in beauty and grandeur, shooting forth rays tinged with the most radiant hues, which extended to the

zenith. Nevertheless, the appearance of the firmament, all-glorious as it was, betokened a coming storm; the wind whistled wildly through the tall rushes, and darkness soon covered the earth like a veil. This rendered us more anxious than ever to land somewhere, we cared not where, and to endeavour to procure shelter for the night, if not in a village, at least under a tree. Accordingly, rallying the drooping spirits of our men, we encouraged them to renew their exertions by setting them the example, and our canoe darted silently and swiftly down the current. We were enabled to steer her rightly by the vividness of the lightning, which flashed across the water continually, and by this means, also, we could distinguish any danger before us, and avoid the numerous small islands with which the river is interspersed, and which otherwise might have embarrassed us very seriously. But though we could perceive almost close to us several lamps burning in comfortable-looking huts, and could plainly distinguish the voices of their occupants; and though we exerted all our strength to get at them, we were foiled in every attempt, by reason of the sloughs and fens, and we were at last obliged to abandon them in despair. Some of these lights, after leading us a long way, eluded our search, and vanished from our sight like an *ignis fatuus*, and others danced about we knew not how nor where. But what was more vexatious than all, after we had got into an inlet, and toiled and tugged for a full half hour against the current, which in this little channel was uncommonly rapid, to approach a village from which we thought it flowed, both village and lights seemed to sink into the earth, the sound of the people's voices ceased of a sudden, and when we fancied we were actually close to the spot, we strained our eyes in vain to see

a single hut—all was gloomy, dismal, cheerless, and solitary. It seemed the work of enchantment; every thing was as visionary as “sceptres grasped in sleep.”

We had paddled along the banks a distance of not less than thirty miles, every inch of which we had attentively examined, but not a bit of dry land could anywhere be discovered which was firm enough to bear our weight. Therefore we resigned ourselves to circumstances, and all of us having been refreshed with a little cold rice and honey, and water from the stream, we permitted the canoe to drift down with the current, for our men were too much fatigued with the labours of the day to work any longer. But here a fresh evil arose, which we were unprepared to meet. An incredible number of hippopotami arose very near us, and came plashing, snorting, and plunging, all round the canoe, and placed us in imminent danger. Thinking to frighten them off, we fired a shot or two at them, but the noise only called up from the water, and out of the fens, about as many more of their unwieldy companions, and we were more closely beset than before. Our people, who had never, in all their lives, been exposed in a canoe to such huge and formidable beasts, trembled with fear and apprehension, and absolutely wept aloud; and their terror was not a little increased by the dreadful peals of thunder which rattled over their heads, and by the awful darkness which prevailed, broken at intervals by flashes of lightning, whose powerful glare was truly awful. Our people tell us, that these formidable animals frequently upset canoes in the river, when every one in them is sure to perish. These came so close to us, that we could reach them with the butt end of a gun. When I fired at the first, which I must have hit, every one of them came to the surface of the water, and pursued us so fast over

to the north bank, that it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable we could keep before them. Having fired a second time, the report of my gun was followed by a loud roaring noise, and we seemed to increase our distance from them. There were two Bornou men among our crew, who were not so frightened as the rest, having seen some of these creatures before on Lake Tchad, where, they say, plenty of them abound.

However, the terrible hippopotami did us no kind of mischief whatever; no doubt, at first when we interrupted them, they were only sporting and wallowing in the river for their own amusement; but had they upset our canoe, we should have paid dearly for it.

We observed a bank on the north side of the river shortly after this, and I proposed halting on it for the night, for I wished much to put my foot on firm land again. This, however, not one of the crew would consent to; saying, that if the *Gecow Roua*, or water-elephant, did not kill them, the crocodiles certainly would do so before the morning, and I thought afterwards that we might have been carried off, like the Cumbrie people on the islands near Yàoorie, if we had tried the experiment. Our canoe is only large enough to hold us all when sitting, so that we have no chance of lying down. Had we been able to muster up thirty thousand cowries at Rabba, we might have purchased one which would have carried us all very comfortably. A canoe of this sort would have served us for living in entirely; we should have had no occasion to land excepting to obtain our provisions; and having performed our day's journey, might have anchored fearlessly a night.

Finding we could not induce our people to land, we agreed to continue on all night. The eastern

horizon became very dark, and the lightning more and more vivid; indeed, we never recollect having seen such strong forked lightning before in our lives. All this denoted the approach of a storm. At eleven P. M. it blew somewhat stronger than a gale, and at midnight the storm was at its height. The wind was so furious, that it swept the water over the sides of the canoe several times, so that she was in danger of filling. Driven about by the wind, our frail little bark became unmanageable; but at length we got near a bank, which in some measure protected us, and we were fortunate enough to lay hold of a thorny tree, against which we were driven, and which was growing nearly in the centre of the stream. Presently we fastened the canoe to its branches, and wrapping our cloaks round our persons, for we felt overpowered with fatigue, and with our legs dangling half over the sides of the little vessel into the water, which for want of room we were compelled to do, we lay down to sleep. There is something, I believe, in the nature of a tempest which is favourable to slumber, at least so thought my brother; for though the thunder continued to roar, and the wind to rage, — though the rain beat in our faces, and our canoe lay rocking like a cradle, still he slept soundly. The wind kept blowing hard from the eastward till after midnight, when it became calm. The rain then descended in torrents, accompanied with thunder and lightning of the most awful description. We lay in our canoe drenched with rain, and our little vessel was filling so fast, that two people were obliged to be constantly baling out the water to keep her afloat. The water-elephants, as the natives term the hippopotami, frequently came snorting near us, but fortunately did not touch our canoe.

The rain continued until three in the morning of

the 17th, when it became clear, and we saw the stars sparkling like gems over our heads. Therefore, we again proceeded on our journey down the river, there being sufficient light for us to see our way; and two hours after we put into a small, insignificant fishing village, called *Dacannie*, where we landed very gladly. Before we arrived at this island, we had passed a great many native towns and villages; but in consequence of the early hour at which we were travelling, we considered it would be imprudent to stop at any of them, as none of the natives were out of their huts. Had we landed earlier, even near one of these towns, we might have alarmed the inhabitants, and been taken for a party of robbers, or, as they are called in the country, *Jacallees*. They would have taken up arms against us, and we might have lost our lives; so that for our own safety we continued down the river, although we had a great desire to go on shore.

In the course of the day and night we travelled, according to our own estimation, a distance little short of a hundred miles. Our course was nearly east. The Niger in many places, and for a considerable way, presented a very magnificent appearance, and we believe it to have been nearly eight miles in width.

Sunday, October 17th.—After drying our persons and wet clothes before large fires which we had kindled for the purpose, we sat down at the root of a tree, and partook of a meagre refreshment of rice and honey. While we were at breakfast, the promised messenger from Zagōzhi arrived at the village, in a canoe of his own, and came up to us, and introduced himself. He said that he had followed our track during the night, and had heard the report of our guns; but though he strove to come up with us,

yet he had not been able. The hippopotami had annoyed him in the same manner as they had us, and had given him much apprehension and uneasiness, but had done his canoe no manner of injury. We found several Falàtah Mallams on the island, who have been sent by the chief of Rabba for the purpose of instructing the natives in the Mohammedan faith. The island is inhabited by Nouffie fishermen, a harmless, inoffensive race of men, who only a few weeks ago were obliged to abjure their pagan deities for the Koran, whether against their inclination or otherwise. This is another of the effects of the Falàtahs spreading their conquests over the country. Wherever they become masters, the Mohammedan religion follows. In consequence of Ederesa having relinquished his authority in favour of Mallam Dendo, his subjects have become Mohammedans, and this faith will, no doubt, shortly spread through Yarriba.

The Mallams were attentive and civil to us as strangers, and directed the natives to find firewood for us, and bring it to our encampment, for which, in return, we made them a present of a few needles.

It was between nine and ten in the morning, when the guide desired us to proceed onward, and promised to follow us in a few minutes. With this arrangement we cheerfully complied, and instantly pushed off the shore, for, of all persons, a messenger is the most unpleasant companion; he is fond of procrastination, sullen when rebuked, and stops at every paltry village wherein he fancies that he can levy his contributions without the fear of interruption.

At ten A.M. we observed several mountains of singular and picturesque appearance, which are situated a few miles beyond the extreme borders of the river, bearing north-east of us. They appeared like three complete sugar-loaves, with little hills about

them. And shortly afterwards we came in sight of other mountains, yet more interesting and romantic ; but these were very elevated, and so far before us, that they could hardly be distinguished from faint blue clouds. Among them were table-hills, and others which formed perfect cones, whilst others again were of the most grotesque and unshapely description. By what we could see, we were of opinion that they formed a regular chain of mountains.

The messenger whom we left behind at *Dacannie* soon overtook us, in pursuance of his agreement, and kept us company till we drew near to two cities of prodigious extent, one on each side of the river, and directly opposite each other. The beach was lined with the canoes of their inhabitants. To that lying on our right, the guide expressed his intention of going; and endeavoured to entice us with many promises to accompany him there, but this we refused, for we had previously formed a resolution to husband our resources to the utmost of our ability; and well knowing, likewise, the number and rapacity of the "great men," who expect presents in all large towns, and the detention to which we should be subjected in them, we had made up our minds to land at little hamlets only (unless compelled to alter this arrangement from circumstances), where we might do just as we pleased, without being amenable for our actions to those powerful beings who are styled the "*mighty*" of the earth.

Accordingly, we parted company, and took our leave of the Zagōzhi messenger, who agreed to follow us as before, and in an hour afterwards, which was about the middle of the day, we put in at a small village, situated on an island called *Gungo*. The banks now became high and beautifully cultivated. On our right we passed many villages and towns,

and on our left, the mountains before mentioned. Palm-trees grew in profusion, and the towns and villages were not more than two or three miles from each other. We observed some hundreds of large canoes, with a hut in their middle, passing along the river, some crossing and recrossing to the opposite banks, while others were pursuing their course along them. They mostly seemed to contain families of people, for while the men were paddling, the women and girls were singing to a guitar with their little delicate voices, and produced a very pretty effect. When we passed close to any of their canoes, they would suddenly stop their music and exclaim "*Ki ki ma nenee acca chiken zhilagee!*" repeatedly, expressing the utmost astonishment, both in their features and gestures. We got this translated for us by Pascoe, and it signifies, "*Oh dear! oh dear! what do I see in that canoe!*" The "*ki ki*" is evidently an exclamation of surprise, and might be rendered "*oh!*" only; but our interpreter gave us his own translation, and we have accordingly preserved it. We contented ourselves with a look at the innocent black faces of these damsels, and passed on. We find that all the Yarriba side of the river is deserted by the natives, who have fled into the country, and left the Falàtahs in quiet possession of all their towns and villages.

The river near this island takes a slight bend to the southward of east; the current continues to run very rapidly, and the breadth of the river is from three to five miles, according to our estimation. This island is about a mile and a half in circumference, lying nearly in the middle of the river. Here, for the first time since leaving the coast, we could not make ourselves understood. We could muster up five different languages spoken by the Africans, but

the Hàussa language was not even understood here, nor any other that we could speak; so we had recourse to signs and motions, and soon made the natives comprehend that we wanted something to eat, and a hut to sleep in for the night. The choice of several empty ones was quickly offered us, which were all equally comfortless and miserable, on account of the lowness of the village, part of which was overflowed by the river. However, we took possession of one which is made of wicker-work, rather for the benefit of cool and fresh air, than from any other advantage peculiar to itself, for it is built in a splashy situation, and a stream of water from the Niger rushes over half its floor. The other part of it was cleaned out for us, and we endeavoured to make ourselves comfortable. Shortly after, a large bowl of boiled corn, and another of fish, were sent to us, together with about ten pounds of the flesh of hippopotami. The former we were quite contented with, but as for the latter, being nearly all fat, we could not fancy it, and accordingly gave it to our people. They were not a little amused at this delicacy on our part, for they assured us it was the finest meat they had ever tasted, and it forms a principal part of the food of the natives.

The natives of Gungo seem to be a mild, inoffensive, quiet, and good-natured people. They procure a livelihood almost solely by fishing, and the fruits of their labour are exchanged with their neighbours for corn and yams. About sunset, the inhabitants of the whole island, amounting to about a hundred men, women, and children, dressed in very decent apparel, and headed by their chief, a venerable old man, paid us a visit. The chief was dressed in the Mohamedan costume, and he arranged his people, and made them sit down round our hut in the most orderly manner.

They remained in this situation about an hour, satisfying their curiosity in looking at us, and making their remarks to each other, expressive of amazement and delight; during which time, signs only could be understood between us. The men evinced no alarm, but the women, and pretty little plump-faced children,* were much frightened by our white faces, and seemed not a little glad to get away. Before they retired, we distributed about two hundred needles among them, and they went away highly pleased with their present.

Monday, October 18th.—The morning dull and cloudy. At a little after six, everything was in readiness for our departure. As we were about to launch out into the stream, the chief came down to the water-side, and presented us with a piece of hippopotamus flesh, in a clean white calabash, expressive of his gratitude for our visit. This meat was pronounced by our people to be rich and delicious. We presented him with a hundred needles, and the young girls who had brought us the provisions, with a few beads. They were much pleased with our presents, and I have no doubt our visit has made an impression on their minds that will not be easily effaced. Having read prayers to our people, a custom which we have never neglected either morning or evening, we bade adieu to the Chief of Gungo and his people. They were assembled at the river side to see us go, and as our canoe left the shore, they all lifted their hands, wishing us a prosperous journey.

We had not been on the water more than half an hour after leaving Gungo, before the wind rose to a gale, causing the river to be agitated like a sea, and

* Negro children, when very young, are generally interesting, even to a European.

our canoe tossed about like a cocoa-nut shell. It also rained heavily, insomuch that in a moment we were wetted to the skin, and our canoe soon became half-filled with water. We were then in the middle of the river, and in danger of sinking every instant. Our men struggled hard to pull the canoe among the rushes on the right bank, for the purpose of holding on by them till the wind and rain should abate, and the water become smooth. It was not without great exertion that this was effected, for the wind was against us, the water was in commotion, and our fragile little vessel, as a sailor would express it, "shipped several seas." No sooner had we got into the morass, and were congratulating ourselves on our deliverance, than a frightful crocodile, of prodigious size, sprang forth from his retreat, close to the canoe, and plunged underneath it with extraordinary violence, to the amazement and terror of us all: we had evidently disturbed him from his sleep. He was the largest I ever saw; and had he touched our canoe, would have upset it. The rain, in addition to the water that washed in from the river over the bows of our canoe, employed three persons constantly baling to keep her afloat.

The wind and rain having subsided, we left our retreat about half-past eight, and kept on down the river.

About ten in the morning, we arrived opposite a large village, which is situated on a low, flat island; and the current at this place rushing with the impetuosity of a torrent over a broad sand bank, notwithstanding we exerted all our powers to avoid it, we were completely foiled: the canoe became unmanageable; we were carried along with irresistible velocity; and in less than two minutes she struck against the roof of a hut which was covered with

water. By the sudden and forcible shock which the canoe hereby sustained, one of our men was thrown with violence overboard, but the others, more fortunate, clung to the boughs of a tree. Though the current was so exceedingly rapid, the water was very shallow, and the man was enabled to join his companions shortly afterwards; he appeared more frightened than hurt. The village is nearly washed away, with the exception of about a dozen houses, so high are the waters of the river. We observed a number of large canoes receiving the inhabitants in them, for the purpose of conveying them to the main land.

At Zagōzhi, we had been strongly recommended to put into a large and important trading town, called *Egga*, which was reported to be three days' journey down the river from thence, and we had been promised a guide or messenger to accompany us thither, but we have neither heard nor seen anything of him since yesterday. Beyond *Egga*, it is said the *Falàtah* interest does not extend, and by all accounts, after leaving that place, the banks of the Niger are inhabited by different races of people, who are less gentle and humane, and not so civilised as the *Noufanchie*. We had so far proceeded without the guide, because he did not choose to keep up with us, and because we would not consent to wait for him. But here, from motives of prudence, we thought proper to make inquiries concerning the *Egga* we had been told of, lest by any means we should pass it, without seeing it; and we were persuaded, should this be the case, that the difficulty of pulling back against the current would be insuperable. Therefore, we approached as near the village as we could, and halloed and bawled to the inhabitants, some of whom we could observe knee-deep in water, walking about the streets; but

they were at so great a distance from our canoe, or so busily employed in their own concerns, that it is probable they did not perfectly understand the nature of our inquiries, and their answers were too indistinct for us to comprehend their meaning. However, instead of answering our questions, two or three Mallam priests gave us to understand that the Niger has been more than usually full this season ; that it overflowed its natural boundaries, and washed away a considerable portion of their village, which was apparent from the great number of frames of huts which we had seen stuck in the sand outside, more especially the circular tops of them, which had a very odd appearance in the river. The remains of the village are even now half under water, and the unfortunate inhabitants must therefore be in very great distress.

Seeing that we could gather no further information from these villagers, we left the place, and shortly afterwards came abreast of those remarkable mountains which we saw before us yesterday. They appeared now in the shape of three flat table mountains, and seemed to be very close to the river. One or two of them exhibit a perfect picture of barrenness and sterility ; others are covered with stunted vegetation ; but others, again, appear more fertile, being cultivated with corn almost to their summits, and have a very agreeable appearance. At their bases are several pleasant-looking villages, most charmingly situated, and embellished with tall and goodly trees.

Journeying along by the side of them, we observed a mountain a long way to the eastward of us, whose summit resembled an immense dome. At mid-day, we stopped awhile at a small island to obtain the necessary information respecting Egga ; but could only learn that that town was still a great way off. A large Falàtah canoe, with musicians on board,

followed us here, and for some distance after we had left it, but we do not think with any hostile intention.

At four in the afternoon, our men were tired with their exertions, and complained sadly of fatigue and exhaustion, so that we were induced to put in at a small island called *Fofó*, where we resolved to sleep. The river to-day has been very serpentine ; its general course south-east and east-south-east ; and its breadth from two to six miles.

After we had landed, a man, who asserted that he had just arrived from Funda, introduced himself to our notice. He states that it is three days' journey from hence down the Niger to the frontiers of that kingdom ; and that its metropolis, which is of the same name, is situated at an equal distance inland from the water-side ; so that, if this information be true, it will be utterly impossible for us to visit the city of Funda, as it was our intention to do, for we are without horses, and the means of procuring them ; and the attempt to penetrate so great a distance through the bush, in our present languid and debilitated state, would be impracticable, and highly improper. Besides, what presents have we to offer to the king ?

For the first time since leaving Yarriba, we saw a cocoa-nut this evening, which gave us infinite pleasure. On inquiring where it grew, we were told that it had been brought from a place near the sea, seven days' journey from Fofó. The evening was far advanced before a hut could anywhere be found for our reception, owing, it was said, to the absence of the chief ; nor did we experience, on his return to the village, the slightest degree of kindness or hospitality. In the course of the day we observed a great number of hippopotami as we came down the river, and many canoes of a large size. The consternation of the

people at seeing us was very great ; they gazed at us with vacant countenances, and never once thought of asking us if we wanted a hut or anything to eat. We had been an hour with them, undergoing their scrutiny, and affording them subject for their remarks, when two Rabba messengers came to us, saying, that as none of the people of Fofa had offered us a hut, we were welcome to theirs. We accordingly accepted their offer, and were glad to get under their protection. We had not been here long, before three large calabashes of cakes, made of Indian corn, fried in palm oil, were sent to us by the women, who it seems take much more interest in us than the men, and we were quite ready for our meal.

The chief has kept aloof from us, being in trouble at present, from not having a sufficient number of cowries to pay his annual taxes to Rabba, for which purpose, it seems, the messengers are here. It is customary to allow them a certain number of days to do this, at the expiration of which time, if the tribute be not paid, the messengers watch their opportunity, and carry off one or two of the inhabitants. These are then sold in the market at Rabba as slaves, and their produce pays the tax. The same custom we had seen practised at Lever, even after the tax had been paid.

We have passed many islands to-day. The Nouffie bank is high and hilly, but well cultivated. There seem to be many villages, and much cultivation on both sides.

Tuesday, October 19th.—Having taken a slight breakfast, we were not unmindful of the attentions of our female friends yesterday, and returned their kindness with a paper of needles, and it was gratifying to see them so thankful. We were informed by the Falatah messengers, that we shall pass the Coodonia

river this morning, the same that I crossed on the former mission near Cuttup. We gave them a few buttons, and parted very good friends. The morning was dull and cloudy, and showers fell occasionally, but as the weather cleared up a little before eight o'clock, A.M., we embraced the opportunity of quitting the island of Fofu. Some of the people hereabouts display as little curiosity at seeing us, as if we had been as black as themselves. In half an hour we observed and passed a river of tolerable size, which entered the Niger from the northward. This is no doubt the Coodoonia which the Falàtahs mentioned. The banks this morning have exhibited a more beautiful appearance than we had observed for several days before; nevertheless, they wanted the charm of novelty to recommend them. Very elevated land appeared on each side of the river, as far as could be seen; which appeared to be formed of a range of hills, extending from north-north-east to south-south-west. At eleven o'clock we touched at a large village to inquire whereabouts Egga lay, and were informed that we had not a long way to go. We journeyed onwards for an hour, when we perceived a large handsome town behind a deep morass. Several little inlets led through it to the town, distant about three miles from the bank of the river, which, as we drew near, we learnt was the place of which we were in quest. It was the long-sought Egga, and we instantly proceeded up a creek to the landing-place. The town is upwards of two miles in length, and we were struck with the immense number of large bulky canoes which lay off it, and which were filled with trading commodities, and all kinds of merchandise which are common to the country. They also had huts in them, like the canoes we had seen before. All of them had blood smeared on their sterns, and feathers

stuck in it as a charm or preservative against robbers and the evil-disposed.

We halted a few minutes before landing, no one having conveyed intelligence of our arrival to the chief. A young Falàtah was the first who invited us on shore, and we despatched Pascoe to the chief, to tell him who we were, and what we wanted. He quickly returned, saying that the old chief was ready to receive us, and we immediately proceeded to his residence.

In a few minutes we arrived at the *Zollahe*, or *Entrance Hut*, in which we found the old man ready to receive us. We discovered him squatting on a cow's hide, spread on the ground, smoking from a pipe of about three yards long, and surrounded by a number of Falàtahs, and several old Mallams. We were welcomed in the most friendly and cordial manner, and, as a mark of peculiar distinction, we were invited to seat ourselves near the person of the chief. He looked at us with surprise from head to foot, and told us that we were strange-looking people, and well worth seeing. Having satisfied his curiosity, he sent for all his old wives, that they might do the same, but as we did not altogether relish so much quizzing, we requested to be shown to a hut. The chief is a very aged and venerable-looking man, with a long white beard, and of more patriarchal appearance, perhaps, than any one we have ever seen; yet he laughed, played, and trifled, like a child. A house "fit for a king," to use his own expression, was speedily got ready for our reception; and as soon as he had learnt, with surprise, that we subsisted on the same kind of food as himself, we were led to our dwelling, and, before evening, received a bowl of *tuah* and gravy from his wives. We were soon pestered with the visits of the Mallams and the chief's wives,

which latter brought us presents of goora-nuts as a sort of introduction to see us. As soon as the news of our arrival spread through the town, the people flocked by hundreds to our hut, for the purpose of satisfying their curiosity with a sight of the white people. The Mallams and the kings had given us trouble enough, but the whole population of Egga was too much for us, so we were literally obliged to blockade the door-ways, and station three of our people at each to keep them away. At sunset, finding they could get no nearer to us, they departed, and we retired to rest in peace, for we were in much want of it.

The course of the river to-day has been, for the most part, east-south-east; the width varying from two to five or six miles.

Wednesday, October 20th.—Benin and Portuguese cloths are worn at Egga by many of its inhabitants, so that it would appear that some kind of communication is kept up between the sea-coast and this place. The people are very speculative and enterprising, and numbers of them employ all their time solely in trading up and down the Niger. They live entirely in their canoes, over which they have a shed, that answers completely every purpose for which it is intended, so that, in their constant peregrinations, they have no need of any other dwelling or shelter than that which their canoes afford them. Cocoa-nuts are sold about the streets in great quantities, and various little parcels of them have been sent us from several individuals; but we understand that they are imported from a neighbouring country, and are here considered as very valuable.

The chief visited us about eight in the morning, and begged that we would allow his wives and principal people to come and see us. We could not but comply with his request; and accordingly all the old

and young ladies visited us, each bringing goora-nuts, or some little present. They were very inquisitive, and remained with us much longer than we wished ; our hints had no effect on them, and we were obliged to bear with their disagreeable society. The heat of the weather is excessive ; our doors and windows are often blocked up by people, and our room filled with these visitors is scarcely tolerable. The ladies no sooner departed than they were followed by a party of men, accompanied by one of the chief's people, as a sort of introduction : and in this manner was the greater part of the day passed.

Their belief that we possessed the power of doing anything was at first amusing enough, but their importunities went so far that they became annoying. They applied to us for charms to avert wars and other national calamities, to make them rich, to prevent the crocodiles from carrying off the people, and for the chief of the fishermen to catch a canoe-load of fish every day : each request being accompanied with some sort of present, such as country-beer, goora-nuts, cocoa-nuts, lemons, yams, rice, &c., in quantity proportionate to the value of their request.

The curiosity of the people to see us is so intense, that we dare not stir out of doors, and therefore we are compelled to keep our door open all day long for the benefit of the air ; and the only exercise which we can take is by walking round and round our hut like wild beasts in a cage. The people stand gazing at us with visible emotions of amazement and terror ; we are regarded, in fact, in just the same light as the fiercest tigers in England. If we venture to approach too near the doorway, they rush backwards in a state of the greatest alarm and trepidation ; but when we are at the opposite side of the hut, they draw as near as their fears will permit them, in silence and caution.

But from an insolent Falàtah, and one or two troublesome head-men, whom it would be impolitic to offend, we have experienced infinitely more inconvenience—they have haunted us like evil spirits. These individuals enter our hut in the morning, and whatever we may have to do, they squat themselves down on our mats with the most provoking effrontery, and are unwilling to leave us, except for a few moments at a time, till long after we lie down to rest.

A "great man," a stranger, visited us to-day, with an extraordinary display of native pomp, and he brought along with him a pot of honey, which he presented as a recommendation. He was dressed in a damask robe of crimson silk, and the rest of his apparel corresponded with this piece of finery. He informed us without solicitation that he was an agent sent by the prince of Rabba to collect the tribute that was owing at the different villages along the banks of the Niger; and insinuated that in point of rank he was superior to the old chief of Egga, spelling hard for a present proportionable to his boasted dignity. This man, who is nothing more nor less than the chief of Rabba's tax-gatherers, was accompanied by two shrewd-looking Falàtahs, whose part, *it* appeared, was to impress us with a proper idea of the great importance of their friend. They spoke of him in the highest terms to us, telling us he had come from a great distance for the purpose of visiting us, and concluding their praises with a request that we should make him a present. Besides his damask robe, he wore large silk trowsers, a turban and red cap, and red morocco slippers. However, we wanted the few things we had left to give to those who could be of service to us, and we determined on giving him nothing. I therefore told him that we were very poor, and could not afford to give him anything worth

his acceptance, but, by way of remembrance, presented him with a comb for his beard. At this he looked at his companions, and they at him; when, after a little time, they asked, "Is this all you intended to give this great man, who is even greater than the chief of Egga himself?" To which I replied in the affirmative. He then thought perhaps that he could do for himself what his friends could not, by saying to us, "If any one should ask me what you gave me, what shall I say?" To which I replied very quietly, "Say I gave you a comb, or nothing, whichever you please." This was quite enough; he was convinced, at length, that we would give him nothing, although it was long before he would believe it. We thought at first that we should have spared his dignity by telling him, with as much delicacy as we could, that we had nothing to part with; but he took leave of us much less annoyed than we had expected by our refusal, and we saw him no more. The Falàtah influence is scarcely felt here, though the town was pillaged and burnt as recently as two years ago, and many of the ruins may still be seen.

Egga is of prodigious extent, and has an immense population. Like many other towns on the banks of the river, it is not unfrequently inundated, and a large portion of it, as at the present moment, actually overflowed. No doubt the people have their reasons for building their habitations in places which appear to us so very inconvenient and uncomfortable. The soil in the vicinity of the town consists of a dark heavy mould, uncommonly fruitful, and produces in abundance and with trifling labour all the necessaries of life, so that provisions are plentiful and cheap. The inhabitants eat little animal food besides fish, which are likewise sold at a very reasonable rate.

Hyenas are said to abound in the woods in incredible numbers, and they are so bold and rapacious as to have carried away nearly the whole of the sheep which were once in the town. Perhaps Egga can boast of having a greater number of canoes, both large and small, than any single town to the northward.

Thursday, October 21st.—Though the venerable chief of Egga has to all outward appearances lived at least a hundred years, he is still active; and instead of the peevishness and discontent too often the accompaniment of lengthened days, possesses all the ease and gaiety of youth. He professes the Mohamedan religion; and it is his custom to arise every morning long before day-break, and having assembled all his priests round him, performs his devotions, such as they are, repeating his prayers in a loud, shrill tone, so that we can hear him in his pious employment; and as our hut is directly opposite to his, and but a few paces from it, he is determined to give us no rest as long as we remain with closed doors. As soon as these devotional exercises have been gone through, several of his companions, with a disposition as thoughtless, as childish, and as happy as his own, get together in his hut, and squatting on the ground with the old chief, they form a circle, and beguile the time by smoking and conversing till long after sunset, and separate only for a few minutes at a time in the course of the day, for the purpose of taking their meals. This company of grey-beards—for they are all old—laugh so heartily at the sprightliness of their own wit, that it is an invariable practice, when any one passes by, to stop and listen outside, and they join their noisy merriment with so much good will, that we hear nothing from the hut in which the aged group are revelling during the day but loud peals

of laughter and shouts of applause. Much of this gaiety, however, must be affected, in order to gratify the ruling passion of the old chief for joke and frolic. Examples of this nature are uncommonly rare. Professors of Mohamedanism affect, generally speaking, the solemnity of the owl; and though they understand no more of their faith than of the doctrines of Christianity, they regard all natives of a different persuasion with haughtiness and disdain.

The old chief longed to-day to give us a specimen of his activity, and the vigour which he yet possessed; and for this purpose, when the sun was going down, his singers, dancers, and musicians assembled round our hut with a great concourse of people, who could not boast a proficiency in those refined attainments, but who came to witness the accomplishments of their aged leader. The old man advanced proudly into the ring, with a firm step and a smiling countenance; and casting upon us a glance full of meaning, as if he would have said, "Now, white men, look at me, and you will be filled with admiration and wonder"—

"He frisk'd beneath the burdeñ of *five-score*,"

and, shaking his hoary locks, capered over the ground to the manifest delight of the by-standers, whose applauses, though confined, as they always are, to laughter, yet tickled the old man's fancy to that degree, that he was unable to keep up his dance any longer without the aid of a crutch. With its assistance he hobbled on a little while; but his strength failed him, and he was constrained for the time to give over, and he sat himself down at our side on the threshold of the hut. He would not acknowledge his weakness to us for the world, but endeavoured to pant silently, and suppress loud

breathings, that we might not hear him. How ridiculous, yet how natural, is this vanity! He made other unavailing attempts to dance, and also made an attempt to sing; but nature would not second his efforts, and his weak, piping voice was scarcely audible. The singers, dancers, and musicians, continued their noisy mirth, till we were weary of looking at and listening to them; and as bed-time was drawing near, we desired them to depart, to the infinite regret of the frivolous, but merry old chief.

It is our intention to continue our journey to-morrow, though the elders of the town have been remonstrating with us that it will be highly dangerous to go by ourselves, and endeavouring to persuade us with many words to alter this arrangement for our own sakes. They have promised to procure us a convoy of traders, if we would consent to wait three days longer, which would leave Egga at the end of that time to attend a famous market, called *Bocquá*. But the attentions of our venerable friend already begin to slacken, being too intently engaged in his favourite pursuits to think much of us or of our wants, more especially since he has received his present; and we cannot easily maintain a quiet, equable temper, or keep up a flow of spirits for any length of time together, when we can get little or nothing to eat. We are therefore determined to go to-morrow at all risks, though we shall have no guide to accompany us; we have confidence in ourselves; and the mountains of the natives generally prove to be no bigger than mole-hills. The chief has been soliciting a charm of us, to prevent the Falàtahs from ever again invading his territory. The old man's allegiance to the king of Nouffie appears to us to be merely nominal. When

we sent word to the chief that we intended going to-morrow morning, he begged us to remain at Egga a few days longer, and declared the banks of the river to be inhabited by people who were little better than savages, and plundered every one that came near them. He assured us that they were governed by no king, and obeyed no laws, and that each town was at war with the others. I asked him if he would send a messenger with us, but he refused, saying, that the Falàtah power and his own extended no farther down the river: that Egga is the last town of Nouffie, and that none of his people traded below it. "If that is the case," I said, "it will be as safe for us to go to-morrow as any other day;" and with this determination I left him.

I then proceeded to give directions for our people to prepare themselves for starting, when to my astonishment, Pascoe, and the mulatto so often alluded to, were the only two who agreed to go; the rest of them refused to a man. I then found out that the people of the town had been telling them stories about the danger of the river, and that they would all certainly either be murdered or taken and sold as slaves. Nor could all I said to them change their determination. I talked to them half an hour, telling them they were cowards, and that my brother's life and mine were as good as theirs; till at length, tired of them, and seeing that I made no impression on them, I told them to go away from our sight, and that we could do without them. But now they demanded their wages or a *book* to enable them to receive them at Cape Coast Castle, to which they said they would return by the way they had come here. This I refused instantly to comply with, and added, that if they chose to leave us here, they should not receive a farthing; but if they would go

on with us down the river they should be paid. They were indignant at this, and went directly to the chief to lay their case before him, and to induce him to detain us. The old man, however, would not listen to them, but sent them about their business; and it is not unlikely, rather than lose all their wages, that they will proceed with us.

My brother and I determined to satisfy the curiosity of the people to-day, and we accordingly walked about outside our hut for two hours. The natives were much pleased at this, and much order and regularity were preserved by two old Mallams, to whom the duty had been assigned of removing those away who had seen us, when any fresh ones arrived. It was the old chief's particular wish that all his people should see us, and they all conducted themselves in a very becoming manner. We had presented the chief with a pair of silver bracelets on our arrival, on which the arms of our gracious sovereign were engraved, and he wore them to-day with evident satisfaction. These were no less objects of curiosity to the people than they had been to the king, and hundreds of them came to look at them on his wrists, overjoyed at seeing their chief so smart. They even came and thanked us for our kindness to the old man.

The people of this town appear all very neatly dressed; the population is one-half of the Mohammedan religion, and the other the original Pagan. The town is about four miles in length and two in breadth; the morass which surrounds it is full of crocodiles. The streets are very narrow, and, like most places where there are large markets, are exceedingly filthy. The reason for building their houses so close together is, that the Falàtahs may not be able to ride through them so easily and destroy the people; it is said that

they have been expecting an attack from these people a long time. The Portuguese cloth which we observed here on our arrival is brought up the river from a place called *Cuttumcurrafee*, which has a celebrated market for Nouffie cloths, trona, slaves, Nouffie knives, bridles, stirrups, brass ornaments, stained leather, and other things. The cloth is of a very indifferent manufacture. The large canoes lying here bring all the above articles from the Rabba market.

CHAPTER XVII.

Departure from Egga—A sea-gull observed—River scenery—Arrive at Kacunda—Mohammedan schoolmaster—Natives—The king's brother—Accounts of the natives below Kacunda—Superstitious demands of the king and his people—The Tshadda river—Departure from Kacunda—Precautions against an attack—A night on the river—Pass the Tshadda—The Bird Rock—Natives surprised—Perilous condition of the travellers at Bocquâ—Geographical information—Departure from Bocquâ—Towns of Atta and Abbazacca—Departure from Abbazacca—The travellers stopped at Damuggoo.

Friday, October 22nd.—At half-past six this morning, our people set about loading the canoe according to my expectations, but with a bad grace, and nothing but sulky looks, grumbling, and fearful apprehensions passed among them. They were, however, unwilling to lose their wages, which would certainly have been the case had they persisted in their refusal to proceed, and they seemed to have no wish to remain at Egga. Having no one to look to for protection, it is not improbable but that they would have been made slaves immediately after our departure, so that they had made up their minds to accompany us, although, when they took their paddles and we were

fairly starting, they seemed to feel their situation more keenly than ever, and said that we were going to take them to a country where they would all be murdered. We endeavoured as much as possible to pacify their fears, but were obliged to have recourse to threats, and therefore said we would throw them overboard if they were not quiet and worked the canoe properly. This and other threats to the same effect silenced them, and we were not sorry to see it, for we should have had a difficult matter to get others to fill their places had they persisted in leaving us.

At seven o'clock, all being ready, we bade farewell to the old chief, whose good humour had afforded us so much amusement, although his wives had nearly suffocated us, and on leaving the landing-place of Egga we fired off three muskets as a parting salute. Several of the principal inhabitants came hurrying down to the water-side to take their leave, to give us their blessing, and wish us a successful voyage. Our men at first paddled sluggishly, and the canoe went slowly through the water. It was nine before we reached the middle of the river. A little below Egga we passed two very beautiful small islands, which were covered with cultivation, and well inhabited; we did not stop, but kept our course down the river. A few miles from the town we saw, with emotions of pleasure, a sea-gull, which flew over our heads; this was a most gratifying sight to us. It reminded us forcibly of the object we had in view, and we fondly allowed it to confirm our hopes that we were drawing very near to our journey's end. We likewise beheld, for the first time, about half a dozen large white pelicans, which were sailing gracefully on the water.

It was a fine cheerful morning; our spirits were

buoyant, and our hearts light, as we passed smoothly, swiftly, and pleasantly along. We had been informed at Egga that we should soon meet with canoes of very different construction from any which we had before seen, and have to communicate with various tribes and nations, different in all respects from the people with whom we have heretofore maintained any intercourse. We were likewise cautioned to be guarded in our conduct and demeanour, because those tribes are pronounced by the Noufanchie to be bloody, savage, and ferocious in their habits and manners. We had also been advised to part with our strange-looking canoe, which might attract their curiosity and excite suspicion, and in consequence endanger our personal safety. After making every allowance for exaggeration, still we fancy there is sufficient truth in these reports to make us watchful and cautious, and to put us on our guard.

The borders of the river during the morning were generally low and swampy; high land appeared beyond them, but at some distance from the water, and the intermediate spaces are occupied by extensive morasses. The current swept us into one with great force, because we happened to keep too near; nor were we able to extricate ourselves from this unpleasant situation without infinite labour and difficulty, and much loss of time. The hills, seen on the 19th, now appear to take the same direction as the river, which is here about south-east. The west side of the river is low, while a double range of hills border the eastern bank. These appear very fertile, and covered with verdure nearly to their summits. In the afternoon, both the banks of the Niger became more fertile, more pleasing, and more elevated. We saw, in the earlier part of this day, several small and wretched-looking villages which lay nearly under

water, and also very extensive plantations of rice, at an immense distance from any human habitation ; but the tops of these plants only were visible, and no cultivated land anywhere appeared. Afterwards, however, the soil was more rich and grateful, and the country more varied in its appearance. At eleven A.M., we passed a very large market-town on our left, situated at the foot of a high hill, and very near the water's edge. The hill was immediately over it, and seemed ready to fall upon it every instant. We inquired the name of it among our people ; but they knew nothing of it, and our time was too precious to stop, although several canoes from it passed near us. We observed an immense number of canoes lying off it, built in the same manner as those of the Bonny and Calabar rivers. This is another symptom of communication with those people, and confirms our opinion that we are drawing near the sea. A great many of them were moving to and fro on the river ; some passed close to us, and their crews gazed at us with astonishment, but did not offer to interfere with us. It is a source of annoyance that we have no means of conversing with these people, and it may prove of serious inconvenience hereafter.

For many miles we could see nothing but large, open, well-built villages on both banks of the river, but more especially on the eastern, and tracts of land covered with verdure, or prepared for cultivation, between them. Here Nature seems to have scattered her favours with an unsparing hand. Yet we touched at none of these goodly places, but continued our journey till the sun began to decline, and the men to be fatigued, when we stopped at a small hamlet on an island, intending to sleep there. At first, the inhabitants mistrusted our intentions, and were alarmed at our appearance. They no sooner saw us than they

raised the war-cry, and every man and woman armed themselves with swords and dirks, bows and arrows, assuming a threatening and alarming position. We called out lustily to them in the Hàussa language, but they were unable to understand either our words or gestures. Fortunately, in a few minutes a woman, who could converse a little in the Hàussa tongue, came down to us at the water-side, and we informed her that we were friends and Christians, travelling down the river to our native country, and that it was not our wish to make war with them. All this she repeated to those around her, and succeeded, but partially, however, in removing their prejudices and suspicions. Had it not been for the timely arrival of this woman, we should certainly have had a volley of arrows among us, for we were taken for Falàtahs at first, and we observed the woman persuading them to the contrary. Still the people could not, or rather would not, accommodate us with a lodging for the night; which was contrary to our expectations, though we solicited them with much importunity to grant us this favour, and though we assured them that the most homely, the most shattered hut, would answer our purpose, for we cared not for matters of such trifling consequence. They were all deaf to our entreaties; but, fearing that we could enforce our request, they did all they could to induce us to proceed onwards a little farther, when we should arrive at a city of considerable importance, called *Kacunda*, at which place we recollected that the people of Egga had strongly advised us to stay. They also told us that at *Kacunda* we should get plenty of provisions, and receive much attention from the inhabitants; and also, that we should meet with people from Funda who understood the Hàussa language.

We therefore left the village, but were almost

immediately afterwards hailed by them to come back again, and remain there for the night. Our men were glad of this, for they were tired, and they struggled hard to stem the current; but it was so impetuous, that, instead of nearing the village, we found that we were fast receding from it; therefore, we had no other resource, when the attempt was discovered to be impracticable, than to follow the advice which had previously been given us by the villagers, and we continued down the stream.

Kacunda is situated on the western bank of the river; and at a little distance it has an advantageous and uncommonly fine appearance. The only access to the town is by winding channels that intersperse an unwholesome swamp, which is nearly two miles in breadth. It was evening when we arrived there. The people at first were alarmed at our appearance, but we were soon welcomed on shore by an old Mohammedan priest, who speedily introduced us into an excellent and commodious hut, once the residence of a prince, but now the domicile of a schoolmaster. This old man had come from Cuttumcurrafee. He told us that he heard of two Christians being in Borgoo, and supposed that we were them. The room to which he took us is the largest we have ever seen, and is used by him for the purpose of instructing the children of Kacunda in the Mohammedan prayers. This old man seemed to take a great deal of interest in us, for, seeing the people alarmed at our first appearance, he exerted himself in quieting them, saying, that we were quite harmless, and took us immediately under his protection. He told us that a hut was preparing for us at a short distance in the town; but the weather being excessively hot and fatiguing, we preferred remaining where we were, thinking also, that any other we might be taken to would not be so

large and airy as this. Therefore we requested his permission to be allowed to stay with him, to which the old man readily assented.

We are informed that the chief of Kacunda resides a distance of four miles from where we are now, and near the market-place. The old Mallam would not allow us to go and visit him, but promised to send a messenger for the chief's brother to come and see us to-morrow morning, an arrangement with which we were perfectly satisfied. About ten gallons of country beer were sent to us, with some good pounded corn and stewed fowls for our supper, and having made a hearty meal, we retired thankfully to rest.

The river runs in a serpentine direction between this place and Egga, varying between south and south-east; there are several islands in it, all of which are cultivated and inhabited. The current is very rapid, and certainly runs at the rate of four or five miles an hour, if we may judge from the difficulty with which we even paddled against it without making any progress towards the island after we had left it. Near this island, which lies nearer the north than the south bank of the river, the former is rather low, but still well cultivated, and below this, it continues low as far as opposite to Kacunda. The south bank is rather higher. We are informed, that at the town we observed on the left bank in the morning, a little below Egga, the dominion of the chiefs of territories is no longer acknowledged, but that at every other on the banks of the river below it, each town has its own chief. The Nouffie territory terminates at Egga.

Saturday, October 23rd. — Kacunda, properly speaking, consists of three or four villages, all of them considerably large, but unconnected, though situated within a very short distance of each other.

It is the capital of a state or kingdom of the same name, which is quite independent of Nouffie, or any other foreign power. Its government is despotic, and all power is invested with the chief or king, who exercises it with lenity; in all cases of emergency, he never depends upon his own judgment entirely, but consults the opinion of the elders of the people. Kacunda maintains little intercourse with Nouffie, or any other considerable nation, but confines its trade, almost exclusively, to divers people inhabiting the banks of the Niger to the southward; and slaves purchased here are said to find their way to the sea. In their persons, the natives are chiefly tall, well-formed, and muscular. Their ornaments are few; strings of red cornelian stone (which is plentiful in Nouffie), cut into something like the shape of a heart, and which are smooth, flat, and highly polished, are what they are most fond of wearing, and, in many cases, these are their only decoration. The only dress that the natives wear is a piece of cotton cloth round the loins. This is made by themselves, and is dyed of various colours, according to the taste of the owner. The women wear small ear-rings of silver, but use no paint, nor bedaub their persons with any sort of pigment. In the productions of the country, there is nothing peculiar; and in the manufacture of cloth, &c., these people are greatly inferior to their neighbours. The Nouffie language is not understood in Kacunda, notwithstanding its proximity to that kingdom; but, as in almost every place which we have visited, the Hàussa tongue is spoken fluently by several individuals.

The chief excused himself from visiting us this morning, but sent his brother in his stead, to assure us of the pleasure he felt in our arrival, and that he welcomed us with the utmost gratification.

At eleven A.M., a large double-bank canoe, paddled by fourteen men, arrived at Kacunda, and we shortly found that the king's brother had come in her to see us. He was saluted, on landing, with a discharge from five old rusty muskets. A messenger was immediately despatched to us, announcing that he was ready to see us, and I sent word that I begged he would come. The brother came, attended by a long train of followers, and in the name of the chief he presented us with a few goora-nuts, a goat, some yams, and an immense quantity of country beer. They were all dressed in the Mohammedan costume, although Pagans, and appeared very clean in their persons. Several gallons of ale were likewise sent us in huge calabashes, from the more wealthy part of the population of the town. Our meeting was very cordial, and we shook hands heartily with, and immediately explained to him our business. On seeing the goat he had brought with him, I told him we were sorry he had brought so valuable a present, as we had nothing to give him in return which would be worth presenting to his brother; that we had been so long in the country, all our presents were expended before we arrived at Kacunda. I then took out a pair of silver bracelets, and begged he would present them to his brother, and tell him the reason we could give him nothing better. He took them from me, but did not seem to be much interested about them, or to care at all for them. But looking round our room, he perceived several little things to which he took a fancy, and which, being of no value whatever to us, we readily presented to him; and it was satisfactory to see him much pleased with them.

We had now become great friends, and he commenced giving us a dreadful account of the natives

down the river, and would have us not think of going among them, but return by the way we had come. He said to us, with much emphasis, "If you go down the river, you will surely fall into their hands and be murdered." "Go we must," I said, "if we live or die by it, and that also to-morrow." I then asked him if he would send a messenger with us, for that he might ensure our safety, coming from so powerful a person as the chief of Kacunda. But he replied directly, "No, if I were to do such a thing, the people at the next town would assuredly cut off my head; but," he added, "if you will not be persuaded by me to turn back, and save your lives, at least you must not leave this by day-light, but stop until the sun goes down, and you may then go on your journey—you will then pass the most dangerous town in the middle of the night, and perhaps save yourselves." We asked him whether the people he spoke of had muskets or large canoes? To which he replied, "Yes; in great numbers—they are very large and powerful, and no canoe can pass down the river in the day-time, without being taken by them and plundered; and even at night the canoes from here are obliged to go in large numbers, and keep close company with each other, to make a formidable appearance in case of their being seen by them."

We had no reason whatever to doubt this information, and being well aware how little we could do if we should be attacked by these formidable fellows, we determined on going at night, according to the custom of the rest, and propose starting at half-past four to-morrow evening. I told the chief's brother of our intentions, at which he seemed quite astonished; and we have no doubt that this determined conduct, which we have everywhere shown, and apparent defiance of all danger, in making light of

the dreadful stories we have heard, has had much influence on the minds of the people, and no doubt inspired them with a belief that we were supernatural beings, gifted with more than ordinary qualifications. Having communicated our intentions to our friend, and given him all the little trifling things he wished for, he departed with the present for his brother the chief.

The few things which we sent back to the chief, trifling as they were, gave him complete satisfaction : they were received by him in a much more gracious manner than we had anticipated. He besought us earnestly to write him a few charms—one of which is to insure a continuance of peace and prosperity to the kingdom ; another, to prevent quarrels, abuses, and disturbances in the market-place ; to obviate the shedding of human blood therein, which has recently been of frequent occurrence ; and to bring to the market a greater number of buyers and sellers, which would proportionably augment the amount of duty exacted from them. Another charm he wants of us is, to possess the virtues of a pañoply, for preserving all persons, whilst bathing, from the fangs of the crocodiles, which infest the adjoining slough in great numbers, and which, it is said, have lately carried off and destroyed several children. Another charm he requires is to have still more powerful properties, and cause a neighbouring rivulet, which has heretofore been dried up in the summer season, to be filled with water, and flow all the year round.

All ranks of people are firmly persuaded that we are necromancers, or at least that we are capable of performing any miracle, and, therefore, they believe that the making of these charms is but a trifling effort, compared with what we *might* do, were we to exert the whole of our power. An attempt to undeceive the

ignorant, credulous, and deluded people, we know would be unavailing and useless, and fear that it would be dangerous, therefore we dare not meddle with their superstitions or prejudices, but conform to their wishes, and let them enjoy their own opinions in peace.

Several of the inhabitants have brought us little presents of goora-nuts, Chili and Cayenne pepper, a bit of fish, or any such trifle, in the expectation of receiving a hundred times their value in the shape of charms. We have been pestered all day by a young native, to get a charm from us to enable him to catch plenty of fish. The poor fellow followed us about like a child begging for a toy, and offered us a variety of little trifling things which he could afford, such as country beer, goora-nuts, &c. ; and we believe there was nothing he had that he would not have willingly given us, so great was his faith in the power we had of bestowing on him the means of enriching himself by catching fish. There was no getting rid of him without complying with his request, so we gave him a small piece of paper on which something had been written, of no consequence whatever. The poor fellow no sooner got it, than he looked at it with much earnestness, and proceeded with great solemnity to fasten it to the end of his fishing-line. Having done this, he set off with great glee to go and fish, congratulating himself, no doubt, on the multitude of fishes his charm would obtain for him.

It is painful to contemplate the melancholy ignorance and superstition in which the minds of the natives are involved ; nor is this confined to Kacunda alone—at Egga, and other places up the river, they are equally as bad. Ready for the first impression, and easily imposed on, the minds of these poor creatures naturally receive as truth whatever is told them.

Their faith in charms, and their credulity in the power of white men, is not to be wondered at. The former they are taught by the Mohammedan Mallams, and these again are equally as credulous as the natives of the efficacy of anything coming from us.

The natives are successful in their fishing expeditions, and generally use a line with a piece of iron fastened to the end of it, bent in the shape of a hook. They use a large worm as bait, and more frequently part of a fish. The line is made of a tough grass, neatly twisted. In these excursions they sometimes carelessly expose themselves to the attacks of the alligators, of which there are great numbers in the river, and the natives are frequently sufferers by them. In fetching water for use from the river at night, they often become a prey to them. They destroy the crocodile, and eat its flesh, as well as that of the hippopotami, which are equally as numerous. The eggs of the former, also, they are very fond of.

We have been visited by the chief of a neighbouring province, and an impostor, who represents himself as son to Ederesa, the ex-king of Nouffie, both of whom, like their less presumptuous brethren, are disappointed in their hopes of receiving valuable presents, for we are daily diminishing the few things which were left, and must not be prodigal in giving away.

As at Egga, we are here earnestly solicited by the Mallams to stop two or three days, to give the market-people an opportunity of accompanying us to Bocquâ, every one warning us that we shall be in jeopardy of our lives, unless we take this precaution. The manners of the people all along the banks of the Niger from hence, they also represent to us as being in the highest degree dangerous. They are said to be public robbers, without laws or regulations of any

kind ; that they live under no king, and acknowledge no human authority—in a word, that they are a community of ferocious outlaws. We hear nothing but stories about the inhabitants of Egga, who, when they attend the Bocquâ market for the purposes of trade, are obliged to sail in companies of ten or twelve canoes, for mutual encouragement and protection ; and that even then the merchants dare not travel in the day-time, but pass those places which are considered as dangerous in the darkness of night, when there is least fear of molestation ; such stories, similar to that of the king's brother, are told us to prevent our proceeding.

Well might the king of Yarriba-hesitate on sending either Captain Clapperton or ourselves to the banks of the Niger, when he knew that he had neither a single town so far to the eastward, nor a single subject from Yâoorie to the sea. Above Egga, as far as Wowow, the western bank of the river, which he boasts as being in his dominions, is thickly inhabited, solely by Noufanchie ; and below that town they are peopled by strange and distinct tribes, who have never heard his name, nor an echo of his glory and power ! We observe here, for the first time, that the natives have a custom of marking themselves, so that their tribe may be known from the rest. The distinguishing mark of the people of Kacunda is three cuts down the face, from the temple to the chin, which gives them an odd appearance. They are a mild, harmless, and inoffensive race of people, and very industrious. Their huts are the largest and cleanest we have seen in the whole country. Our old friend, the schoolmaster, informs us that we shall very soon pass the *Tshadda* river, as it is only a day's journey distant from here down the river. He was a very communicative old man,

and informed me that the city of Funda is not on the banks of the Quorra, but situated a distance of three days' journey up the Tshadda. According to his report, the Tshadda is a large river, nearly as much so as the Quorra. Canoes, he said, frequently go up the Tshadda to Bornou, and that it was only fifteen days' journey from hence to that place by the Tshadda. The countries of Jacoba and Adamowa, he said, are at peace with Bornou, and the communication open from both those places by water, as well as land. The Pagan countries, it appears, are all greatly alarmed by the expectation of an attack from the Falàtahs, when the dry season arrives. The Tshadda, he said, was very safe, and much frequented by canoes. A town called Cuttumeurrafee, which has been before alluded to, he informed us was situated at the junction of the Tshadda with the Quorra.

Sunday, October 24th.—The children of the more respectable inhabitants of Egga are placed, at a very early age, under the tuition of our friendly host, the schoolmaster, who teaches them a few Mahommedan prayers; all, indeed, with which he himself may be acquainted in the Arabic tongue. In this consists the whole of their education. The boys are diligent in their exercises, and arise every morning between midnight and sunrise, and are studiously employed by lamplight in copying their prayers, after which they read them to the master, one after another, beginning with the eldest. This is repeated in a shrill bawling tone, so loud as to be heard at the distance of half a mile at least, which is believed to be a criterion of excellence by the parents; and he who has the strongest lungs and clearest voice, is, of course, considered as the best scholar, and caressed accordingly. The Mahommedans, though excessively vain of their attainments, and proud of their learning and

intellectual superiority over their companions, are, nevertheless, conscious of the vast pre-eminence of white men over themselves, for they have heard many marvellous stories of Europeans, and their fame has been proclaimed with a trumpet-voice among all people and nations of the interior, insomuch that they are placed on an equality with supernatural beings. As an illustration of this, a priest, himself a writer of charms, made a pressing application to-day for an amulet from us, which he begged might possess properties so extraordinary and amazing, as to be the wonder of the whole country; and so firmly persuaded was he that it was in our power, and ours only, to grant this request, that we could not induce him by any means to forego his application. He gave us a large pot of beer, and would not leave our hut until he had exacted a promise that we would give him the paper which he had craved so piteously. We have likewise been perplexed with other demands of a similar nature, and the tearful importunities of the poor applicants have troubled us exceedingly. In all obstinate cases of this nature, we have found it expedient to follow the example of Mr. Park, which is, to give the superstitious people a copy of the *Lord's Prayer*, which, at least, can produce no evil effects.

The chief's brother paid us a visit again this morning, and urged us, by every argument which he could think of, to defer our departure, for our own sakes, for two or three days, that canoes might be got ready to accompany us on our voyage: and he endeavoured again to impress on our minds the danger which we should inevitably incur, if we were determined to go alone. Yet it was apparent to us, after all that he had said, that covetousness was his predominant feeling, and therefore we paid little attention to his remarks, further than that we consented

to wait till the afternoon for a man to accompany us in capacity of messenger to the so-much-talked-of Bocquâ market, where, it is asserted, we shall be perfectly safe; and beyond which place the people are represented as being less rapacious, so that we shall have little to fear from them.

The description which the chief's brother has given us of the people residing a day's journey from hence, is too shocking to describe. To use a very common and familiar expression: "What every one says must be true," and we begin to give credence to the rumours so often repeated, of the fierceness and cruelty of this race of human beings which occupy both sides of the Niger between Kacunda and Bocquâ, though we make every allowance for exaggeration, because the natives are fond of the marvellous, and are apt to magnify the most trifling circumstances into incidents of the last importance.

As the afternoon came on, we inquired in vain for the promised guide; and when we found that the chief, or rather his brother, felt no disposition whatever to redeem his pledge, we made immediate preparations to leave the town, to the manifest disappointment of the latter, who made a very dolorous lament, and did all in his power, except employing actual force, to induce us to change our resolution.

At three in the afternoon, we offered up a prayer to the Almighty Disposer of all human events, for protection on our future voyage, that he would deign to extend to us his all-saving power among the lawless barbarians it was our lot to be obliged to pass. Having done this, we next ordered Pascoe and our people to commence loading the canoe. I shall never forget them, poor fellows: they were all in tears, and trembled with fear. One of them, named Antonio, a native of Bonny, and son to the late chief

of that river, who had joined us from his Majesty's brig the *Clinker*, with the consent of Lieutenant Matson, her commander, was as much affected as the rest, but on a different account. For himself, he said that he did not care, his own life was of no consequence. All he feared was, that my brother and I should be murdered: he loved us dearly: he had been with us ever since we had left the sea, and it would be as bad as dying himself to see us killed.

At half-past four in the afternoon, in pursuance of our plan, we bade adieu to the kind inhabitants of Kacunda, and everything having been conveyed to the canoe, and our men in their places, we embarked, and pushed off the shore in sight of multitudes of people. We worked our way with incredible difficulty through the morass, before we were enabled to get into the body of the stream. The poor natives gazed at us with astonishment, and followed us with their eyes as long as they could, no doubt expecting that we should never be seen or heard of more.

We were now fairly off, and prepared ourselves for the worst. "Now," said I, "my boys," as our canoe glided down with the stream, "let us all stick together. I hope that we have none among us who will flinch, come what may." Antonio and Sam said they were determined to stick to us to the last. The former I have before alluded to; the latter is a native of Sierra Leone, and I believe them both to be firm fellows when required. Old Pascoe and Jowdie, two of my former people, I knew could be depended on; but the new ones, although they boasted much when they found that there was no avoiding it, I had not much dependence on, as I had not had an opportunity of trying them. We directed the four muskets and two pistols to be loaded with ball and slugs, determined that our opponents, whoever

they might be, should meet with a warm reception ; and having made every preparation for our defence which we thought would be availing, and encouraging our little band to behave themselves gallantly, we gave three hearty cheers, and commended ourselves to Providence.

Our little vessel moved on in grand style under the vigorous and animated exertions of our men. There were no tears now, and I thought, as they propelled her along with more than their usual strength, that they felt they were a match for any canoe that would dare to attack us. Shortly after leaving Kacunda, the river took a turn due south, between tolerably high hills ; the strength of the current continued much about the same. A few miles farther on, we observed a branch of the Niger, rather diminutive, running off in a westerly direction ; but are not certain whether this was only a creek, or a branch of the river ; the banks of it were covered with palm trees, and little hills were scattered over them. We found ourselves opposite a large, spreading town, from which issued a great and confused noise, as of a multitude quarrelling, or as the waves of the sea rolling upon a rocky beach ; we saw also other towns on the western bank of the river, but we cautiously avoided them all. The evening was calm and serene, the heat of the day was over, the moon and stars now afforded us an agreeable light—everything was still and pleasant ; we glided smoothly and silently down the stream, and for a long while we saw little to excite our fears, and heard nothing but a gentle rustling of the leaves, occasioned by the wind, the noise of our paddles, or now and then the plashing of fishes, as they leaped out of the water.

About midnight we observed lights from a village, to which we were very close, and heard people dancing,

singing, and laughing in the moonshine outside their huts. We made haste over to the opposite side to get away, for fear of a lurking danger, and we fancied that a light was following us, but it was only a "Will o' the wisp," or some such thing, and trees soon hid it from our sight. After the moon had gone down, it became rather cloudy, so that we could not discern the way as plainly as we could have wished, and the consequence was, that we were suddenly drifted by the current into an eddy, and in spite of all our exertions to get out of it, we swept over into a small, shallow channel which had been formed by the overflowing of the river, and it cost two hours' hard labour to get into the main stream again. The course of the river was turned to the south-east by a range of very high hills. We also passed a great number of islands.

Monday, October 25th.—At one, A.M., the direction of the river changed to south-south-west, running between immensely high hills. At five o'clock this morning, we found ourselves nearly opposite a very considerable river, entering the Niger from the eastward; it appeared to be three or four miles wide at its mouth, and on the bank we saw a large town, one part of which faced the river, and the other the Quorra. We at first supposed it to be an arm of that river, and running from us; and therefore directed our course for it. We proceeded up it a short distance, but finding the current against us, and that it increased as we got within its entrance, and our people being tired, we were compelled to give up the attempt, and were easily swept back into the Niger. Consequently we passed on, but determined on making inquiries concerning it the first convenient opportunity. But we conclude this to be the Tshadda, and the large town we have alluded to, to be Cuttumeurrafee,

the same which had been mentioned to us by the old Mallam. At all events we had satisfied ourselves it was not a branch of the Niger. The banks on both sides, as far as we could see up it, were very high, and appeared verdant and fertile.

The morning was dull and cloudy; yet, as soon as the sun had partially dispersed the mists which hung over the valleys and upon the little hills, we could distinguish irregular mountains jutting up almost close to the water's edge, whose height we were prevented even from guessing at; because their summits were involved in clouds, or enwrapped in vapours, which yet lingered about their sides. A double range of elevated hills appeared beyond them on the south-east side; and on the north-west side a chain of lesser hills extended as far as the eye could discern. They appeared very sterile. Those on the north-west were formed of clumps, very much resembling the shape of those we had seen in Yarriba, which are here called the Kong mountains.

At seven o'clock the Niger seemed free of islands and clear of morasses on both sides, and its banks were well wooded, and much higher than we had observed them for a long time previously; nevertheless, it ran over a rocky bottom, which caused its surface to ripple exceedingly. Just about the same hour, one of the canoes, which we were told of as of different make to our own, passed us. In shape, it much resembled a common butcher's tray, and it was furnished with seats like those used on various parts of the sea-coast. It was paddled by eight or ten little boys, who sung as they worked; and they were superintended by an elderly person who sat in the middle of the canoe. The motion of their paddles was regulated by a peculiar hissing noise which they made at intervals with their mouths; and it was pleasing to

observe the celerity with which this little vessel was impelled against the stream. In the early part of the morning, after daylight, we passed a great many villages. The banks of the river were ornamented with palm trees, and much cultivated ground, which extended to the foot of the mountains, and among the avenues formed between them.

At 10 A.M., we passed a huge and white naked rock, in the form of a perfect dome, arising from the centre of the river. It was about twenty feet high, and covered with an immense quantity of white birds, in consequence of which we named it the Bird Rock: it is about three or four miles distant from Bocquâ, on the same side of the river. It is safest to pass it on the south-east side, on which side is also the proper channel of the river, about three miles in width. We passed it on the western side, and were very nearly lost in a whirlpool. It was with the utmost difficulty we preserved the canoe from being carried away, and dashed against the rocks. Fortunately, I saw the danger at first, and finding we could not get clear of it, my brother and I took a paddle, and animating our men, we exerted all our strength, and succeeded in preventing her from turning round. The distance of this rock from the nearest bank is about a quarter of a mile, and the current was running with the velocity of six miles an hour, according to our estimation. Had our canoe become unmanageable, we should inevitably have perished. Shortly after, seeing a convenient place for landing, the men being languid and weary with hunger and exertion, we halted on the right bank of the river, which we imagined was most convenient for our purpose. The course of the river this morning was south-south-west, and its width varied as usual from two to five or six miles. The angry and scowling appearance of

the firmament forewarned us of a heavy shower, or something worse, which induced us hastily to erect an awning of mats under a palm-tree's shade. As soon as we had leisure to look around us, though no habitation could anywhere be seen, yet it was evident the spot had been visited, and that very recently, by numbers of people. We discovered the remains of several extinct fires, with broken calabashes and pieces of earthen vessels, which were scattered around; and our men likewise picked up a quantity of cocoa-nut shells, and three or four staves of a powder-barrel. These discoveries, trifling as they were, filled us with pleasant and hopeful sensations; and we felt assured, from the circumstance of a barrel of powder having found its way hither, that the natives in the neighbourhood maintained some kind of intercourse with Europeans from the sea.

The spot, for a hundred yards, was cleared of grass, underwood, and vegetation of all kinds; and, on further observation, we came to the conclusion that a market or fair was periodically held thereon. Very shortly afterwards, as three of our men were straggling about in the bush, searching for firewood, a village suddenly opened before them: this did not excite their astonishment, and they entered one of the huts which was nearest them, to procure a little fire. However, it happened to contain only women; but these were terrified beyond measure at the sudden and abrupt entrance of strange-looking men, whose language they did not know, and whose business they could not understand; and they all ran out, in a fright, into the woods, to warn their male relatives of them, who were labouring at their usual occupation of husbandry. Meanwhile, our men had very composedly taken some burning embers from the fire, and returned to us in a few minutes, with the

brief allusion to the circumstance of having discovered a village. They told us also that they had seen cultivated land, and that these women had run away from them as soon as they saw them. This we thought lightly of; but rejoiced that they had seen the village, and immediately sent Pascoe, Abraham, and Jowdie, in company, to obtain some fire, and to purchase a few yams for us. In about ten minutes after they returned in haste, telling us that they had been to the village, and had asked for some fire; but that the people did not understand them, and, instead of attending to their wishes, they looked terrified, and had suddenly disappeared. In consequence of their threatening attitudes, our people had left the village, and rejoined us with all the haste they could. We did not, however, think that they would attack us, and we proceeded to make our fires, and then laid ourselves down.

Totally unconscious of danger, we were reclining on our mats—for we, too, like our people, were wearied with toil, and overcome with drowsiness—when, in about twenty minutes after our men had returned, one of them shouted, with a loud voice, “War is coming! Oh, war is coming!” and ran towards us with a scream of terror, telling us that the natives were hastening to attack us. We started up at this unusual exclamation, and, looking about us, we beheld a large party of men, almost naked, running in a very irregular manner, and with uncouth gestures, towards our little encampment. They were all variously armed with muskets, bows and arrows, knives, cutlasses, barbs, long spears, and other instruments of destruction; and, as we gazed upon this band of wild men, with their ferocious looks and hostile appearance, which was not a little heightened on observing the weapons in their hands, we felt a

very uneasy kind of sensation, and wished ourselves safe out of their hands. To persons peaceably inclined, like ourselves, and who had done them no harm, we could look on their preparations with calmness; but as it is impossible to foresee to what extremities such encounters might lead, we waited the result with the most painful anxiety.

Our party was much scattered; but fortunately we could see them coming to us at some distance, and we had time to collect our men. We resolved, however, to prevent bloodshed, if possible—our numbers were too few to leave us a chance of escaping by any other way. The natives were approaching us fast, and had by this time arrived almost close to our palm-tree. Not a moment was to be lost. We desired Pascoe and all our people to follow behind us, at a short distance, with the loaded muskets and pistols; and we enjoined them strictly not to fire, unless they first fired at us. One of the natives, who proved to be the chief, we perceived a little in advance of his companions; and, throwing down our pistols, which we had snatched up in the first moment of surprise, my brother and I walked very composedly, and unarmed, towards him. As we approached him, we made all the signs and motions we could with our arms, to deter him and his people from firing on us. His quiver was dangling at his side, his bow was bent, and an arrow, which was pointed at our breasts, already trembled on the string, when we were within a few yards of his person. This was a highly critical moment—the next might be our last. But the hand of Providence averted the blow; for, just as the chief was about to pull the fatal cord, a man that was nearest him rushed forward, and stayed his arm. At that instant we stood before him, and immediately held forth our hands; all of them trembled like

aspens leaves ; the chief looked up full in our faces, kneeling on the ground—light seemed to flash from his dark rolling eyes—his body was convulsed all over, as though he were enduring the utmost torture, and with a timorous, yet undefinable, expression of countenance, in which all the passions of our nature were strangely blended, he drooped his head, eagerly grasped our proffered hands, and burst into tears. This was a sign of friendship—harmony followed, and war and bloodshed were thought of no more. Peace and friendship now reigned amongst us ; and the first thing that we did was to lift the old chief from the ground, and to convey him to our encampment. The behaviour of our men afforded us no little amusement, now that the danger was past. We had now had a fair trial of their courage, and should know who to trust on a future occasion. Pascoe was firm to his post, and stood still with his musket pointed at the chief's breast during the whole time. He is a brave fellow ; and said to us, as we passed him to our encampment with the old man, "If the *black* rascals had fired at either of you, I should have brought the old chief down like a guinea-fowl." It was impossible to avoid smiling at the fellow's honesty—although we were on the best of terms with the old chief—and we have little doubt that he would have been as good as his word. As for our two brave fellows, Sam and Antonio, they took to their heels and scampered off as fast as they could, directly they saw the natives approaching us over the long grass ; nor did they make their appearance again until the chief and all his people were sitting round us ; and even when they did return, they were so frightened they could not speak for some time.

All the armed villagers had now gathered round

their leader, and anxiously watched his looks and gestures. The result of the meeting delighted them—every eye sparkled with pleasure—they uttered a shout of joy—they thrust their bloodless arrows into their quivers—they ran about as though they were possessed of evil spirits—they twanged their bow-strings, fired off their muskets, shook their spears, clattered their quivers, danced, put their bodies into all manner of ridiculous positions, laughed, cried, and sung in rapid succession—they were like a troop of maniacs. Never was spectacle more wild and terrific. When this sally of passion to which they had worked themselves had subsided into calmer and more reasonable behaviour, we presented each of the war-men with a quantity of needles, as a further token of our friendly intentions. The chief sat himself down on the turf, with one of us on each side of him, while the men were leaning on their weapons on his right and left. At first no one could understand us; but an old man made his appearance shortly after, who understood the Hàussa language. Him the chief employed as an interpreter; and every one listened with anxiety to the following explanation which he gave us:—

“ A few minutes after you first landed, one of my people came to me, and said that a number of strange people had arrived at the market-place. I sent him back again to get as near to you as he could, to hear what you intended doing. He soon after returned to me, and said that you spoke in a language which he could not understand. Not doubting that it was your intention to attack my village at night, and carry off my people, I desired them to get ready to fight. We were all prepared and eager to kill you, and came down breathing vengeance and slaughter, supposing that you were my enemies, and

had landed from the opposite side of the river. But when you came to meet us unarmed, and we saw your white faces, we were all so frightened that we could not pull our bows, nor move hand or foot; and when you drew near me, and extended your hands towards me, I felt my heart faint within me, and believed that you were '*Children of Heaven,*' and had dropped from the skies." Such was the effect we had produced on him; and under this impression he knew not what he did. "And now," said he, "white men, all I want is your forgiveness." "That you shall have most heartily," we said, as we shook hands with the old chief; and having taken care to assure him we had not come from so good a place as he had imagined, we congratulated ourselves, as well as him, that this affair had ended so happily. For our own parts, we had reason to feel the most unspeakable pleasure at its favourable termination; and we offered up internally to our merciful Creator a prayer of thanksgiving and praise, for his providential interference on our behalf; for the Almighty has, indeed, to use the words of the Psalmist of Israel, "delivered our soul from death, and our feet from falling; and preserved us from any terror by night, and from the arrow that flieth by day; from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and from the sickness that destroyeth at noon-day." We were grateful to find that our blood had not been shed, and that we had been prevented from spilling the blood of others, which we imagined we should have been constrained to do from irremediable necessity. Our guns were all double-loaded with balls and slugs, our men were ready to present them, and a single arrow from a bow would have been the signal for immediate destruction. It was a narrow escape; and God grant we may never be so near a cruel death again! It was

happy for us that our white faces and calm behaviour produced the effect it did on these people—in another minute our bodies would have been as full of arrows as a porcupine's is full of quills.

The old chief returned to the village, followed by his people, whom he addressed by the way from an ant-hill on which he mounted himself. He put himself into a great variety of attitudes, and delivered them a speech which lasted more than half an hour. Whether this was relating to ourselves or not we could not ascertain; but it seemed more than probable. They came back to us again in the afternoon, bringing with them a large quantity of yams and goora-nuts as a present, and invited us with urgent importunity to sleep in their huts for the night, promising to treat us as well as their circumstances would permit. We thanked them for their kindness, but for many reasons we did not embrace their offer. However, it seemed as though this refusal on our parts caused them to be mistrustful of our intentions; for the villagers were discharging their muskets from sunset till nearly eleven o'clock at night, when the chief paid us a third visit, and brought with him eight thousand cowries, and a large heap of yams, which he laid at our feet. Poor fellow! his countenance beamed with joy on discovering that we were *really* his friends. At length he was induced to place confidence in us; and, as he wished us good night, he seemed well pleased with the tranquil appearance of things, and went away.

In the course of our conversation with the chief, when all his villagers were assembled around us, we pointed to their guns, and the bits of red cloth they had with them, and made them understand that they all came from our country, at which their admiration and wonder was much increased. The old man who

had performed the part of our interpreter so admirably is an old Funda Mallam. He understood the Hàussa language perfectly, and told us he had come here from Funda to attend the market which was held here every nine days. He informed us that many people came from the sea-coast, with goods from the white men to purchase slaves, a great number of which, he said, came from his country. He told us that this place is the famous Bocquá market-place, of which we had heard so great talk, and that the opposite bank of the river belonged to the Funda country. We now asked the old Mallam the distance from this place to the sea, and he told us about ten days' journey. We then pointed out the hills on the opposite side of the river, and asked him where they led to. "The sea," was his answer. And "where do they lead to?" we inquired, pointing to those on the same bank of the river as ourselves. He answered, "they run a long way into a country we do not know." We then asked him, if he had ever heard of a country called Eyeo or Yarriba. To which he replied, he had never heard of any country of either of those names. Our next concern was about the safety of the river navigation; and we anxiously inquired his opinion of it lower down, and whether there were any rocks or dangerous places. As to the river navigation, he satisfied us by saying, he knew of no dangers, nor had he ever heard of any; but the people on the banks, he said, were very bad. We asked him if he thought the chief would send a messenger with us if we were to request him, even one day's journey from this place. Without the least hesitation he answered us—"No; the people of this country can go no farther down the river; if they do, and are caught, they will lose their heads. Every town that I know of on the banks of the river is at

war with its neighbour, and all the rest likewise." We asked him then how far Bornou was from Funda? to which he replied, "Fifteen days' journey." We were also anxious to know the character of the people on the borders of the Tshadda; and he informed us they were all good people, nearly all Mussulmen. There was one bad place to pass, he said, which was Yamyam. Here our conversation was interrupted by the old chief, who wished to return to the village, and the Mallam was obliged to accompany him. He was a fine respectable old man, and answered all our questions with a readiness which evinced the superiority of his class.

We offered up a prayer to the Almighty for his signal protection during this eventful day, and retired to rest.

Tuesday, October 26th.—When I awoke in the morning, the first person I saw was our trusty old man, Pascoe, very busy roasting yams for our breakfast. This man has been a most valuable servant to us, and is the only stanch fellow among all our people. In spite of a good deal of rain that had fallen in the night, we got up much refreshed this morning; for our mat awning, although rather a frail covering, had excluded the rain and kept us tolerably dry. Early in the morning the chief of the village, the old man that acted as interpreter, and a number of men and women, visited our encampment, and behaved themselves in the most becoming and friendly manner. Not satisfied with what they had given us yesterday, the villagers offered us another large heap of yams, which, however, we refused to accept without making a suitable recompense. We accordingly gave them some beads in exchange for them, although I believe they would have been contented had we possessed nothing to offer them in return.

We now learnt from the interpreter that buyers and sellers attend this market, not only from places adjacent, but also from remote towns and villages, both above and below, and on each bank of the Niger. A small tribute is exacted by the chief from every one that offers articles for sale at the market, and in this consists the whole of his revenues. All the villagers that came out against us yesterday are his slaves. We were likewise informed, that directly opposite, on the eastern bank, is the common path to the city of Funda, which is, indeed, as we have been told at *Fofò*, situated three days' journey up the Tshadda from the Niger; that the large river which we observed yesterday falling into the Niger from the eastward, is the celebrated *Shar, Shary, or Sharry*, of travellers, or, which is more proper than either, the *Tshadda*, as it is universally called throughout the country. The interpreter said, further, that the smaller stream which we passed on the 19th, flowing from the same direction, is the "*Coodoonia*."

The chief assured us that we had nothing to fear, having passed all those places from which we might have expected danger and molestation during the night. However, he cautioned us to avoid, if possible, a very considerable town lying on the eastern bank, which we should pass in the afternoon, the governor of which, he affirmed, would detain us a considerable time in his territories, though he might treat us well. A little way below Bocquâ, he said, on the left border of the river, resides a powerful king, sovereign of a fine country, called *Attâ*, who would force us to visit him, if by any means he were to be forewarned of our approach. He said, that he did not think he would do us any injury, but that the chief was a very extraordinary man, and if he had us in his power would detain us longer than we wished. Perhaps

he might keep us in his town two or three months, but he would at least detain us till all his people had satisfied their curiosity, and then he might allow us to depart. As the chief of Bocquâ was decidedly of opinion that it would be in the power of this prince to render us the most essential service if he were our friend, we requested of him a guide and messenger to accompany us to *Attâ*, and introduce us to the king ; but he answered, without hesitation, that a man from him would be captured and slain the moment he should make his appearance there, but for what reason we are left to conjecture. This did not argue, however, very favourably as to the clemency or merciful disposition of the monarch of *Attâ* ; and therefore we resolved to keep out of his reach by running along close to the shore on the opposite side of the water. The chief concluded by observing that in seven days we should reach the sea, a piece of intelligence with which we were not a little pleased. The old interpreter had told us that we should get there in ten days ; therefore we cannot be far from it.

The females of Bocquâ are good-looking, and very neat in their persons. The men have not the custom, as at Kacunda, of cutting marks on the face or on any part of the body. Having finished our usual scanty breakfast of a roasted yam and some water from the river, we commenced loading our canoe and preparing for our day's journey. We had now passed the worst place on the river, which is between this and Kacunda, and there was no further necessity for travelling by night. This we by no means regret ; for although we are exposed to the heat of the sun by day, yet there are dangers in the river, in consequence of the water being so high, which are more easily avoided by daylight than in the dark. It is

not easy to keep clear of eddies, and when influenced by them our canoe is swept out of the main stream of the river, and it is with difficulty we regain our course. The canoe being all ready, we shook hands cordially with our friend the chief, and the principal male and female villagers, and, a few minutes after seven, fired a salute of two or three muskets, gave three cheers, and departed from Bocquâ. We soon passed their little town, which had a neat appearance, and was fortified by a strong wooden fence.

Both banks of the river still continued hilly, and were fringed with primeval woods, which were bending over the water. At eleven, A. M., we were opposite a town, which, from the description that had been given of it, we supposed to be Attâ. It is situated close to the water's edge, on the south-east bank of the river, in an elevated situation, and on a fine green sward: its appearance was unspeakably beautiful. The town is clean, of prodigious extent, and ornamented with verdant shrubs and tall goodly trees. A few canoes were lying at the foot of the town, but we escaped observation, and passed on near the opposite shore. Afterwards the margin of the river became more thickly wooded, and more umbrageous than before; and for upwards of thirty miles, not a town or a village, or even a single hut, could anywhere be seen. The whole of this distance our canoe passed smoothly along the Niger, and everything was silent and solitary; no sound could be distinguished save our own voices and the plashing of the paddles with their echoes; the song of birds was not heard, nor could any animal whatever be seen; the banks seemed to be entirely deserted, and the magnificent Niger to be slumbering in its own grandeur.

From Bocquâ the river runs in a valley between

mountains of a considerable height. Between Attà and Bocquá market the course of the river is about south-west, with several turnings in it. The hills on the north-west side seemed to decrease in height about the middle of the day, and those on the eastern side are changing their course to the south-east, while the river still flows to the south-west. About two in the afternoon, the nature of the banks was entirely changed; from being high they became low and swampy, particularly the left bank, and were covered with thick jungle, which mostly overhung the water. At half-past two we passed two charming little islands, which appeared to be uninhabited, and at four we saw a branch of the river running off in a southerly direction, inclining a little to the east. It appeared to be a quarter of a mile wide. At about five in the evening, our people being tired, we descried a canoe, and pulled towards it; but those that were in it were frightened on seeing us, and jumped out and hid themselves in the forest. In two or three minutes we perceived on the left bank a few dilapidated huts, and we pulled the canoe ashore, intending to remain there for the night. A number of women first observed us; they were also alarmed, and hurried away to an adjacent village, where we saw them providing themselves with muskets and other uncivil weapons; and very formidable Amazons they appeared to be. However, we did not seem to regard them, but jumped on shore with our mats, and sat down on the ground very comfortably under the branches of a cocoa-nut tree, the first that we have seen since leaving Yarriba. We had not been long seated before a number of people made their appearance, running hastily towards us with swords and muskets in their hands. Seeing that we were sitting down quietly, without making any hostile display,

they hesitated, and stopped at a short distance from us, and wished to know what we wanted at their town. We had recourse to our usual method of expressing ourselves by signs ; and the natives, finding that we were really harmless beings, ventured to draw nearer, and very soon became reconciled to us. Shortly after they were joined by some more of their companions, and among them was a young man who imperfectly understood the *Bonny* language ; so that Antonio, one of our men, who is son to "*King Pepper*," chief of that country, was enabled to enter into conversation with him, and presently made him comprehend everything relative to us, which he repeated to the villagers. We had been thus employed a short time, and had become great friends with these people, the women chatting with a familiarity we had not been accustomed to up the country, and began to find ourselves very comfortable, when the chief, a tall, Herculean, awkward figure, with a sullen and most forbidding countenance, made his appearance. He introduced himself without the smallest ceremony, and very briefly desired us to accompany him to his hut in the principal village, which is called *Abbazacca*. The road to this place is by a narrow foot-way, overhung by rank grass three times our own height. This formed a complete arch over our heads, and the path was exceedingly intricate. On arriving there, a clean shed was prepared for us, which, though small, was one of the largest in the village. Through the interpretation of Antonio we informed the chief who we were, and where we wished to go. He immediately said he would accompany us to a large town lower down the river, of which his brother was governor, and where we should meet with people from Bonny, Calebar, Brass, and Bini, which latter place we conclude is

meant for Benin. The natives of all these places, he informed us, come up to his brother's town for the purpose of buying slaves, and we shall then be at liberty to accompany whichever party we please. It was important to ascertain which was the largest branch, as soon as we found that these different rivers communicated with the Niger, and we asked him the question, through Antonio, which was considered the largest river. This he was unable to say, but we were told by Antonio afterwards, that he thought the Bonny was the largest. He informed us that if we intended going to the town of which his brother was governor, to-morrow, that we must get up very early, otherwise we should not arrive there before sunset. After thanking the chief for his communications and attention to us, we took our leave of him for the night.

Before we had retired to rest, a few stale eggs which we could not eat, and a calabash of very inferior tuah, were sent us by the chief, with a hint that a present would be acceptable in the morning. This was very inhospitable treatment of us, and we could not help thinking the chief was a mean old fellow, for we saw plenty of poultry and goats in his yard, which he knew would be more acceptable to us than his stale eggs. At eight in the evening we lay down to sleep, but could find no rest, on account of an army of gigantic mosquitoes, which desperately attacked us from all quarters, and serenaded us till morning with their unwelcome song. The course of the river to-day has been nearly south-west, and its width varying from two to three miles.

Wednesday, October 27th.—At day-break we arose from our mats, after no very comfortable night's rest, in consequence of the attacks of the mosquitoes. We took a little refreshment, and commenced our

preparations for starting. At six o'clock the chief, who, as well as his villagers, had long been on the alert, came to us for his present, and, as we suspected last evening, we found considerable difficulty in satisfying the surly old man. I accordingly gave him a pair of silver bracelets, a pair of scissors, five hundred needles, and a handsome country cloth, which the queen of Boossà had given us. The fellow was discontented with this, which was more than we had given away a long time. He began to grumble, and told us plainly, that he would not let us leave his village till something better was given to him. To enforce his threats, fourteen of his slaves stood around him armed with muskets, whose appearance alone, I suppose, he thought would be sufficient to intimidate us into compliance. We by no means wished to have any disturbance, and therefore endeavoured as much as we could to persuade him that we had nothing more to give him. I directed all our travelling things to be taken out of our boxes before him, and had them put back again and locked up. This would not satisfy him, and he desired them to be searched again, and that he himself might be allowed to examine them. Our patience was now quite exhausted: "Tell the chief," said I to Antonio, "the boxes shall be opened no more; and let him stop my people from loading the canoe if he dare." My brother and I had armed ourselves with the loaded pistols and swords, as well as all our people; and on telling the chief what we had done, we ordered them to proceed loading the canoe, which they obeyed directly. The chief stood amazed, and did not offer to interfere with us. This old rascal had muttered and grumbled at everything which was offered him: *this* was of no use, and *that* of no value, and he would desire all that we had, such was his covetousness.

After having gone the length he did, and having shown his insolent airs, without producing the expected impression, he feared that he should get nothing at all, and therefore accepted the present we had offered him at first. The country cloth alone, which had been given us by the queen of Boossà, was ten times more than he deserved.

At *Abbazacca* we saw an English iron bar, and feasted our eyes on the graceful cocoa-nut tree, which we had not seen so long. We were delighted also with the mellow whistling of grey parrots. Trifling as these circumstances may appear, yet they made our hearts beat with delight, and awakened in us a train of very pleasing associations. We indulged in a delusive yet fanciful reverie, and we fondly hoped,—but what good would it be to tell of what we hoped so fondly?

It was the avowed intention of the chief to send a man with us as messenger to a large town, which he described to be a day's journey from *Abbazacca*, and of which he said that his brother was governor; but imagining, no doubt, that he would not be paid to his satisfaction, and that, should he accompany us himself, the reward would be greater, he changed his mind, and resolved on the latter expedient. Therefore he got into one of his own canoes, and between seven and eight in the morning, our canoe having been loaded without any interference from the chief or his people, and without taking any further notice of him, we led the way from the village through a large and unwholesome swamp which is before it, and were soon followed by him. We succeeded in getting into the open river with incredible difficulty.

In consequence of the lightness of his canoe, and its superiority to our old one, which we had got at *Zagozhi*, the chief passed us with the utmost facility,

and touched at various towns and villages, to inform their inhabitants of the fact of our journeying down the river, and that Christians were coming from a country they had never heard of. We were solicited to stop at one or two of these, in order to please the curiosity of the people, hundreds of whom ran out into the water to obtain a better view of our persons, but we did not get out of our canoe. These brought us presents of eggs, which we accepted very gladly, and passed on.

During the first part of the day, the course of the river was about west-south-west, the breadth varying from two to four miles, according to our estimation. At noon we saw a small branch running off to the south-east. The chief of Abbazacca, who had kept company with us, seemed to get impatient as his canoe was so much swifter than our own, and coming close to it, told us to pull as strong as we could, or that we should not reach his brother's town by daylight. However we did not pay much attention to his remarks, but quietly kept on our usual rate. The north-west side of the river was now low, and covered with thick jungle, and the bank in many places was overflowed, so that the jungle appeared to be growing out of the water. The south-east bank was rather higher, and cultivated pieces of ground were seen now and then, about three or four miles apart, with villages about them.

At two in the afternoon we came abreast of a village of pretty considerable extent, intending to pass it by on the other side. We had no sooner made our appearance than we were lustily hailed by a little squinting fellow, dressed in an English soldier's jacket, who kept crying out as loud as his lungs would permit him, "Holloa, you Englishman! you come here." However, we were not inclined to

obey his summons, being rather anxious to get to the town mentioned to us by the chief of Abbazacca, and as the current swept us along past the village, we took no notice of the little man ; and we had already sailed beyond the landing-place, when we were overtaken by about a dozen canoes, and the people in them, stopping us, desired us to turn back, for that we had forgotten to pay our respects to the king. The name of this village, we now find, is *Damuggoo*. Ever willing to please and oblige all parties, as far as we are able, and being in no condition to force ourselves from the men that had interrupted us with so little ceremony, we pulled with all our strength against the current, and, after an hour's exertion, landed amidst the cheers and huzzas of a multitude of people. The first person we observed at the landing-place was our little friend in the red jacket, whom we found out afterwards was a messenger from the chief of Bonny. His business here was to buy slaves for his master.

My brother and I were instantly conducted over a bog to a large fetich-tree, at the root of which we were made to sit down, and were shaded by its branches from an intolerably hot sun. Here we waited till the arrival of the chief, who made his appearance in a few minutes, bringing with him a goat, with a quantity of yams and other provisions as a present. We arose to salute him, and he shook hands with us, welcoming us to his town with a reserved and sorrowful, yet friendly air. In his dress and person we saw nothing remarkable, save that his countenance displayed mildness and benevolence, mingled with a great deal of seriousness and native dignity. His stature is above the middle size, and he is rather advanced in years. He requested us to stop a few days at his town, which we promised him

we would do, having told him that we were going to the sea. The chief of Bonny's messenger, he said, was going there in a few days, and he would recommend us to remain with him till he went, that we might accompany him. We had no objection to this, and thought that the little squinting fellow, who was a very important personage in his own estimation, might be useful to us, and be some sort of protection to our party where he was known. He was at all events a man of some consequence, even from his red jacket alone, which rendered him a conspicuous object among the dark natives by whom he was surrounded; so we congratulated ourselves with the thoughts of being quite safe.

The chief put a great many questions to us respecting ourselves and our country, the places we had come from, their distance up the river, and also concerning the river itself; and was astonished at our answers. He told us that he had never heard of any countries higher up the river than Funda and *Tacwá*, by which latter we found he meant the Nouffie country. He said that he had never heard of Yarriba, Borgoo, or Yàoorie. A Mallam now joined our company, who appeared to be a respectable man. We found afterwards that he was one of Ederesa's people, and had been sent for by the chief of Damuggoo for the purpose of writing charms to protect him from all evil which might threaten him and his village. This man seemed happy at seeing people who had come from his own country, which he told us he had heard nothing of during the last year. He was pleased in being able to talk with those who could give him information concerning it, and he offered us his services in all manner of ways, and told us he would do everything in his power to make us comfortable.

A messenger now arrived to inform us that our hut was ready. The chief, on our taking leave of him, told us we were only eight days' journey from the sea, and that we should soon get there. We were then conducted through filthy streets of mud to a very diminutive hut, which we find excessively warm, owing to the small quantity of light and air, which are admitted into it only through a narrow aperture, opening into a gloomy and dismal passage. The appearance of the inside is better than that of the outside, being plastered rudely with clay, and surrounded with indifferently-carved fetish figures, either painted or chalked a red colour.

The news of our arrival having spread through the village, the people flocked in hundreds to see us. They so completely blocked up every place through which we might receive air, that we were nearly suffocated; nor could we succeed in driving them away. We made our people arm themselves with swords and sticks to keep them off, but to no purpose—their curiosity overcame their fears, and they pressed on us as thickly as ever. This was no longer to be borne, and we were obliged to send to the chief, requesting his interference. His reply was, that if the people would not go away when they were desired, we were to fire at, and kill as many of them as we pleased. This we could not think of doing, and therefore desired he would command some of his own people to come and drive them away. They soon arrived, armed with large heavy sticks, which they laid about the natives in so merciless a manner, that, to our great relief, our hut was soon cleared, and we again enjoyed the fresh air.

At six in the evening, the chief sent us some fofo, and a quantity of stewed goat, sufficient for

thirty persons. We were not a little surprised by the addition of a small case-bottle of rum—a luxury which we have not had since we were at Kiàma. It is long since we have tasted tea or coffee; but the rum was a treat that we did not expect, although it was the worst kind of trade rum I ever recollect to have tasted.

Here, to our infinite surprise, we saw, on landing, besides the little man dressed in a soldier's jacket, several others partially clothed in European apparel, all of whom have picked up a smattering of the English language from Liverpool vessels, which frequent the Bonny river for palm-oil. The messenger from the chief of that country, who has come hither to purchase slaves and ivory, asserts that the ship *Bamboo*, and four other Liverpool vessels, are now at anchor in the river. Bonny is said to be four or five days' journey from hence.

After making a hearty meal off the stewed goat and fofò, we laid ourselves down to rest; but the mosquitoes were so troublesome, that they prevented us from getting any till nearly morning. We have generally found that the mosquitoes are more troublesome and vigorous in their attacks a short time before rain than at any other. The course of the river has been much in the same direction as yesterday; the current very rapid.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Chief of Damuggoo—Fetish Deity—Visit to the Chief—Unfavourable termination of a Fetish ceremony—Another canoe promised—Superstitious credulity of the People—Story of the King of Attà—Impatience of the Travellers to proceed—The town of Damuggoo—Its resources—Punishments—Unfavourable opinions respecting the success of the Travellers—Farewell ceremonies—Departure from Damuggoo—Travelling companions—The disaster of Kirree—John Lander's narrative of it—The Palàver or Council at Kirree—Decision of the Council—The Eboe People.

Thursday, October 28th.—AT day-break, we had a heavy tornado, accompanied with much thunder and lightning. At ten A.M. the chief visited us, accompanied by the Nouffie Mallam. His dress consisted of a red cloth cap, a very handsome red twilled silk tobe, made in Nouffie, with trousers of the same material, and sandals. He brought with him some palm-wine, eggs, bananas, yams, &c., and desired us to ask for anything we might want, telling us that we should have everything we wished that the town could afford. He told us that neither he nor his father had seen a white man, although they had much wished it, and that our presence made him quite happy. He then gave us a pressing invitation to come to see him, which we readily accepted. He seemed to be one of the worthiest fellows whom we have yet met.

We shortly after proceeded to the residence, and passed through a variety of low huts which led to the one in which he was sitting. In addition to his former dress, he had a very handsome leopard's skin thrown over him. In his hand he held a staff, covered with the skin of a wild beast; and two pages,

one on each side, were cooling him with circular fans, made of bullock's hide. He accosted us with cheerfulness, and placed mats for us to sit on; and rum was produced to make us comfortable withal. He wished to know in what manner we had got through the country, for he had learnt we had come a long journey—from a great city called Yàoorie, of which he had never before heard the name. We again briefly related to him from whence we had come, where we had been, and whither we were going, taking care to make frequent allusions to the civility and kindness which we had experienced even from the greatest monarchs. He appeared astonished at our narrative, and promised, as far as he was able, to imitate those good men in his treatment of us as his guests. He then expressed the infinite pleasure the sight of white men afforded him, and how happy his father would have been in his lifetime had he been honoured by the presence of such wonderful strangers. When Antonio, our interpreter, explained to him that we were ambassadors from the "great king of white men," he seemed to feel peculiar delight. "Something must be done for you tomorrow," said he; and left us to conjecture for a short time what that something would be; but we soon learnt that he intended to make rejoicings with all his people; that they would fire off their muskets, and pass a night in dancing and revelry. He told us that when we left him to go down the river, he intended to send one of his canoes, with nine people in her, to accompany us all the way to the sea. He requested us to wait eight days longer, when he expected his people back from the Bocquá market. "I think," he added, "that the chief of Bocquá's messenger and our people will be a sufficient protection for you." We readily assented to his proposal, and

told him that as our presents were all expended, we would send him some from the sea-coast, if he would allow a person to accompany us thither on whom he could depend, to bring them back to him. He expressed himself much gratified by our promises, and said that his own son should accompany us ; and that although his people had never been lower down the river than to a place called Kirree, about a day's journey from hence, he had no doubt that we should reach the sea in safety. After expressing mutual good-will, friendship, and satisfaction with each other, and as soon as the king had promised with solemnity that he would consent to our departure in the time he had specified, we shook hands and parted.

In taking leave of us, the old chief told us that no one should be allowed to visit us, excepting those to whom we gave permission : and we accordingly had all the principal people of the town, both males and females, to see us. These persons were very well dressed, and conducted themselves in an orderly manner.

In the course of the afternoon, however, we were perplexed with the visits of thousands of people besides, whose curiosity was irresistible, and who scarcely allowed us room to breathe. Above Egga, the people are by no means inquisitive ; but in and below that town, nothing can be compared with the surprise and amazement with which the natives beheld us, and pressed round to satisfy their curiosity.

Friday, October 29th.—The promise of "something," which was made us yesterday, has been fulfilled to-day with great éclat. In the morning, a bullock, wild in the bush, was offered us, with a proviso that one of our party could shoot him. Pascoe, therefore, went out with his gun, and discovered the

animal ruminating amongst the trees ; and levelling his piece, he shot him dead the first fire. Part of the carcase was given to the king, as is the custom ; and we were not unmindful of our old friend the Mallam ; so, having sent him some, the remainder of it was brought home for our own consumption. It is usual here for the cattle to run wild in the bush, being never admitted into the town ; and when one is wanted for food, the natives go into the woods and shoot it. They are not so expert in killing them as our man Pascoe, whom we had desired to load his gun with two balls, and to endeavour to hit the bullock under the ear. He was so successful, that the poor animal died in an instant without a struggle, much to the astonishment of the chief and his people, who were witnesses of the transaction.

At the back of our hut stands a fetish god in a small thatched hut, supported by four wooden pillars, which is watched continually by two boys and a woman. We were desired to roast our bullock under him, that he might enjoy the savoury smell of the smoking meat, some of which he might also be able to eat if he desired. We were particularly enjoined to roast no yams under him, as they were considered by the natives too poor a diet to offer to their deity. The natives are all pagans, and worship the same kind of figures as those of Yarriba.

A feast and great rejoicings are to take place to-day, in consequence of our arrival, and the preparation of the bullock only seems to be the first step towards it. The natives are getting their muskets ready, and all the swivels in the town are brought and placed under the fetish tree we have mentioned.

At six in the evening the ceremonies were commenced, by a volley of musketry being fired off by

command of the chief, and we were afterwards saluted with a discharge from the swivels. This was a signal for the inhabitants to come forward and follow the example of their monarch, which they did with so



FETISH DEITY OF DAMUGGOO.

much spirit and effect, that continual firing was kept up till between eleven and twelve o'clock, at which time the people paraded the town for the remainder of the night, dancing, singing, and making merry. Pascoe tells us that every man had a musket. They must be very numerous, for the fire is as incessant as if we were in a field of battle, so that it is quite impossible for us to get any sleep while it is going forward.

Saturday, October 30th.—Notwithstanding all the firing last night, and though the natives loaded their guns with three times their proper charge, we have not heard of any accident happening. All this had been done very much against our inclination, but it was the highest token of respect which could be shown us, and which had never before been granted to any individual: we therefore considered it our duty to visit the chief and thank him for the honour. So accordingly, a little before noon, we went to see him, accompanied by four of our people. On our arrival, we found him surrounded by his priests, who were employed in making a fetish, to ascertain whether we should reach the sea in safety. The Nouffie Mallam was also seated by the chief's side, engaged in writing Mohammedan prayers on a plain white cotton cap, which the chief was to wear on all occasions, to render him secure from danger of every description.

He received us very kindly, and desired us to sit down with him, and remain a short time, offering us a glass of rum, which we were obliged to accept. It was with much difficulty we were able to drink it, for we felt little inclined to do so; in addition to which the heat of the place was so excessive, that we could hardly breathe, although two of our people kept fanning us all the time we were with him. Having expressed our thanks to the chief for the honour he had done us by the rejoicings of the night before, we complimented him on his resources, and expressed our admiration of that greatness of mind which he had displayed in applying them to the gratification and delight of strangers, whom he had made his warmest friends. "The great white king will be pleased to learn that I have treated his subjects so well," said the chief; "and you may inform him of

my dignity, my riches, my strength, and my power." We thought this quite sufficient; the chief was pleased both with himself for having displayed his "power," and with us for having duly appreciated it; and being anxious to return to the open air, we begged he would excuse our remaining any longer, and, shaking hands with him, we wished him a good morning.

From a conversation with a Nouffie man, who has exiled himself from his native country, and arrived here lately, we learn that these muskets and guns have been procured from the coast in exchange for slaves and ivory. He informs us, also, that Bornou and Jacoba are at peace, and, consequently, that the road from Funda to *Kouka*, which is the metropolis of the Bornou empire, is now open and free from danger of any kind. The same individual assures us that a person can travel from one country to the other, by land, in seventeen days; but that to travel by water up the *Tshadda*, to *Kouka*, would be a journey of nineteen days. He likewise reports that Ederesa, the ex-king of Nouffie, had endeavoured to win over the sultan of Bornou to his cause, and for that purpose had sent him an embassy, with a present of leopards' skins, and a certain number of slaves; but when he left home, it was not generally believed that the monarch of Bornou would interfere in the domestic concerns of Nouffie, or attempt to raise the fallen fortunes of Ederesa, unless he would consent to break off all connexion with the *Falatahs*, with whom he is on good terms, and promise his aid in their complete extirpation. However, the destiny of Nouffie is already sealed; she is a conquered country in every sense of the word, and a *Falatah* is her monarch.

Sunday, October 31st.—It has been hinted to us

that the chief of *Damuggoo* will detain us here longer than will be agreeable, notwithstanding his pledge. At ten in the morning the chief sent for me to visit him, and I immediately obeyed his summons. I found him engaged in earnest conversation with his priests, and he no sooner saw me than he requested me to sit down by his side. He appeared very serious, but did not give me long to speculate on what was coming; for, turning towards me, he said, with a deep-drawn sigh, that the fetish which had been made yesterday for us, had not ended in our favour. He was sure, he said, that we should meet with many troubles before we reached the sea. All this was said with a great deal of earnestness, and his countenance was very expressive of sorrow. I desired that he would not feel hurt on our account, telling him that we were not afraid of anything; that we had done no one any harm in Africa, and we trusted in our God for protection. "It is good," said he; "if my people return from *Bocquá* market to-morrow, you shall go in a few days." I thanked him for his kindness, and wished him a good morning.

In the course of conversation this morning, the chief said that he cannot think of sending us away in an old leaky canoe, such as ours, and unprotected: that such would not be fitting our rank; and he is of opinion that we should meet a thousand difficulties and dangers were we to proceed farther down the river without a guide and messenger. He observed, that our canoe is what sailors would term not "seaworthy;" for, having been exposed to the heat of the sun, it had split in several places. These considerations had induced him to procure for us a far better canoe than our own; but he expressed his very great sorrow that he could not furnish us with a supply of

men till their return from Bocquá market, whither they had gone in the morning, and would not return for three days to come. We had no remedy, and our only plan was to submit, on the ground of expediency, without raising any objection, for we knew that it would be unavailing.

We presented the chief, in the forenoon, with a musket belonging to one of our men, and my broken watch, which he says he will send to Bonny, to be repaired. We had nothing else to offer him, except needles, a pair of bracelets, or our own wearing apparel, which he does not appear to fancy at all. However, we have promised, that should his men take us in safety to Bonny, we would send back something to him which would be more acceptable and of greater value, and which we should be enabled to obtain from the English ships lying there. This intelligence is very gratifying to the chief, and he expresses his thankfulness most profusely. He knows the facility with which European articles are got at the mouth of the river, and he no doubt reckons on a rich present from us. He is certainly deserving of one, for his conduct towards us has been most satisfactory from the commencement. We continue to receive every kindness from him, and he sends us provisions each morning, sufficient for fifty men for one day, together with palm wine, rum, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and numerous other things.

A great part of the population of Damuggoo left the town this morning for the Bocquá market. They take thither powder, muskets, soap, Manchester cottons, and other articles of European manufacture, and great quantities of rum, or rather of rum and water; for not more than one-third of it is genuine spirit, and even that is of the worst quality. These commodities are exchanged for ivory and slaves, which

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are re-sold to the European traders. The Niger is receding most rapidly; within these two or three days it has fallen away as many feet, which confirms us in the supposition, that in the interior the rains are over, though they are only declining here.

The natives of this part of the country scarcely ever heard of the religion of Mohammed, and therefore they believe in all manner of gods and demons, as in Yarriba and other places. They have a variety of tutelary gods, and others whose business it is to watch over and protect the public interests. Their religious dances, and their songs or hymns, addressed to their divinities, differ but slightly from those of other pagan countries, and the superstitious ceremonies of their fate bear the same close resemblance. In their belief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, there is nothing peculiar or new.

The late occupier of the hut in which we reside, died a few days ago, and was buried; but last night there was a public declaration, that his tutelary god had resuscitated him, and that he had risen from the dead. Things of this nature are reported not to be of rare occurrence, and the rumour was believed, or rather it was pretended to be believed, by all ranks. A large procession was therefore formed, attended by singers and dancers, as usual; and the man who was said to have undergone so great a change having been placed in the centre, was carried through the town, and exhibited gratis to all who felt a disposition to see him. After the procession had visited the chief's house, a messenger was despatched to inquire whether we ourselves felt any inclination to view the prodigy; but we declined the intended honour, for it would be extremely unpleasant

to be stifled in our hut by a multitude of unwashed half-naked people. What is to be the final fortune of the man we know not, but it is generally supposed that he will die again to-morrow!

It appears to us scarcely credible that the chief, who is a sensible and intelligent man, should put any confidence in such egregious nonsense and chicanery; but we rather imagine that he must be aware of the cheats which are practised upon his credulous people by their priests, and that, for political considerations, he chooses to connive at and countenance their proceedings; the more so, as he very recently sent to Nouffie for a Mohammedan priest, who is now engaged in working Arab charms, &c. upon his tobe. This man he has intrusted with all his secrets, and loaded with benefits; but whether he is a Mohammedan or Pagan in heart we are left to guess. How great soever his confidence in this Mallam may be, yet a white man, and a Christian, has far greater claims, he says, to his veneration: and, as a proof of it he would request of us a "*mighty spell*," which he was convinced it was in our power alone to give. The virtue of it is to consist chiefly in making him successful in war. He has a brother, he says, who is king of a neighbouring and powerful state, with whom he has been at enmity for many years, and him he wishes to vanquish and bring under subjection, in order to "*plant his foot upon his neck*," and reign in his stead. Of this brother and of their father, the former king, he related to us the following story:—

"The late king of *Attà* was a very powerful prince, and one of the most opulent, both as regarded money and slaves, that had ever been known in the whole country. His domestic slaves alone amounted to five hundred; and he had accumulated, by industry, care, and frugality, during a long life, as much money

(cowries) as would fill seven or eight ordinary huts. The surrounding nations felt his influence, and trembled at his power; their rulers courted his friendship by voluntary presents, and acknowledged his supremacy by humiliating concessions. The monarch concerned himself greatly in the internal affairs and domestic policy of the kingdom of Funda, whose sovereigns he pulled down and set up again whenever he was influenced by caprice, or spurred on by resentment.

“Now it happened, at length, that this mighty king died, as all great and little sovereigns must do, and he was buried after the custom of the country, with many public honours, and with all his riches. His eldest son, who was a covetous, worldly-minded prince, succeeded him in his authority; but instead of enjoying the affluence of his venerable parent, he was not worth a single cowrie. The consciousness of his poverty, and the want of consideration and respect among his subjects, caused him to make many moral reflections on the use, value, and purposes of money with mankind, and the penury and wretchedness which the want of it generally occasioned. At length, harassed with doubts and perplexities, he forgot all filial tenderness, and the respect which he owed to his father’s memory, and came to the conclusion that, as the money which was buried was of no use whatever to the deceased in the next world, it would be both a charitable and praiseworthy deed to have it dug out of the earth, and put into circulation. And further, to prevent such good-for-nothing practices from being followed in future, he would sentence the body of his father to receive a public punishment. Therefore, with this resolution, he violated the sanctity of the grave, and commanded that the whole of its contents should be disinterred. This done, he

secured the money, and ordered his slaves to cut off the head of the corpse, and expose it in a conspicuous situation, as a chastisement for the covetous disposition which his father had evinced whilst living, for the heinous offence which he had consummated when dying, of desiring *all* his money to be interred with him, and as a dreadful warning to the people. This want of piety in the new king, his unjustifiable and unnatural action in dishonouring his father's body, and, above all, his contempt for a custom which time had rendered venerable, and which had been sanctioned by the concurrent voice of ages, made a silent, but deep, impression on the minds of his subjects; their feelings, which for a long while they had suppressed, broke out at length into passion, the spark was soon kindled into a flame, and a powerful party was formed to depose the impious prince. They placed his younger brother at their head, and a sanguinary civil war was the immediate consequence. However, they had suffered the proper time to elapse, and the king was too firmly established to suffer much from their attempts; the rebels were routed in all quarters, and those who could not flee were put to the sword. The chief of Damuggoo, our host, is the unsuccessful brother; and the chief of Bocquâ, our friend, was one of his principal followers." This accounts for the unwillingness of the latter to send a messenger with us to Attâ, and the reasonable apprehensions which he entertained for his safety, which would certainly have been realised.

Tuesday, November 2nd.—It is extremely mortifying and vexatious to reflect, that though we are so near our countrymen and our journey's end, yet we are not suffered to go to them; and it is teasing to think that we are constrained to bend to the will of a man who cannot enter into our feelings, nor

share our hopes and fears, and who deludes us with hollow promises day after day. Finding the market-people not yet returned from Bocquá, as we had been persuaded, we sent an energetic message to the king this morning expressive of our determination to hazard every danger rather than be detained longer at Damuggoo, and also to remind him of his solemn promise. This produced an immediate answer, that, agreeably to our request, we should leave the town to-day, if we thought it safe to do so. For his own part, however, if this were to be our purpose, he could only send and protect us a day's journey down the river, where resides the chief of a very large country, into whose hands he should be constrained to deliver us; that this monarch would naturally expect a considerable present, and would, he had no doubt, prolong our stay with him to several weeks. Whilst, on the other hand, would we consent to wait two days longer for the return of his people, he should be enabled to forward us to Bonny without touching at the above place, and indeed without calling at any important town whatever during the journey. In a choice of evils, we preferred that which appeared to us the least, and, therefore, resolved to wait here a day or two longer. The only circumstance which is capable of reconciling us to our wretched abode, is the continued civility, generosity, and tenderness of the chief.

The streets of Damuggoo are so muddy, owing to the nature of the soil, and to the rains which have recently fallen, that we cannot step outside the door of our hut without exposing ourselves to the inconvenience of being covered with black, filthy mud, so that we are obliged to stay within from necessity. Our hut does not exceed six or seven feet in diameter, and withal it is so very dark and dismal, that we can

see neither to read nor write ; added to which we are invaded, from the first peep of morn till the close of day, by a host of impudent fellows, who plant themselves round the doorway, and in the passage, like as many blocks of marble, and remain there in spite of us, to the utter exclusion of every particle of air. The chief, to whom we have made a grievous complaint, tells us seriously to "*cut off their heads ;*" but really we do not relish the idea of human heads, all so black and ghastly, tumbling down at our feet, and so we resort to a milder punishment, but hitherto this has not been attended with any good effect. When evening comes, and the moon shines brilliantly above our heads, like all nature, we seek the comforts of repose ; but who can sleep when legions of mosquitoes come singing in your face, to tease and worry you without mercy ? It is a fact, that the chief and his people are frequently driven, in the dead of night, to seek shelter from the attacks of these tormenting insects in the open air, or under the trees ; but we cannot resort to the same expedient, and are therefore obliged, because "*idleness is the parent of many vices,*" to employ the watchful hours of the night in slaughtering our inveterate persecutors, nor do we cease till morning dawns.

Wednesday, November 3rd.—The inhabitants of this town dress, generally speaking, in Manchester cottons (if a cloth confined to the waist, and extending below the knee, may be styled a dress). The neat and becoming robe or shirt of the interior is worn only by the king and a few of the principal inhabitants ; indeed, the people appear to have little communication with the natives of the more inland provinces, and we have found the progress of civilization to be rapidly diminishing, the nearer we

approach the coast. The women are fond of beads, but esteem only the more costly kind; these are the only personal decorations which they wear. Damuggoo is a considerably large and populous town, but abominably dirty; the huts are round, and constructed much after the same manner as those of Zagōzhi, being built of mud and loam, strengthened and supported by props and ribs of wood. They have all, without exception, a poor, mean, and extremely wretched appearance.

Those of the inhabitants who are not engaged in trading transactions employ themselves in cultivating the soil. Yams and Indian corn form, we believe, the principal, if not the only, vegetable food of the poorer classes, and they rarely eat anything else. The plantain and banana are imported from a neighbouring state; but these are beyond their reach, on account of expense; and form, in fact, with the exception of the cocoa-nut, the only fruits and vegetables with which they seem to be acquainted. Rice, which is grown so generally, and in such abundance, almost in their immediate neighbourhood, they have never seen; and as to the different kinds of grain, which are cultivated to a considerable extent, so near as Funda and Nouffie, they have either no knowledge of them, or, which is more likely, they consider the labour which is required in their culture, and the attention which the rising crops would demand, to counterbalance the good that might result to themselves, by the introduction into their country of different varieties of corn. Therefore, they confine their agricultural labours to cultivating maize, which is the hardiest of all grain, and the yam. The inhabitants of Damuggoo never saw a horse, nor have they the most distant idea of such an animal. Their domestic animals are the dog, the sheep, the goat, and the

common fowl ; the cow cannot be classed among the number. Goats and fowls are plentiful, but few sheep are to be seen ; and even these are greatly inferior to those of the more interior parts. Abundance of excellent fish are caught in the river, which compensates, in a great degree, for the scarcity of other animal food.

The king paid us a visit this forenoon, dressed very appropriately in a handsome robe of silk and cotton, of the manufacture of Nouffie. He repeated his assurances that we shall leave to-morrow ; and though the men are not yet returned from the market, yet they are confidently expected this evening. He behaved with so much native politeness, and promised that we should be detained no longer with so much seriousness and apparent sincerity, that we are induced to believe him.

The chief of Damuggoo, benevolent as are his looks, and dignified as is his deportment, is always severe in his punishments ; and is oftentimes so wantonly cruel, as to deprive his subjects of their heads for very trifling offences. An information was this morning laid against a very respectable lad, who is nearly related to the king, if not actually his own son, for having purloined a piece of Manchester cotton from his sovereign. Death was instantly pronounced against the culprit, after a confession of his crime, and the sentence was to have been carried into execution this evening ; but he implored us, in English, in the most piteous manner, to intercede for his life, affirming that if all the inhabitants of the town were to come forward in his behalf, their remonstrances and petitions would be unavailing, but that a white man's solicitation would be irresistible. At first, we sent Pascoe to the chief, to express the obligation we should feel if he would, on our account,

pardon the delinquent, or at least commute his punishment to a severe flogging; but the stern judge was not to be moved from his purpose by a messenger—his answer was characteristic:—"Tell the white men," said he, "that a black man's request would be useless and vain—I would not grant him so considerable a favour; but if both, or either of them, will intercede in the boy's behalf, personally, and in a formal manner, I may perhaps be induced to forgive him." My brother accordingly took the hint, flattered the vanity of the chief by a personal application, and thus obtained the boy's pardon, and saved his life with little difficulty. The gratitude of the youth was apparently sincere.

At five in the afternoon the people returned from Bocquâ market, and the chief sent us word to be ready for leaving Damuggoo to-morrow evening. He continues to be very kind to us, and has allowed us to want nothing which his village could supply. His people had been very unsuccessful in obtaining slaves, the demand for them having been so great that a few only were to be had. Their chief object had been to procure slaves, but they had also gone for other purposes of trade.

Thursday, November 4th.—Our departure and future fate have occupied the whole attention of the chief and his pagan priests nearly all day. The fetish which has been already made has proved unfavourable, and in hopes of still finding some signs of a propitious nature towards our proceeding to Bonny, and also to ascertain whether or not we are to proceed on our voyage to-day, the chief and his priests have been diligently employed in consulting the entrails of fowls, but to both of these the omens were pronounced to be very inauspicious. Our determination of departing, however, was not to be shaken

by such means. By the chief's own arrangement our people were to embark in the leaky canoe, with the heaviest of the luggage ; whereas my brother and I were to travel in one of his own canoes, and to take along with us whatever was of most consequence. To this regulation we could raise no plausible objection, because our old canoe had been partially repaired.

A little after four in the afternoon we conveyed our luggage to the river side, and proceeded to load our canoes. Long before five o'clock, everything, on our parts, had been got in readiness for quitting the town, and we sat in the canoe till after sunset, waiting the arrival of the boatmen, who did not seem at all disposed to hurry themselves in making their appearance. We began at length to be wearied with anxiety, and impatient to be stirring. Hundreds of people had been gazing at us for a long while, many of whom had taken the pains to come from different parts of the town in boats for that purpose, and the curiosity of all having been amply indulged, they were moving off in all directions, so that we were almost deserted. The chief could not be spoken with, because he was engaged in a religious rite with his priests, and we were left for awhile to our own reflections, which were far from being of the kindest nature.

At length, when our uneasiness was at its height, we saw him coming towards us with a train of followers. The Mallam and all of his principal people were with him, bringing numerous jars of palm-wine. A mat was spread near the water-side, whereon the chief sat himself, and we were instantly desired to place ourselves one on each side of his person. The palm-wine and some rum were then produced ; and as we were about to take a long farewell of our

hospitable host, we drank of his offering, rather than give offence by a refusal. The palm-wine circulated freely in the bowls, and the natives of the village, who witnessed all our proceedings with no little anxiety, seemed to be greatly delighted at seeing their chief and the priests so familiar with white men. Meanwhile, several elephant's tusks, and a number of slaves and goats, were put into the canoe as presents to the chief of Bonny. A fatted goat was given us as a parting gift, and a small decanter of rum was thrust in my brother's bosom as a cordial during the night. We drank and chatted away until half-past six in the evening, when we sent Pascoe on before us in charge of our old canoe, telling him that we should soon overtake him.

To our great mortification we were unable to follow him till eight in the evening, being detained by another fetish ceremony. The Mohammedan priest then gave us the dimensions and shape of a large mirror, a handsome sword, and other articles, which he begged of us to procure for him in England; and then we arose to take our leave of the king, expressing our acknowledgments to him with sincerity and heartiness for the cordial and generous reception we had met with. Our own canoe and people had departed long before, and it was dark when we jumped into the chief's canoe, which was waiting for us, and launched out into the stream. We lay off at a short distance from the bank, when all the fetish people walked knee-deep into the river, and muttered a long prayer, after which they splashed the water towards our canoe with each foot, and we proceeded on. Damuggoo is a long straggling town, and is formed, indeed, by a collection of villages, which are scattered along the western bank. Touching at one of these, which is situated rather remote from the starting-place, a

number of individuals leaped from the shore into the water by the side of our canoe, and began pattering about, in order to appease the anger of their deities, and ensure us a favourable voyage.

The natives do everything by halves ; on arriving at the village, it was found that we had not taken a sufficient number of canoe-men for the occasion ; and they loitered about the place, bawling for assistance, till they were joined by two companions. Every time the canoe stopped for any purpose, the canoe-men muttered some sentences in a low tone to the fetich, invoking the aid of their deity towards a safe passage. All having got into the canoe, we glided down the stream with delightful rapidity, without stopping anywhere, or meeting with further hindrances till midnight. The canoe-men entertained us with their native songs, keeping time with their paddles, and everything contributed to render the passage pleasant, had we not been uneasy at our canoe with Pascoe being so far before us, without any messenger or guide. This made me determine not to send him on again without either my brother or self accompanying him.

We are inclined to attribute the good reception we met with from the chief of Damuggoo entirely to the influence of the Mallam. It is the character of the Nouffie people to speak in good terms of us wherever we have met them, and it was no doubt the representation of this old man that operated so powerfully in our favour with the chief. We regretted very much that we had nothing better to give him than a few needles for his services to us during our stay, as he had been our interpreter on all occasions.

Friday, November 5th. — We continued on our way down the river until two in the morning, when we arrived at a halting place, near a considerable

village, the name of which we could not ascertain. Here our people landed to repose awhile under the branches of trees, and await the coming of our own canoe, which we had not seen during the night. Our lodgings were very far from agreeable; we were crammed, comparatively, into a small canoe, with a dozen people as companions, besides a number of goats, and six slaves, consisting of three women, two men, and a pretty little boy. Neither of these slaves seem to bestow a moment's regret on leaving their native country, though they know they are to be sold on the coast, and conveyed to a foreign and distant land, if we may except a troublesome female, who screamed by starts during the night; but her sorrow was evidently assumed, her object being to disturb her associates in misfortune, and give trouble to her keepers, rather than to give vent to her own feelings. The noise of this unsociable companion was silenced occasionally by a few hearty cuffs on the head by one of the canoe-men. It was impossible for the slaves to lie down, so they sat in the bottom of the canoe, with the goats, and there they slept soundly, though the water which was admitted into the canoe was continually washing and splashing against their naked sides. The little boy above-mentioned is intended as a present from the chief of Damuggoo to the king of Bonny; he is not placed on a similar footing to his companions, but is treated with tenderness. The men and women slaves are fettered in the day-time, but their irons are taken off at night. These have been all free people; but having been found guilty of minor offences at Damuggoo, they are sentenced to perpetual slavery and banishment.

A market is to be held to-morrow in the village near which we are stopping, and several large canoes

filled with people and goods are lying alongside of us, for their owners to commence trafficking as soon as the morning shall dawn. Others are constantly arriving from various quarters for the same purpose, so that we are now (four in the morning) surrounded by a large squadron of native canoes. Ours, with Pascoe and his companions, has just entered the creek. It is a heavy and clumsy vessel, and therefore greatly inferior to the light canoes of the natives. Pascoe told us he had hailed a great many canoes, thinking they were ours, and we were so much pleased that he had not been stopped, that we entertained a very good opinion of these people.

The river has run in a westerly and south-westerly direction to-day with many windings. The breadth has varied from one to three or four miles, and the current has run very rapidly. The banks were low and swampy, and covered with a thick underwood interspersed with palm trees.

We endeavoured to obtain a little rest, but found it quite impossible, and at five in the morning we arose wearied and fatigued. The heavy dew which had fallen wetted us completely through. At sunrise I joined our people in the old canoe, which contained the whole of our luggage, for the purpose of encouraging them to greater exertion, otherwise they would not keep up with the men of Damuggoo, and might loiter behind and lose themselves; and as my brother's canoe could easily overtake me, I proceeded onwards at five, A.M., leaving him behind with the other.

The village is famous for palm-oil, which it produces in abundance, and the buyers of that commodity were exceedingly numerous. The bank was lined with many hundreds of people whose curiosity to see a white man was irresistible; so that, in order

to prevent unpleasant consequences after I had left them, my brother's canoe-men, who had been engaged in purchasing provisions, pushed off the shore between seven and eight in the morning, and continued down the river, following my track.

I had left one trunk and one medicine-chest in my brother's canoe, and a couple of muskets, in case he might want them, and being very anxious to get down the river had started without breakfast, at which my people were very much dissatisfied. They complained of being tired very soon, and asked for their breakfast. I cheered them up all I could, with the hopes of getting them on farther before we stopped; and taking the paddle myself, I set them the example in using it, at the same time singing "Rule Britannia" to them, and telling them that in six or seven days we should reach the sea, when I would reward them all well. This had the desired effect, and although I could not but think that the poor fellows complained very justly, we continued on very pleasantly.

At six, A.M., we were passing rather close to a point in the river, round which it takes an abrupt turn, and the current being very rapid, we were carried into an eddy before we were aware of it. It was with considerable difficulty that we got clear of it, but had we been two yards nearer to the shore, our canoe would have been dashed into pieces. These dangers will always be avoided by the precaution of keeping in the middle of the river. At seven, A.M., we saw a small river enter the Niger from the eastward, the banks of which, as well as those of the Niger, were elevated and fertile. Shortly after, we observed a branch of the river running off to the westward, about the same size as that from the eastward. On the right bank of this river, close also to the bank of the

Niger, we observed a large market, which I was informed is Kirree; and that the river, flowing to the westward past it, runs to Benin. A great number of canoes were lying near the bank. They appeared to be very large, and had flags flying on long bamboo canes. We took no notice of them, but passed on, and in a short time afterwards we saw about fifty canoes before us, coming up the river. They appeared to be very large and full of men, and the appearance of them at a distance was very pleasing. They had each three long bamboo canes, with flags flying from them, one fixed at each end of the canoe, and the other in the middle. As we approached each other, I observed the British Union flag in several, while others, which were white, had figures on them of a man's leg, chairs, tables, decanters, glasses, and all kinds of such devices. The people in them, who were very numerous, were dressed in European clothing, with the exception of trousers.

I felt quite overjoyed by the sight of these people, more particularly so when I saw our flag and European apparel among them, and congratulated myself that they were from the sea-coast. But all my fond anticipations vanished in a moment as the first canoe met us. A great stout fellow, of a most forbidding countenance, beckoned to me to come to him, but seeing him and all his people so well armed, I was not much inclined to trust myself among them, and paid no attention to him. The next moment I heard the sound of a drum, and in an instant several men mounted a platform and levelled their muskets at us. There was nothing to be done now but to obey; as for running away it was out of the question, our square loaded canoe was incapable of it, and to fight with fifty war-canoes, for such we found them,

containing each above forty people, most of whom were as well armed as ourselves, would have been throwing away my own and my canoe-men's lives very foolishly. In addition to the muskets, each canoe had a long gun in its bow that would carry a shot of four or six pounds, besides being provided with a good stock of swords and boarding-pikes.

By this time our canoes were side by side, and with astonishing rapidity our luggage found its way into those of our opponents. This mode of proceeding I did not relish at all; so as my gun was loaded with two balls and four slugs, I took deliberate aim at the leader, and he would have paid for his temerity with his life in one moment more, had not three of his people sprung on me and forced the gun from my hands. My jacket and shoes were as quickly plundered from me, and observing some other fellows at the same time taking away Pascoe's wife, I lost all command over myself, and was determined to sell my life as dearly as I could. I encouraged my men to arm themselves with their paddles and defend themselves to the last. I instantly seized hold of Pascoe's wife, and with the assistance of another of my men dragged her from the fellow's grasp; Pascoe at the same time levelled a blow at his head with one of our iron-wood paddles that sent him reeling backwards, and we saw him no more.

Our canoe having been so completely relieved of her cargo, which had consisted only of our luggage, we had plenty of room in her for battle, and being each of us provided with a paddle, we determined, as we had got clear of our adversary, to cut down the first fellow who should dare to board us. This was not attempted; and as none of the other canoes had offered to interfere, I was in hopes of finding some friends among them, but at all events was determined

to follow the people who had plundered us to the market, where they seemed to be going. We accordingly pulled after them as fast as we could. My men, now that the fray was over, began to think of their forlorn condition. All their things were gone; and, as they gave up all hopes of regaining them, or being able to revenge themselves on the robbers, they gave vent to their rage in tears and execrations. I desired them to be quiet, and endeavoured all in my power to pacify them by telling them that if we were spared to reach the sea in safety, I would pay them for everything they had lost.

We were following the canoe that had attacked us as fast as we possibly could, to regain our things, if possible, when some people hailed us from a large canoe, which I found afterwards belonged to the New Calebar river. One of the people, who was apparently a person of consequence, called out lustily to me, "Holloa, white man, you French, you English?"—"Yes, English," I answered him immediately. "Come here in my canoe," he said; and our two canoes approached each other rapidly. I accordingly got into his canoe, and he put three of his men into mine to assist in pulling her to the market. The people of the canoe treated me with much kindness, and the chief of her who had hailed me gave me a glass of rum. There were several females also in the canoe who appeared to take a great deal of interest in my safety.

On looking around me, I now observed my brother coming towards us in the Damuggoo canoe, and the same villain who had plundered me was the first to pursue him. As we had been absent from each other all the morning, and the foregoing transactions only relate to myself, the following narrative of my brother's will give the reader an account of his proceedings to

the time I saw him, and the disaster which soon after followed.

“My brother left the village nearly two hours before me, and therefore he was far in advance when the Damuggoo canoe, in which I had remained, was pushed off the land. Wishing to overtake him, for he had no guide, the men exerted themselves wonderfully to make amends for the time which they had trifled away; and it was really astonishing to see the rapidity with which the canoe was impelled through the water.

“The morning was cool, serene, and delightful, and the sun had just emerged from a mass of dense clouds, which were fringed with a silvery light. On each side of the river, gentle and undulating hills rose one behind the other, covered with verdure, and here and there varied by groves of dark green trees, which served to render the prospect yet more agreeable. The smooth, transparent surface of the river, disturbed only by the motions of our paddles, so calm, so peaceful in its gentle course, reflected with unerring truth the enchanting landscape from either side, and lent its friendly aid to hasten us to our long-wished-for destination.

“After we had been in the canoe perhaps an hour, one of the men who happened to be standing in the bow, fancied that he could descry, in another canoe then at a considerable distance before us, a sheep and goat, which my brother had taken away with him in the morning. All doubt as to the identity of the animals having been removed from his own mind and those of his companions—though, for my own part, I must own that my vision was not near keen enough to allow me to agree with them in opinion—we gave chase to the suspected canoe. The men summoned all their resolution and strength to the task, and, like

an arrow from a bow, our narrow vessel darted through the water. We gained rapidly on the chase, and the people, perceiving our object, and mistrusting our intentions, kept near the shore, and laboured hard to get away from us. They then entered a branch of the river which was running to the south-west, and sheltered themselves amongst a number of canoes that were lying alongside a large market-place, situated on the right bank.

“This did not damp the spirit of our men, or deter them from following the pursuit: we succeeded in discovering their hiding-place; and at length, after much wrangling and many threats, the robbers (for such they proved to be) were compelled to restore the animals. But how my brother could have suffered two men to plunder his canoe puzzled me exceedingly, and I was totally at a loss to account for it. Nothing could exceed my surprise, on approaching the market, to observe, as I thought, large European flags, affixed to poles, and waving over almost every canoe that was there. On a closer examination I discovered them to be imitations only, though they were executed with uncommon skill and neatness. British colours, apparently, were the most prevalent, and among these the Union flag seemed to be the general favourite. Nor did my former surprise diminish in the least, when I landed, on finding that the market people were clad in European apparel, though, with the odd fancy which is remarkable among Indians who have any intercourse with Europeans, none of them were dressed in a complete suit of clothes. One wore a hat only, with a Manchester cotton tied round his waist; another a shirt; another a jacket, &c. As all natives, with the exception of kings, are forbidden by law to wear trousers, a common pocket-handkerchief was generally substituted

for that article of dress. The multitude formed the most motley group that we have ever seen ; nothing on earth could be more grotesque or ridiculous. Many of the men had a smattering of the English and French tongues.

“ The object for which we had stopped at the market having been effected to our satisfaction, we pulled out again into the main body of the river, and here we saw several canoes of amazing size coming towards us from the southward. Totally unsuspecting of danger of any kind from this quarter, astonishment at such a sight was the only emotion that entered my mind ; and we resolved to pass in the midst of these canoes, that we might more conveniently look on each side of us, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contained anything belonging to us. At the next moment, another *squadron* of the same description of vessels came in sight, in one of which I could discover my brother by his white shirt ; and I fancied that he was returning to demand restitution of the animals of which he had been plundered, therefore I still felt perfectly easy in my mind.

“ When we drew nearer, it was apparent that these were all war-canoes, of prodigious dimensions ; immense flags of various colours were displayed in them, a six-pounder was lashed to the bow of each ; and they were filled with women and children, and armed men, whose weapons were in their hands. Such was their size, that each of them was paddled by nearly forty people. In pursuance of our arrangement, we passed through the midst of them, but could see nothing ; and we had advanced a few yards, when on looking behind us, we discovered that the war-canoes had been turned round, and were swiftly pursuing us. Appearances were hostile ; the apprehension of danger suddenly flashed across my mind ; we endeavoured

and struggled hard to escape; but fear had taken possession of the minds of my companions, and as they were unable to exert themselves we did not get on; all was vain. Our canoe was overtaken in a moment, and nearly sent under water by the violence with which her pursuer dashed against her; a second crash threw two or three of the Damuggoo people overboard, and by the shock of the third she capsized and sunk. All this seemed the work of enchantment, so quickly did events succeed each other; yet, in this interval, a couple of ill-looking fellows had jumped into our canoe, and in the confusion which prevailed, began emptying it of its contents with astonishing celerity. ✓

“On finding myself in the water, my first care was, very naturally, to get out again; and therefore looking round on a hundred ruffians, in whose countenances I could discern not a single trace of gentleness or pity, I swam to a large canoe, apart from the others, in which I observed two females, and some little ones, — for in their breasts, thought I, compassion and tenderness must surely dwell. Perceiving my design, a sturdy man of gigantic stature, such as little children dream of, black as a coal, and with a most hideous countenance, suddenly sprang towards me, and stooping down, he laid hold of my arm, and snatched me with a violent jerk out of the water, letting me fall like a log into the canoe, without speaking a word.

“I soon recovered, and sat up with my companions, the women and children, and discovered them wiping tears from their faces. In momentary expectation of a barbarous and painful death, ‘for what else,’ said I to myself, ‘can all this lead to?’ the scene around me produced little impression upon my mind; my thoughts were wandering far away, and this day I

thought was to be my last. I was meditating in this manner, heedless of all that was going on around me, and reckless of what came next, when I looked up and saw my brother at a little distance, gazing steadfastly upon me; when he saw that I observed him, he held up his arm with a sorrowful look, and pointed his finger to the skies. O! how distinctly and eloquently were all the emotions of his soul at that moment depicted in his countenance! Who could not understand him? He would have said, 'Trust in God!' I was touched with grief. Thoughts of home and friends rushed upon my mind, and almost overpowered me. My heart hovered over the scenes of infancy and boyhood. O how vividly did early impressions return to my soul! But such feelings could be indulged only for a moment. Recollecting myself, I bade them, as I thought, an everlasting adieu; and weaning my heart and thoughts from all worldly associations, with fervour I invoked the God of my life, before whose awful throne I imagined we should shortly appear, for fortitude and consolation in the hour of trial. My heart became subdued and softened; my mind regained its serenity and composure; and though there was nothing but tumult and distraction without, within all was tranquillity and resignation.

"On account of the eagerness and anxiety with which every one endeavoured to get near us in order to share the expected plunder, and the confusion which prevailed in consequence, many of the war-canoes clashed against each other with such violence, that three or four of them were upset at one time, and the scene which ensued baffles all description. Men, women and children, clinging to their floating property, were struggling in the river, and screaming and crying out as loud as they were able, to be saved

from drowning. Those that were more fortunate, were beating their countrymen off from getting into their canoes, by striking their heads and hands with paddles, as they laid hold of the sides and nearly upset them. When the noise and disorder had in some measure ceased, my brother's canoe and that which I was in were by the side of each other, and he instantly took his shirt from his back, and threw it over me, for I was naked. I then stepped into his canoe; for whatever might be our fate, it would be a mournful kind of pleasure to comfort and console one another in the hour of trial and suffering. But I had no sooner done so, than I was dragged back again by a powerful arm, which I could not resist, and commanded by furious gestures to sit still on my peril.

“Unwilling to aggravate our condition by obstinacy or bravado, which would have been vain and ridiculous, I made no reply, but did as I was desired, and silently watched the motions of our keepers. Now there were still other canoes passing by on their way to the market-place, and amongst them was one of extraordinary size. Fancying it to be neutral, and hoping to make a diversion in our favour, I beckoned to those who were in it, and saluted them in the most friendly manner. But their savage bosoms were impenetrable to feeling. Surely they are destitute of all the amiable charities of life. I almost doubted whether they were human beings. Their hideous features were darkened by a terrible scowl: they mocked me, clapped their hands, and thumped upon a sullen drum; then with a loud and scornful laugh, the barbarians dashed their paddles into the water and went their way. This was a severe mortification; I felt confused and abashed; and my heart seemed to shrink within itself. I made no more such trials.”

Seeing my brother swimming in the river, and people clinging on to what they could, I endeavoured all in my power to induce the people of my canoe to go to him. But all I could do was in vain. Fearing that those in the water might upset the canoe by getting into her, or that she would be overloaded with them, they kept aloof and let them take their chance. My feelings at that moment were not to be described; I saw my brother nearly exhausted, and could render him no assistance, in addition to our luggage being plundered and sunk; and I had just formed the resolution of jumping into the water after him, when I saw him picked up.

The canoes near me, as well as mine, hastened to a small sand island in the river, at a short distance from the market, and my brother arrived soon afterwards. In a short time the Damuggoo people made their appearance, and also the chief of Bonny's messenger, having like ourselves lost everything they had of their own property, as well as their master's. This was in consequence of the confusion which had taken place: for these people, no doubt, had they been recognised, would not have been molested. We were all obliged to remain in our respective canoes, and made rather a sorry appearance in consequence of the treatment we had received, which was increased by the tears and lamentations of our own canoe-men, as well as those of Damuggoo, and neither my brother nor myself were in a condition to offer them any consolation.

We had been lying at the island; but now the war-canoes were all formed into a line and paddled into the market-place before alluded to, which is called *Kirrée*, and which likewise was the place of their destination. Here we were informed that a *palàver* would be held, to take the whole affair into con-

sideration ; and about ten in the morning, a multitude of men landed from the canoes, " to hold a council of war," if it may be so termed. For our parts, we were not suffered to go on shore ; but constrained to remain in the canoes, without a covering for the head, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun. A person in a Mohammedan dress, who we learnt afterwards was a native of a place near Funda, came to us, and endeavoured to cheer us, by saying that our hearts must not be sore,—that at the palàver which would be held, we had plenty of friends to speak for us. That all the people in the Mohammedan dresses who had come from Funda to attend the market were our friends, besides a great number of females who were well dressed in silk of different colours. These women wore large ivory anklets of about four or five pounds weight, and bracelets of the same material, but not so large. About twenty canoes full of Damuggoo people had arrived from the various towns near Damuggoo. These persons having heard how we had been treated, also became our friends, so that we now began to think there was a chance of our escaping, and this intelligence put us into better spirits.

A short time before noon, the river being pretty clear, several guns were fired as a signal for all the canoes to repair to the market and attend the palàver. Eager to learn the result of the discussion at the assembly, in which we were so intimately concerned, but without the means of gaining any intelligence, we passed the hours in fearful suspense, yielding by turns to the pleasing illusions of hope, and the gloomy forebodings of despair.

The heat of the sun, to which we were exposed, was excessive, and having no shirt on even to protect my shoulders from the scorching rays, I contrived to borrow an old cloth from one of the canoe-men, who

spoke a little English. Some of the market-women came down to our canoe, and looked on us with much concern and pity, spreading their hands out, as much as to say, God has saved you from a cruel death. They then retired, and in a few minutes afterwards returned, bringing with them a bunch of plantains and two cocoa-nuts. This was an acceptable offering, and we gladly took it and divided it among our people and ourselves.

A stir was now made in the market, and a search commenced through all the canoes for our goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. These were landed and placed in the middle of the market-place. We were now invited by the Mallams to land, and told to look at our goods and see if they were all there. To my great satisfaction I immediately recognised the box containing our books, and one of my brother's journals. The medicine-chest was by its side, but both were filled with water. A large carpet-bag, containing all our wearing apparel, was lying cut open, and deprived of its contents, with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trowsers, and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it had contained were gone. The whole of my journal, with the exception of a note-book with remarks from Rabba to this place, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of the late Mr. Park, four cutlasses, and two pistols were gone. Nine elephant's tusks, the finest I had seen in the country, which had been given us by the kings of Wowow and Boossà, a quantity of ostrich feathers, some handsome leopard skins, a great variety of seeds, all our buttons, cowries, and needles, which were necessary for us to purchase provisions with,—all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river. The two boxes and the bag were all that could be found.

We had been desired to seat ourselves, which, as soon as we had done, a circle gathered round us, and began questioning us ; but at that moment the sound of screams and the clashing of arms reached the spot ; and the multitude catching fire at the noise, drew their swords, and leaving us to ourselves, they ran away to the place whence it proceeded. The poor women were hurrying with their little property towards the river from all directions, and imagining that we ourselves might be trampled under foot, were we to remain longer sitting on the ground, we joined the flying fugitives, and all rushing into the water, sprang into canoes, and pushed off the land, whither our pursuers dared not follow us. The origin of all this was a desire for more plunder on the part of the Eboe people. Seeing the few things of ours in the market-place which had been taken from their canoes, they made a rush to the place to recover them. The natives, who were Kirree people, stood ready for them, armed with swords, daggers, and guns ; and the savage Eboes finding themselves foiled in the attempt, retreated to their canoes without risking an attack, although we fully expected to have been spectators of a furious and bloody battle. The noise and uproar which this produced were dreadful, and beyond all description.

This after all was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as my brother and I, having unconsciously jumped into the same canoe, found ourselves in each other's company, and were thus afforded, for a short time at least, the pleasure of conversing without interruption ; and he then related to me all that had happened to him since the morning. Like me he had no foresight of mischief, or apprehension of danger, and therefore he took no means whatever of shunning the immense canoes which he perceived were

approaching him with their large flags. But on the contrary, these striking and uncommon appendages, to which neither of us had been accustomed, served to excite his curiosity and win his admiration, rather than awaken any fear or suspicion of danger.

The palaver not having yet concluded, we had full leisure to contemplate the scene around us. We had moored a little way from the banks of the river : in front of us was the market-place, which was crammed with people, from all parts of the neighbouring country, of different tribes,—a great multitude of wild men, of ferocious aspect, and savage, uncouth manners. To these belonged the choice, either of giving us life and liberty, or dooming us to slavery or death. In the latter determination their minds might be swayed by suspicion or caprice, or influenced by hatred ; in the former they might be guided by the hopes of gain, or biassed by the fears of punishment,—for many of them had come from the sea-coast, and such an adventure as ours could not long remain concealed from the knowledge of our countrymen. The shore for a long way was lined with their canoes, having the colours of various European nations waving from long poles, which were fastened to the seats. Several of these had as many as three flags in each ; they were all of immense size, and fringed with blue cotton (baft) cut into scollops. Besides these, there were others of the strangest and most grotesque patterns, such as representations of wild beasts, men's legs, wine glasses, decanters, and things of still more whimsical shapes. Whence the barbarians procured these emblematical banners we cannot tell ; but we understand that each tribe has its own peculiar flags, which are unfurled whenever they undertake any enterprise of importance. Canoes were likewise stationed near an

island or sand-bank in the middle of the river, which we considered to be neutral, as their owners did not seem to interfere with the proceedings of the day. But there happened to be among the sayages a few well-dressed Mohammedan priests, who had come late to the market from the northward. These were decidedly our friends. Many times they blessed us with uplifted hands and compassionate countenances, exclaiming "*Alla Sullikee!*" (God is King!) Nor did they confine themselves to simple expressions of pity or concern; but, as we subsequently learnt, they joined the assembly, and spoke in our favour with warmth and energy, taxing those who had assaulted us with cowardice, cruelty, and wrong, and proposing to have them beheaded on the spot as a just punishment for their crime. This was bold language, but it produced a salutary effect on the minds of the hearers.

The women and children took charge of the canoes whilst their husbands and fathers were on shore. From the former we received little presents of bananas and cocoa-nuts, which were our only food during the day; but with the latter we had little communication. Both men and women wore immensely large ivory rings on their legs and arms, which were at least an inch in thickness, and six inches in depth; and these ornaments were so heavy and inconvenient, that when the females walked, they appeared the most awkward and ungraceful creatures in the world; in fact, they could not walk without producing a collision of these unwieldy rings. The women's necks and bosoms were likewise decorated with strings of coral and other beads, but their dress was confined to a piece of figured cotton, encircling the waist, and extending half-way down the leg.

At about three in the afternoon we were ordered

to return to the small island from whence we had come ; and the setting of the sun being the signal for the council to dissolve, we were again sent for to the market. The people had been engaged in deliberation and discussion during the whole of the day, and with throbbing hearts we received their resolution in nearly the following words :—“ That the king of the country being absent, they had taken upon themselves to consider the occurrence which had taken place in the morning, and to give judgment accordingly. Those of our things which had been saved from the water should be restored to us, and the person that had first commenced the attack on my brother should lose his head, as a just retribution for his offence, having acted without his chief’s permission ; and that with regard to us, we must consider ourselves as prisoners, and consent to be conducted on the following morning to *Obie*, king of the *Eboe* country, before whom we should undergo an examination, and whose will and pleasure concerning our persons would then be explained.” We received the intelligence with feelings of rapture, and with bursting hearts we offered up thanks to our Divine Creator for his signal preservation of us throughout this disastrous day.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for us that we had no article of value which the natives were at all solicitous about ; and to this circumstance, added to the envy of those who had joined in the conquest, but who had not shared the plunder, may chiefly be attributed, under Providence, the preservation of our lives. Our medicine-chest, and a trunk containing books, &c., which were all spoiled by the water, were subsequently restored to us ; but our wearing apparel, Mr. Park’s double-barrelled gun, the loss of which we particularly regretted, and all our muskets, swords,

and pistols, with those of our men, were sunk or missing. We likewise lost the elephant's teeth given us by the kings of Boossà and Wowow, a few natural curiosities, our compass and thermometers, my own journal, my brother's memorandum, note, and sketch books, with a small part of his journal and other books which were open in the canoe, besides all our cowries and needles, so that we were left completely destitute, to the mercy of we know not whom.

The object of the barbarians in coming so far from home was never correctly explained to us ; but we have no doubt that it was from motives of plunder, which, had our party been larger, was to have been carried into effect on an extensive scale. But the capture of two white men, supposed to have valuable goods with them, seems to have disconcerted all their plans for the present, by producing division and distrust amongst them. However, it was apparent to us that all these savage warriors had left their country, not only to plunder whatever might happen to fall in their way, but likewise to attend two or three markets near *Kirree*, for the purpose of trading with the natives whenever they might fancy themselves not sufficiently powerful to take away their property without fighting and bloodshed. For this purpose they were amply furnished with various commodities, such as powder, muskets, cutlasses, knives, cotton cloths, earthenware, skins of wild animals, mats, sweet potatoes, cassada root, and a very large kind of straw hat, which they would exchange for slaves, ivory, yams, and palm-oil. It was evident also at *Kirree*, that more than one party of these robbers had made several attempts at plunder, and it was equally notorious that they had been many times repulsed. Hence the dreadful screaming at the market, and the state of hurry, tumult,

and alarm that prevailed therein during the whole of the day.

In the evening, when everything was quiet, fires were kindled in all the canoes, for dressing provisions; and there being a vast number of them, the Niger was illuminated by streams of yellow light, which produced a highly romantic, but melancholy effect. It was a time fitted for adoration and thanksgiving to the beneficent Creator and Monarch of all. But, alas! how few hereabouts are bending the knee to him—how few are lifting up their hearts to his mercy-seat!

The Kirree people are a savage-looking race. They are amazingly strong and athletic, and are also well-proportioned. Their only clothing is the skin either of a leopard or tiger, fastened round their waist. Their hair is plaited, and plastered with red clay in abundance, and their face is full of incisions in every part of it; these are cut into the flesh so as to produce deep furrows, each incision being about a quarter of an inch long, and dyed with indigo. It is scarcely possible to make out a feature of their face, and I have never seen Indians more disfigured. The Eboe women have handsome features, and we could not help thinking it a pity that such savage-looking fellows as the men should be blessed with so handsome a race of females. The mark of the Eboe people is the point of an arrow pricked in each temple, the end being next to the eye. We are informed that the leading man, who commanded the first canoe that attacked us in the river this morning, is confined in double irons, and condemned to die by the people, who are friends at this place. It is said they have taken our treatment up with so much determination to do us justice, that if the king of Eboe, whose subject he is, refuses to put him to death, no more of

his canoes will be allowed to come to this country to trade. His wives have been crying round him and making great lamentation.

About seven in the evening, large heavy clouds, ascending from the horizon, covered the stars like a shroud; a total darkness prevailed, and we were presently visited by a storm, which generally follows a very sultry day; but although it was violent, it was short. The rain descended in torrents, the wind howled through the trees, and all the fires were extinguished in a moment. Our canoe was half filled with water, and ourselves completely drenched; but notwithstanding these inconveniences and discouragements, we lay down as well as we could to sleep till morning; for nature was wearied out with a long day of anxiety and fatigue.

CHAPTER XIX.

Departure from Kirree—Method of trading—Character of the natives—An unhappy slave—Superstitions of the canoeemen respecting the travellers—Stopped by fog—Pass through a lake—Arrival at Eboe Town—The King's Palace—Description of King Obie—Interview with him—The Eboe people—Trade of Eboe Town—Disputes of the natives respecting the travellers—Decision of King Obie respecting them—Their disappointment—An Eboe Lady—Arrangements for leaving Eboe.

Saturday, November 6th.—My brother felt quite feverish this morning, and I was very unwell, yet we had nothing to eat, nor anything to purchase it with. At sunrise, our canoe was taken from before Kirree market-place, to the little sand-bank or island in the middle of the river, where we waited till nine o'clock for the coming of two war canoes, which it has been resolved should convoy us to the Eboe country,

which we understand is situated three days' journey hence down the Niger. A head man from one of them stepped into ours, though, as it was, we had scarcely room enough to move a limb. The sunken canoe had been got up again; the Damuggoo people had regained their slaves, having lost only cloth and ivory; for which they are told they will be recompensed by the king of the Eboe country on arriving there; so that this circumstance seemed to have revived their hopes a little, and to have inspired them with fresh life and spirits, which one could scarcely expect from individuals that had so recently been half drowned, beaten, and otherwise ill-used. Nevertheless, though our loss far exceeded theirs, we were as cheerful as they. Our minds had been relieved from a painful state of anxiety; we now looked forward to our journey down the river with the most pleasing anticipations; and even in our forlorn condition, we profited by the lesson we had received, and rejoiced that our situation was no worse. Our thoughts were once more turned on home; we quickly resumed our former cheerfulness; the freshness of the morning gave us new vigour, and we ardently wished to set out.

At seven in the morning we bade adieu to Kirree, the scene of all our sorrows, accompanied by six large war canoes, and again took our station with the Damuggoo people. The canoe once more darted along at a great rate, the men, as they applied their whole strength to their paddles, gave us a song of their country, which seemed to animate them to still greater exertion. Our minds were well prepared to enjoy it; and in no part of the country have we listened to a native song with so much pleasure and gratification.

At nine in the morning we passed two beautiful

islands, not far from the place where we had been first attacked. These were uninhabited and nearly in the middle of the river, which is about three miles broad. The direction of it seemed to be about south-west, or rather more westerly, but having lost our compass with the rest of our things yesterday, we are now quite at a loss for the direction of the river, and can only form an opinion from the place of the sun. At intervals of two or three miles we observed large towns and villages on the banks, which at a short distance from the river became high. Our canoe people being afraid, I suppose, of the inhabitants, and perhaps being at war with them, would not go near them, although they were in want of yams.

At eleven A.M., the people laid in their paddles, and allowed the canoe to drift down the river, while they took their breakfast.

Besides our convoy, we had a *sumpter-canoe* in company, belonging to the Eboe people, from which the others were supplied with dressed provisions. For our own part, we had neither money nor needles, nor indeed anything to purchase a meal; and knowing this to be the case, our sable guardians neglected to take into consideration the state of our stomachs. However, we felt no very strong inclination to join them in their repast, though on one occasion we were invited to do so; for we felt an invincible disgust to it, from the filthy manner in which it had been prepared. Yams were first boiled, then skinned and mashed into a paste, with the addition of a little water, by hands that were far from being clean. As this part of the business requires great personal exertion, the man on whom it devolved perspired very copiously, and the consequences may easily be guessed at. This was the reason for the unconquerable aversion we felt to partake of their food. The natives,

however, are not equally squeamish about such trifles, and compassionate our want of taste in not relishing their savoury banquet. With their yams they generally have a little fish, either smoked and dried, or fresh from the stream; but on very particular occasions, instead of fish, a young kid, roasted with its skin and hair, is substituted. In eating, they use the fingers only, and every one dips his hand into the same dish. This custom is universal. It is the same amongst the Moors in Barbary, and the Arabs and Mohammedans in India, and perhaps in many other countries in the world.

Had it not been for the above filthy method of preparing their repast, we should not have hesitated in joining them, having eaten nothing either to-day or yesterday but a small piece of a banana. Half an hour was thus passed, when the men took their paddles again, and the canoes moved on at a swift rate. The river became more winding in its course, and the banks were covered with large trees which hung over the water.

At four in the afternoon we halted to purchase yams at a town on the bank of a river, which was nearly hid from our sight amidst the trees and thick underwood. The canoes having reached the bank, five of the canoemen landed well armed, and proceeded to the town. They had been absent an hour, when they again made their appearance, followed by a great many people carrying bundles. They were also accompanied by one old woman, who appeared to be a person of consequence. It appears that the natives in this part of the river are such outrageous and lawless fellows, that they are mistrustful of each other even in the smallest communication, and we had an opportunity of seeing how far this was carried.

The object of our visit was to purchase yams, and our people had succeeded in getting the villagers to bring some down to the canoes. These people, however, had armed themselves either with a gun or sword, as well as our own, and had no women among them, excepting the old one above-mentioned. Having arrived at the bank of the river, the old woman directed all the yams to be placed in a row before our people, and in distinct and separate bundles, and the owners to retire to a short distance, which order was implicitly obeyed. The purchaser now inspected the bundles, and having selected one to his satisfaction, which might contain the finest yams, placed what he considered to be its value by the side of it, consisting of cloth, flints, &c. The old lady looking on all the time, if in her opinion it was sufficient to give, takes up the cloth and gives it to the owner of the bundle, and the purchaser likewise takes away the yams. But, on the contrary, if the cloth or whatever was thus offered by the purchaser, is not considered sufficient by the old woman, she allows it to remain a short time, to give him an opportunity of adding something else to his offer. If this were not done, the owner of the yams was directed by the old woman to take them and move them back out of the way, leaving what had been offered for them to be taken away also. All this was carried on without a word passing between the parties; and the purchase of a sufficient number of yams by our people occupied three hours. It was something quite novel to see two large parties of people bartering commodities in this manner; and the apparent unconcern and determination with which the old woman held out, when she considered the price offered for the yams not sufficient, was quite amusing. She knew our men must have yams; and with an ill grace they added anything to

what they had already offered. The scene before us was altogether extraordinary. Many of the people belonging to the canoes were standing in a group on the bank of the river near them, with muskets, swords, and spears in their hands; some with the articles with which they were about to make a purchase. A quantity of yams, arranged in large bundles, placed in a row, separated them from another group, consisting of the villagers, also armed, and both parties standing at a short distance from them, leaving a considerable space between. Here was stationed the old woman, who, with no little consequence, directed the whole affair by signs, either to her own party or ours, not a word being spoken by any one.

We could not help thinking, that everything, in the largest market we have seen, might have been disposed of in the time required for purchasing these yams, and that only ten days' journey up the river such a market would be found. This method of trading must have arisen either from the fear of quarrelling, or from not understanding each other's language, which is difficult to suppose; but it seems to have been instituted by mutual agreement, for both parties quite understood how they were to act. This is the first time we have witnessed it. The villagers have a wild appearance, rather resembling the Kirree people, but we observed no marks on the face, nor on any part of the person. We did not understand their language, and therefore could not inform ourselves of the name of the people or their village; and at seven in the evening again proceeded on our journey.

It was ten at night when we came abreast of a small town, where we stopped. Instead of making the canoes fast to the bank and landing, we lay out in the river at a short distance from it, in case of an alarm by strange canoes. It was long since we had

tasted food, and we had suffered from hunger the whole day without being able to obtain anything. Soon after we had stopped for the night, our guards gave us each a piece of roasted yam, and our poor people had the good fortune to get some also, being the first they have had since leaving Damuggoo. The roasted yam, washed down with a little water, was to us as joyful a meal as if we had been treated with the most sumptuous fare, and we laid ourselves down in the canoe to sleep in content.

The course of the river, according to the best of our judgment, has been about south-west.

Sunday, November 7th.—At the dawn of day, our canoemen were busily employed in making preparations for departure. We had been unable to get much sleep, from having nothing to protect us from the cold, and the heavy dew, which had wetted us completely through. The morning was calm, and beautifully fine; and the clear, shrill whistle of the cheerful parrot echoed through the woods, breaking the stillness which had prevailed around, as we took a hasty leave of the few villagers who had assembled out of curiosity to see us, and pursued our course down the stream. The banks of the river have altered decidedly within these two days; its course is not so serpentine as it has been; the banks are so low and regular, that not even a simple rising can anywhere be distinguished to break their uniformity; and, for the first time, we have seen the fibrous mangrove interspersed among the other trees of the forest. Indeed, they are beginning to present a degree of sameness little different from that which prevails on many parts of the sea-coast. Both banks, however, are pretty thickly inhabited, and villages are scattered every here and there; for though they are embosomed in trees, and invisible from the river, yet their situation

might easily be known from the number of their inhabitants which appeared on the beach to trade with the canoe-men. Plantains, bananas, and yams, are cultivated by these villagers to an almost incredible extent. They form, in fact, with the addition of the fish which they may happen to catch, their sole support, and the only articles of export. Many of them, though poor and wretched, are mild, and even timorous in their manners, and are said to be honest and upright in their dealings ; but others again are bold, cruel, and rapacious, and are dreaded and shunned not only by their neighbours, but also by those whom business may lead this way, unless they go in large, strong, and well-armed parties. Ours was certainly one of this description ; yet men were constantly appointed to keep a watchful eye on the bank, when we were compelled to pass it close, by keeping the channel, in order to guard against surprise by an ambuscade. For this purpose, two or three men stood up in the canoe for several hours at a time, with a musket and cutlass in each hand, to intimidate the natives, by convincing them that we were fully prepared for an attack. The singular method of trading we had witnessed yesterday, or something similar to it, was formerly in use, we believe, between natives and Europeans on various parts of the sea-coast ; and, if we are not mistaken, the same custom is observed to this day, not only in Africa, but in many other parts of the globe likewise.

Among the Damuggoo slaves is a middle-aged, short, fat woman, having a broad, mournful kind of countenance ; in fact, there were two of them, so very much alike in all respects, that they might be taken for sisters. As she sat with the goats, whose society, by-the-by, was extremely disagreeable to her, inasmuch as they committed various misdemeanours,

to her great annoyance, she fetched one of the deepest and most dismal sighs that I ever heard. This attracted my attention, for she was seated so near me, that from the motion of the canoe, I was not unfrequently jostled against her naked person, which was by no means agreeable, for she was a dirty woman. She had been slowly masticating, with apparent disrelish, part of a boiled yam, which appeared to be cold and dry, and which was now laid aside. She was in deep meditation; tear-drops were in her eyes, ready to fall as she gazed earnestly at a spot of land on the eastern bank, which was fast receding from her view. Her closed lips slightly upturned, and quivering with emotion, the usual prelude to more violent grief, gave an expression of sadness and silent sorrow to her countenance, which language can but ill express. Nothing could be more touching than this tranquil face of woe. Loud bursts of lamentation, and other vehement expressions of passion, would not be half so eloquent. I imagined that the poor creature was bewailing her hard fate in the ill usage which she had received from her guardians, one of whom had not long before applied a paddle to her head and shoulders; or she might, I thought, be in want of water, which was beyond her reach; but to satisfy my doubts, I addressed her, and demanded the cause of her emotion. On this she turned round her head, and bestowing a violent thump on the nose of a goat which had discovered her broken yam, and was nibbling it fast away, she replied, pointing with her finger to the spot on which she had been so anxiously gazing, — "*There I was born.*" The chord was touched; she had striven to repress her feelings before, but she could no longer command them; she became more agitated, and wept bitterly as she faltered out, "*That is my country!*" I was

softened and moved at the woman's distress, and should doubtless have felt still stronger compassion, if I had not observed her, in the midst of her tears, inflicting the most rigorous chastisement on her brute companions, in the most unmerciful manner. The kids and goats had, in their playfulness, been gambolling about her feet and legs, and bespattering them with a little dirty water from the bottom of the canoe; and I thought to myself, that if a female could behave with cruelty to a companion, being herself in distress, that little pity or gentleness could dwell in her bosom. However, be this as it may, she was greatly afflicted. She might have recalled to her mind, as she was borne past the place where she had received her being, and where her childhood had been spent, the pastimes and amusements of that innocent and happy period of life; and this reflection bringing along with it a train of pleasing associations, had produced her grief, which was no doubt increased by comparing the freedom which she once enjoyed, with her present miserable condition of bondage. It may appear strange that I should dwell so long on this subject, for it seems quite natural that every one, even the most thoughtless barbarian, would feel at least some slight emotion on being exiled from his native country, and enslaved. But so far is this from being the case, that Africans, generally speaking, betray the most perfect indifference on losing their liberty, and being deprived of their relatives; while love of country is seemingly as great a stranger to their breasts, as social tenderness and domestic affection. We have seen many thousands of slaves, some of them more intelligent than others; but the poor little fat woman whom I have mentioned,—the associate of beasts, and wallowing in filth, whose countenance would seem to indicate only listlessness,

stupidity, and perhaps idiotism, without the smallest symptom of intelligence,—she alone has shown anything like regret on gazing at her native land for the last time. “There I was born,” said she; as she was passing by it, weeping,—“That is my country!”

At eleven o'clock at night we arrived at a spot which had been chosen as a place of rendezvous for the whole party, and here we slept in our canoes. The river has run to-day rather to the southward of west, varying but slightly from yesterday's course.

Monday, November 8th.—Long before sunrise, though it was excessively dark, the canoes were put in motion; for as the “Eboe” country is said to be at no great distance, the Eboe people with us were desirous of arriving there as early in the day as possible. It proved to be a dull hazy morning, but at seven o'clock, A.M., the fog had become so dense, that no object, however large, could be distinguished, at a greater distance than a few yards. This created considerable confusion; and the men fearing, as they expressed it, to lose themselves, tied one canoe to another, thus forming double canoes, and all proceeding together in close company. However, we had gone but a little way after this arrangement, when the men fancied that they had departed from the proper track, and therefore they determined to pull ashore, and wait there till the mist should be dispelled; yet they toiled a full hour before their object was effected. We wished to be more particular in our observations of this interesting part of our journey; but were constrained to forego this gratification, on account of the superstitious prejudices of the natives, who were so infatuated as to imagine, that we had not only occasioned the fog, but that, if we did not sit or lie down in the canoe

(for we had been standing), it would inevitably cause the destruction of the whole party ;—and the reason which they assigned was, “ that the river had never beheld a white man before,” and, therefore, they dreaded the consequences of our rashness and presumption in regarding its waters so attentively. This and similar nonsense was delivered with such determination and earnestness, that we reluctantly lay down and allowed ourselves to be covered with mats, in order to quiet their apprehensions ; for we did not forget that we were prisoners, and that a perseverance in standing up would have exposed us to the mortification of being put down by force.

We hung on by the shore till the fog had dispersed, when we were again allowed to see the river. We now found ourselves on an immense body of water, like a lake, having gone a little out of the road, and at the mouth of a very considerable river, flowing to the westward, it being an important branch of the Niger ; another branch also ran from hence to the south-east, while our course was in a south-westerly direction on the main body ; the whole forming, in fact, *three* rivers of considerable magnitude. The banks were all low and swampy, and completely covered with palm-trees.

An hour or two after this, or about mid-day, one of the Eboe men in our canoe exclaimed “ There is my country !” pointing to a clump of very high trees, which was yet at some distance before us ; and after passing a low fertile island, we quickly came to it. Here we observed a few fishing-canoes, but their owners appeared suspicious and fearful, and would not come near us, though their national flag, which is a British Union, sewed on a large piece of plain white cotton, with scollops of blue, was streaming from a long staff in the bow. The town was yet, we

were told, a good way down the river. In a short time, however, we came to an extensive morass, intersected by little channels in every direction, and by one of these we got into clear water, and in front of the Eboe town. Here we found hundreds of canoes, some of them even larger than any we had previously met with. They are furnished with sheds and awnings, and afford commodious habitations for a vast number of people, who constantly reside in them; perhaps one of these canoes, which is made of a single trunk, contains as many as seventy individuals.

The little we could see of the houses with which the shore is interspersed, gave us a very favourable impression of the judgment and cleanliness of the inhabitants of the town. They are neatly built of yellow clay, plastered over, and thatched with palm leaves; yards, sprucely fenced, are annexed to each of them, in which plantains, bananas, and cocoa-trees grow, exhibiting a pleasing sight, and affording a delightful shade. When we came alongside the large canoes already spoken of, two or three huge brawny fellows, in broken English, asked how we did, in a tone which Stentor might have envied; and the shaking of hands with our powerful friends was really a punishment, on account of the violent squeezes which we were compelled to suffer. The chief of these men calls himself *Gun*, though *Blunderbuss*, or *Thunder*, would have been as appropriate a name; and without solicitation, he informed us that though he was not a great man, yet he was "a little military king;" that his brother's name was *King Boy*, and his father's *King Forday*, who with "*King Jacket*," governed all the *Brass* country. But what was infinitely more interesting to us than this ridiculous list of kings, was the information he gave us, that, besides a Spanish

✓ schooner, an English vessel, called the "Thomas of Liverpool," was also lying in the *first Brass river*, which Mr. Gun said was frequented by Liverpool traders for palm-oil.

Full of joy at this intelligence, we passed on to a little artificial creek, so narrow that our canoes could scarcely be pulled along, and here we were desired to wait till the king's pleasure respecting us should be known. On the return of the messenger, we were drawn, in the canoe, over ooze and mud to a considerable distance, when we got out and walked to a house, similar to those which we have already mentioned as having seen from the river. There was a little verandah supported by wooden columns in front, and on the floor, mats had been placed for our accommodation. Indeed its whole appearance was so clean and comfortable, and it likewise had such an appearance of neatness and simplicity about it, differing entirely from anything of the kind which we had seen for a long time, that we were quite pleased with our new abode; and if the countenance of our host had been at all in unison with the agreeableness of his dwelling, we imagined that we could live at ease in it for a few days at least. But it was not so. The harshness of this man's manners corresponded with his sulky, ill-natured face, and deprived us of a good deal of pleasure which we should have enjoyed in reposing at full length on dry, soft mats, after having been cramped up for three days in a small canoe, with slaves and goats, and exposed to the dews by night, and the sun by day.

An hour or two of rest invigorated and refreshed us extremely; and we then received a message from the king, that he was in waiting to see and converse with us. Having little to adjust in regard to our dress, we rose up and followed the man immediately.

Passing near the outskirts of the town, the man conducted us, by paths little frequented, to the outward yard of the palace, before the door of which was placed the statue of a woman in a sitting posture, and made of clay, very rude, of course, and very ugly. Having crossed the yard, in which we saw nothing remarkable, we entered by a wooden door into another, which was far superior. This formed an oblong square; it was cleanly swept and had a very spruce appearance, and each of its sides was furnished with an excellent portico. Near the doorway we saw, with surprise, a large heavy cannon lying on the ground. From this enclosure we were led into a third, which, like the former, had its porticoes, and in one of them a number of women were employed in manufacturing a kind of cloth of cotton and dried grass, which they wove together. Opposite the entrance, is a low clay platform, about three feet from the ground, which was overlaid with mats of various colours, a large piece of coarse red cloth covering the whole, and at each of its corners we observed a little squat figure, also of clay; but, whether these were intended to represent males or females, it is impossible to conjecture. Here we were desired to place ourselves, among a crowd of half-dressed, armed men, who were huddled together on the left of the platform, some sitting, and others standing, and awaiting the coming of the prince. Our friend Gun was with them, and he immediately claimed priority of acquaintance with us. He chatted with amazing volubility, and in less than two minutes he was on the most familiar footing, slapping us with no small force just above the knee, to give weight to his observations, and to rivet our attention to his remarks. Then, while we spoke, he would rest his heavy arms on our shoulders, and laugh aloud at

every word we said, look very knowingly, and occasionally apply the palm of his hand to our backs with the most *feeling* energy, as a token of his encouragement and approbation. We wished him to answer questions which concerned us nearly, but the only satisfaction which we received was contained in the expression, "O yes, to be sure!" and this was repeated so often, with an emphasis so peculiar, and with a grin so irresistibly ludicrous, that, in spite of our disappointment, we were vastly entertained with him,

In this manner was the time beguiled, till we heard a door suddenly opened on our right, and the dreaded *Obie*, King of the Eboe country, stood before us! And yet there was nothing so very dreadful in his appearance after all, for he is a sprightly young man, with a mild open countenance, and an eye which indicates quickness, intelligence, and good-nature, rather than the ferocity which we had been told he possesses in an eminent degree. He received us with a smile of welcome, and shook hands with infinite cordiality, often complimenting us with the word "Yes!" to which his knowledge of English is confined, and which no doubt he had been tutored to pronounce for the occasion. Several attendants followed their sovereign, most of whom were unarmed, and almost naked, and three little boys were likewise in attendance, whose office it was to fan him when desired.

The dress of the king of the Eboe country somewhat resembles that which is worn, *on state occasions*, by the monarch of Yarriba. Its appearance was altogether *brilliant*; and from the vast profusion of coral ornaments with which he was decorated, *Obie* might not inappropriately be styled "the Coral King;" such an idea at all events entered our minds,

as we contemplated the monarch, sitting on his throne of clay. His head was graced with a cap, shaped like a sugar-loaf, and covered thickly with strings of coral and pieces of broken looking-glass, so as to hide the materials of which it was made; his neck, or rather throat, was encircled with several strings of the same kind of bead, which were fastened so tightly, as in some degree to affect his respiration, and to give his throat and cheeks an inflated appearance. In opposition to these were four or five others hanging round his neck and reaching almost to his knees. He wore a short Spanish surtout of red cloth, which fitted close to his person, being much too small. It was ornamented with gold epaulettes, and the front of it was overspread with gold lace, but which, like the cap, was entirely concealed, unless on a close examination, owing to the vast quantity of coral which was fastened to it in strings. Thirteen or fourteen bracelets (for we had the curiosity to count them) decorated each wrist, and to give them full effect, a few inches of the sleeves of the coat had been cut off purposely. The beads were fastened to the wrist with old copper buttons, which formed an odd contrast to them. The king's trousers, composed of the same material as his coat, stuck as closely to the skin as that, and was similarly embroidered, but it reached no further than the middle of his legs, the lower part of it being ornamented like the wrists, and with precisely the same number of strings of beads; besides which, a string of little brass bells encircled each leg above the ankles, but the feet were naked. Thus splendidly clothed, Obie, smiling at his own magnificence, vain of the admiration which was paid him by his attendants, and flattered without doubt by the presence of white men, who he imagined were struck with amazement

at the splendour of his appearance, shook his feet for the bells to tinkle, sat down with the utmost self-complacency, and looked around him.

Our story was related to the king in full by the Bonny messenger who had accompanied us from Damuggoo, who also dwelt upon the losses which the people of that place and his own had met with at Kirree ; and if we may be allowed to form an opinion, it was a fine piece of savage eloquence. The man's looks and gestures were natural, animated, and forcible, and strictly in keeping with the feeling, power, and energy with which his expressions were poured forth. The inflexions of his voice, also, were truly admirable. This singular speech lasted, as near as we could guess, two whole hours, and produced a visible effect upon all present. As soon as it was over, we were invited by Obie to take some refreshment ; being in truth extremely hungry at the time, we thankfully accepted the offer, and fish and yams, swimming in oil, were forthwith brought us on English plates, the king retiring in the meanwhile from motives of delicacy.

The oil was the commonest kind used in the lamps of warehouses in England, extremely unpalatable, and emitted so unsavoury a smell, that we found it impossible to partake of it, so great was our disgust : Gun was of a different opinion, and declaring it to be the best Liverpool beef fat that he had seen for a long time, he soon made away with it. When Obie returned, a general conversation ensued, and he was engaged in talking promiscuously to those around him till evening, when the " great palàver," as it is called, was formally prorogued till the morrow, and presently after the chief bade us good night, and retired. We conceive it somewhat strange, that though the palàver was chiefly on our account, not a

single question was put to us while it lasted, nor did we understand a single sentence that was uttered. Nevertheless we are led to believe, from the flattering and gracious manner in which we have been received, and other corresponding circumstances, that every thing is proceeding favourably to our wishes, and that the palàver will have a happy termination. But *nous verrons!*

The path to Obie's house is in a westerly direction from the creek where we landed, distant about a quarter of a mile, between two lines of neat little huts. In the third, or inner yard of his palace, we also observed a large iron tank, which we were told was used by the king as a bath. The people, with whom we had to wait the arrival of the king, pestered us with all manner of questions before he made his appearance. In answer to their interrogations, I told them we had come from a country called Yàoorie, and another called Boossà, where we had been to obtain the books of one of our countrymen who had been killed a long time ago by the people of the latter place. This answer was quickly followed by a question whether he went there in a ship? and I answered, "No, in a large canoe."—"Where is the canoe?" they asked. "He ran it on the rocks," I replied, "and broke it." They did not, however, seem to comprehend me, and imagined that I was speaking of a ship that was lost at sea on the other side of the land. The *little military king* of Brass-town told us that he had come here for the purpose of buying slaves for a Spanish vessel. When Obie entered he was followed by a man carrying a little brass figure of a deity, which, when he had seated himself, was placed on his right hand.

The poor Damuggoo people were in tears all the time their chief was relating the account of the attack

at Kirree: they had lost every thing they had; not only their master's property, but their own also, with the exception of the slaves. They had no means of obtaining provisions, having nothing with which to purchase them, so that the poor fellows are in a starving condition. Obie made them a long speech, and seemed to feel for their destitute condition; he gave them ten yams, and desired them to go to their house, promising to hear the remainder of their story on the morrow.

Our hut is so small that we have scarcely room to lie down, but little as it is we feel ourselves far better off than in our canoe. The mats were comfortable, and we were well inclined to enjoy a good rest. We had not retired long before a boy arrived from the king, bringing with him five yams and one small fowl. This was a poor supply for eight persons, which our party amounted to besides ourselves, and would scarcely keep us from starving. At seven in the evening we made a slight supper off a piece of the boiled fowl with part of a yam, and laid ourselves down to rest. Tired as we were, and much as we needed sleep, we could get none. Our sulky old landlord annoyed us beyond measure by introducing his friends to see us, and all our endeavours to make him understand that we did not like their intrusion and wished for rest were fruitless; there was no getting rid of them, for no sooner was one party gone than another supplied their place. The first part of the night was thus employed, and in the latter part we were kept awake by the most dreadful screaming we ever heard. The noise proceeded from some unfortunate person who seemed to be suffering the severest agony in a hut hard by our own, so that the cries were distinctly heard. We could not learn the occasion of them; but these people having the name of being most

barbarous in their habits, we concluded that they proceeded from some unhappy victim who was a prisoner of war suffering some horrible death. Our people slept in the house with us, so that we felt some sort of security from their presence.

Tuesday, November 9th.—Two of our attendants who have accompanied us from Cape Coast Castle, and who, during their lifetime, have spent many years in Ashantee, declare that the buildings of the people here are nowise different from those at Coomassie, the capital of that kingdom, than in their size, which is much smaller. They certainly resemble the houses of the Yarribeans, but they surpass them in neatness, regularity, and cleanliness, and are besides much better secured from the rain. There is not a single round hut in the place. The Eboe people, like most Africans, are extremely indolent, and cultivate yams, Indian corn, and plantains only. They have abundance of goats and fowls, but few sheep are to be seen, and no bullocks. The city, which has no other name than the "Eboe Country," is situated on an open plain; it is immensely large, contains a vast population, and is the capital of a kingdom of the same name. It has, for a series of years, been the principal slave-mart for native traders from the coast, between the Bonny and old Calebar rivers; and for the production of its palm-oil it has obtained equal celebrity. Hundreds of men from the rivers mentioned above, come up for the purpose of trade, and numbers of them are at present residing in canoes in front of the town. Most of the oil purchased by Englishmen at the Bonny and adjacent rivers, is brought from hence, as are nearly all the slaves which are annually exported from those places by the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. It has been told us by many, that the Eboe people are

confirmed anthropophagi; and this opinion is more prevalent among the tribes bordering on that kingdom, than with the natives of more remote districts; but whether it be well or ill-founded, we have as yet no means of ascertaining. Certainly, with the solitary exception of their monarch, the Eboes bear on their countenances strong indications of a brutal, unyielding, and ferocious temper, but so likewise do many other people of different countries, who detest cannibalism, and speak of it with horror.

We were visited this morning by numbers of the inhabitants, who broke through every restraint to gratify their desire of seeing us. This was what we naturally expected; yet after all they were much better behaved, and less impatient, than we had any reason to apprehend, and they departed with little importunity, considering that they had not been in the habit of bending to the will of prisoners and slaves,—for such we are.

About noon we were informed that our attendance was required at the king's house, Obie being fully prepared, it was said, to resume the hearing of our case, and examine the deposition of the Bonny messenger and the Damuggoo people. On entering the principal yard or court, in which we were yesterday introduced to the king, we found two little ugly clay figures, by the side of their companions, near the platform, and round them "magical characters," as a fortune-teller in Europe would call them, were chalked on the ground. We did not remain here long to admire this strange contrivance, but were presently ordered to return to the middle yard, and there wait under the eastern portico, till Obie should make his appearance. A common English chair, covered with inferior red cloth, had been previously placed there for his use.

It is plain, that the king, for some reason, is very unwilling to introduce us into the interior of his dwelling; as yet we have seen nothing but his yards. The chair alluded to above, was placed between two wooden pillars which support the roof of the verandah, and a great number of images are carved on them, very much after the manner of Yarriba. Indeed the difference between the productions of both countries, in this branch of the arts, is scarcely, if at all, to be perceived. On the left of the empty chair stood about fifty of the king's attendants, and to the right of it, the Bonny, Brass, and Damuggoo people, with our own, were assembled. In less than half an hour, the men having in the mean time been regaled with a large quantity of palm-wine, the monarch, dressed in every respect as yesterday, entered the yard. His fat, round cheeks were swelling with good humour, real or assumed, as he shook our hands with a sprightly air, when he instantly sat himself down in his chair to receive the prostrations and addresses of his subjects and others.

The business of the day was entered into with spirit, and a violent altercation soon arose between the Brass and Bonny people, but scarcely any part of the conversation was interpreted to us. Sufficient, however, was explained to put us in a very bad humour; for notwithstanding the opinion we had entertained of the benevolence of the chief, from his pleasing countenance joined to a mild and affable demeanour, we are assured that we shall never leave this country unless ransomed at a high price! No doubt Obie has been induced to adopt this line of conduct, partly by the instigation of his minions, and partly from the eagerness which has been displayed by the Bonny and Brass people to take us to their respective countries; for he imagines that such

bitter contentions would not arise among them, as to whither we shall go, had it not been for the expectation of receiving a handsome recompense from our countrymen at those places. Therefore he is determined on his part to make as much of us as he can.

Bonny is now the place of our destination. We have with us a messenger from the present and a son to the late ruler of that state (*King Pepper*), and, as it has already been related, we had engaged some *Damuggoo* people to accompany and protect us thither. Whilst, on the other hand, we know nothing at all of *Brass*, never having heard the name of such a river in our lives before, and equally ignorant are we of the manners of the natives who inhabit its banks; though it is evident that they have some acquaintance with our countrymen, and some slight knowledge of our language. The former, who say that *Obie* maintains a friendly intercourse with their monarch, are as anxious as we ourselves that they should take us to Bonny, and have remonstrated with the king rather angrily to this effect. But the latter are by far the most numerous and influential party, owing most likely to their very recent arrival from *Brass*, with a fresh stock of European goods, with part of which, it is said, they have already bribed *Obie* to give them the preference.

The discussion was violent and stormy, and the council did not break up till a late hour in the afternoon. They came to no decision, but will meet again to-morrow morning. The *Brass* people affirm that the "*Bonny creek*," which is a small branch of the *Niger*, is dried up, and that the main river, which runs to *Brass*, belongs to *King Jacket*, who will permit no foreigners whatever to pass up or down the *Niger*, without exacting the accustomed fees or

duties. They will therefore have a very plausible reason for taking us entirely out of the hands of Obie and the Damuggoo people. We returned to our dwelling rather saddened than otherwise at the result of this day's proceedings.

—I asked King Obie permission to allow us to proceed on our journey, and to send one of his canoes to accompany us to Bonny, and was surprised at hearing that it was dried up. We must go down the large river, he said, to Brass, from whence we might get to Bonny, as there is a branch of the river which communicates with the two places. We are much annoyed by our interpreter. This fellow had told us that the branch leading to Bonny is the principal, whereas it is evident that it is that leading to Brass-town. This man, whose name is Antonio, is a native of Bonny, and never tells us exactly what the king says, so that we are a good deal in the dark as to what is going on concerning ourselves, and in fact he is the most useless fellow I ever knew. We were the subject of conversation two hours to-day between the kings; and could not learn what was said, and we went away without knowing for certain what was to become of us.

In the evening Antonio and five other Bonny people came to our hut with tears in their eyes. On asking them what was the matter, "The chief," they said, "is determined to sell you to the Brass people, but we will fight for you and die rather than see you sold." "How many of you Bonny people are there?" I asked. "Only six," was the reply. "And can you fight with two hundred Brass people?" I said. "We can kill some of them," they answered, "and your people can assist." I then asked Antonio the reason why he did not interpret what was going forward to-day at the king's house? He said that

he was afraid it would have made our hearts sore,—that it was “a bad palàver.” “We have all been to the chief,” he added, “crying to him, and telling him that black man cannot sell white man; but he will not listen to us; he said he would sell you to the Brass people.” Our poor canoemen, on hearing this, began to sob aloud, and continued lamenting their fate nearly all night. My brother and I felt much hurt at our situation, for we did not expect it would be so bad as this; but we have made our minds up to prepare ourselves for the worst, for it is impossible to foresee the lengths to which these savages will go. We saw a Funda man at the chief's house, with whom we could have communicated in the Haussà language, but for some reason or other we were not permitted to speak to him.

Wednesday, November 10th.—Being taken very unwell with fever this morning, I was unable to attend the summons to the king's house, and requested my brother to go in my stead. The following is his account of what took place:—

“On arriving there this morning, to my infinite surprise I found *King Boy* (Gun's eldest brother), with a number of his attendants already assembled. He was dressed in a style far superior to any of his countrymen, and wore a jacket and waistcoat over a neat shirt of striped cotton, to which was annexed a silk pocket-handkerchief, which extended below the knees. Trousers, as we have already said, I believe, are not permitted to be worn, either by natives, or strangers of the same hue as themselves, the king alone being an exception to this rule. Strings of coral and other beads encircled his neck, and a pretty little crucifix of seed beads hung on his bosom. This latter ornament, which has probably been given him by a slave captain, had by no means an unbecoming

appearance. King Boy introduced himself to me with the air of a person who bestows a favour, rather than soliciting acquaintance; and indeed his vanity in other respects was infinitely amusing. He would not suffer any one to sit between him and the platform, but squatted himself down nearest the king's seat, which, as a mark of honour, had previously been assigned to us; and with a volubility scarcely imaginable, he commenced a long narrative of his greatness, power, and dignity, in which he excelled all his neighbours; and to this I was constrained to listen with assumed composure and attention, for a considerable time. To convince me of his veracity, he produced a pocket-book, containing a great number of recommendatory notes, or 'characters,' as a domestic would call them, written in the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, and which had been given him by the various European traders who had visited the Brass river. This practice of giving written characters, which has for some time been adopted by Europeans, is both praiseworthy and useful, and it is become almost universal on the western coast; because it is not to be supposed that the natives themselves can understand these documents, and strangers are made acquainted with their good or bad qualities by them, and taught to discriminate the honest from the unfaithful and malicious. Boy's letters mentioned certain dealings which their authors have had with him, and they likewise bear testimony to his own character, and the manners of his countrymen. Among others is one from a 'James Dow,' master of the brig *Susan*, from Liverpool, and dated '*Brass First River, Sept. — 1830,*' which runs as follows:—'Captain Dow states, that he never met with a set of greater scoundrels than the natives generally, and the pilots in particular.'

These he anathematised as d—— rascals, who had endeavoured to steer his vessel among the breakers at the mouth of the river, that they might share the plunder of its wreck. *King Jacket*, who claims the sovereignty of the river, is declared to be a more confirmed knave, if possible, than they, and to have cheated him of a good deal of property. The writer describes *King Forday* as a man rather advanced in years, less fraudulent, but more dilatory. *King Boy*, his son, alone deserved his confidence, for he had not abused it, and possessed more honesty and integrity than either of his countrymen. These are the rulers of the Brass country, and pretty fellows they are, truly. Mr. Dow observes further, that the river is extremely unhealthy, and that his first and second mates, three coopers, and five seamen, had already died of fever, and that he himself had had several narrow escapes from the same disorder. He concludes by cautioning traders against the treachery of the natives generally, and gives them certain directions concerning the 'dreadful bar,' at the mouth of the river, on which he had nearly perished. Another of Boy's papers informs us that the writer's name is 'Thomas Lake, and that he is master of the brig *Thomas* of Liverpool,' which is now lying in Brass river.

"This business had been no sooner settled than Obie entered the yard, attended as usual, but clad differently in loose silks. After the customary salutations, Boy directed the monarch to appeal to me, that he might be satisfied in what estimation he was held by white men. Of course I said a variety of fine things in his favour, which were received with a very good grace indeed; but that a piece of paper, simply, which could neither hear, speak, nor understand, should impart such information, was a source

of astonishment and wonder to Obie and his train, who testified their emotion in no other manner than by looks of silly amazement, and repeated bursts of laughter.

“ The king then said, with a serious countenance, ‘ that there was no necessity for further discussion respecting the white men, his mind was already made up on the subject ; ’ and, for the first time, he briefly explained himself to this effect :—‘ That circumstances having thrown us in the way of his subjects, by the laws and usages of the country he was not only entitled to our own persons, but had equal right to those of our attendants ; that he should take no further advantage of his good fortune than by exchanging us for as much English goods as would amount in value to twenty slaves. In order to have the matter fairly arranged and settled, he should, of his own accord, prevent our leaving the town till such time as our countrymen at Brass or Bonny should pay for our ransom, having understood from ourselves that the English at either of those rivers would afford us whatever assistance we might require with cheerfulness and alacrity. Concerning the goods of which we had been robbed at Kirree, he assured us that he would use his utmost exertions to get them restored. He lamented that circumstance more than any one, but he denied that a single subject of his had anything to do with it, and attributed the whole of that unfortunate affair to the rashness and brutality of a certain people that inhabited a country nearly opposite to his own, whose monarch was his particular friend, therefore he apprehended little difficulty in seeing justice done us ; but then, ’ said he, ‘ it is necessary that you should wait here for an indefinite time till a council of that nation be held, when the plunderers will be examined, and your claims

established. The Damuggoo people that have come with you have, like yourselves, suffered much loss ; for my own part, I shall make them a present of a slave or two as a compensation, and they have my permission to go along with you for the present, which I understand you have promised their monarch ; but you must not expect them to be your guide to the sea, for their responsibility ends here.'

“ When all this was interpreted to me by Antonio, I was thunderstruck. It was in vain that I assured Obie that there was not the slightest necessity for our detention in the town ; that our countrymen would redeem us the moment they should see us, but not before ; and equally unavailing were my solicitations for him to alter this arrangement and suffer us to depart ; but the fears of his subjects, and the representations of the men of Brass, had made too deep an impression on his mind to be so easily eradicated : we found it too late either to implore or remonstrate.

“ This final decision of the king is a bitter stroke to us ; for we fondly indulged the hope of a more favourable result from the deliberations of the savage council, at whose dissolution we expected to be sent to the sea-coast, without being perplexed with further embarrassments. We had now to await the return of a messenger from thence, who has not yet been sent on his errand, and he is to bring back with him the value of twenty slaves ere we obtain our freedom. Heaven only knows whether the masters of English vessels at Bonny or Brass have the ability or will to feel a disposition to ransom us. We only know that if disposed of at all, we shall be sold for infinitely more than we are worth.

“ As may naturally be supposed, I returned home much depressed and afflicted, to inform my brother of

the result of the palàver, and he was as greatly surprised and affected as myself at the intelligence. But though we are full of trouble and uneasiness at our gloomy situation, yet we do not repine at the divine dispensations of that Almighty Providence, which has comforted us in the hour of adversity, and relieved us in times of pain and distress,—which has rescued us from the lap of danger, and snatched us from the jaws of death.”

Thursday, November 11th.— This morning my brother felt himself extremely unwell, but I am rather better. In truth, we wonder much that our health, generally speaking, has been so good, when we reflect for a moment on the hardships and privations which we have lately undergone, the perplexities in which we have been entangled, and the difficulties with which we have had to contend. After all of them, however, by the blessing and mercy of our God, instead of sorrow and suffering, we have enjoyed a lightness and even levity of spirits, which caused them to make but a feeble and transient impression upon our minds; but Nature, though she make extraordinary efforts for a time, will at last be crushed by repeated disappointments, cares, and vexations, unless she be supported by the vigour of health, and encouraged by the excitement of powerful feelings; whilst Hope, that most agreeable but delusive phantom, is oftener sought than found, and will frequently vanish from the desponding bosom, when her influence is most required, leaving it for a season a prey to fear and suspicion, and the whole dark and sorrowful train of the depressing passions. Under their baneful influence we are at present, in some degree, labouring; and we occasionally fall into such a state of apathy and quietism, in regard to our present situation and future prospects, as to be perfectly indifferent about

them ; and I verily believe that if a single struggle could restore us to freedom and happiness, we should scarcely have sufficient animation to make that effort. I blush to say, that on these occasions, neither the reflection of *past* deliverances, nor the consciousness that we are still under the protection of the same beneficent and indulgent Being that has ever been our refuge and guardian, can restore entirely our confidence in His mercies, or teach us to be resigned to His divine will.

During the few days that we have spent in this place, we have been sadly perplexed for want of provisions ; and our people, who for the first day bore this privation in silence, have since then been loud in their complaints. The constant fear which they entertain of being taken away and sold, has now, however, changed this lively feeling of discontent into sullenness and despondency. What makes the matter still worse, is the fact that, having lost our needles and cowries at Kirree, we have not the means of purchasing anything, although the cowry shell is not current here. Poverty is in most places, I believe, considered one of the greatest of evils, but it is more particularly so here, where it is tantamount to a curse (or at least it is reckoned so in us) ; and where the virtues of benevolence and humanity, if exercised at all, are never displayed except on extraordinary occasions. Obie has been in the habit of sending us a fowl, or a yam or two, every morning ; but, as we are ten in number, it makes but a slender meal, and it is barely sufficient to keep us from actual starvation. To stop, if possible, the sullen murmurings of our people, we have been reduced to the painful necessity of begging ; but we might as well have addressed our petitions to the stones or trees,—we might have spared ourselves the mortification of a refusal. We

never experienced a more stinging sense of our own humbleness and imbecility than on such occasions, and never had we greater need of patience and lowliness of spirit. In most African towns and villages we have been regarded as demigods, and treated in consequence with universal kindness, civility, and veneration; but here, alas! what a contrast,—we are classed with the most degraded and despicable of mankind, and are become slaves in a land of ignorance and barbarism, whose savage natives have treated us with brutality and contempt. It would be hard to guess whence these unkindly feelings towards us have originated; we feel that we have not deserved them, yet the consciousness of our own insignificance sadly militates against every idea of self-love and self-importance, and teaches us a plain and useful moral lesson! Though we make the most charitable allowances for the Eboe people, we are, notwithstanding, obliged to consider them the most inhospitable tribe, as well as the most covetous and uncivil, that we are acquainted with. Their monarch, and a respectable married female, who has passed the meridian of her days, are the only individuals, amongst several thousands, that have shown us anything like civility or kindness, and the latter alone has acted, we are convinced, solely from disinterested motives.

All ranks of people here are passionately fond of palm-wine, and drink of it to excess whenever they have an opportunity, which often occurs, as great quantities of it are produced in the town and its neighbourhood. It is a very general and favourite custom with them, as soon as the sun goes down, to hold large meetings and form parties in the open air or under the branches of trees, to talk over the events of the day, and make merry with this exciting beverage. These assemblies are kept up till after mid-

night ; and as the revellers generally contrive to get inebriated very soon after they sit down to drink, the greater part of the evening is devoted to wrangling and fighting, instead of convivial intercourse, and occasionally the most fearful noises that it is possible for the mind to conceive. Bloodshed and even murder, it is said, not unfrequently terminate these boisterous and savage entertainments. A meeting of this description is held outside the yard of our residence every evening, and the noise which they make is really terrifying, more especially when the women and young people join in the affray : for a quarrel of some sort is sure to ensue. Their cries, groans, and shrieks of agony, are dreadful, and would lead a stranger to suppose that these dismal and piercing sounds proceeded from individuals about to be butchered, or that they were extorted by the last pangs of anguish and suffering. We trembled with alarm for the first night or two, imagining, from these loud and doleful cries, that a work of bloodshed and slaughter was in progress ; and we found it useless to endeavour to sleep, till the impression of the first wild cry that was uttered, and the last faint scream, had worn away. But now we are in some measure more reconciled to them from the frequency of their occurrence, or rather we feel less apprehension than we did, as to their origin,—understanding with surprise that they are only the effects of a simple quarrel, and excite from the inhabitants no more than a casual remark ; though they say that, in fits of ungovernable passion, the most heinous crimes are consummated in these frantic revels.

Our matronly female acquaintance, though excessively fat, is of diminutive stature, and by her cheerful pleasantry she has beguiled in some degree the wearisomeness of the long evening hours, and banished

that *ennui*, which the disagreeableness of our situation has partially induced, simply by her endeavours to do so. For not content with paying us formal visits in the day-time, she comes into our yard every night, instead of joining the orgies of her acquaintance, accompanied by two or three friends of congenial natures, with the very benevolent intention of pitying our misfortunes, and dissipating our melancholy. Two or three slaves follow their mistress into the yard, carrying a few bottles of their favourite "palm-wine," and perhaps with a plate of bananas also, that the evening may be passed the more agreeably.

Our sleeping-quarters are in a recess, which is elevated three or four feet from the ground, and supported by wooden columns. It is without a door, or indeed anything answering the same purpose, so that we enjoy the refreshing coolness of the evening air, with the disadvantage of being gazed at by whoever has the curiosity to enter our premises. We generally lie down shortly after sunset, and presently our fat, jolly, little friend, duck-like, waddles into our yard with her companions and slaves, to offer us the evening salutation, and enter into the usual familiar discourse. This is commonly preceded by a large potation of palm-wine, which is relished with a loud and peculiar smack, expressive of the pleasure and satisfaction afforded by so copious a draught, and betokening also much internal warmth and comfort. The officious slaves having spread mats for the purpose directly in front of our recess, our lady-visitor and her associates, together with our ill-natured host, who has by this time joined the party, squat themselves down in a circle, and under the inspiration of the fermented juice, maintain a pretty animated conversation till it is all expended, and sleep "weighs their eyelids down." For ourselves, we have little

if anything to say, because we are pretty nearly as ignorant of their language, as they are of ours; and interpretation is unfavourable to the contagion of social felicity. Yet it is highly diverting to watch the influence of the palm-wine on their looks, language, and ideas. The flushed countenance is invisible in a black lady; but then she has the liquid and unsettled eye, the proneness to talk with irresistible garrulity, the gentle simper, or the bursting laugh, at any trifle, or at nothing at all; and to wind up the list of symptoms, she has that complacent idea of her own good points, and superior qualifications, which elicit her own approbation without exciting the applauses of her associates, and which distinguish the inexperienced male reveller in every part of the globe. All these were observable in our talkative little friend, as well as in her companions. It is a relief also to contemplate, from our resting-place, the peace and harmony of the little party before us, so entirely different from the boisterous one without, because it gives us a comfortable sense of our own security, which we should not certainly have entertained had we been left to our own reflections; and when after a good deal of turning and restlessness we at length fall into a disagreeable and unrefreshing doze, and are attacked by that hideous phantom, nightmare, which is often the case,—starting up in a fright from the assassin's knife, which we can scarcely persuade ourselves to be unreal,—it is pleasant to fix our eyes upon our comical little visitor, with her round shining face, and her jolly companions: all apprehension of mischief immediately vanishes, and a truly pleasing effect is produced upon our minds and spirits. The breaking up of the party outside is a signal for our friends also to depart, when, rising from her mat, the mistress, after shaking hands,

wishes us good night, in a thick, tremulous tone, and waddling out of our yard in a direction which Hogarth denominates "the line of beauty," she returns home to her husband, who is a valetudinarian. Thus our evenings are passed, and thus much of our solitary Eboe friend.

In addition to the value of twenty slaves which the King of Eboe demands for us, we hear that King Boy requires the value of fifteen casks of palm-oil, which is the same as fifteen slaves, for himself, and as payment for the trouble he and his people will have in conducting us to the English vessel. He says that he must take three canoes and one hundred and fifty people, and therefore that it is impossible he can do it for less. The chief has said that if I do not consent to give King Boy a *book* for all this money, he shall send us into the interior of the country to be sold, and that we shall never see the sea again. I see clearly that we have no alternative, and I think it best to agree to give him the bill, not intending, however, on our arrival at the sea, to give him more than twenty common trade guns, to pay this chief and all other expenses. King Boy was to give Obie five pieces of cloth and one gun, as part payment; the remainder is to be paid on his return from having delivered us up to the brig. Our people are all in high spirits at the prospect of leaving this place and obtaining their freedom, for they have so much faith in the character of the English, that they do not doubt that the captain of the brig will redeem us.

The Eboe people have a savage appearance. The custom of marking their temples with indigo, in the shape of an arrow, is general among them, both with the males and females. The women are generally pretty, and wear the same sort of ivory rings round their legs and wrists, to which allusion has been

previously made. They are extensive traders, and supply the Brass people entirely with palm-oil, poultry, goats, and yams, &c. The Eboe people are also famous for making large canoes, and all those of the different rivers, from Benin to Calebar, are constructed by them. Since the first day of our arrival, we have had no fowl, but have been kept on the regular slave allowance of half a yam per day. This may have preserved our health, for it is more than likely that if we had lived well after being nearly starved, and exposed as we had been to the hot sun during the day, and the dews at night, we should have had some dangerous fever.

Last evening, Obie, in his showy coral dress, came barefooted to our hut, to inspect our books, and examine the contents of our medicine-chest. His approach was announced to us by the jingling of the little bells which encircled his feet. He appeared greatly pleased with everything he saw, and looked aghast when informed of the powerful properties of some of the medicines, which ended in a fit of laughter. He expressed a strong desire to have a little, especially the purgatives; and as we treated the sultan of Yaoorie and family, so we treated him. Obie was evidently fearful of our books, having been informed that they could "tell all things;" and appeared to shrink with horror at one which was offered him, shaking his head, saying that he must not accept it, for that it was good only for white men, "whose God was not his God!" The visit was of short duration,

We found King Boy in the inner yard of the king's house again to-day, and from his significant physiognomy, we conjectured that he had something of consequence to communicate. Obie received us with his usual politeness and jocularly; but instantly

directed his attention and discourse to King Boy, who maintained an earnest and pretty animated conversation with him for some time. The Bonny people were in attendance, weeping. As we were frequently pointed out and named, we had no doubt whatever that it was chiefly concerning ourselves, which opinion was soon after confirmed. As if the parties had some secrets to discuss which they did not wish either their attendants or our own to overhear, they retired to the middle court, where having conversed for a time by themselves, they returned with anxious looks to resume the conversation. This was repeated twice: after which (as we subsequently understood), Obie briefly related in a loud voice the result of this extraordinary conference, and all present, except the men of Bonny, shouted simultaneously the monosyllable "Yah!" as a token of their approbation.

In the meantime, from anxiety to be made acquainted with what had transpired respecting ourselves, we felt rather impatient and uneasy—the answer of King Boy to our repeated interrogations having been only "plenty of bars!" the meaning whereof we were grievously puzzled to divine. But shortly after the termination of the palàver, how transported were we to hear the last-mentioned individual explain himself in broken English to this effect:—"In the conversation which I have just had with Obie, I have been induced to offer him the goods which he demands for your ransom, on the faith that they be hereafter repaid me by the master of the brig *Thomas*, which is now lying in the First Brass River, and that the value of fifteen bars or slaves be added thereto in European goods, and likewise a cask of rum, as a remuneration for the hazard and trouble which I shall inevitably incur in transporting you to Brass. If you consent to these

conditions—and on these only I consent to redeem you—you will forthwith give me a bill on Captain Lake for the receipt of articles to the value of thirty-five bars, after which you will be at liberty to leave this place, and go along with me whenever you may think proper, agreeably to the understanding at present existing between Obie and myself.”

This was heavenly news indeed ; and we thanked King Boy over and over again for his generosity and nobleness ; for we were too much elated at the time to reflect on the exorbitant demands which he had imposed upon us. We immediately gave him a bill on Mr. Lake ; indeed there was nothing which we would not have done rather than lose the opportunity of getting down to the sea, which seemed so providentially held out to us. Obie perceived, by the great and sudden change in our countenances, the joy which filled our breasts ; and having asked us whether we were not pleased with his arrangements, in the fullness of our hearts, he exacted from us a promise that, on returning to England, we would inform our countrymen that he was a good man, and that we would pay him a visit whenever we should come again into the country.

When King Boy came for his *book*, I gave it him, and he wished to send it down to the brig, to know if it was good. This I had expected, so I told him that the *book* would be of no use unless we were sent along with it, and that the captain would not pay it before he had taken us on board the brig ; on which he put it into his pocket-book.

We then bade him farewell, and he took leave of us in a kind and cordial manner.

Fearing that something might yet occur to detain us, and ultimately change the king's resolution altogether, we were most eager to get out of the reach of

him and his people as quickly as possible. Therefore we lost not a moment, but hastened to our lodgings, and having sent our people on board Boy's canoe, we hurried after them immediately, and embarked at three in the afternoon. And thus terminated four of the most wretched days of our existence. Our own old leaky and shattered canoe we are unable to take with us, and it would detain us very much, from being so heavy to move along; the Damuggoo people will accompany us in their own, and everything is arranged for our departure at an early hour to-morrow.

The Brass canoe, which is now become our dwelling, is extremely large and heavily laden. It is paddled by forty men and boys, in addition to whom there may be about twenty individuals, or more, including a few slaves and ourselves,—so that the number of human beings will amount to at least sixty. Like Obie's war-canoes, it is furnished with a cannon, which is lashed to the bow, a vast number of cutlasses, and a quantity of grape and other shot, besides powder, flints, &c. It contains a number of large boxes or chests, which are filled with spirituous liquors, cotton, and silk goods, earthenware, and other articles of European and other foreign manufactures; besides abundance of provisions for present consumption, and two thousand yams for the master of a Spanish slaver, which is now lying in Brass river. In this canoe three men might sit with ease abreast of each other, and from the number of people which it contains, and the immense quantity of articles of various descriptions, some idea of its size may be formed. It has been cut out of a solid trunk of a tree, and draws four feet and a half water, being more than fifty feet in length. But it is so deeply laden, that not above two inches of the canoe is to

be seen above the water's edge. With its present burden, it would be impossible for her to sail on any river less smooth than the Niger, and even as it is, when it comes to be paddled, there will be danger of its being swamped. It is really laughable to reflect that the canoe is supplied with two immense speaking-trumpets, which, considering the stentorian lungs of the men of Brass, are entirely superfluous, and that she is commanded by regularly appointed officers, with sounding titles, in imitation of European vessels, such as captain, mate, boatswain, coxswain, &c., besides a cook and his minions. These distinctions are encouraged by King Boy, whose vanity and consequence even in the most trifling concerns is irresistibly diverting. We shall sleep in the canoe to-night, but it is almost unnecessary to say that want of room, as in former cases, will be an intolerable grievance.

Before we embarked, we had taken a little boiled yam with palm-oil at Obie's house, and we remained two hours lying by the bank. At seven in the evening we settled ourselves for the night, but found that we were exceedingly cramped up from want of room, occasioned by the yams being stowed badly,

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from Eboe—Addizotta—Superstitious Ceremonies—Passengers of the Canoe—Banks of the River—The Tide observed—The Travellers met by the Chief of Brass Town—Description of King Forday—Fetish Ceremonies—Procession of Canoes to Brass Town—Arrival—Description of Brass Town—Its Productions—The King's House—The Travellers neglected—Interview with King Forday—Preparation for leaving Brass Town.

Friday, November 12th.—A GREAT tumult arose last night between the natives and the men of Brass,

which might have had a serious and fatal termination, if the latter had not taken timely precaution to convey their canoe from the beach into the middle of the stream, whither the natives could not follow them. The natives had flocked down to the water's edge in considerable numbers, armed with muskets, spears, and other offensive weapons, and kept up a dreadful noise, like the howling of wolves, till long after midnight, when the uproar died away. During the night my brother experienced a smart paroxysm of fever, which left him towards morning very languid and heartless. He was prevented from taking medicine, not only from our exposed situation, but likewise from its awkwardness and unpleasantness, originating from the number of people amongst whom we were literally jammed. King Boy slept on shore with his wife *Addizetta*, who is Obie's favourite daughter, and on her account we waited till between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, when she made her appearance with her husband,—who, we understand, has embraced the present opportunity of making an excursion with her to his native country, to vary her life a little by a change of air and scene, and to introduce her to his other wives and relatives residing at Brass. She has besides expressed a desire to see white men's ships, and it is partly to gratify her curiosity in this particular that she is going with us. On stepping into the canoe, with a spirit of gallantry Boy handed her to the best seat, which was a box, close to which he himself sat, and which we had relinquished in her favour from motives of delicacy. Her face was towards the bow, while my brother and I sat *directly vis-à-vis* on a heap of yams; but we were so close to the opposite party, that our legs came continually in contact, which threatened to produce much inconvenience and some confusion.

We were still further detained by removing various heavy articles into another canoe which was lying alongside, because ours was pronounced too deeply laden to be safe ; but after all she did not appear to be lightened very considerably. This being done, at half-past seven we pushed off the Eboe shore, and for a little while, with forty paddles dashing up the silvery foam at the same moment, we glided through the water with the speed of a dolphin. To us it afforded no small gratification.

The eyes of man are so placed in his head, that it has been frequently observed, whether sitting or standing, he can behold earth and sky at the same moment without inconvenience, which is an advantage, I believe, that no other animal possesses in an equal degree, if he does at all. As I was reflecting on this circumstance, I happened to cast my eyes towards the horizon, to convince myself of its reality, when I found the tall, masculine figure of Obie's favourite daughter intercepted it entirely from my view. Being thus balked for the moment in my intentions, I was instantly diverted from them, and I thought the opportunity favourable for studying the physiognomy and person of King Boy's "ladye-love." Addizetta may be between twenty and thirty years of age, or perhaps younger, for she takes snuff, and females arrive at womanhood in warm countries much sooner than in cold ones. Her person is tall, stout, and well-proportioned, though it has not dignity sufficient to be commanding ; her countenance is round and open, but dull, and almost inexpressive ; mildness of manners, evenness of temper, and inactivity of body also, might notwithstanding, I think, be clearly defined in it ; on the whole, she had a perfect virginity of face, which betrays not the smallest symptom of feeling. Her forehead is smooth and shining as

polished ebony, but it is rather too low to be noble ; her eyes full, large, and beautiful, though languid ; her cheeks of a Dutch-like breadth and fulness ; her nose finely compressed, but not quite so distinguished a feature as the negro nose in general ; there is a degree of prettiness about her mouth, the lips not being disagreeably large, which is further embellished by a set of elegant teeth, perfectly even and regular, and white as the teeth of a greyhound ; her chin—but I am unwilling to describe a chin ; I only know that it agrees very well with the other features of her face.

Addizetta seldom laughs, but smiles or simpers most engagingly whenever she is more than ordinarily pleased ; and she seems not to be unconscious of the powerful influence which these smiles have over the mind of her husband. Her dress and personal ornaments may be described in few words : the former consisting simply of a piece of figured silk, encircling the waist, and extending as far as the knees : her woolly hair, which is tastefully braided, is enclosed in a net, and ends in a peak at the top ; the net is adorned, but not profusely, with coral beads, strings of which hang from the crown to the forehead. She wears necklaces of the same costly bead, copper rings encircle her fingers and great toes, bracelets of ivory her wrists, and enormous rings, also of elephant's tusks, decorate her legs, near the ankle, by which she is almost disabled from walking, on account of their ponderous weight and immense size. I had almost finished the scrutiny of her person, when Addizetta, observing me regarding her with more than common attention, at length caught my eye, and turned away her head with a triumphant kind of smile, as much as to say, " Ay, white man, you may well admire and adore my person ; I perceive

you are struck with my beauty, and no wonder neither ;" yet I immediately checked the ill-natured construction which I had put on her looks, and accused myself of injustice. For though, said I to myself, Addizetta, poor simple savage, may be as fond of admiration as her white sisters in more civilised lands ; yet her thoughts, for aught I know, might have been very remote from vanity and self-love. However, that she smiled I am quite certain, and very prettily too, for I saw a circling dimple radiating upon her full, round cheek, which terminated in a momentary gleam of animation, and illuminated her dark languishing eye like a flash of light—and what could all this mean ? I had forgotten to say that the person of Obie's daughter is tattooed in various parts ; but the incisions, or rather lacerations, are irregular and unseemly. Her bosom, in particular, bears evident marks of the cutting and gashing which it had received when Addizetta was a child ; for the wounds having badly healed, the skin over them is risen a full half inch above the natural surface. By the side of each eye, near the temple vein, a representation of the point of an arrow is alone formed with tolerable accuracy. They look as though indigo had been inserted into the flesh with a needle : and by this peculiarity, with which every female's face is impressed, the Eboe women are distinguished from their neighbours and surrounding tribes.

Before breakfast, Addizetta was employed above an hour in cleaning and polishing her teeth, by rubbing them with the fibrous roots of a certain shrub or tree, which are much esteemed and generally used for the purpose in her own country, as well as in the more interior parts. Great part of the day is consumed by many thousands of individuals in this

amusing occupation, and to this cause the brilliant whiteness of their teeth, for which Africans, generally speaking, are remarkable, may be attributed.

About ten in the morning, a mess of fish, boiled with yams and plantains, was produced for breakfast. As King Boy was fearful that our presence might incommode his lady, we were desired to move farther back, that she might eat with additional confidence and comfort, for, alas! we are not placed on an equality with Addizetta and her kingly spouse. When they had breakfasted, and swallowed a calabash of water from the stream, we ourselves were served with a plateful, and afterwards the boat's crew and the slaves were likewise regaled with yams and water. In the evening, another refreshment, similar to this, was served round to all; and these are the only meals which the men of Brass have during the twenty-four hours. Before eating himself, Boy makes it a practice of offering a small portion of his food to "the spirits of the river," that his voyage may be rendered propitious by conciliating their good-will. Previous also to his drinking a glass of rum or spirits, he pours a few drops of it into the water, invoking the protection of these fanciful beings, by muttering several expressions between his teeth, the tenor of which, of course, we do not understand. This religious observance, we are told, is invariably performed whenever the Brass people have occasion to leave their country by water, or return to it by the same means; it is called a meat and drink offering, and is celebrated at every meal. A custom very similar to this prevails in Yarriba, at Badágyry, Cape Coast Castle, and along the western coast generally;—the natives of those places never take a glass of spirits without spilling a quantity of it on the ground, as a "fetish." In the morning we observed a branch of

the river running off in a westerly direction, the course of the main body being south-west.

We stopped awhile at various little villages during the day, to purchase yams, bananas, and cocoa-nuts; and the curiosity of their poor inhabitants at our appearance was intense. They are chiefly fishermen or husbandmen, and notwithstanding our uncouth and remarkable dress, they behaved to us without rudeness, and even with civility, so that their inquisitiveness was not disagreeable. Speaking-trumpets, we should imagine, are quite a novelty with the men of Brass, by the extraordinary rapture which they display for their music, which certainly is anything but melodious. Two of these instruments, as we said yesterday, are in the canoe, for the convenience of issuing orders, and they have not been from the mouths of the officers for ten minutes together during the whole day, so great has been the desire of all to breathe through them, and add to the deafening noises made by their constant quarrelling with each other. This is a great annoyance, but we are constrained to submit to it in silence; besides, it is entirely superfluous, for the voices of the people are of themselves loud and powerful enough for all the common purposes of life; and when they have a mind to strain their *brazen* lungs, no speaking-trumpet that has ever been made, be it ever so large, could match the quantity of horrid sound which they make—it would drown the roaring of the sea. In addition to the officers and attendants in the canoe that we mentioned yesterday, we have one drummer, the king's steward, and his lady's maid, and two persons to bale out water, besides three captains, to give the necessary directions for the safety of the canoe. The noise made by these fellows as we started, in bawling to their fetish through the trumpet, was beyond all

description. Their object was to secure us a safe journey, and most certainly, if noise could do so, we were pretty certain of it. The villages that we passed in the course of the day were very numerous, and distant not more than two or three miles from each other on the banks of the river. They were surrounded by more cultivated land than we have seen this last fortnight; the crops consisting of yams, bananas, plantains, Indian corn, &c. &c., and we have not seen so much since leaving Kacunda. The banks here seem to be well calculated for the growth of rice, and every other grain that we have seen in the interior. The villages had a pleasing appearance from the river. The houses seem to be built of a light-coloured clay, and being thatched with palm branches, they very much resemble our own cottages. They are of a square form, with two windows on each side of the door, but have no upper rooms.

The villagers seem to be equally as distrustful as those above Eboe town, in trading with our people, for the men only came down with their yams and fish, and were armed with guns and swords. The fish they brought us consisted of cat-fish and shrimps, which had been smoked over a wood-fire, and when boiled were very palatable. The villagers had no tattoo marks; they wear the grass cloth fastened round their waists, and the better sort wore printed cottons. We engaged two small canoes to carry the yams we had purchased.

In many places we observed that the river had overflowed its banks, and was running between the trees and thick underwood. In the widest part it did not seem to be more than a mile and a half across. The course of the river has been to-day nearly south-west: its width is sensibly diminishing, indeed it is fast dwindling away into an ordinary stream.

Saturday, November 13th.—Perhaps there cannot be a greater comfort under the sun than sound and invigorating sleep to the weary ; nor, in our opinion, a greater grievance than the loss of it ; because wakefulness, at those hours which nature has destined for repose, is, in nine cases out of ten, sure to be the harbinger of peevishness, discontent, and ill-humour, and not unfrequently induces languor, lassitude, and disease. No two individuals in the world have greater reason to complain of disturbed slumbers or nightly watching than ourselves. Heretofore this has been occasioned chiefly by exposure to damps, rains, and dews, mosquito attacks, frightful and piercing noises, and over-fatigue, or apprehension and anxiety of mind. But now, in the absence of most of these causes, we are cramped, painfully cramped, for want of room, insomuch that, when we feel drowsy, we find it impossible to place ourselves in a recumbent posture, without having the heavy legs of Mr. and Mrs. Boy, with their prodigious ornaments of ivory, placed either on our faces or on our breasts. From such a situation it requires almost the strength of a rhinoceros to be freed : it is excessively teasing. Last night we were particularly unfortunate in this respect ; and a second attack of fever, which came on me in the evening, rendered my condition lamentable indeed, and truly piteous. It would be ridiculous to suppose that one can enjoy the refreshment of sleep, how much soever it may be required, when two or more uncovered legs and feet, huge, black, and rough, are traversing one's face and body, stopping up the passages of respiration, and pressing so heavily upon them at times, as to threaten suffocation. I could not long endure so serious an inconvenience, but preferred last night sitting up in the canoe. My brother was indisposed, and, in fact, unable to follow my

example, and, therefore, I endeavoured, if possible, to render his situation more tolerable. With this object in view, I pinched the feet of our snoring companions (Mr. and Mrs. Boy) repeatedly, till the pain caused them to awake, and remove them from his face, and this enabled him to draw backwards a few inches, and place his head into a narrow recess which is formed by two boxes. However, this did not allow him liberty to turn it either way, and thus jammed, with no command whatever over his suffering limbs, he passed the hours without sleep, and arose this morning with bruised bones and sore limbs, complaining bitterly of the wretched moments which the legs of Mr. and Mrs. Boy had caused him, with their ivory rings and heaps of yams.

It was not till two o'clock this morning that we arrived at a convenient place for stopping awhile, to give the canoemen rest from their labour; and at day-break we launched out again into the river, and paddled down the stream. At seven in the morning, Boy and his wife having landed to trade, I took their place, and slept soundly an hour and a half, which quite refreshed me. Without encountering anything remarkable, we passed the day in much the same manner as yesterday, stopping occasionally at certain villages, which are scattered along the banks, for the purpose of bartering with their inhabitants. Plantains, bananas, and yams, are cultivated by them to an extraordinary and almost incredible extent, and for the space of nearly twenty miles scarcely anything else but plantations of these shrubs and vegetables are to be seen. This circumstance has led us to infer that the country is infinitely more populous than its general appearance would seem to indicate. It is flat, open, varied, and beautiful in many places, and its soil is a rich dark mould or loam. But, notwith-

standing this extensive cultivated tract, and other large and verdant patches, the useless mangrove tree (*rizophera mangle*), with its pendent branches and impenetrable roots, is fast encroaching on every moist situation the nearer we approach the sea.

We continued our course down the river until two hours after midnight, when we stopped near a small village on the east side of the river. We made fast to the shore, and the people settled themselves in the canoe to sleep. Having sat up the whole of last night, for the best of all reasons, because I could find no room to lie down, in consequence of the crowded state of our canoe, and feeling myself quite unequal to do the same again, I took my mat and went on shore, determined, if possible, to sleep on the ground. Overcome by fatigue, the fear of being attacked by alligators, or anything else, I selected a dry place, and laid myself down on my mat. I had nearly dropped asleep, when I was roused by several severe stings, and found myself covered with black ants. They had got up my trousers, and were tormenting me dreadfully. At first I knew not which way to get rid of them, and ran about as fast as I could, with the idea of shaking them off me; but with all my endeavours it was long before I could get rid of them. Our men, Pascoe, Sam, and Jowdie, seeing the condition I was in, landed from the canoe, and made large fires in the form of a ring, and I lay down in the midst of them, and slept till daylight. The sting of a black ant is quite as painful as that of a wasp.

Sunday, November 14th.—This morning, at daylight, when the natives brought their fish and yams to our people for sale, they did not appear to be at all surprised at seeing our white faces, from which I

am led to believe that they have seen white men at the sea-side. At five in the morning we again resumed our course down the river. At ten, A.M., we passed a small branch of the river running off east-south-east.

In the course of the day we passed several sand-banks in the middle of the river, and our people ran the canoe aground on them purposely, to get into the water and to have a wash. The sun was exceedingly powerful, and they appeared to enjoy the water very much. The channels of the river on each side of the banks appear to be very deep, and the depth on the banks I concluded to be about three feet. After our people had taken a good wash, we again proceeded onwards.

At seven in the evening we departed from the main river, and took our course up a small branch towards Brass-town, running in a direction about south-east by east from that which we had left. The course of the river has been about south, and continued in the same direction when we left it. It has overflowed its banks in many places that we passed to-day, and is considerably diminished in its breadth. The widest part was not more than a mile and a half across, and the narrowest about three hundred yards. We have seen many villages in the course of the day, and where the banks were not overflowed, there was much cultivated land.

At half-past eight in the evening, to our great satisfaction, we found ourselves influenced by the tide. We had previously observed an appearance of foam on the water, which might have been carried up by the flood-tide from the mouth of the river; but we now felt certain of being within its influence. We were constantly annoyed by the canoe running aground on a bank, or sticking fast in the underwood,

which delayed our progress considerably, and the men were obliged to get out to lighten and lift the canoe off them. Our track was through a narrow creek arched over by mangroves, so as to form a complete avenue, which in many places was so thick as to be totally impenetrable by the light above. At ten P.M. a heavy shower of rain wetted us thoroughly; and after this was over, the dripping from the trees which overhung the canoe kept us in constant rain nearly all night. The smell from decayed vegetable substances was sickly and exceedingly disagreeable.

Monday, November 15th.—Through these gloomy and dismal passages we travelled during the whole of last night, without stopping, unless for a few minutes at a time, to disengage ourselves from the pendent shoots of the mangrove and spreading brambles, in which we occasionally became entangled. These luxuriant natives of the soil are so intricately woven, that it would be next to impossible to eradicate them. Their roots and branches are the receptacles of ooze, mud, and filth of all kinds, exhaling a peculiarly offensive odour, which no doubt possesses highly deleterious qualities. The reason adduced for not resting during the night, was the apprehension entertained by King Boy of being unable to overtake his father and brothers this morning, they having left the Eboe country the day before us. A certain spot had previously been fixed on by the parties for the meeting, and we arrived there about nine o'clock A.M., and found those individuals in three large canoes, with their attendants, waiting our arrival. Here we stopped, and made our canoes fast to the trees, to take refreshment, such as it was, and half an hour's rest: and here we were introduced to the renowned King Forday, who, according to his own

account, is monarch of the whole country. In one of the canoes sat old King Forday, in company with several fetish priests; the second canoe belonged to King Boy, and the third was Mr. Gun's. These canoes had come thus far for the purpose of escorting us into their country.

King Forday is a complacent venerable-looking old man, but was rather shabbily dressed, partly in the European, and partly in the native style. Like most savages, his fondness for spirituous liquors is extreme, and he drank large potations of rum in our presence, though it produced no visible effect either upon his manners or conversation. In the jollity of the moment he attempted to sing, but his weak piping voice did not seem to second his inclination, and the sound died away from very feebleness. His subjects, however, amounting to nearly two hundred individuals, testified their approbation of the effort by a tremendous "Yah!" shouted simultaneously by every voice, which sounded like the roar of a lion.

During the time we had been at breakfast the tide ebbed, and left our canoes lying on the mud. Breakfast being over, the fetish priests commenced their avocations by marking the person of King Boy from head to foot with chalk, in lines, circles, and a variety of fantastic figures, which so completely metamorphosed him as to render his identity rather questionable, at the distance of only a few yards. His usual dress had been thrown aside, and he was allowed to wear nothing but a narrow silk handkerchief tied round his waist; on his head a little close cap was placed made of grass and ornamented with large feathers. These we found were the wing feathers of a black and white buzzard, which is the fetish bird of Brass town. Two huge spears were also chalked and put into his hands, and thus equipped his appearance was wild

and grotesque in the extreme. The same operation was performed on the rest of the party, and the fetish priests were chalked in the same manner. Our own people were merely marked in the forehead, and ourselves, perhaps from being already white, although our faces were not a little tanned, were exempted from the ceremony.

At eleven A.M., we were ordered into King Forday's canoe to sit down with him. The old man asked us immediately in tolerably good English to take a glass of rum with him, and having seen us wondering at the strange appearance of King Boy and the rest of the party, gave us to understand that in consequence of no man having come down the river as we had, it was done to prevent anything bad happening to them. We also understood from him that a certain rite would be performed to Dju-Dju, the fetish or domestic god of Brass town, in honour of our coming. The tide was now fast returning, and preparations were made for proceeding to Brass town. For this purpose the canoes were all arranged in a line, that of King Boy taking the lead, ourselves and King Forday in the next, followed by King Boy's brother, Mr. Gun and the Damuggoo people in others, and in this order we proceeded up the river. Gun is styled the *little military king* of Brass town, from being intrusted with the care of all the arms and ammunition, and on this occasion he gave us frequent opportunities of witnessing his importance and activity, by suddenly passing a short distance before the rest of the canoes and firing off the cannon in the bow of his own, and then dropping behind again.

The whole procession formed one of the most extraordinary sights that can be imagined. The canoes were following each other up the river in tolerable

order, each of them displaying three flags. In the first was King Boy, standing erect and conspicuous, his head-dress of feathers waving with the movements of his body, which had been chalked in various fantastic figures, rendered more distinct by its natural colour; his hands were resting on the barbs of two immense spears, which at intervals he darted violently into the bottom of the canoe, as if he were in the act of killing some formidable wild animal under his feet. In the bows of all the other canoes fetish priests were dancing and performing various extraordinary antics, their persons, as well as those of the people in them, being chalked over in the same manner as that of King Boy; and to crown the whole, Mr. Gun, the little military gentleman, was most actively employed, his canoe now darting before and now dropping behind the rest, adding not a little to the imposing effect of the whole scene, by the repeated discharges of his cannon.

In this manner we continued on till about noon, when we entered a little bay, and saw before us, on the south side of it, two distinct groups of buildings, one of which is King Forday's town, and the other King Jacket's town. The cannons in all the canoes were now fired off, and the whole of the people were quickly on the look-out to witness our approach. The firing having ceased, the greatest stillness prevailed, and the canoes moved forward very slowly between the two towns to a small island a little to the east of Jacket's town. This island is the abode of the Dju-Dju, or grand fetish priest, and his wives, no one else being permitted to reside there. As we passed Forday's town, a salute of seven guns was fired off at a small battery near the water. The canoes stopped near the fetish hut on the island, which is a low insignificant building of clay. The

priest, who was chalked over nearly in the same manner as Boy, drew near to the water's edge, and with a peculiar air asked some questions, which appeared to be answered to his satisfaction. Boy then landed, and, preceded by the tall figure of the priest, entered the religious hut. Soon after this the priest came to the water-side, and, looking on us with much earnestness, broke an egg, and poured some liquid into the water, after which he again returned to the hut. The Brass men then rushed on a sudden into the water and returned in the same hasty manner, which to us appeared equally as mysterious as the rest of the ceremony.

After remaining at the island about an hour, during which time Boy was in the hut with the priest, he rejoined us, and we proceeded to Forday's town and took up our residence at Boy's house. In the extraordinary ceremony which we had just witnessed, it was evident that we were the persons principally concerned; but whether it terminated in our favour or against us—whether the answers of the Dju-Dju were propitious or otherwise, we shall be able to ascertain only by the future behaviour of the Brass people towards us.

We saw with emotions of joy a white man on shore whilst we were in the canoe, waiting the conclusion of the ceremony. It was a cheering and goodly sight to recognise the features of a European in the midst of a crowd of savages. This individual paid us a visit in the evening; his behaviour was perfectly affable, courteous, and obliging, and in the course of a conversation which we had with him, he informed us that he is master of the Spanish schooner which is at present lying in the Brass river for slaves. Six of her crew, who have been ill of fever, and are still indisposed, likewise reside in the town.

Tuesday, November 16th.—Of all the wretched, filthy, and contemptible places in this world of ours, none can present to the eye of a stranger so miserable an appearance, or can offer such disgusting and loathsome sights, as this abominable Brass town. Dogs, goats, and other animals, run about the dirty streets, half-starved, whose hungry looks can only be exceeded by the famishing appearance of the men, women, and children, which bespeaks the penury and wretchedness to which they are reduced; whilst the persons of many of them are covered with odious boils, and their huts are falling to the ground from neglect and decay.

Brass, properly speaking, consists of two towns, of nearly equal size, containing about a thousand inhabitants each, and built on the borders of a kind of basin, which is formed by a number of rivulets, entering it from the Niger through forests of mangrove bushes. One of them is under the domination of a noted scoundrel, called *King Jacket*, who has already been spoken of; and the other is governed by a rival chief, named *King Forday*. These towns are situated directly opposite each other, and within the distance of eighty yards; and are built on a marshy ground, which occasions the huts to be always wet. Another place, called "Pilot's town" by Europeans, from the number of pilots that reside in it, is situated nearly at the mouth of the first Brass River, (which we understand is the "*Nun*" river of Europeans,) and at the distance of sixty or seventy miles from hence. This town acknowledges the authority of both kings, having been originally peopled by settlers from each of their towns. At the ebb of the tide, the basin is left perfectly dry, with the exception of small gutters, and presents a smooth, and almost unvaried surface of black mud, which emits an intoler-

able odour, owing to the decomposition of vegetable substances, and the quantity of filth and nastiness which is thrown into the basin by the inhabitants of both towns. Notwithstanding this nuisance, both children and grown-up persons may be seen sporting in the mud whenever the tide goes out, all naked, and amusing themselves in the same manner as if they were on shore.

The Brass people grow neither yams nor bananas, nor grain of any kind, cultivating only the plantain as an article of food, which, with the addition of a little fish, forms their principal article of diet. Yams, however, are freely imported from Eboe and other countries by the chief people, who re-sell great quantities of them to the shipping that may happen to be in the river. They are enabled to do this by the very considerable profits which accrue to them from their trading transactions with people residing further inland, and from the palm-oil which they themselves manufacture, and which they dispose of to the Liverpool traders. The soil in the vicinity of Brass is for the most part poor and marshy, though it is covered with a rank, luxuriant, and impenetrable vegetation: even in the hands of an active, industrious race, it would offer almost insuperable obstacles to general cultivation; but with its present possessors the mangrove itself can never be extirpated, and the country will, it is likely enough, maintain its present appearance till the end of time.

The dwelling in which we reside belongs to King Boy; it stands on the extreme edge of the basin, and was constructed not long since by a carpenter, who came up the river for the purpose from Calebar, of which place he is a native; he received seven slaves for his labour. The man must have seen European dwellings, as this is evidently an attempt to imitate

them. Its form is oblong, and it contains four apartments, which are all on the ground floor, lined with wood, and furnished with tolerably-made doors and cupboards. This wood bears decided marks of its having once formed part of a vessel, and is most likely the remains of one which was wrecked, we hear, not long ago, on the bar of the river. The house has recently been converted into a kind of seraglio by King Boy, because he has, to use his own expression, "plenty of wives," who require looking after. It also answers the purpose of a storehouse for European goods, tobacco, and spirituous liquors. Its rafters are of bamboo, and its thatch of palm-leaves. The apartment which we occupy has a window overlooking the basin, outside which is a veranda, at present occupied by Pascoe and his wives. The whole of its furniture consists of an old oaken table ; but it is supplied with seats, made of clay, which are raised about three feet from the ground. These, together with the floor, which is of mud, are so soft and wet, as to enable a person to thrust his hand into any part of them, without any difficulty whatever. In one corner, communicating with the other apartments, is a door which is destitute of a lock, and kept always ajar, except at night, when it is closed. One of the sides of the room is decorated with an old French print representing the Virgin Mary, with a great number of chubby-faced angels ministering to her, at whose feet is a prayer on "Our Lady's good deliverance." The whole group is designed and executed in very bad taste.

When the tide is in, the water flows up to the doors and windows of our house, which may, perhaps, account for its dampness ; it is held in very high estimation by its owner, and called an English house. The houses in general are built of a sort of yellow

clay, and the windows are all furnished with shutters. There are several huts opposite the town where the people make salt, after the rains are over : the water at present is brackish, from the effect of the rains ; but in the course of two months, Boy tells us, that it will be quite salt, when they will again commence making it. It is an article of trade, and appears to be taken in large quantities to the Eboe market, where it is exchanged for yams, the cowrie shell not being circulated lower down the river than Bocoquá. The principal employment of the people consists in making salt, fishing, boiling oil, and trading to the Eboe country, for not a particle of cultivated land is to be seen. They live exclusively on yams and palm-oil, with sometimes a small quantity of fish. They bring poultry from the Eboe country, but rear very little themselves, and what they have are carefully preserved and sold to the ships that frequent the river.

A little palm-oil would be a great luxury to us, but King Boy will not give us any. Our allowance consists of half of a small yam each day ; but this evening, King Boy being out of the way, two of his wives brought us half a glass of rum each, and four yams : this was a great treat to us, but a considerable risk to them, for had Boy discovered the theft, it is more than likely he would have had them flogged and sold.

Wet and uncomfortable as is our dwelling, yet it is infinitely more desirable and convenient than our confined quarters in the canoe, for here we have the pleasure of reposing at full length, which is a luxury we could not have purchased on the water at any price. The Spanish captain visited us again this morning, and left the town this afternoon on his return to his vessel : slaves, he tells us, are very scarce, and obtained with difficulty and expense.

To-day I was requested to visit King Forday,

and I accordingly complied with the summons. His house is about a hundred yards distant from that of King Boy, and on entering it I found him sitting half drunk, with about a dozen of his wives and a number of dogs, in a small filthy room. I was desired to sit down by his side, and to drink a glass of rum. He then gave me to understand, as well as he could, that it was customary for every white man who came to the river to pay him four bars. I expressed my ignorance and surprise at this; but was soon silenced by his saying, "That is my demand, and I shall not allow you to leave this town, until you give me a *book* for that amount." Seeing that I had nothing to do but to comply with his demand, I gave him a bill on Lake, the commander of the English vessel; after which he said, "To-morrow you may go to the brig, take one servant with you; but your mate (meaning my brother) must remain here with your seven people, until my son, King Boy, shall bring the goods for himself and me; after this they shall be sent on board without delay." Much as I regretted the necessity of parting with my brother, I was obliged to agree to this arrangement, and with the hopes of profiting by it, I told King Forday that we were all very hungry, and begged him to send us a fowl or two, which he promised to do.

In order that I might make a decent appearance before my countrymen to-morrow, I have been obliged to sit all the afternoon with an old cloth wrapped round me, until my clothes were washed and dried. It is now six in the evening, and the mean old king has sent us neither fowls nor yams. This is the most starving place that I have yet seen. Mr. Gun has given us two meals since our arrival here, consisting of a little pounded yam, and fish

stewed in palm-oil, and for this he has the impudence to demand two muskets in payment. These fellows, like the rest on the coast, are a set of imposing rascals, little better than downright savages. We are told that they have absolutely starved three white men to death lately, who were wrecked in a slaving vessel, when crossing the bar.

CHAPTER XXI.

Richard Lander leaves Brass Town—The Natives' idea of an Echo—Arrival on board an English brig in the river Nun—Reception—Disappointment of Richard Lander—Conduct of the Commander of the brig—Anxiety of Richard Lander—Arrival of John Lander on board the brig—Narrative of John Lander—Proceedings on board the brig—Attempts to leave the river—Perilous condition of the brig—A vessel of war—Arrival at Fernando Po—Description of Clarence—Natives of the Island—The Gulf of Guinea—Tornadoes—The Calabar River—Ephraim Town—Passage to Rio Janeiro—Return to England.

Wednesday, November 17th.—I HAD determined that one of our men should accompany me down the river; and at ten o'clock, having taken leave of my brother and the rest of our party, we embarked in King Boy's canoe, with a light heart and an anxious mind. Although distant about sixty miles from the mouth of the river, our journey appeared to me already completed, and all our troubles and difficulties I considered at an end. Already, in fond anticipation, I was on board of the brig, and had found a welcome reception from her commander,—had related to him all the hardships and dangers we had undergone, and had been listened to with commiseration,—already had I assured myself of his doing all he could to enable me to fulfil my engagements with

these people, and thought ourselves happy in finding a vessel belonging to our own country in the river at the time of our arrival. These meditations and a train of others, about home and friends, to which they naturally led, occupied my mind, as our canoe passed through the narrow creeks, sometimes winding under avenues of mangrove trees, and at others expanding into small lakes occasioned by the overflowing of the river. The captain of the canoe, a tall, sturdy fellow, was standing up directing its course, occasionally hallooing, as we came to a turn in the creek, to the fetish, and where an echo was returned, half a glass of rum, and a piece of yam and fish, were thrown into the water. I had never seen this done before ; and on asking Boy the reason why he was throwing away the provisions thus, he asked, " Did you not hear the fetish ? " The captain of the canoe replied, " Yes. " " That is for the fetish, " said Boy ; " if we do not feed him, and do good for him, he will kill us, or make us poor and sick. " I could not help smiling at the ignorance of the poor creatures, but such is their firm belief.

We had pursued our course in this manner, which had been principally to the west, till about three in the afternoon, when we came to a branch of the river about two hundred yards wide, and seeing a small village a short distance before us, we stopped there for the purpose of obtaining some dried fish. Having supplied our wants and proceeded on, about an hour afterwards we again stopped, that our people might eat something. Boy very kindly presented me with a large piece of yam, reserving to himself all the fish we had got at the village, and after making a hearty meal off them, he fell asleep : while he was snoring by my side, the remainder of the fish attracted my notice, and not feeling half satisfied

with the yam he had given me, I felt an irresistible inclination to taste them. Conscience acquitted me on the score of hunger, and hinted, that such an opportunity should not be lost; and accordingly, I very quickly demolished two small ones. Although entirely raw, they were delicious, and I do not remember to have enjoyed anything with a better relish in all my life.

There is scarcely a spot of dry land to be seen anywhere, all is covered with water and mangrove-trees. After remaining about half an hour here, we again went forward, and at seven in the evening, arrived in the Second Brass River, which is a large branch of the Quorra. We kept our course down it about due south, and half an hour afterwards, I heard the welcome sound of the surf on the beach. We still continued onwards, and at a quarter before eight in the evening, we made our canoe fast to a tree for the night, on the west bank of the river.

Thursday, November 18th. — This morning, I found my clothes as thoroughly wet from the effects of the dew, as if I had been lying in the river all night instead of the canoe. This was disagreeable enough, but I had gone through as bad before, and a short time I flattered myself would put an end to all such trouble. At five in the morning, we let go the rope from the tree, and took our course in a westerly direction up a creek. At seven we arrived in the main branch of the Quorra, which is called the river Nun, or the First Brass River, having entered it opposite to a large branch, which King Boy informed me runs to Benin. The direction of the river Nun was here nearly north and south, and we kept on our course down the stream.

About a quarter of an hour after we had entered the river Nun, we descried, at a distance before us,

two vessels lying at anchor. The emotions of delight which the sight of them occasioned are quite beyond my powers of description. The nearest to us was a schooner, a Spanish slave-vessel, whose captain we had seen at Brass town. Our canoe was quickly by her side, and I went on board. The captain received me very kindly, and invited me to take some spirits-and-water with him. He complained sadly of the sickly state of the crew, asserting that the river was extremely unhealthy, and that he had only been in it six weeks, in which time he had lost as many men. The remainder of his crew, consisting of thirty persons, were in such a reduced state, that they were scarcely able to move, and were lying about his decks more resembling skeletons than living persons. I could do no good here, so I took my leave of the captain, and returned into the canoe.

We now directed our course to the English brig, which was lying about three hundred yards lower down the river. Having reached her, with feelings of delight, mingled with doubt, I went on board. Here I found everything in as sad a condition as I had in the schooner: four of the crew had just died of fever; four more, which completed the whole, were lying sick in their hammocks, and the captain appeared to be in the very last stage of illness. He had recovered from a severe attack of fever, and had suffered a relapse in consequence of having exposed himself too soon, which had nearly been fatal to him. I now stated to him who I was, explained my situation to him as fully as I could, and had my instructions read to him by one of his own people, that he might see I was not imposing on him. I then requested that he would redeem us by paying what had been demanded by King Boy; and assured him that whatever he might give to him on our account,

would certainly be repaid him by the British government. To my utter surprise and consternation, he flatly refused to give a single thing; and ill and weak as he was, made use of the most offensive and shameful oaths I ever heard. "If you think," said he, "that you have a — fool to deal with, you are mistaken; I'll not give a b——y flint for your bill, I would give not a — for it." Petrified with amazement, and horror-struck at such conduct, I shrunk from him with terror. I could scarcely believe what I had heard, till my ears were assailed by a repetition of the same. Disappointed beyond measure by such brutal conduct from one of my own countrymen, I could not have believed it possible: my feelings totally overpowered me, and I was ready to sink with grief and shame. I returned to the canoe, undetermined how to act, or what course to pursue. Never in my life did I feel such humiliation as at this moment. In our way through the country we had been treated well; we had been in the habit of making such presents as had been expected from us; and, above all, we had maintained our character among the natives, by keeping our promises. This was now no longer in my power, as my means were all expended; and when, as a last, and, as I had imagined, a certain resource, I had promised the price of our ransom should be paid by the first of our countrymen that we might meet with, on the best of all securities, to be thus refused and dishonoured by him, would, I knew, degrade us sadly in the opinion of the natives, if it did not lessen us in our own.

As there were no hopes that the captain of this vessel would pay anything for us, I went on board again, and told King Boy that he must take us to Bonny, as plenty of English ships were there. "No,

no," said he, "dis captain no pay, Bonny captain no pay, I won't take you any farther." As this would not do, I again had recourse to the captain, and implored him to do something for me; telling him that if he would let me have only ten muskets, Boy might be content with them, when he found that he could get nothing else. The only reply I received was, "I have told you already I will not let you have even a flint! so bother me no more." "But I have a brother, and eight people at Brass town," I said to him; "and if you do not intend to pay King Boy, at least persuade him to bring them here, or else he will poison or starve my brother before I can get any assistance from a man-of-war, and sell all my people." The only answer I received was, "If you can get them on board, I will take them away; but, as I have told you before, you do not get a flint from me." I then endeavoured to persuade Boy to go back for my people, and that he should be paid some time or other. "Yes," said the captain, "make haste and bring them." Boy very naturally required some of his goods before he went, and it was with no small difficulty I prevailed on him afterwards to go without them.

The captain of the brig now inquired what men I had; and, on my telling him that I had two seamen, and three others who might be useful to him in working his vessel, his tone and manner towards me softened a little. He agreed with me that they might be useful in getting the brig out of the river, as half of his crew were dead, and the other half sick; so I took courage, and asked him for a piece of beef to send to my brother, and a small quantity of rum, which he readily gave me. I knew that my brother, as well as myself, much needed a change of linen, but I could not venture to ask such a thing from the

captain with much hopes of success; so the cook of the brig, appearing to be a respectable sort of man, I applied to him, and he produced instantly three white shirts. King Boy was now ready to depart, not a little discontented, and I sent my man into his canoe with the few things I had been able to obtain, and a note for my brother. I desired him to give Antonio an order on any English captain that he might find at Bonny, for his wages, and also one for the Damuggoo people, that they might receive the small present I had promised to their good old chief, who had treated us so well. At two in the afternoon King Boy left me, promising to return with my brother and people in three days, but grumbling at not having been paid his goods.

I now endeavoured to make myself as comfortable as I could in the vessel; and, thinking that the captain might change his behaviour towards me when he got better, I determined to have as little to say to him till then as possible.

Friday, November 19th.—This morning, Captain Lake seemed to be much better, and I ventured to ask him for a change of linen, of which I was in great want. He readily complied with my request, and I enjoyed a luxury which I had not experienced a long time. In the course of the morning I conversed with him about our travels in the country, and related the whole particulars of the manner in which we had been attacked and plundered at Kirree. I explained to him how King Boy had saved us from slavery in the Eboe country, and how much we felt indebted to him for it. I endeavoured to impress this on his mind particularly, as I still hoped to bring him round to pay Boy what I had promised him. Having laid all before him, as fully as I was able, and pointed out to him the bad opinion Boy would

have of us, and the injurious tendency towards Englishmen in general that would result from not keeping our word with him, which it was in his power to enable us to do, I asked him to give me ten muskets for my bill on government. He had listened to my story with attention, but I no sooner advanced my wants, than, with a furious oath, he repeated his refusal; and finding him as determined as ever he had been, I mentioned it no more. He moreover told me, in the most unkind and petulant manner, "If your brother and people are not here in three days, I go without them." This I believed he would not do, as the men would be of service to him; but I had Boy's promise that they should be with me at that time.

In the middle of the day, the pilot, who had brought the vessel into the river, came on board, and demanded payment for it, which gave me an opportunity of seeing more of the disposition of Mr. Lake. The pilot had no sooner made his business known, than Lake flew into a violent rage, cursing him and abusing him in the most disgusting language he could use; he refused to pay him anything whatever, and ordered him to go out of the ship immediately. Whether Lake was right or wrong in this, I know not, but I was shocked at his expressions; and the pilot reluctantly went away, threatening that he would sink his vessel if he offered to leave the river without paying him his due. I was rather surprised to hear such language from the pilot, and doubted his meaning, till I found that he had a battery of seven brass guns at the town on the eastern side of the river, near its entrance, which, if well managed, might soon produce that effect. This town, as before observed, is named Pilots' Town, being the established residence of those who conduct vessels over the bar.

Saturday, November 20th.—Captain Lake continues to recover from his illness. This morning I asked him if he would take us to Fernando Po when we left the river. This he refused, saying that the island had been given up, that there was not a single white man on it, and that we could get no assistance there; but that if all my people should arrive by the morning of the 23d, he would land us at *Bimbia*, a small island in the river Cameroons, whither he was going to complete his cargo; and at this island he said I should find a white man, who keeps a store for Captain Smith. I was quite satisfied with this arrangement, feeling assured that I should get everything I might want from him.

My chief concern was about my brother, and I much feared that the vessel would sail without him, for there was no dependence on the captain, so little did he care for us, or the object of our visiting the country. I took an opportunity of begging him, in the event of my brother and the men not arriving by the 23d, to wait a little longer for them; asserting, at the same time, that if he went away without them they would be assuredly starved, or sold as slaves, before I could return to them with assistance. I might have just as well addressed myself to the wind. "I can't help it, I shall wait no longer," was the only reply he made me, in a surly, hasty tone, which convinced me that all attempts to reason with him would be fruitless.

In the afternoon, the chief mate and three Kroomen were sent away by his direction to sound the bar of the river, in order to know whether there was sufficient depth of water for the vessel to pass over it. The pilot, who had been dismissed so peremptorily yesterday, was determined to have his revenge, and being naturally on the look-out, had observed the

movements of the boat. So favourable an opportunity was not to be lost ; and accordingly, watching her, he despatched an armed canoe, and intercepted her return at the mouth of the river. The mate of the brig and one of the Kroomen were quickly made prisoners and conveyed to the Pilot's Town, and the boat with the remainder sent back with a message to the captain, that they would not be given up until the pilotage should be paid. Lake must have felt annoyed at this ; but whether he did or not, he treated it with the greatest indifference, saying that he did not care ; he would go to sea without his mate or the Krooman either, and that he was determined not to pay the pilotage.

Sunday, November 21st. — Nothing remarkable occurred to-day. My thoughts were entirely occupied by my brother, and I felt very anxious for his return.

Monday, November 22d. — My anxiety for my brother's safety made me very unhappy, and I was on the look-out the whole day for him and our men. Lake, observing the distress I was in, told me not to trouble myself any more about them ; adding, that he was sure he was dead, and that I need not expect to see him again. " If he had been alive," said Lake, " he would have been here by this time ; to-morrow morning I shall leave the river." Such unfeeling and inhuman conduct from this man only tended to increase my dislike for him, and without paying him any attention I kept looking out for my party. Such was my anxiety, that I was on the look-out long after dark, and could not sleep all night.

Tuesday, November 23d. — This morning, to my great joy, and to the mortification of Lake, the sea breeze was so strong, that it raised a considerable surf

on the bar, and prevented us from getting out. This was an anxious time, and the whole of the day my eyes were rivetted to the part of the river where I knew my brother must come, without my seeing anything of him. The day passed away in tedious watching, and the night was far spent without my seeing him. About midnight, I saw several large canoes making their way over to the west bank of the river, in one of which I imagined that I could distinguish my brother. I observed them soon after land, and saw, by the fires which they made, that they had encamped under some mangrove trees. All my fears and apprehensions vanished in an instant, and I was overjoyed with the thoughts of meeting my brother in the morning.

The captain of the brig, having observed them, suddenly exclaimed, "Now we shall have a little fighting to-morrow; go you and load seventeen muskets, and put five buck-shot into each. I will take care that the cannon shall be loaded to the muzzle with balls and flints, and if there is any row, I will give them such a scouring as they never had." He then directed me to place the muskets and cutlasses out of sight, near the stern of the vessel; and said to me, "The instant that your people come on board, call them aft, and let them stand by the arms. Tell them, if there is any row, to arm themselves directly, and drive all the Brass people overboard." This was summary work with a vengeance, and everything betokened that Lake was in earnest. I saw clearly that he was resolved on adopting severe measures, and he appeared to possess all the determination necessary to carry them through.

I could not help feeling otherwise than distressed and ashamed of leaving the Brass people in this manner, but I had no alternative. There was no one

to whom I could apply for assistance in my present situation except the captain of this vessel, and to him I had applied in vain. My entreaties were thrown away on him; and even the certainty of an ample recompense by the British government, which I had held out to him, had been treated with contempt. I had no hopes, therefore, from this quarter. Boy had refused to take us to Bonny, asserting, that if he could not be paid here, he should not be there, and to go back to Brass-town would be deliberately returning to starvation; my last resource, therefore, was to put the best face on the business that I could, and as no other plan was left me, to get away by fair means or foul, and let the blame fall where it was incurred.

Wednesday, November 24th.—This morning at day-break I was on the look-out for my brother, and observed him and the people get into the canoe. They were no sooner embarked than they all landed again, which I could account for in no other way than by supposing that it was the intention of Boy to keep them on shore until he had received his goods. I was not long in this state of anxiety, for at about seven o'clock they embarked, and were brought on board.

My brother's journal, which here follows, contains an account of the events which fell under his notice at Brass-town, and his proceedings during the time we were absent from each other.

Wednesday, November 17th.—This morning my brother, attended by one of our men, quitted this town with King Boy and suite, leaving the remainder of the party and myself behind, as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions which we entered into with him in the Eboe country. For myself, though

greatly chagrined at this unforeseen arrangement, I could not from my heart altogether condemn the framer of it, for it is quite natural to suppose that a savage should distrust the promises of Europeans, when he himself is at all times guilty of breach of faith and trust, not only in his trading transactions with foreigners, but likewise in familiar intercourse with his own people. Forday is the cause of it, and he displays all the artifice, chicanery, and low cunning of a crafty and corrupt mind. Therefore, after a moment's reflection, I was not much surprised at the step which King Boy has taken, nor can I be very angry with him; and I am resolved to wait with composure his return, and, consequently, my release from this miserable place, though I have begun to consider with seriousness what will become of us in the event of Lake's refusal to honour the bill which we have sent him. Besides, I am rather uneasy on our people's account, for during these two or three days past they have had scarcely anything to eat, and we are now left entirely destitute, nor do I know where to obtain relief. The Damuggoo people are with us likewise, and they are interested in my brother's return equally as much as myself. Instead of being our guides and protectors, these poor creatures have shared in our calamity; their little all has either been lost or stolen, or else expended in provisions; and, like us, they are reduced to great distress and wretchedness. They will remain here in order to receive the few things which we have promised them and their chief; but, should Lake object to part with his goods, we shall give them a note to the master of any English vessel at Bonny, whither they are destined to go, requesting him to pay the poor strangers their demands.

“*Thursday, November 18th.*—After a good deal

of solicitation and importunity, we received this morning four small yams from the wives of King Boy, who informed us that the same number of yams will be given us daily. Our people, having nothing else to eat, made a kind of broth of this vegetable: at first, it was, of course, a most insipid mess, but with the addition of a little salt, it is rendered more palatable. We sent to King Forday in the afternoon, for a few plantains, or anything that could be eaten; but the gloomy old savage shook his head, folded his arms, and refused. All our people complaining this evening of hunger, languor, and indisposition. For myself I am fast recovering.

“*Friday, November 19th.*—The man that accompanied my brother to the brig in the river returned this afternoon without him, and gave me the following letter from my brother, which is dated from

‘*Brass River, November 18th, 1830.*

‘DEAR JOHN,—You will be surprised to learn that I did not arrive here till this morning; when I came on board, I experienced a very cool reception from Lake, the master. He is apparently in the last stage of fever; but though in so alarming a state, he told me with an oath, after I had made my business known to him, that he would not give a — flint for any government bill whatever: as for King Boy, he swore that he would rather send him to the — than give him anything. You may guess my emotion on this intelligence—I knew not what to say or do. I wished to return to Brass with King Boy, and proposed his taking us to Bonny, where I told him that I had no doubt we should be more kindly received; but Boy answered, that if Lake, who is in his own river, refuse to pay him, how could he expect

to be paid in a strange country? Therefore he would not take me from the vessel. In this dilemma I remonstrated earnestly with Lake, who has at length agreed to tamper with Boy, and promises to enter into an arrangement with him for the payment of the debt, as soon as he shall have brought you and the people in safety to the vessel, but not till then. Poor Boy looked sullen and disconcerted at this proposal, though he has agreed to act as desired. My dear brother, I have little news to tell you from England, because the captain's manners are uncivil and repulsive, and I do not like to weary him with superfluous questions in the present irritable state of his feelings; I can only learn—and I tell you of it with deep sorrow—that our good King George is dead. I herewith send you a piece of beef and a bottle of rum, which have cost me much pains to procure, but I knew how greatly all of you stood in need of something, and therefore I have sacrificed my feelings to necessity. I am sorry that I cannot fulfil my promise of sending you wearing apparel: a couple of shirts, which belonged to a seaman who died lately, is all that I can get. I suppose you will leave Brass-town to-morrow evening; in that case you will be with me on Saturday, and it is needless to say I shall wait your arrival here with impatience. Lake is extremely peevish and ill-tempered; but, as I have already told you, he is alarmingly ill, and therefore every allowance is to be made for him, of course. His mate and great part of his crew have died of fever, and the others (except two) are either down with the same disorder, or slowly recovering from the effects of it.— I am, &c., &c.,

‘ R. LANDER.’

“ Nothing could exceed my regret and consternation on the perusal of this letter; and somehow, I

almost dreaded to meet with King Boy. Well knowing how much it would influence his behaviour towards us, we had been careful to represent to that individual the thanks and cheering which he would receive from our countrymen the moment he should take us on board the English brig; that he would be favoured and caressed beyond measure, and receive plenty of beef, bread, and rum. His face used to shine with delight on anticipating so luxurious a treat; and he had uniformly been in a better humour after listening to these promises of ours, than anything else could have made him. The contrast between his actual reception on board the *Thomas*, and that which his own fancy and our repeated assurances had taught him to expect, was too dreadful to think on even a moment; and for this reason, as much as any other, I looked forward with something of apprehension and anxiety to an interview with this savage; because I knew, that after the cutting disappointment which he had experienced, he would be under the influence of strongly excited feelings and stormy passions, over which he exercises no control. I was convinced too, that the whole weight of his resentment, and the fury of his rage, would fall upon me, for I am completely in his power.

“The interesting moment at length arrived. We heard King Boy quarrelling with his women, and afterwards walking through their apartments towards ours, muttering as he went along. He entered it, and stood still. I was reposing, as I usually do for the greater part of the day, upon a mat which is placed on the seat of wet clay; but on perceiving him, I lifted my head without arising, and reclined it on my hand. He looked fixedly upon me, and I returned his glance with the same unshrinking steadfastness. But his dark eye was flashing with anger;

whilst his upturned lip, which exposed his white teeth, quivered with passion. No face in the world could convey more forcibly to the mind the feeling of contempt and bitter scorn, than the distorted one before me. It was dreadfully expressive. Drawing up the left angle of his mouth on a parallel with his eyes, he broke silence with a sneering, long-drawn 'Eh!' and, almost choked with rage, he cursed me; and in a tone and manner which it is infinitely out of my power to describe, he spoke to the following effect:—'You are thief man; English captain no will. You assured me, when I took you from the Eboe country, that he would be overjoyed to see me, and give me plenty of beef and rum; I received from him neither the one nor the other. Eh! English captain no will. I gave a quantity of goods to free you from the slavery of Obie; I took you into my own canoe; you were hungry, and I gave you yam and fish; you were almost naked; I was sorry to see you so, because you were white men and strangers; and I gave each of you a red cap and a silk handkerchief. But you are no good—you are thief man. Eh! English captain no will; he no will. You also told me that your countrymen would do this (taking off his cap and flourishing it in circles over his head), and cry Hurra, hurra, on receiving me on board their vessel; you promised my wife a necklace, and my father four bars. But Eh! English captain no will; he tell me he no will; yes, I will satisfy your hunger with plenty more of my fish and yams; and your thirst will I quench with rum and palm-wine. Eh! you thief man, you are no good; English captain no will!' He then stamped on the ground, and gnashing at me with his teeth, like a dog, he cursed me again and again.

"It is true, I did not feel perfectly easy at this

severe rebuke, and under such taunting reproaches ; but I refrained from giving utterance to a single thought till after he had concluded his abuse and anathematising. Had a spirited person been in my situation, he might have knocked him down, and might have had his head taken off for his pains ; but as for me, all such kind of spirit is gone out of me entirely. Besides, we had unintentionally deceived King Boy, and I also bore in mind the kindness which he had done us in ransoming us from a state of slavery. Most of what he had asserted was unquestionably true ; and in some measure, I was deserving his severest reprehension and displeasure.

“ The fury of Boy having been somewhat appeased by my silence and submission as well as by his own extraordinary and violent agitation, I ventured mildly to assure him, on the strength of my brother's letter, that his suspicions were entirely groundless ; that Mr. Lake had certainly a *will* or inclination to enter into arrangements with him for the payment of his just demands ; and that when he should convey our people and myself to the *Thomas*, everything would be settled to his complete satisfaction. He half believed, half mistrusted my words ; and shortly afterwards quitted the apartment, threatening, however, that we should not leave Brass till it suited his own pleasure and convenience.

“ It is really a most humiliating reflection, that we are reduced to the contemptible subterfuges of deceit and falsehood, in order to carry a point which might so easily have been gained by straightforward integrity. But Lake's conduct has left us no alternative ; and whatever my opinion of that individual may be, he must surely be destitute of all the manly characteristics of a British seaman, as well as of the more generous feelings of our common nature, to be

guilty, on a sick-bed, of an action which might, for aught he knew or cared, produce the most serious consequences to his unfortunate countrymen in a savage land, by exposing them to the wretchedness of want and the miseries of slavery, to mockery, ill-usage, contempt, and scorn; and even to death itself.

“Saturday, November 20th.—King Boy has not visited us to-day, though we have received the customary allowance of four yams from his women. In addition to which, Addizetta made us a present of half a dozen this morning, as an acknowledgment for the benefit she had derived from a dose of laudanum which I gave her last night for the purpose of removing pain from the lower regions of the stomach, a complaint by which she says she is occasionally visited. People are in better spirits this evening, on account of the increased quantity of yams received.

“Sunday, November 21st.—This morning I dismissed the poor Damuggoo people with a note to the master of either of the English vessels lying in the Bonny river, requesting him to give the bearers three barrels of gunpowder, and a few muskets, on the faith of his being paid for the same by his Majesty's government. They left Brass in their own canoe, quite dejected and out of heart; and Antonio, the young man who volunteered to accompany us from his Majesty's brig Clinker, at Badágyry, went along with them on his return to his country, from which he has been absent two or three years. He is brother to the present, and son of the late king of Bonny.

“Monday, November 22nd.—One or two crafty little urchins, who are slaves to King Boy, have brought us a few plantains to-day as a gift. They

had been engaged in pilfering tobacco-leaves from an adjoining apartment, to which our people were witnesses ; and the juvenile depredators, fearing the consequences of a disclosure, bribed them to secrecy in the manner already mentioned. Boy's women have also been guilty, during the temporary absence of their lord and master, of stealing a quantity of rum from the store-room, and distributing it among their friends and acquaintance ; and they have resorted to the same plan as the boys to prevent the exposure which they dreaded. One of them, who acts as duenna, is the favourite and confidante of Boy, and she wears a bunch of keys round her neck in token of her authority. She has likewise the care of all her master's effects ; and as a further mark of distinction, she is allowed the privilege of using a walking-stick with a knob at the end, which is her constant companion. This woman is exceedingly good-natured, and indulges our men with a glass or two of rum every day.

“ Last evening King Boy, stripped to the skin, and having his body most hideously marked, ran about the town like a maniac, with a spear in his hand, calling loudly on his *Dju-Dju* ; and uttering a wild, frantic cry at every corner. It appears, that one of his father's wives had been strongly suspected of adulterous intercourse with a free man residing in the town ; and that this strange means was adopted, in pursuance of an ancient custom, to apprise the inhabitants publicly of the circumstance, and implore the counsel and assistance of the god at the examination of the parties. This morning the male aggressor was found dead, having swallowed poison, it is believed, to avoid a worse kind of death ; and the priest declaring his opinion of the guilt of the surviving party, she was immediately sentenced to be

drowned. Therefore, this afternoon the ill-fated woman was tied hand and foot, and conveyed in a canoe to the main body of the river, into which she was thrown without hesitation, a weight of some kind having been fastened to her feet for the purpose of sinking her. She met her death with incredible firmness and resolution. The superstitious people believe, that had the deceased been innocent of the crime laid to her charge, their god would have saved her life, even after she had been flung into the river; but because she perished, her guilt is with them unquestionably attested. The mother of the deceased is not allowed to display any signs of sorrow or sadness at the untimely death of her daughter; for were she to do so, the same dreadful punishment would be inflicted upon her; 'for,' say the Brass people, 'if a parent should mourn and weep over the fate of a child guilty of so heinous a crime, we should pronounce her instantly to be as criminal as her daughter, and to have tolerated her offence. But if, on the contrary, she betrays no maternal tenderness, nor bewail her bereavement in tears and groans, we should then conclude her to be entirely ignorant of the whole transaction; she would thus give a tacit acknowledgment to the justice of her sentence, and rejoice to be rid of an object that would only entail disgrace on her as long as she lived.'

"Our people are become heartily tired of their situation, and impatient to be gone. They were regaled with an extra quantity of rum last evening, by their female friend, the duenna; when their grievances appearing to them in a more odious light than ever, they had the courage to go in a body to King Boy, to demand an explanation of his intentions towards them. They told him, indignantly, either to convey them to the English brig, or sell them for

slaves to the Spaniards ; for, said they, we would rather lose our liberty than be kept here to die of hunger. Boy returned them an equivocating answer, but treated them much less roughly than I had reason to anticipate. Afterwards, I went myself to the same individual, and with a similar motive ; but for some time I had no opportunity of conversing with him. It is a kind of holiday here, and most of the Brass people, with their chiefs, are merry with intoxication. As well as I can understand, during the earlier part of the day they were engaged in a solemn religious observance ; and since then King Forday has publicly abdicated in favour of Boy, who is his eldest son. I discovered those individuals in a court annexed to the habitation of the former, surrounded by a great number of individuals with bottles, glasses, and decanters at their feet ; they were all in a state of drunkenness, more or less ; and all had their faces and bodies chalked over in rude and various characters. Forday, alone, sat in a chair ; Boy was at his side ; and the others, amongst whom were our friend Gun, and a drummer, were sitting around on blocks of wood, and on the trunk of a fallen tree. The chairman delivered a long oration, but he was too tipsy, and perhaps too full of days, to speak with grace, animation, or power ; therefore his eloquence was not very persuasive, and his nodding hearers, overcome with drowsiness, listened to him with scarcely any attention. They smiled, however, and laughed occasionally ; but I could not find out why they did so ; I don't think they themselves could tell. The old chief wore an English superfine beaver hat, and an old jacket that once belonged to a private soldier ; but the latter was so small, that he was able only to thrust an arm into one of its sleeves, the other part of the jacket being thrown upon his left

shoulder. These, with the addition of a cotton handkerchief, which was tied round the waist, were his only apparel. By far the most showy and conspicuous object in the yard was an immense umbrella, made of figured cotton of different patterns, with a deep fringe of coloured worsted, which was stuck into the ground. But even this was tattered and torn, and dirty withal, having been in Forday's possession for many years, and it is used only on public and sacred occasions. I had been sitting amongst the revellers till the speaker had finished his harangue, when I embraced the opportunity, as they were about to separate, of entreating King Boy to hasten our departure for the vessel. He was highly excited, and elated with liquor, and, being in an excellent temper, he promised to take us to-morrow.

“Tuesday, November 23d.—It required little time to take leave of the few friends we have at Brass; and we quitted the town not only without regret, but with emotions of peculiar pleasure—King Boy, with three of his women, and his suite, in a large canoe, and our people and myself in a smaller one. Addizetta would gladly have accompanied her husband to the English vessel, for her desire to see it was naturally excessive; but she was forbidden by old Forday, who expressed some squeamishness about the matter, or rather, he was jealous that, on her return to her father's house, in the Eboe country, she would give too high and favourable an opinion of it to her friends, which might in the end produce consequences highly prejudicial to his interests.

“We stopped awhile at a little fishing village, at no great distance from Brass, where we procured a few fish, and abundance of young cocoa-nuts, the milk of which was sweet and refreshing. Continuing our journey on streams and rivulets, intricately winding

through mangroves and bramble, which have been already spoken of, we entered the main body of the river in time to see the sun setting behind a glorious sky, directly before us. We were evidently near the sea, because the water was perfectly salt, and we scented also the cool and bracing sea-breeze with feelings of satisfaction and rapture. However, the wind soon became too stormy for our fragile canoe; the waves leaped into it over the bow, and several times we were in danger of being swamped. Our companion was far before us, and out of sight, so that, for the moment, there was no possibility of receiving assistance, or of lightening the canoe; but happily, in a little while, we did not require it, for the violence of the wind abating with the disappearance of the sun, we were enabled to continue on our way without apprehension. About nine o'clock in the evening we overtook the large canoe, and the crews both having partaken of a slight refreshment of fish and plantain together, we passed the '*Second Brass River*,' which was to the left of us, in company. Here it might have been somewhat more than half a mile in breadth; and though it was dangerously rough for a canoe, with great precaution we reached the opposite side in safety. From thence we could perceive, in the distance, the long wished-for Atlantic, with the moonbeams reposing in peaceful beauty upon its surface, and could also hear the sea breaking and roaring over the sandy bar which stretches across the mouth of the river. The solemn voice of ocean never sounded more melodiously in my ear than it did at that moment. Oh! it was enchanting as the harp of David. Passing along by the left bank, we presently entered the '*First Brass River*,' which is the '*Nun*' of Europeans, where, at midnight, we could faintly distinguish the masts and

rigging of the English brig in the dusky light, which appeared like a dark and ragged cloud above the horizon. To me, however, no sight could be more charming. It was beautiful as the gates of paradise; and my heart fluttered with unspeakable delight, as we landed in silence on the beach opposite the brig, near a few straggling huts, to wait impatiently the dawn of to-morrow.

“ *Wednesday, November 24th.*—This was a happy morning, for it restored me to the society of my brother, and of my countrymen. The baneful effects of the climate are strongly impressed upon the countenances of the latter, who, instead of their natural healthy hue, have a pale, dejected, and sickly appearance, which is quite distressing to witness. However, the crew of the Spanish schooner look infinitely more wretched: they have little else but their original forms remaining; they crawl about like beings under a curse; they are mere shadows or phantoms of men looking round for their burying-place. No spectacle can be more mortifying to man's pride than this; nothing can give him a more humiliating sense of his own nothingness. It is very much to be wondered at, why Europeans in general, and Englishmen in particular, persevere in sending their fellow-creatures to this *Aceldama* or *Golgotha*, as the African coast is sometimes not inappropriately called; they might as well bury them at once at home, and it is pleasanter far to die there; but interest, and the lust of gain, like Aaron's rod, seem to swallow up every other consideration.”

My brother had now joined me, and my station during the time the canoe was coming from the shore to the vessel had been by the cannon; it was the only one on board; but it had been loaded as Lake had

directed, and pointed to the gangway of the brig, where the Brass people must come. The muskets were all ready lying concealed where Lake had directed them to be placed, and he repeated the same orders that he had given me yesterday respecting the part my people were to take in the business. Lake received my brother civilly, but immediately expressed his determination to dismiss Boy without giving him a single article, and to make the best of his way out of the river. A short time after his arrival, a canoe arrived at the beach with Mr. Spittle, the mate of the brig, as prisoner, who immediately sent a note off to the captain, informing him that the price of his liberation was the sum demanded for the pilotage of the vessel over the bar of the river. He said further, that he was strictly guarded, but that, notwithstanding this, he did not despair of making his escape, if Lake could wait a little for him. The vessel had been brought into the river about three months before, but Lake would never pay the pilotage, and now all he did was to send Mr. Spittle a little bread and beef. The amount demanded was about fifty pounds worth of goods, which it was quite out of the question that Lake would ever pay.

Meanwhile King Boy, full of gloomy forebodings, had been lingering about the deck. He had evidently foresight enough to suspect what was to take place, and he appeared troubled and uneasy, and bewildered in thought. The poor fellow was quite an altered person; his habitual haughtiness had entirely forsaken him, and given place to a humble and cringing demeanour. A plate of meat was presented to him, of which he ate sparingly, and showed clearly that he was thinking more of his promised goods than his appetite; and a quantity of rum that was given

to him was drunk carelessly, and without affording any apparent satisfaction.

Knowing how things were likely to terminate, we endeavoured to get Boy into a good humour, by telling him that he should certainly have his goods some time or other, but it was all to no purpose; the attempt was a complete failure; the present was the only time in his mind. We really pitied him, and were grieved to think that our promises could not be fulfilled. How gladly would we have made any personal sacrifice rather than thus break our word! for, although we have been half-starved in his hands, yet we felt ourselves indebted to him for having taken us from the Eboe people, and bringing us to this vessel. I rummaged over the few things left us from our disaster at Kirree, and found, to my surprise, five silver bracelets wrapped up in a piece of flannel. I was not aware of having these; therefore I immediately offered them to him, along with a native sword, which being a very great curiosity, we had brought with us from Yarriba, with the intention of taking it to England. Boy accepted of these, and my brother then offered him his watch, for which he had a great regard, as it was the gift of one of his earliest and best friends. This was refused with disdain, for Boy knew not its value; and calling one of his men to look at what he said we wished to impose on him in lieu of his bars, both of them, with a significant groan, turned away from us with scorn and indignation, nor would they speak to us or even look at us again. Our mortification was now complete; but we were helpless, and the fault was not with us.

Boy now ventured to approach Captain Lake on the quarter-deck, and, with an anxious, petitioning countenance, asked for the goods which had been promised him. Prepared for the desperate game he

was about to play, it was the object of Lake to gain as much time as possible, that he might get his vessel under way before he came to an open rupture. Therefore he pretended to be busy in writing, and desired Boy to wait a moment. Becoming impatient with delay, Boy repeated his demand a second and a third time, "Give me my bars."—"I NO WILL!" said Lake, in a voice of thunder, which one could hardly have expected from so emaciated a frame as his. "I no will, I tell you; I won't give you a — flint. Give me my mate, you black rascal, or I will bring a thousand men of war here in a day or two; they shall come and burn down your towns, and kill every one of you; bring me my mate!" Terrified by the demeanour of Lake, and the threats and oaths he made use of, poor King Boy suddenly retreated; and seeing men going aloft to loosen the sails, apprehensive of being carried off to sea, he quickly disappeared from the deck of the brig, and was soon observed making his way on shore in his canoe, with the rest of his people. This was the last we saw of him. In a few minutes from the time Boy had left the vessel, the mate, Mr. Spittle, was sent off in a canoe, so terrified were the Brass people that a man of war would come and put Lake's threats into execution.

At ten in the morning the vessel was got under way, and we dropped down the river. At noon the breeze died away, and we were obliged to let go an anchor to prevent our drifting on the western breakers at the mouth of the river. A few minutes more would have been fatal to us, and the vessel was fortunately stopped, although the depth of water where she lay was only five fathoms. The rollers, as the large high waves are called, which came into the river over the bar, were so high that they sometimes

passed nearly over the bow of the vessel, and caused her to ride very uneasily by her anchor. We had been obliged to anchor immediately abreast of the Pilot's-town, and expected every moment that we should be fired at from their battery. Time was of the greatest importance to us; we had made Boy our enemy, and expected, before we could get out of the river, he would summon his people and make an attack on us, while our party amounted only to twenty men, two-thirds of whom were Africans. The pilot also, whom Lake had offended so much, is known to be a bold and treacherous ruffian. He is the same person who steered the brig *Susan* among the breakers, by which that vessel narrowly escaped destruction, with the loss of her windlass and an anchor and cable. The fellow had done this merely with the hopes of obtaining a part of the wreck as it drifted on shore. Another vessel, a Liverpool oil-trader, was actually lost on the bar by the treachery of the same individual, who, having effected his purpose by placing her in a situation from which she could not escape, jumped overboard, and swam to his canoe, which was at a short distance. The treatment of the survivors of this wreck is shocking to relate: they were actually stripped of their clothes, and allowed to die of hunger. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the misdeeds that are laid to this fellow's charge, which have, no doubt, lost nothing by report; but, after making all reasonable allowances for exaggeration, his character appears in a most revolting light, and the fact of his running these vessels on the bar proves him to be a desperate and consummate villain. This same fellow is infinitely more artful and intelligent than any of his countrymen, and is one of the handsomest black men that we have seen.

Not long after we had dropped the anchor, we observed the pilot, with the help of a glass, walking on the beach, and watching us occasionally. A multitude of half-naked, suspicious-looking fellows were likewise straggling along the shore, while others were seen emerging from a grove of cocoa-trees and the thick bushes near it. These men were all armed, chiefly with muskets, and they subsequently assembled in detached groups, to the number of several hundreds, and appeared to be consulting about attacking the vessel. Nothing less than this, and to be fired at from the battery, was expected by us; and there is no doubt that the strength and loftiness of the brig only deterred them from so doing. The same people were hovering on the beach till very late in the evening, when they dispersed; many of them could be seen even at midnight, so that we were obliged to keep a good look-out till the morning.

Thursday, November 25th.—The vessel rode very uneasily all night, in consequence of the long heavy waves which set in from the bar; these are technically called by sailors *ground-swell*, being different from the waves which are raised while the wind blows; the latter generally break at the top, while the former are quite smooth, and roll with great impetuosity in constant succession, forming a deep furrow between them, which, with the force of the wave, is very dangerous to vessels at anchor. Our motions were still closely watched by the natives. About eleven we got under way, but were obliged to anchor again in the afternoon, as the water was not deep enough for the vessel to pass over the bar. The mate sounded the bar again, and placed a buoy as a mark for the vessel to pass over in the deepest water.

Friday, November 26th.—The wind favouring us this morning, we made another attempt at getting

out of the river. We had already made some progress when the wind again died away, and the current setting us rapidly over to the eastern breakers, we were obliged to let go an anchor to save us from destruction. We could see nothing of the buoy, and have no doubt that it was washed away by the current; our anchorage was in three and a half fathoms water, and the ground-swell, which now set in, heaved the vessel up and down in such a frightful manner, that we expected every moment to see the chain-cable break. As soon as we dropped our anchor, the tide rushed past the vessel at the rate of eight miles an hour. After the ebb tide had ceased running, the swell gradually subsided, and the vessel rode easily.

The mate was again sent to sound the bar, and in about three hours afterwards returned with the information that two fathoms and three-quarters was the deepest water he could find. The bar extends across the mouth of the river in the form of a crescent, leaving a very narrow and shallow entrance for vessels in the middle, which is generally concealed by the surf and foam of the adjacent breakers. When the wind is light and the tide high, and the surface of the water smooth, excepting in a few places, the bar is then most dangerous. We observed several fires made by the natives on the beach, which were supposed to be signals for us to return.

Saturday, November 27th.—We passed a restless and most unpleasant night. The captain and the people were much alarmed for the safety of the brig. The heavy ground-swell which set in, increased by the strength of the tide, caused her to pitch and labour so hard, that a man was placed to watch the cable, and give notice the moment it complained, a technical expression which meant the moment it gave

signs of breaking. Daylight had scarcely dawned when the pall of the windlass broke. The purpose of this is to prevent the windlass from turning round on its axis against any strain to which it may be subjected, and consequently it was no sooner broken than the windlass flew round with incredible velocity, having nothing to resist the strain of the cable which was passed round it. The chain cable ran out so swiftly that in half a minute the windlass was broken to atoms. My brother and I, with our people, rendered all the assistance in our power to prevent the ship from drifting. We succeeded in fastening the cable to ring-bolts in the deck, until we got sufficient of it clear to go round the capstan, which we had no sooner effected than the ring-bolts were fairly drawn out of the deck by the strain on the cable.

About eight A.M., a terrific wave, called by sailors a *sea*, struck the vessel with tremendous force and broke the chain-cable. "The cable is gone!" shouted a voice, and the next instant the captain cried out in a firm, collected tone, "Cut away the kedge!" which was promptly obeyed, and the vessel was again stopped from drifting among the breakers. The man who had been stationed to look out on the cable came running aft on deck as soon as he had given notice of the danger, calling out that all was over. "Good God!" was the passionate exclamation of every one, and a slight confusion ensued. But the captain was prepared for the worst; he gave his orders with firmness, and behaved with promptness and decision.

We were riding by the kedge, a small anchor, which, however, was the only one left us, and on which the safety of the brig now depended. The breakers were close under our stern, and this was not expected to hold ten minutes—it was a forlorn hope—every eye was fixed on the raging surf, and our

hearts thrilled with agitation, expecting every moment that the vessel would be dashed in pieces. A few long and awful minutes were passed in this state, which have left an indelible impression on our minds. Never shall I forget the chief mate saying to me, "Now, Sir, every one for himself; a few minutes will be the last with us." The tumultuous sea was raging in mountainous waves close by us, their foam dashing against the sides of the brig, which was only prevented from being carried among them by a weak anchor and cable. The natives, from whom we could expect no favour, were busy on shore making large fires, and other signals, for us to desert the brig and land at certain places, expecting no doubt every moment to see her a prey to the waves, and those who escaped their fury to fall into their hands. Wretched resource! the sea would have been far more merciful than they.

Such was our perilous situation, when a fine sea-breeze set in, which literally saved us from destruction. The sails were loosened to relieve the anchor from the strain of the vessel, and she rode out the ebb-tide without drifting. At ten A.M., the tide had nearly ceased running out, and the fury of the sea rather abated; but it was quite impossible that the brig could ride out another ebb-tide where she lay, with the kedge-anchor alone to hold her: the only chance left us, therefore, was to get to sea, and the captain determined on crossing the bar, although there appeared to be little chance of success. At half-past ten A.M., he manned the boat with two of our men, and two Kroomen belonging to the brig, and sent them to tow, while the anchor was got on board. This had no sooner been done, than the wind fell light, and, instead of drifting over to the western breakers as yesterday and the day before,

the brig was now set towards those on the eastern side, and again we had a narrow escape. With the assistance of the boat and good management, we at length passed clear over the bar on the edge of the breakers, in a depth of quarter-less three fathoms, and made sail to the eastward. Our troubles were now at an end: by the protection of a merciful Providence we had escaped dangers, the very thoughts of which had filled us with horror; and with a grateful heart and tears of joy for all his mercies, we offered up a silent prayer of thanks for our deliverance.

The bar extends about four or five miles from the mouth of the river in a southerly direction, but is by no means known. This river is by far the best place on the whole coast at which small vessels may procure oil, as it is the shortest distance from the Eboe country, where the best palm-oil is to be had in any quantity. The Eboe oil is pronounced to be superior to that of any other part of the country which is brought to the coast. The river is not much frequented, owing probably to its being unknown, and the difficulty of crossing the bar, for not more than five English vessels have been known to come to it, two of which are stated to have been lost, and a third to have struck on the bar, but being a new strong vessel, she beat over it into deep water. I would recommend the master of any vessel going to the river for palm-oil to provide himself with two good strong six-oared boats for towing, and a double complement of Kroomen. The expense of ten or twelve Kroomen would be trifling, as they only require a few yams and a little palm-oil to eat, and they are always ready to perform any laborious work which may be required of them. If masters of vessels coming to the river would send a boat before to sound, and have two good

six-oared boats towing, I think there would be no danger of any being lost, as has been the case with some from being weakly manned. Vessels are got under way with a fine breeze, and when they arrive in the most dangerous part, it dies away, and if there are no boats ready for towing, nothing can save them from destruction.

Vessels going out of the river are usually recommended to keep as near as possible to the western breakers, but I should think this very dangerous, unless there is sufficient wind to keep command of them. When a vessel leaves her anchorage in the river, she will be set by the current over to the western breakers, and, when half way to the bar, will be set over to the eastern, as we were. The river in the months of December and January would, I think, be safest, as the rains in the interior will then be over, and all the extra water will have been discharged, which it has received in the extent of country through which it runs. When no English vessels are in the river, the people of Bonny come and purchase the palm-oil from the Brass people, probably for the purpose of supplying the ships in their river, as well as for their own uses.

Sunday, November 28th.—This morning we discovered a strange vessel on our starboard beam, which directly made sail in chase of us. After firing a gun to make us stop, or bring us to, as the sailors expressed it, she sent a boat on board of the brig, and we found her to be the Black Jock, tender to the British commodore's ship. We reported ourselves to the lieutenant commanding her, in the hopes of his taking us on board of his vessel and landing us at Accra, from whence I thought it would be easy to find our way by one of his Majesty's ships to Ascension or St. Helena, from either of which places an opportunity

would offer for us to get home without delay. His orders, however, were to run down the coast as far as the Congo, and he recommended us to go to Fernando Po, where we should find every assistance and a vessel about to sail soon for England. Having obtained from us the intelligence that the Spanish slaver was lying in the river Nun ready to sail, he immediately altered his course for that river for the purpose of capturing her. Captain Lake agreed to land us in his boat at Fernando Po, as he passed the island on his way to the river Cameroons, and we again made sail to the eastward.

Wednesday, December 1st.—The last two days were employed in making the passage to Fernando Po, and this morning, to our great satisfaction, we discovered the island. We were glad to get out of this vessel, for the unfeeling commander, notwithstanding that our men had rendered him every assistance in getting his brig out of the river, and had done everything required of them, afterwards employed every means he could think of, to annoy us and make us uncomfortable while we were with him. At night, while the people were sleeping, he would make his men draw water and throw it over them, for mere amusement. There are many commanders as bad as he is on the coast, who seem to vie with each other in acts of cruelty and oppression. The captain of the palm-oil brig Elizabeth, now in the Calebar river, actually whitewashed his crew from head to foot, while they were sick with fever and unable to protect themselves; his cook suffered so much in the operation, that the lime totally deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes, and rendered the other of little service to him.

In the afternoon we were happily landed at Clarence Cove, in the island of Fernando Po, where

we were most kindly received by Mr. Becroft, the acting superintendent. This worthy gentleman readily supplied us with changes of linen, and everything we stood in need of, besides doing all he possibly could to make us comfortable. The kindness and hospitality we received from him, and Dr. Crichton in particular, we shall be grateful for as long as we live.

Accustomed as we have been during the last month to the monotonous sameness of a low, flat country, the banks of the river covered with mangroves overhanging the water, and in many parts, in consequence of its extraordinary height, apparently growing out of it; the lofty summit of Fernando Po, and the still loftier mountains of the Cameroons on the distant main land, presented a sublime and magnificent appearance. The highest mountain of the Cameroons is a striking feature on this part of the coast, being more than thirteen thousand feet high. The land in its vicinity is low and flat, which renders the appearance of this mountain still more imposing, as it towers majestically over the surrounding country in solitary grandeur. It divides the embouchures of the spacious rivers old Calebar and Del Rey, on the west, from the equally important one of the Cameroons on the east. The island of Fernando Po is detached about twenty miles from the coast, and appeared to us, when we first saw it, in two lofty peaks connected by a high ridge of land. The northern peak is higher than the other, which is situated in the southern part of the island, and rises gradually from the sea to the height of ten thousand seven hundred feet. In clear weather the island can be seen at the distance of more than a hundred miles; but this is not always the case, as the summit is most frequently concealed by clouds and fogs, which are common at certain seasons of the year.

As we approached the island in fine weather and with a moderate wind, we had ample time to observe it. The shore is formed mostly of a dark-coloured rock, and covered with trees which reach down to the water's edge. The whole of the lower part of the island is covered with fine forest-trees of various descriptions, extending about three-fourths up the sides of the mountain, where they become thinly scattered, stunted in their growth, and interspersed with low bushes and a brown dry grass. In various parts patches of cultivated ground may be seen along with the huts of the natives, presenting, with the luxuriant foliage of the trees, a mass of verdure in the most flourishing condition. Nature has here done her utmost; the whole appearance of the island is of the most beautiful description, and fully justifies its title to the name of *Ilha Formosa*, signifying "Beautiful Island," which it first received. As we approached it still nearer, the stupendous precipices and wide fissures near the summit of the principal mountain became more distinct by the contrast between their dark recesses and the lights on the projecting rocks, until, by our proximity to the shore, the whole became concealed behind the lesser heights next to the sea.

Until the year 1827, the island lay forsaken and neglected in its primitive condition, neither the Portuguese nor Spaniards having thought it worth their consideration. At length the attention of the British government was directed to it, in consequence of its favourable position for putting a stop to the slave trade in that quarter of Africa. Situated within a few hours' sail of the coast, in the immediate vicinity of those rivers, commencing with the Cameroons on the east, and extending along the whole of the Gold Coast, where the principal outlets of this unlawful

traffic are found, Fernando Po presented advantages which were sufficient to authorise a settlement being formed on it, and Captain W. Owen sailed from England for this purpose in his Majesty's ship *Eden*, with the appointment of Governor, and with Commander Harrison under his orders. Captain Owen had been previously employed on an extensive and difficult survey of the coasts of Africa both in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, in which the shores of this island were included; and therefore, having visited it before, he was no stranger either to its nature and resources, or to the climate in which it is situated. Previous to the arrival of Captain Owen, the island had been occasionally visited by some of the ships of war on the African station, for the purposes of obtaining supplies of vegetables and water; and perhaps now and then a Liverpool ship would be seen there waiting for palm-oil, or recovering the health of her crew from fevers obtained in the rivers on the coast. As the natives reside at some distance in the interior, the arrival of a ship of war at the island was announced to them by the discharge of a cannon on board, which was sufficient to bring them to the sea-side with whatever vegetables, poultry, and other articles, they might wish to sell. The articles most demanded by them in return were pieces of iron hoop, knives, and nails. At first a piece of iron hoop about six inches long would purchase a pair of fowls or four yams, so much value being attached by the natives to iron.

The business of forming a new settlement is a species of service that requires the exercise of certain qualities of the mind which it is not the good fortune of every one to possess. In addition to the pernicious effects of the climate on European constitutions, there were people on the island who, although they

might be unable to offer any serious impediment to the progress of the settlement, it was necessary to conciliate rather than to treat with hostility, and for this no one could have been better calculated than Captain Owen. Whatever may have induced him to relinquish the appointment of governor, no measures for gaining the friendship of the natives, and thereby securing their good-will towards the colony, could have been better than those which he adopted, and the chiefs even now frequently mention his name.

The part selected as the site of the proposed settlement was on the northern side of the island, on the borders of a small cove formed by a narrow neck of land projecting out from the shore on the eastern side of it. This was named "Point William;" and the cove, together with the whole establishment, was called "Clarence," after his Most Gracious Majesty, who was then Lord High Admiral of Great Britain. Point Adelaide, with two small islets off it connected by a sand bank, forms the western boundary of the cove, and is distant about half a mile from Point William. Goderich Bay lies to the east, and Cockburn Cove to the west of Clarence Cove. Under the able directions of Captain Owen, the various buildings were planned, while the operation of clearing the ground was going forward. A flag-staff, which formerly stood on the extremity of Point William, has been removed to the governor's house, and a large commodious building, with a few solitary palm-trees near it, is the first which attracts attention. This building is assigned as the hospital, and is judiciously situated here, as it is the most exposed to the sea-breeze, and stands completely isolated from the rest of the settlement, both which precautions

are of no small importance in the climate of Fernando Po. A small round-topped building at a short distance from the hospital, with a few huts near it, and surrounded by stakes, was formerly the magazine; and near it is another large building used as the marine barracks. The officers' quarters and those of the African Corps are next in succession, and announce their military character by a piece of artillery mounted close to them, and pointed towards the cove. The governor's house, a large, spacious building, stands eminently conspicuous on the precipice of the shore, beneath which is the landing-place. From hence a fatiguing walk leads immediately to it up an ascent of about one hundred feet. A battery of seven guns was landed for this purpose from his Majesty's ship *Esk*, which is placed in a very commanding situation in front of the governor's house. The house of the mixed commission for the adjudication of captured slave-vessels, stands in an unfinished condition at a short distance from the governor's; various other buildings occupy Point William, which are diversified by a few trees, that give it a pleasing and picturesque appearance from the sea. This remark is generally made by those who first visit Clarence Cove, and all are pleased on first seeing it. In addition to the buildings we have enumerated, Mr. Lloyd has a tolerably good house just finished, and the surgeon of the colony, who is a naval officer, has one also assigned for his residence. The Kroomen and free negroes, who amount to about two thousand in number, have a collection of small neat huts at a short distance from Government-house, which are constructed of wood and thatched with palm-leaves. They are very careful of them, and have a small garden in the front as well as behind, in

which they cultivate Indian corn, bananas, and peppers. These huts form two small streets, but they are daily receiving additions from new comers.

The work of clearing the ground is constantly going forward, and is performed by the free negroes, the African troops, and the Kroomen. The principal disease among these people, which arises from accidents in cutting down the trees, is ulcerated legs, and sixteen of them were in the hospital from this cause alone. The Kroomen are a particular race of people, differing entirely from the other African tribes. They inhabit a country called Settra Krou, on the coast near Cape Palmas, their principal employment being of a maritime nature. Their language, as well as their general character, is also different from that of their neighbours. A certain number of these men are always employed on board of the ships of war on the African coast, for the purpose of performing those duties where considerable fatigue and exposure to the sun is experienced. In consequence of their roving employment, they are to be found on all parts of the coast, and are sufficiently acquainted with it to serve as pilots. It is customary with them to establish themselves on various parts of the coast for this purpose, and to leave the elders of the tribes in their own country, unless their presence should be required by any war that might take place. They are said to return to their country after an absence of several years, when they have amassed by their industry sufficient to maintain themselves; and some among them are intelligent and active, but they are not always to be trusted, although they are a very superior class of people in comparison with other African tribes.

Besides a watering place at a short distance to the right of the governor's house, two small streams,

Hay Brook and Horton Brook, run into Goderich Bay, affording plenty of excellent water, and capable of admitting boats. The watering-place above mentioned is generally frequented, from the convenience with which the water is obtained, being conducted to the sea-side by a wooden aqueduct, under which boats may lie and fill their casks very easily without removing them.

Clarence establishment, when we arrived, consisted of the superintendent, or acting governor; Mr. Becroft, who was generally known by the title of Captain; Captain Beattie, the commander of the *Portia*, colonial schooner; Mr. Crichton, a naval surgeon; Lieutenant Stockwell, with a party of five or six marines; a mulatto ensign of the Royal African corps, with two black troops from Sierra Leone, and some carpenters and sailmakers, besides a mulatto who filled the office of clerk or secretary to Mr. Becroft. An English merchant by the name of Lloyd, in the employment of Mr. Smith, we also found here, whose residence we have just mentioned.

No place, in point of convenience, could have been better selected for a settlement than that on which Clarence is situated. The bay affords safe anchorage for shipping from the furious tornadoes which are common in this part of the world, and is sufficiently capacious to shelter as many vessels as are likely to visit the island; it abounds with fish, and is free from sunken rocks, and the shore is steep and easy of access to boats. There is another bay, called George's Bay, on the western side of the island, but it has the disadvantage of being open to that quarter, and consequently affords no safety to shipping. The proximity of Clarence Cove to the coast of Africa is also another important point in favour of the object for which the establishment was formed.

The natives of Fernando Po are the filthiest race of people in the whole world. They are different in their manners and appearance from their neighbours on the coast, to whom we have been so much accustomed of late, and possess no single trait of character similar to them, except that of pilfering. In point of civilisation, to which the natives of Brass Town have not the most distant pretensions, these people have even still less; their language is totally different, and they have no resemblance whatever to them. This in itself affords a tolerable proof of the little intercourse they have had with the world, for while the other islands of the Gulf are plentifully stocked with the same race of people as those of the coast, Fernando Po, which is so much nearer to it, is inhabited by a totally different class. They are, generally speaking, a stout, athletic, and well-made race of people, and peculiarly harmless and peaceably inclined in their dispositions, although each individual is generally armed with a spear about eight feet in length, made of a hard wood and barbed at one end. They appear also to be a healthy race of people; for although here and there one or two might be less favoured by nature in their persons, no signs of the diseases so common among the natives of Africa were to be seen among them.

We have said that they are a filthy race, but no words can convey an idea of their disgusting nature. They have long hair, which it is difficult to distinguish, from being matted together with red clay and palm-oil. The clay and oil are so profusely laid on, that it forms an impenetrable shield for the head, and the long tresses, which descend to their shoulders, are generally in a moist condition. Although this covering is a complete safeguard to all inconvenience from without, they still further adorn their heads

with a kind of cap made of dried grass, ornamented round the border with the feathers of fowls or any other birds, carefully stuck into it apart from each other. Some are so vain as to fix the horns of a ram in front of this cap, which gives them a most ludicrous and strange appearance. Finally, the cap, with all its ornaments of feathers, horns, shells, &c., is secured in its place with a piece of stick, which answers the purpose by being forced through it on one side and out on the opposite after passing underneath the hair. Sometimes this elegant pin, as it may be called, is formed of the leg bone of some small animal, and is pointed at one end for the purpose of penetrating more easily. The expression of their countenance, scored and marked as it is, and surmounted by the cap above described, is wild and barbarous. They smear their faces entirely over with red clay mixed with palm-oil ; sometimes a kind of grey dust is used instead of the clay, and this preparation being equally distributed over their whole persons, renders their presence scarcely tolerable. It is difficult to find out the colour of their skin under the filthy covering of oil and clay by which it is concealed ; but we believe it is not so dark as the African negro, and more resembling a copper colour.

The natives make use of no other dress than the cap which they wear on their heads ; but a few leaves, or a bunch of dried grass, are usually secured round the middle by the people of both sexes, while the younger, naturally unconscious of indecency, go entirely naked. The vertebræ of snakes, the bones of fowls and birds as well as sheep, broken shells, small beads, and pieces of cocoa-nut shell, are put in requisition by the natives for the ornament of their persons. A profusion of these strung together hang round the waist, which it seems to be their principal care to

decorate in this manner, while their necks are scarcely less favoured with a proportion of these articles. Strings of them are also fastened round the arms and legs, but not in such quantities as round the waist. The pieces of hoop they have obtained from the ships which have visited the island, are formed into rude knives, or polished and worn on the arm in a kind of band made of straw, and are much valued. In their first intercourse with our people, the natives were very shy, and displayed much fear, but this gradually wore off, and they now venture boldly on board, for the purpose of obtaining knives, hatchets, or anything they can get. They have a few canoes of small dimensions, capable of containing ten or twelve people, but are not very expert in the management of them, although they are so far advanced as to make use of a mast and sail, which latter is constructed of a sort of mat. They seem to be little addicted to the water, and we did not see any among them who could swim. In their fishing excursions the natives are generally very successful; and those who pursue this mode of obtaining their livelihood are compelled to adhere to it, and allowed to have nothing to do with cultivating the island. They exchange their fish for yams, and thus the wants of the fishermen and the cultivators are both supplied.

In the first visits of ships to the island, very considerable aversion was shown by the natives to any of their people attempting to go to their huts, or even to their endeavouring to penetrate into the woods, although only a short distance from the shore, from a fear perhaps of their plantations being plundered.* Their huts, which are of the rudest

* They have no such apprehensions now, and allow the colonists to go into any part of the island without molesting them.

construction imaginable, may be distinctly seen among the trees in small groups, surrounding a cleared space of ground, in which they cultivate the yam, and are formed of a few stakes driven firmly into the ground, thatched over with the palm leaf, the sides being completed with a sort of wicker-work. They are about ten or twelve feet long, and half that in breadth, and not more than four or five feet in height. Their only furniture consists of some long, flat pieces of wood, raised a few inches from the ground, and slightly hollowed out, to answer the purpose of sleeping in.

Numerous instances have occurred of the thieving propensities of the natives; and it required, at first, a considerable degree of vigilance to prevent them from being successful; but it is due to the chiefs to say that, since the establishment of Clarence, they have invariably taken an active part in putting a stop to it. Whatever may have been their habits previous to the formation of the settlement, they seem to be little improved by their intercourse with the settlers. Their principal chief has received the formidable appellation of Cut-throat from Captain Owen, a name by which he will be known as long as he lives. This fellow is a most determined savage, and seems to have lost none of his natural propensities by communication with the settlers. He has received innumerable presents from the English of clothes, and a variety of things, which are all thrown away on him, and he goes about, as usual, wearing his little hat with feathers stuck in it, and the long grass about his waist, disdaining such useless coverings, as he imagines them. This is not to be wondered at; for, accustomed as he has been all his lifetime to the unrestrained freedom of his whole person, it would be rather a matter of surprise to see him make use of

them, particularly in the climate of Fernando Po, where one almost wishes to follow the example of the natives, excepting in the use of their clay and palm-oil. No doubt Cut-throat thinks this quite a sufficient covering.

The natives pay frequent visits to the colony ; and however they may deal out justice among themselves, are by no means backward in seeing it administered among the free negroes and Kroomen of Clarence. It frequently happens that, in the scarcity of live stock, some of the former, unable to restrain their desire for more substantial food, and tired of their Indian corn, venture to help themselves to what the natives will not bring them. Parties of these people are accordingly formed, who find their way to the huts of the natives in the interior, and steal their yams, goats, and sheep, or whatever they meet with. These depredations are sure to bring the unfortunate owners to the colony with complaints of their losses, which are laid before the governor. The negroes are then mustered before them, and the native who has been plundered is allowed, if he can do so, to point out the thief. If he should be successful, which is frequently the case, he is allowed to witness the punishment which the offender is sure to receive, and generally gets some recompense for his loss. On the Sunday after our arrival at Clarence, a party of four Kroomen set off into the interior, with a full determination of plunder, let the consequence be what it might. They had not gone far before they met with a goat belonging to a native, which they immediately shot, and returned with it carefully concealed, that they might not be discovered. Their precautions, however, were of little avail, for the owner of the animal, accompanied by a party of his friends, made his appearance at Clarence the next morning, and preferred his complaint in

strong terms against the luckless Kroomen, whom, it appeared, he perfectly well knew. The Kroomen were accordingly mustered, and the very four who had gone on this unfortunate expedition were pointed out with exultation by the natives. The law took its course: the Kroomen each received one hundred and fifty lashes from the African drummer usually employed on these occasions, while the natives stood by to see that the punishment was duly performed. This they did to admiration, by counting the number of lashes they each received; and having witnessed the last punished with eyes sparkling with brutal satisfaction at the tortures of the unfortunate sufferers, they went away quite satisfied. The place where this disagreeable operation is performed, is in the barrack-yard on Point William, between the officers' house and the hospital. The culprit is tied up to a kind of strong gallows, erected for the purpose. Two stout pieces of timber, about seven or eight feet high, are driven perpendicularly into the ground, about four feet apart from each other; a piece is secured firmly across them at the top, and another at a short distance from the ground. The hands of the man who is to be punished are tied at each end of the upright pieces, and his legs are secured to the same on each side below, in which position he is exposed to the merciless scourge of the drummer, which is a common cat-o'-nine-tails. It is painful even to think of such scenes as these, and when they take place at the mere whim and caprice of the hardened slave-merchant, such a picture is revolting in the extreme. Here, however, severe as it may appear, it must be looked on in a different point of view. The punishment is great; but with a certainty of receiving it if discovered, the negro will run the risk of incurring it by what may be termed a breach of the first law of

civilised society. In addition to the tendency it has to keep the free blacks in control, such a proceeding convinces the natives of the island that their deprivations are not sanctioned by the colony. Were some punishment not instituted to curb the restless, pilfering propensities of these people, no order could be maintained; they would return to a worse condition than that from which they were in at first, and the colony would be no longer secure; for the natives of the island, finding their homes invaded, and their property carried off, unable to obtain redress, would soon take the law into their own hands, and would either murder the colonists or drive them from the island. Therefore, although a severe one, it is a salutary measure, and it has no doubt done much towards keeping the natives themselves honest. What punishment is adopted among the natives we have been unable to ascertain. The chiefs appear to possess considerable authority over them, and it is not improbable that the custom of the settlement is imitated in some shape or other.

The only weapons used by the natives, excepting the knife before mentioned, is a spear, of about eight feet in length, made of iron-wood, and barbed at one end. The nature of the wood is so hard, as not to require the protection of iron at the end, and we did not see any pointed with it. They are very plentiful among the natives, who do not appear to attach any particular value to them. We had no opportunity of witnessing their expertness with them; but they are said to use them for killing monkeys and other animals.

The resources of the island, in point of provisions, are either exhausted, or the natives are determined to reserve what are left for their own purposes. On the first formation of the establishment, they gladly

brought to market all they had to dispose of, in the same manner as they had done to any vessel that chanced to visit the island. These consisted of a few sheep, goats, and fowls, of a very poor quality, and plenty of yams, which were all readily exchanged for pieces of iron hoop, of about six inches long. A piece of hoop of this length would purchase a goat, three or four fowls, or a large bundle of yams weighing about twenty pounds. As their stock became exhausted, so the iron hoops became less valuable; more were demanded, until the natives could no longer supply the settlement, and had enough to do to provide for themselves, when they discontinued their supplies; and the settlement, not yet able to provide for itself, is dependent on supplies from the Calebar, and rivers near it. Bullocks are stated by the natives to be plentiful on the hills in the interior, but we have not heard of any having been seen by the people of Clarence, and they are generally obtained from the Calebar river. Deer are also said to be on the island, abundance of wild fowl, and a great number of monkeys—some black, and others of a brown colour. Parrots are also innumerable, and the natives are particularly partial to them and monkeys for food. Turtle have been caught in the bay as well as fish, but these supplies are uncertain, and therefore not to be depended on. The island is entirely mountainous, and contains a fine rich soil, capable of producing anything required of it. Several small mountain streams fall into the sea, the largest of which are the two named Hay and Horton, brooks before mentioned. The principal vegetable cultivated by the natives is the yam, with which they are particularly successful. The best yams of the island are said to be those of George's Bay, which are very large, and of uncommonly fine flavour. The supply

of these at Clarence is now very limited, and not to be depended on always, which may probably be owing to a difference in the season for growing them. This deficiency has been in some measure remedied by the construction of a government garden, from which some men-of-war have received supplies, but these are not sufficient to supply the wants of the colony, and recourse is had for them to the Calebar river.

Palm-wine at the colony, as well as on the coast, is the common and favourite drink of the natives. It is easily procured in any quantity, and is used either in an unfermented state, when just fresh from the tree, or after it has been kept some days. It seems peculiarly intended by a bountiful Providence for the untutored and destitute Indian, who is unable to supply himself with those beverages which are the result of art. The palm-tree affords him a pleasant drink, a valuable oil, a fruit from the nut; and, besides food, it furnishes him with a material to construct his hut, and is always ready for any immediate purpose. The juice which is called "wine" is obtained by making a hole in the trunk of the tree, and inserting a piece of the leaf into it so as to form a spout; the liquid flows through this, and is received in a calabash placed beneath it, which probably holds two or three gallons, and will be thus filled in the course of a day. It shortly assumes a milky appearance, and is either used in this state or preserved till it acquires rather a bitter flavour. The produce of the palm-tree, fish, and yams, form the principal food of the natives of Fernando Po, although they do not hesitate to devour monkeys, when they can get them.

This method of obtaining the juice of the palm-tree is exactly similar to that which is adopted by

the Indians in North America with respect to the maple-tree. A hole is made in the same manner in the trunk of the tree, and a piece of birch bark inserted into it as a spout, which, from its peculiar nature, answers the purpose remarkably well. The juice of the maple, instead of being preserved, is converted into sugar by evaporation. There are various sorts of timber at Fernando Po, among which the African oak is very plentiful, and particularly so in George's Bay, where it grows close to the sea-side; satin-wood, ebony, *lignum-vitæ*, yellow camwood, and several sorts of mahogany, besides other wood of a very hard nature, grow in profusion all over the island, and may probably hereafter become valuable.

We had the good fortune to arrive at the island during the season of fine weather, but have not yet enjoyed much of the sea-breeze, which, about noon, has sometimes set in from the north-west quarter. The harmattan is said to be experienced here, although it extends not to the other islands of the gulf. This wind, which passes over the sands of Africa, would be almost insupportable were it not for the sea-breezes. While the harmattan lasts, the dryness of the atmosphere produces an unpleasant feeling, although it is said to be not injurious to health. The atmosphere is filled with a fine light sand, which prevents objects from being distinctly seen, the sun loses his brilliancy, and everything appears parched and suffering from the want of moisture. The effect of the harmattan, immediately after the rainy season, is said to be most beneficial in drying up the vapours with which the atmosphere is loaded; and it has been observed that, on the return of this wind at the end of the rainy season, the recovery of invalids commences. The harmattan has also the effect of drying

up the skin of the natives in a very extraordinary manner. After an exposure to it, the skin peels off in white scales from their whole body, which assumes an appearance as if it were covered over with a white dust.

The islands in the Gulf of Guinea, with the exception of Fernando Po, have each a capital town of some consequence, and although they produce sufficient supplies for ships that visit them, and carry on a small trade, it is much to be doubted whether they are not more indebted for their importance to the slave-trade than any other source. With respect to Prince's Island and St. Thomas, they are known to be the receptacles for slaves from the coast, from whence they are re-embarked and conveyed away as opportunities offer; and the natives of the small island of Anno-Bon appear to be living in constant fear of the same, from the effects of their former treatment by the Spaniards.

The natives of Anno-Bon have a tradition that they once belonged to the Portuguese, and exhibit proofs of their having been formerly initiated in the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion. They are said to be particularly careful, when any stranger visits their settlement, to let them see their church, which is appropriately situated for this purpose immediately opposite the landing-place. At present, by all accounts, they are living in a state of natural simplicity and ignorance of the world. Some idea may be formed of the condition of their minds by a story that is currently related of them, in which the effects of their former tuition are apparent. The king once gravely told a visitor, with an idea of impressing him with his importance, that a short time previous to his arrival, he had held a conference with the Supreme Being, from whom he had learnt the cause of a recent sickness which had visited them,

and also that he had approved of his being the king of the island. Other stories equally nonsensical are told of them, such as might be expected from people left in this half-informed condition ; but the old king's word was sufficient for his subjects, and this assurance was quite enough to satisfy the harmless, inoffensive creatures, that he was their legitimate king. Although Anno-Bon is a healthy island in comparison with any other in the Gulf of Guinea, it is too far removed from the coast to be of use in putting down the slave-trade, unless it were made a rendezvous for half-a-dozen steam-vessels, which would do more than any other class of vessels towards effecting this object.

Favourable as the situation of Clarence is for the purpose for which it is intended, it is much to be regretted that it is so unhealthy for Europeans. During our stay on the island four deaths occurred ; these persons were, the sail-maker, one of the carpenters of the colony, a seaman of the *Portia*, colonial schooner, and one of the crew of the *Susan*, an English brig that we found here on our first arrival. The *Susan* was in the Calebar river waiting for a cargo, when her crew were attacked with fever, which quickly carried off her captain, mates, and left only one person alive. The vessel thus reduced was without her crew to bring her out of the river, much less to complete her cargo, and she might have remained there till the last had died, but for the watchful attention of Mr. Becroft, who brought her to Clarence with a party of men, and, after putting a new mast into her, and doing all in his power to set the vessel in order, supplied her with provisions and fresh people, and sent her to sea. We were offered a passage in her to England, but declined accepting it in consequence of the condition in which she had been.

She was afterwards obliged to stop at Cape Coast, in consequence of the fever having broken out afresh on board of her. The most melancholy account of the effects of the climate here, which came within our knowledge, was in the family of Lieutenant Stockwell, the officer commanding the party of marines, whose name we have mentioned before. This gentleman had brought his wife and a large family with him from the island of Ascension, who were residing with his brother officer in a building called the Waterfall House, which had been erected by Captain Owen. Mr. Stockwell successively lost five of his children and five servants, the latter of whom successively died as they came into his service. His brother officer also died, making eleven in number, and Mr. Stockwell and his wife narrowly escaped with their lives. The house was in consequence deserted by them, and has since been occupied by the black people. The fever which attacks Europeans at this island is said to be similar to the yellow fever in the West Indies. The symptoms are the same, from the commencement to the end of the disease, and it is equally as summary in its effects. George's Bay is said to be far healthier than Clarence, and being on the western side of the island receives the full benefit of the sea-breeze, while at Clarence this wind is later, and is interrupted by land to the westward of it. In addition to this, the sea-breeze passes over a long and disagreeable swamp in its progress to Clarence, which no doubt charges it with all kinds of noxious vapours. George's Bay, besides having the benefit of a pure sea-breeze, has a good deal of clear land about it, and equally as good a soil as Clarence.

It is more than probable, as we have now ascertained, that a water-communication may be carried on with

so extensive a part of the interior of Africa, that a considerable trade will be opened with the country through which we have passed. The natives only require to know what is wanted from them, and to be shown what they will have in return, and much produce that is now lost from neglect will be turned to a considerable account. The countries situated on the banks of the Niger will become frequented from all the adjacent parts, and this magnificent stream will assume an appearance it has never yet displayed. The first effect of a trade being opened will be to do away with the monopoly near the mouth of the river, which has hitherto been held by the chiefs of the lower countries. Steam-boats will penetrate up the river, even as far as Lever, at the time of year in which we came down, and will defy the efforts of these monopolists to arrest their progress. The steam-engine, the grandest invention of the human mind, will be a fit means of conveying civilisation among these uninformed Africans, who, incapable of comprehending such a thing, will view its arrival among them with astonishment and terror, but will gradually learn to appreciate the benefits they will derive, and to hail its arrival with joy. In this case Fernando Po will become of still greater consequence, and will no doubt become a *depôt* of considerable importance. It is my opinion, however, that much expense would be saved, and, above all, many valuable lives, if it were possible to adopt George's Bay as the place for the principal establishment. Of the different parts of the coast, Accra is the most healthy, and were it nearer, I should recommend it for such a purpose, the soil being good and clear of underwood for many miles around. But the distance at which it lies from the mouth of the river is too great for such a purpose.

Thursday, December 23rd.—The superintendent, Mr. Becroft, invited me to accompany him in the *Portia*, colonial schooner, to the Calebar river, whither he was going to procure stock for the use of the colony. The place from which this is obtained is called Ephraim Town, where it appears to be very plentiful. Being tired of Fernando Po, I accepted his invitation, to pass away the time that we should yet have to wait before we could get away, notwithstanding all our anxiety to get home with the news of our discovery. My brother, being very ill, was unable to accompany us. I left him at Clarence, and embarked with Mr. Becroft in the evening. We departed from Clarence with a fine breeze, but found it necessary in going out to be particularly careful of being drifted by the tide either on Point William, or on the Adelaide islets at each extremity of the cove, as the tide always sets either towards one or the other. In leaving the cove, it is best to keep as near as possible midway between the two extremes, and not to approach either the one or the other, nearer than can possibly be avoided. The currents in the Gulf of Guinea are stated to be very variable, although they are most generally from the westward, obeying the direction of the sea-breeze. The harmattan generally produces a very strong westerly current in direct opposition to this, and the want of knowing it has frequently proved fatal to vessels; the masters of which imagining that they were under the influence of an easterly current, have been actually drifted many miles to the westward in the course of a single night, and have found themselves on shore the next morning. The violence of the current from the westward when the sea-breezes are strong, is so great, that it is scarcely possible to believe that a day or two of the harmattan would overcome it; but

the effect of this is so powerful, that it is well known, to those who have frequented the gulf, that the current produced by the harmattan will even continue against the westerly winds after they may have again set in. A remarkable instance is related of the velocity of the currents in the gulf to the southward of Fernando Po. In the month of June, a vessel performed the passage between Prince's Island and St. Thomas in twenty hours, which generally occupies from eight to ten days. The distance is about ninety-three miles; and the vessel must have averaged 4.6 miles per hour. The harmattan is said not to extend to the southward of Fernando Po, but this has not yet been fully ascertained.

The passage through the Gulf from Fernando Po to Sierra Leone, is generally extremely long and tedious, owing to the prevalence of calms and the different currents. It is generally made either by running to the southward and getting into the south-east trade, or by keeping in-shore as far as Cape Palmas, so as to benefit by the land winds. The former method is generally recommended by the merchantmen, as being safer and quicker; for a vessel adopting the latter is more under the dangerous influence of the currents, besides being obliged to keep close to the shore: it is also adopted by the merchantmen in their homeward voyage. Sometimes vessels, by taking a mean between these two methods, get between two different winds, by which means they lose the benefit of both, and are delayed by calms and rains. This part I was informed was at the distance of about sixty miles from the land; so that vessels should pass either far without or else within that distance on leaving Fernando Po.

In this part of the Gulf of Guinea, between Fernando Po and the Calebar river, the rainy season is

stated to commence in the month of July, and to be at the worst in August and September, accompanied by tornadoes of a most terrific description. The rains continue during November, and cease in the month of December, but the coast is said to be seldom many days together without a tornado. During the other months of the year, dry, hot weather is experienced, excepting about May, when slight rains take place. These rains are looked on as the winter of the natives, and are considered by them equally as cold in their effects as our winters in England are by ourselves. They are equally alive to the change of the seasons as in northern countries, and prepare themselves against the cold weather during the rains, comparatively with as much care as we do against our winter's frost.

The chief peculiarity of this climate, which distinguishes it from all others within the tropics, consists in the furious storms of wind and rain, accompanied by the most terrific thunder and lightning it is possible to imagine. These storms are known by the name of tornadoes; and one would be almost inclined to think that the ancient belief of the torrid zone being of a fiery nature, and too hot for mankind to live in, originated in the exaggerated reports of them which might have gradually found their way into the part of the world then known, and from which they were not very far distant. We have already seen three here, but they were trifling in their effects compared with those which take place in the rainy season. They are described as being most violent, but happily, of short duration: nothing can withstand the fury of the wind while they last, but they give sufficient indications of their approach, of which the commanders of ships on the coast know how to take advantage. They invariably come from the eastern

quarter of the horizon, and last about fifteen or twenty minutes. Their first approach is indicated by a luminous, glaring appearance in the north-east quarter, which in the course of about an hour has shifted gradually to the east and south-east, while the usual sea-breeze from the north-west continues blowing. Having arrived in the south-east quarter, the storm shows its nearer approach by incessant flashes of lightning of a most awful description, accompanied by thunder which is absolutely deafening. The proximity of the lightning contributes not a little to its awful appearance. A short interval of calm now takes place, occasioned probably by the suspension of the sea-breeze, from the advance of the tornado. A small arch may at the same time be perceived near the horizon, in the direction of the approaching storm; this, which from the time of its being first seen increases rapidly, being nothing more than the effect of the wind in dispersing the heavy clouds through which it passes. The momentous crisis is now at hand. As soon as the arch has reached about half-way to the zenith, the storm bursts forth with the most impetuous violence, and torrents of rain immediately follow. Ships that happen to be caught in it before they have adopted the necessary precautions for safety by taking in all their sails, are thrown on their side instantly; but happily the warning it gives of its approach is sufficient to enable the experienced navigator, who is ever on the watch for changes in the weather, to reduce the sail from his ship, and put her head in that position in which she is best able to withstand its effects, by running before the wind. This awful period lasts generally about a quarter of an hour—when the wind subsides rather suddenly, while the rain falls incessantly: shortly afterwards, the wind

shifts round by the south to its old quarter, the west, until another tornado comes to disturb it. There are several peculiarities attending the tornadoes, which are rather remarkable. It has been remarked by experienced navigators, that they are much influenced by the different phases of the moon,—that they generally commence with the new or full moon, at which time they are the most violent, and that they even come on at the time that the moon sets. The influence of the moon on the weather in other countries is doubted, but this is an extraordinary fact, relating to the tornadoes, which has been proved by experience.

Saturday, December 25th.—After a pleasant passage, we anchored this morning off Ephraim Town, in the Calebar river. The distance from Fernando Po to the north of the Calebar river is about sixty miles, and Ephraim Town is distant about fifty miles on the eastern bank. On our way up the river, my attention was attracted by something of a very extraordinary appearance hanging over the water from the branch of a tree. My curiosity was excited by it, and I was at a loss to conjecture what it was. I did not remain long in suspense, for we soon passed sufficiently near to enable me to discover that it was the body of one of the natives suspended by the middle, with the feet and hands just touching the water. So barbarous a sight quickly reminded me that I was again among the poor deluded wretches of the coast, although I had seen nothing so bad as this on my way down to the brig Thomas, in the river Nun. The natives of this place are pagans, in the most depraved condition, and know nothing of Mahomedanism, nor any other creed. They believe in a good spirit, who they imagine dwells in the water; and sacrifices such as that just mentioned are

frequently made to him, with the idea of gaining his favour and protection. The object selected for this purpose is generally some unfortunate old slave, who may be worn out and incapable of further service, or unfit for the market; and he is thus left to suffer death either from the effects of the sun, or from the fangs of some hungry alligator or shark, which may chance to find the body. The circumstance of the hands and feet being just allowed to be immersed in the water, is considered by these deluded people as necessary, and they are thereby rendered an easier prey.

It is usual with ships, on their first arrival in the river, to be visited by Duke Ephraim, the chief of the town—a personage who is well known to the numerous Liverpool traders that frequent the river. The reason of this visit is, that the duke may receive his present, which consists generally of cloth, muskets, rum, or any articles of that description; and he always goes on board in great state in his canoe for this purpose, previous to which, no one is allowed to leave the ship. This regulation, which is a method of securing the port-dues, affects those only who come to the river for the purpose of trade; and as the *Portia* was a government vessel, we were not included. As soon as we had anchored, I accompanied Mr. Becroft on shore, and proceeded with him to the duke's residence, for the purpose of paying our respects to him. A walk of about ten minutes brought us to his house, and we found him in the palàver square which belongs to it, busily engaged in writing, and surrounded by a great number of his principal people. It was something unusual to find a native chief thus employed; but the large dealings which Duke Ephraim appears to have with the Liverpool merchants accounts in some measure for

this accomplishment, and the smattering of English he has obtained. His only pretensions to dress consisted in a smart gold-laced hat, which he wore, and a handsome piece of silk tied round his loins. His chief officers, who were next to him, also wore gold-laced hats, while those next in rank to them wore silver-lace, and the lower class contented themselves without either. We arrived at council time, but Mr. Becroft being immediately recognized by the duke, he received us very cordially, and made us sit down. Duke Ephraim bears the character of being always very civil and attentive to the English, and of making himself very active in supplying their wants of live stock. He has formed a favourable opinion of them from the *fine things* they bring him, but his discernment goes beyond these; for the circumstance of slave vessels having been captured and taken out of the river by the boats of the English ships of war on the station, has impressed him with admiration of their boldness and courage, and given him a very exalted opinion of their power. Vessels of war formerly came up the rivers in search of slavers, and he has received their commanders with much kindness, and assisted them all in his power—a trait in his character which is rather extraordinary, when their object is considered, as he is the principal agent by whom supplies of slaves are furnished from the interior. None, however, are allowed to come up now, in consequence of the deaths which occurred.

After a short time, we were desired to go up stairs into his best room, and we accordingly ascended about thirty or forty wooden steps, and entered a spacious apartment, when the sight that presented itself was of the most extraordinary description. The room, which was about thirty feet in length, by about twenty in breadth, was literally crammed full of all

kinds of European furniture, covered with cobwebs and dust about half an inch deep. Elegant tables and chairs, sofas of a magnificent description, splendid looking-glasses, and prints of the principal public characters of England, as well as views of sea and land engagements, set in handsome gilt frames, beautifully cut glass decanters and glasses, glass chandeliers, and a quantity of other things, too numerous to mention, were all mixed together, in the utmost confusion. A handsome organ attracted our notice, and a large solid brass arm-chair, which an inscription on it announced was the present of Sir John Tobin, of Liverpool. The inscription, or rather raised characters, were these :—“Presented by Sir John Tobin, of Liverpool, to his friend Duke Ephraim ;” and vain enough is the chief of his present. He exhibits this chair with the rest of his presents to the people, or any stranger who may happen to visit him, and allows them to feast their eyes, as he imagines, on the goodly sight ; but such is his care and pride of them, that he will not allow them to be touched by any one ; and his attendants are not permitted to approach them, even for the purpose of cleaning off the dust which has accumulated since their first arrival. The whole of this miscellaneous assemblage of goods are presents which have been made to the duke by merchants of Liverpool, as well as French, Spanish, and Portuguese traders, and are the accumulation of a considerable length of time.

Duke Town, or Ephraim Town, as it is known by both of these appellations, is situated on rather elevated ground, on the left or east bank of the river, and is of considerable size, extending principally along it. From the appearance of it, I should conclude that its inhabitants amount to at least six thousand people. The houses are generally built of

clay, like those of the Eboe people. The breadth of the river opposite to it is not quite so wide as the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, and the opposite bank is not so high as that on which the town stands. The houses are built in an irregular manner, leaving very little room for the road between them ; which, at this time, is exceedingly wet and dirty. The duke's house is situated in the middle of the town, and, like the rest, is built of clay. It consists of several squares, round each of which is a verandah, similar to the houses in Yarriba. The centre square is occupied by the duke and his wives, the others being the abode of his servants and attendants, which, all together, amount to a considerable number. Immediately opposite to the first square, which forms the entrance to his residence, stands a small tree, profusely decorated with human skulls and bones. This tree is considered by the people as fetich, or sacred ; and is supposed to possess the virtue of preventing the evil spirit from entering the duke's residence. Near the tree stands the house which is inhabited by their priests, a class of beings certainly in the most savage condition of nature that it is possible to imagine. The fetich priests of Brass Town chalked themselves from head to foot, besides dressing after a fashion of their own ; but these fellows outdo them by far, and make themselves the most hideous and disgusting objects possible.

Whether it may be with the idea of personifying the evil spirit they are so afraid of, I could not learn, but they go about the town with a human skull fastened over their face, so that they can see through the eye-holes ;—this is surmounted by a pair of bullock's horns ; their body is covered with net, made of stained grass ; and, to complete the whole, and give them an appearance as ridiculous behind as they are

hideous before, a bullock's tail protrudes through the dress, and hangs down to the ground, rendering them altogether the most uncouth-looking beings imaginable. Sometimes a cocked hat is substituted for the horns, and the skull of a dog or monkey used, which renders their appearance, if possible, still more grotesque. Thus equipped, they are ready to perform the mysteries of their profession, which I had not sufficient opportunities to inquire into, but which are quite enough to enslave the minds of the people. They seem to believe in a good and evil spirit: that the good spirit dwells in the river, which accounts for their sacrifices being made on it; and that the evil spirit dwells in a tree, which, being full of human skulls, keeps him away from them.

Sunday, December 26th. — This morning, the duke's principal man came on board the *Portia*, to receive payment for some bullocks which Mr. Becroft had purchased. There was something in his appearance which attracted my attention, and I fancied that he seemed to be much dirtier than any I had seen yesterday. On a nearer inspection, I found his head and whole body to be covered with ashes, and a very dirty piece of sackcloth fastened round his loins. Besides this, he appeared to be suffering great distress of mind, and presented a most woful and wretched appearance. I asked him the cause of his grief, and why he had covered himself with ashes in such a manner? when he related to me the cause of all his distress. It appeared that he had possessed six wives, one of whom was gifted with a larger share of personal charms than the rest; the consequence of which was, that she received more attention from him, and was loved more than any of the others. This partiality naturally excited the jealousy of the other ladies; and, mortified by his neglect of them,

they were determined on revenge, and resolved to get rid of their favoured rival by mixing poison with her food. They had just succeeded in effecting their purpose, which had caused the poor fellow much distress, and he had not recovered the effects of his loss this morning when he came on board the *Portia*. His tale was simple and ungarnished; and while he was relating it to me, the tears were trickling down his face. I never saw a black man feel so much for the loss of a wife as he did. This remarkable custom of mourning in sackcloth and ashes appears to be peculiar to these people; and I find that they do not cease to cover their persons with them as long as their sorrow lasts. They do the same on the death of a relation; and it is the only instance of the kind that I have met with in the part of the country through which I have travelled.

Great uproar and confusion has prevailed in the town to-day, occasioned by an adventure of the doctor with the duke's most favourite wife, which is likely to end tragically to the parties concerned. This person, who is the doctor of the town, it appears was the bosom friend of the duke, in whom the latter had the greatest confidence, and allowed him to visit his wives professionally as often as he thought proper. The gentleman's visits had lately become so frequent as to excite suspicion, and a look-out was accordingly kept on his movements. The poor doctor was soon caught in the snare; the motive of his visits was found to be of an illegal nature, and the enraged duke has ordered both to be bound hand and foot, and thrown into the river to-morrow. There is no doubt that this will be done; for, although these men have many wives, still a misdemeanour of this nature is looked on by them with great abhorrence.

We found seven French vessels lying in the river, one Spanish, and two English. One of the latter, named the *Caledonia*, a ship of five hundred tons burthen, is the property of Sir John Tobin, of Liverpool, which, with the other, the brig *Elizabeth*, are taking in a cargo of palm-oil.

The river Calebar is very serpentine, and there is scarcely any other tree besides the mangrove to be seen on its banks. The right bank is intersected by numerous creeks, well known to the natives, who frequent them in their canoes: they communicate with all the rivers that fall into the Gulf of Guinea, between this river and that on which Benin is situated. The natives go as far as Benin in their canoes, but there is no communication by water with the Cameroons river, which seems to be totally distinct from the Calebar. The canoes of the natives are the same sort as those of the Eboe people, but not so large. The river is full of crocodiles, which are generally about twelve or fourteen feet long, and are very daring in search of prey. A short time previous to our arrival, two deaths had been occasioned by them. Sir John Tobin has a large store close to the river-side, in which palm-oil is kept for shipment on board the Liverpool vessels; and one evening lately an unfortunate native boy, tired with his day's work, fell asleep on the floor. In the course of the night an alligator attacked him, and he was awoke by finding himself in the jaws of the monster; his struggles and cries were vain; the powerful creature lacerated him in a most dreadful manner, and tore off one of his legs, with which he retreated into the water, and the remains of the unfortunate boy were found the next morning shockingly disfigured, and weltering in blood. The death of the other was occasioned by his losing an arm in a similar manner.

Provisions at present are dear at Duke-town, and rather scarce. Bullocks are sold at twenty dollars each, and those not of a very good quality; goats and sheep at three dollars, ducks at half a dollar each, and fowls at half a dollar the pair. Yams are cultivated by the natives very successfully, and are considered the best flavoured and finest of the country. There are no cleared portions of ground on the banks of the river, and their cultivation of the yam and other vegetables is at a distance in the woods.

Thursday, January 20th.—Since my first return to Fernando Po from the Calebar river, I have accompanied Mr. Beeroft there twice in the Portia. In this interval the Caernarvon, an English vessel, has arrived with government stores from England for the establishment, and as she is going to Rio Janeiro for a cargo to take back, and there seems to be no prospect at present of our getting away from this island by any other means, we have requested Mr. Beeroft to conclude an agreement for our passage to that place, from whence we hope to be more successful in finding our way to England. About a week ago the brig Thomas, in which we came from the river Nun, touched at the island on her way home from the Cameroons,—her commander, Lake, thinking that we should take a passage with him. We have now been here seven weeks, and would certainly stay seven more, rather than put ourselves into his power again. We had experienced quite enough of his care and kindness, and therefore declined his offer of taking us. After waiting three days at the island, he sailed about six o'clock in the morning, and had not got more than a mile from the anchorage, when a large vessel, with long raking masts, suddenly appeared from behind a part of the island, and was seen in pursuit of him. We observed this vessel fire several

guns at him, which at length made him take in sail and wait. We have no doubt that this vessel was a pirate, and our suspicions were confirmed the next day by seeing the two vessels lying becalmed close to each other. There were no signs of them on the next day, and we saw nothing more of the Thomas.*

The commission for the adjudication of slave vessels is not yet removed from Sierra Leone to this place, and all prizes are taken there for condemnation.

Everything having been prepared for our departure, we embarked on board of the Caernarvon, — Garth, commander, for Rio Janeiro. The reception that we have met with at Clarence from the officers of the establishment, has been most gratifying, and has far exceeded our expectations. To Mr. Beeroft,

* Since our arrival in England, this vessel has never been heard of, and the owners have received an affidavit from us to the above effect. There can be no doubt that the stranger was a pirate, from his suspicious appearance, and the firing that we observed; so that we consider it a most providential escape that we did not take our passage in her. This was the general opinion at the settlement; and that when his people had murdered the crew of the Thomas, with their captain, or had compelled them to "walk the plank," as they usually do, that they sunk her after taking everything out of her which they might want. "Walking the plank," is literally walking into the sea. A plank is placed across the side of the ship, so that one end projects some distance over it, while the other remains inside. The person condemned by these ruffians to this mode of death, which is generally chosen to avoid one of a more dreadful nature, is placed on the inner end of the plank, and compelled to walk along till he reaches the outer end, which immediately yields to his weight, and he falls into the sea, never to rise again. To make shorter work of it, he is sometimes loaded with a large shot, which quickly carries him down. These fellows have another method of disposing of any unfortunate vessel that may fall into their hands. After having got rid of the captain and crew as above, they fill her with slaves, and send her across the Atlantic. Should the vessel be met with by any ship of war, she escapes examination, as her appearance, when in the hands of her own commander, was known, and therefore no suspicion is excited.

the superintendent, we are under peculiar obligations, having enjoyed the benefits of his hospitality all the time of our detention here ; and the kind attention of this gentleman, as well as that of Mr. Crichton, the naval surgeon, who is one of the most amiable gentleman we ever met with, and Mr. Beatty, has gone far towards removing the ill effects of the exposure we had undergone on our way down the river. Every thing was supplied us that the place could afford ; and it will always be a source of gratification to us to reflect on the time we passed in their company.

At six in the evening, having taken leave of our friends, we embarked, and bade adieu to the island of Fernando Po. Mr. Stockwell, the officer of marines, accompanied us on board, having taken his passage, like ourselves, to return to England. Our crew consists of seven European seamen, two free negroes, and one Krooman, besides the commander of the vessel and two mates. Two of the seamen, Owen Williams, and Charles Hall, are very ill with fever.

Sunday, January 23rd.—The weather has been calm, and we have not lost sight of Fernando Po. At noon, Owen Williams, seaman, died. The funeral service was read over his remains by Lieutenant Stockwell, before they were committed to the sea.

Wednesday, January 26th.— — Wells, the Captain's Steward, — — Jones, the second mate, and John Collins, seaman, were taken ill with fever. Having been accustomed to perform the office of doctor while in Africa, my services in this line were put in requisition, and I immediately took a large quantity of blood from the two latter, and applied blisters, after which Mr. Stockwell gave them medicine. To-day Charles Hall is rather better.

Thursday, January 27th.—John Williams, seaman, was taken ill with fever ; I bled him immediately,

and shaved his head, and Mr. Stockwell gave him medicine. The weather still continues calm, with light winds, and we can still see the island. The fever seems to be making great havoc among us. Those whose fever is intermittent, are likely to do well, but the others seem to have no chance of recovery.

Sunday, January 30th.— — Smith, seaman, was taken ill with fever. This poor fellow, after I had prepared everything for bleeding him, would not permit me to do it, but I managed to shave his head and put a blister on it. At two p.m., — Wells, the captain's steward, died, while I was lifting him up in his bed to give him some medicine. The crew are lying in different parts of the vessel ill with fever, in a helpless and most distressing condition. A general panic seems to have taken possession of them all, which is likely to be attended with fatal consequences. We determined on keeping them from knowing of the death of the poor steward, and accordingly at night we carried his remains on deck, and threw them into the sea over the stern of the vessel.

Friday, February 4th.—Captain Garth was taken ill with fever, and John Williams, seaman, died. We still have fine weather, but we are making little progress over to the coast of America.

Sunday, February 6th.—The chief mate taken ill with fever. So much are we reduced now, that the three black men, with my brother and myself, are all who are left to work the vessel, and only one of these, the Krooman, knows how to steer. Mr. Stockwell is constantly employed in attending the sick.

Monday, February 7th.— — Smith, seaman, died. In consequence of the sick state of the crew, I have been constantly employed both day and night

in working the ship. My principal station has been at the helm every night until twelve o'clock, and every morning after four. I manage to get a few minutes to eat my breakfast, and the rest of my time is occupied in attending the sails and looking to the sick. My brother's time is employed in nearly the same manner. In addition to our troubles, the vessel is so completely overrun by rats, that it is quite impossible to stay below with any comfort; and as for sleeping there, it is out of the question. The sick are all on the upper deck in their hammocks, and fortunately the weather has been hitherto tolerably fine.

Monday, March 14th.—Off Cape Frio. This evening our only Krooman fell into the sea. This poor fellow, whose name was "Yellow Will," called loudly to us for help, and although the vessel was not sailing at a great rate, he missed everything that we threw overboard to save him. To have altered the ship's course would have endangered the masts and sails, and our small boat was so leaky that it would not swim. We had no alternative, and were obliged to abandon him to his fate with the most painful feelings, and heard his cries nearly an hour afterwards. There is nothing more distressing than an accident of this nature. To see an unfortunate man grasping in vain at anything which is thrown to him as the ship passes by him—to see him struggling against his fate as he rises on the distant wave, which frequently conceals him from view, and to be unable to render him the least assistance, while his cries die away in the breeze, raise sensations which it is impossible to describe. This man, in our present condition particularly, was a great loss to us, and was the best among the black people.

Tuesday, March 15th.—This morning the weather

was very hazy, which prevented our seeing the land, although we knew it to be at no great distance from us. We were becalmed all day, and found, by the decrease of the depth, that we were drifting close on towards the shore. At five in the afternoon, the ship was about a quarter of a mile from the land, which we discovered by three large hills of a sugar-loaf appearance being close to us. Finding by pieces of cork and other things which we threw into the water, that we were drifting fast on the breakers, which we could distinctly hear, we made an attempt to get the long-boat out to save ourselves, as we expected the ship would be very soon wrecked, but we found that we could not muster sufficient strength to lift her over the side. At this critical moment, a breeze of wind from off the land saved us from destruction, and enabled us to get the vessel under command.

Wednesday, March 16th.—The breeze favoured us, and at two P.M., we anchored in the harbour of Rio Janeiro.

Thursday, March 17th.—This morning, we went to pay our respects to Admiral Baker, the commander-in-chief on the South American station, and made known to him our situation and anxiety to return to England. The admiral received us in that kind and hospitable manner which is the peculiar characteristic of a British seaman: he invited us to his table with his officers, and ordered us a passage in the *William Harris*, a government transport, which is to sail for England in a day or two.

Sunday, March 20th.—We sailed this afternoon for England, in the *William Harris*. We had scarcely reached the outside of the harbour, when the wind failed us, and we were becalmed near one of the islands. As we found the ship drifting fast towards it, we were

obliged to come to anchor, and remained so during the first part of the night. About midnight, a strong wind rendered it impossible for the ship to remain longer at anchor, and no time was therefore lost in endeavouring to get her to sea. To get the anchor on-board was too long a process; the safety of the ship became endangered by the delay it required, and to save her from drifting on shore we were under the necessity of cutting the cable, by which we lost about forty-five fathoms of it, besides the anchor. We were then enabled to set sail, and with difficulty cleared the land to leeward of us.

Thursday, June 9th.—We arrived at Portsmouth after a tedious voyage, and gladly landed with hearts full of gratitude for all our deliverances.

Friday, June 10th.—Having left my brother at Portsmouth, I arrived in London this morning by the mail, and reported our discovery to Lord Goderich, his Majesty's Colonial Secretary.

NOTE.—The curiosity of the reader will, no doubt, have been excited by the total disregard and apathy displayed by the commander of the brig Thomas respecting the engagements of Richard Lander, to pay the price for which he and his brother had been ransomed from the hands of the Eboe people. This behaviour, which can be accounted for in no other way than by allowing it to have arisen from a determination not to part with the arms of the vessel, although whatever might have been given would have been replaced at Cape Coast Castle, deeply implicated the good faith of His Majesty's Government, and must have been attended with a bad effect. It is hoped, however, that this has been removed, as, on the return of the Messrs. Lander, orders were immediately sent out to pay the proper demand.—Ed.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Translation of a Letter from the Sultan of Yáouri in Africa, to His Britannic Majesty, brought to England by Richard Lander and his brother, in June, 1831.

“ PRAISE be to God, and blessings and salutation be unto that (Prophet), since whom there has been no other prophet.

“ To our friend in God, and his Apostle (Mohammed), the Prince of the English Christians,—Salutation and Mercy, and Blessings of God, be unto you, from your friend the Sultan of Yáouri, whose name is Mohammed Ebsheer. Perfect Salutation be unto you, (and) may God cause your mornings and evenings to be most happy, with multiplied Salutations (from us).

“ After our Salutation unto you (some) ostrich feathers will reach you (as a present) from the bounty and blessings of God (we have in our country), and we, together with you, thank God (for what he has bestowed). And Salutation be unto your hired people (your suite), and peace be unto our people who praise God.

(Signed) “ FROM THE PRINCE OF YÁOURI.”

Observations of the Translator.

The original of this is one of the worst of the African papers I have seen, both as to its ungrammatical and its unintelligible character. Indeed his Yáourick Majesty seems to be sadly in need of words to make himself intelligible.

The words between parentheses are *not* in the original.

Translated, London, 25th June, 1831.

(Signed) A. V. SALAME.

No. II.

LONDON, MILITARY DEPÔT,
1st January, 1830.

Delivered out of His Majesty's Stores at this place, by an Order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance, dated 18th December, 1829, the under-mentioned Particulars—to Messrs. LANDEU, about to proceed on Discovery in Africa.

		Total.	No.
Cloth, Staff Serjeant's, scarlet	yds. 50	{ 19 $\frac{3}{4}$	in bala 8
		{ 30 $\frac{1}{4}$	" 9
Ditto, ditto, blue grey, in lieu of yellow	} " 10		8
Muslin, striped	" 47 $\frac{1}{2}$		" 9
Mirrors	No. 10	{ 4	in pannier 5
		{ 6	" 6
Ditto, inferior quality	" 100	{ 50	" 3
		{ 50	" 4
Razors, common	" 50	{ 12	" 3
		{ 12	" 4
		{ 12	" 5
		{ 14	" 6
Scissors, assorted	pairs 50	{ 10	" 3
		{ 20	" 4
		{ 20	" 6
Knives, clasp, assorted	" 60	{ 5	" 3
		{ 5	" 4
		{ 25	" 5
		{ 25	" 6
Combs, assorted	" 100	{ 70	" 5
		{ 30	" 6
Beads, glass	lbs. 38	{ 10	" 5
		{ 18	" 6
		{ 10	" 7
Boxes, snuff, common	" 100	{ 30	" 3
		{ 30	" 5
		{ 40	" 6

		Total.	No.
Arm bands, small silver	No. 64	12 12 12 6 22	in pannier 3
			" " 4
			" " 5
			" " 6
			" " 7
		Thous.	
Needles, assorted, 50,000	lbs. 10	10 10 10 10 10	" " 1
			" " 2
			" " 3
			" " 4
			" " 5
Horns, bugles, with slings	No. 2		" " 6
Calico, printed	yds. 88½	60½ 28	in bale 8
			" " 9
Pipes, German or Dutch	No. 100	60 40	in pannier 5
			" " 7
Medals, silver, large size	" 2		" " 2
Flints, for {	Fowling-pieces	100	25 " 3
			25 " 4
			25 " 5
			25 " 6
			12 " 3
	Pistols	50	12 " 4
			12 " 5
			14 " 6
			1 " 3
			1 " 4
Moulds, bullet, cast one ball only	" 3	1	" 5
Flasks, powder	" 2		" 2
Belts, shot	" 2		" 2
Shot, for fowling-pieces, in bags of 28 lbs. each	No. 1, lbs. 28 " 5, " 56 " 8, " 28	28 lbs. 28 "	" " 6
			" " 3
			" " 4
			" " 5
Ball, for {	Fowling-pieces	No. 250	63 " 3
			62 " 4
			63 " 5
	Pistols	150	62 " 6
			37 " 3
			37 " 4
			38 " 5
			38 " 6

		Total.	No.
Powder, gun (rifle), in tin canisters of 1 lb. each	} lbs. 18	4 in pannier	4
		4 "	5
		5 "	6
		1 "	1
		4 "	3
Fowling-piece, Chiefs' guns	No. 2	in case	12
Pistols	brace 2	in pannier	1
Cooking apparatus, or portable kitchen	} No. 1		1
			1
Tent, circular, complete	" 1	} in valise	13
Ditto, pins	" 40		
Mallets, tent	" 2		
Compasses, pocket	" 2	in pannier	2
Thermometers, in brass cases	" 2	"	2
Watch, common silver	" 1	"	2
Stationery	parcel 1	"	7
Mattresses, hammock	" 2	{ 1	10
		{ 1	11
Soup, portable	lbs.	in pannier	1
Tea	" 6	"	2
Coffee	" 10	"	3
Sugar	" 20	"	2
Padlocks and keys on the medicine panniers	" 7		
Screw-drivers, common	" 3	"	2
Rods, cleaning, for fowling-pieces	" 2	{ 1	3
		{ 1	4
Cartridges.	} Blank Carbine . . . " 250	{ 60	3
		{ 60	4
		{ 60	5
		{ 70	6
		{ 30	1
		{ 30	2
	} Pistol . . . " 150	{ 30	4
		{ 30	5
		{ 30	6
		{ 30	6

	Total.	No.
Plates, tin	in pannier 6	
Hatchets, hand	" 2	
Saws, ditto small	" 1	
Cups, tin drinking, one-third quart	" 2	
Tinder-box, complete	"	
Thread, whited-brown	lbs. 1	
Ink-bottle, small	No. 1	
Spurs, with leathers	pairs 2	
Files, hand, saw	No. 6	
Books, journal, thick quarto	" 2	
Ditto, memorandum	" 2	
Straps, baggage	set 1	
Blankets, single, N.P.	No. 2	1 in valise 10
		1 " 11
Sheets, hospital	" 4	2 " 10
		2 " 11
		2 in pannier 1
Fleams, farriers'	" 6	1 " 3
		1 " 4
		1 " 5
		1 " 9
Bolsters, hammock, hair	" 2	1 " 10
		1 " 11
Water Decks, O.P.	" 3	2 in bale 8
		1 " 9
Valises	" 3	10, 11, 13
Panniers, medicine	" 7	No. 4 to 7
Case, gun	" 1	
Medicines, cases	" 2	15 to 16

The last 5 articles as packages.

(Signed)

G. STACEY.

In addition to the above, the following articles were supplied from the Cape Coast Castle, and presented by the travellers to the king of Badágyry :—

40 Muskets.

12 Signal Rockets.

20 Barrels of Ball Cartridges.

LIST OF MEDICINES AND SURGICAL MATERIALS.

[No. III.]

List of Medicines and Surgical Materials to be supplied for the use of Mr. Lander and his Brother, going on an Expedition to Africa, with short Directions for their Use and Application.—Woolwich, 28th Dec. 1829.

ARTICLES.	QUANTITY.		DOSES.	REMARKS.
	lbs.	oz.		
Submuriate of mercury or calomel, in 4 bottles	1	..	from 5 to 10 grains	a purgative.
Compound extract of colocynth, in 2 tins	2	..	from 8 to 15 grains	ditto.
Sulphate of magnesia or Epsom salt	10	..	from $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce to an ounce	ditto.
Jalap in powder, in 2 bottles	1	..	from 15 to 30 grains	purgative with two or three grains of ginger.
Seidlitz powders		12 doz.	..	to be used as before.
Tartarized antimony or emetic tartar		1	from 1 to 3 grains	in an ounce of water as an emetic.
Ipecacuanha in powder		4	from 10 grains to 1 scruple	in an ounce of water as an emetic.
James's powder		6 packets	from 4 to 8 grains every four or six hours	to produce perspiration.
Citric acid, to be used for lemon juice	2	..	1 oz. to be dissolved in a pint of water	the proper strength.
Carbonate of soda, in 2 bottles, for the same use as carbonate of potash	2	..	from 10 to 20 grains	to make saline draughts, to be taken every two or three hours.

LIST OF MEDICINES AND SURGICAL MATERIALS—(Continued).

ARTICLES.	QUANTITY.		DOSES.	REMARKS.
	lbs.	oz.		
Compound powder of ipecacuanha, or Dover's powders, in 2 bottles	1	..	from 10 grains to a scruple in a little cold water . .	to produce perspiration in rheumatism, or in an advanced stage of dysentery, at bed-time.
Nitrous ether, or sweet spirits of nitre in 2 bots.	1	..	from half a drachm to a drachm, in a little cold water, every 4 hours . .	to produce perspiration in colds and fevers without much inflammation.
Supertartrate of potass, or cream of tartar . .	4	..	. . . . .	to be used to make acidulated drinks.
Tincture of opium, in half pints	2	..	from 10 to 30 drops in a little water	as an anodyne, chiefly at bed-time.
Opium	1	..	from 1 grain to 3 grains . .	as an anodyne, at bed-time.
Vitriolic ether, in 2 bottles . . . . .	..	3	from half a drachm to a drachm, in a little water	as a stimulant when necessary.
Volatile liquor, or spirits of hartshorn, in 2 bots.	1	..	from half drm. to drm. and a half in a little water .	as a stimulant when necessary.

LIST OF MEDICINES AND SURGICAL MATERIALS—(Continued).

ARTICLES.	QUANTITY.		DOSES.	REMARKS.
	lbs.	oz.		
Camphor	4	from 3 grains to 6 grains made into a pill every six hours	as a stimulant in fevers where there is great weakness.
Mercurial pill, or blue pill	8	from 5 to 10 grains	as a gentle laxative or alterative in bilious diseases.
Aromatic confection	4	from 10 to 30 grains in a little peppermint water	as a cordial in cases of great weakness from fever or dysentery, every 4 hours.
Ginger root	8	. . . . .	to be used at discretion.
Ditto, in powder	8		
Oil of cinnamon	2		
Oil of peppermint	2		
Compound powder of chalk with opium, in 2 tins		
Tincture of catechu	4	from 1 to 2 scruples in a little cold water every 6 hours, or peppermint water	as a gentle astringent in an advanced stage of diarrhoea or dysentery.
	..	4	from 1 to 2 drachms in a little peppermint or cinnamon water every six hours	as an astringent in an advanced stage of diarrhoea or dysentery.

LIST OF MEDICINES AND SURGICAL MATERIALS—(Continued).

ARTICLES.	QUANTITY.		DOSES.	REMARKS.
	lbs.	oz.		
Sulphate of quinine, in 4 bottles . . . . .	. .	4	from 2 to 5 grains in the form of pills every six hours .	as a strengthener after fever or dysentery.
Blistering plaster	2	. .	. . . . .	to be used at discretion.
Rectified spirits of wine, in half pints	2	. .	. . . . .	to be used at discretion.
Soap liniment, in half pints	2	. .	. . . . .	to rub sprains or contusions twice or thrice a day
Acetate of lead, called sugar of lead	1	. .	. . . . .	to make goulard water as directed.
Lint . . . . .	. .	8	. . . . .	. . . . .
Tape 5 pieces	. .	. .	. . . . .	for blisters.
Leather 2 skins	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Calico rollers 12 No.	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Flannel rollers 12 „	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sponge 6 pieces	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Pint syringe, &c. 1 No.	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Small syringes 2 „	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Small bolus tile 1 „	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Pins 6 papers	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sticking plaster 3 yards	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Lancets 1 case	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Aperient pills 1 box	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Pestle and mortar one	. .	. .	. . . . .	. . . . .

From Directions given by SIR JOHN WEAIR, of Woolwich. The *Remarks* were of essential service to us.—R. & J. L.

MEDICINAL MIXTURES.

DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING ONE PINT OF THE SOLUTION OF CITRIC ACID.

Take of citric acid one ounce, rain or river water one pint. Mix, and make a solution, which will be equal in strength to lemon juice.

TO MAKE SALINE EFFERVESCENT DRAUGHTS.

Take of carbonate of soda twenty-five grains, pure water three table spoonfuls. Mix, and add one table spoonful of the solution of citric acid, to be drunk *immediately*, while in a state of effervescence.

TO MAKE QUININE PILLS.

Take of the sulphate of quinine twenty-four grains, conserve of hips a sufficient quantity. Mix, and divide into twelve pills. One to be taken three times a day.

TO MAKE CAMPHORATED SPIRITS.

Take of camphor one ounce, rectified spirits of wine eight ounces. Mix, that the camphor may be dissolved. To be used as a stimulating embrocation in sprains, bruises, or rheumatic affections of the limbs.

TO MAKE GOULARD LOTION.

Take of acetate of lead (called sugar of lead) one drachm, rain or river water two pints, rectified spirits of wine two teaspoonfuls. Mix, and make a lotion; to be applied to inflamed parts, with pledgets of linen, five or six times a day. Is also a good eye-water.

THE END.

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