

“For yourself,” said the king, “I make you this present, handing me at the same time a massive chain, formed of curiously plaited gold wire in twelve circular links, bound together at the extremities by a twisted fastening of the same metal, having a large clasp shaped into a tortoise.* “This is what I wear round my body,” said the king. “Here, too, are some cotton cloths to keep you warm on the road.”† To sum up the royal bounty, “he dashed” me, as the *elegant* phraseology of the Cape expresses it, a boy and girl, of Gaman, two boys of Salgha, and a man, who, he said, would be serviceable in the care and treatment of the leopards. “The children,” he added, “would learn the language of the whites, and then make good servants.”

Various desultory conversations followed, in which the king and his ministers alternately broke silence. England and her king were the favourite themes of discussion. I related, in abstract, a narrative of the most prominent among the political events which have agitated the continent of Europe during the last twelve years, and the glorious triumph of the British arms, under the sway of the hero of the Spanish Peninsula and the Netherlands. The subject excited an universal interest; many smiled, and some laughed outright, with pleasure; but no one was more strongly affected than the king himself. He comprehended every thing, he said, but the manner in which white men managed great

* This chain, the finest specimen of gold work that ever fell under my observation in Africa, weighed about a pound in pure metal. Of all the presents enumerated above, the pipe and the breast plate, which were in my charge, together with the leopards, alone reached England. The rest were necessarily left behind on the coast, together with the ambassadors, as Sir George Collier declined granting them a passage in the Tartar, at the instance, it was reported, of the governor. The whole I delivered to Lord Bathurst some time after my arrival in England, for his majesty.

† The rain was at this time well set in at Coomassy; it followed our steps considerably to the southward of the Praa River. The forest resembled a shower bath, and when set in motion by an increased action of wind, it fell from the foliage in heavy discharges.

ships, travelled every where in them on the wide sea, and fought great battles on the water. He believed, he said, that the art of navigation was connected with the fetische of the great God, which, from the creation of the world conferred supremacy upon the whites,* and the people of the East.

My fort, said the king, changing the conversation, is not yet completed, but you must make me the white fetische, the same that the great king makes for his house. What was proper to be done, he enquired. I replied, to slay cattle, and (wishing to give in to the religious feelings of the Moslems, who were present) sprinkle the blood of the sacrifice, together with flour and salt, upon the threshold of the door. The Bashaw rose to embrace, and would have kissed me. That is not all, I added, the king must solemnize the custom by giving food to the people, and cultivating the friendship of those holy men, (pointing to the Moslems) who believe in the same God as myself. "I am ignorant," replied the king, spreading out both his hands to heaven, in the form of supplication. The chief of the Moslems, together with Cantoma and Abou Becr, imitated the adoration of the king, and chaunted aloud the *Fatha*.

"I must give a name to the fort," said the king, "what shall it be?" I reminded him of the name of George (as familiar to his hearing on a former day.) "Yes," he replied, turning round to Apoko, "it shall be *Shorshi*, and you must write me a book for it."

When I returned home, I complied with the king's wishes, by writing certain religious sentences in Arabic, that they might be perused by the Moslems, if the king desired it. It turned out accordingly, and I was again summoned to the palace, where *the believers* had already assembled. The king was gratified, he said, at the

* The Ashantees, in common with the maritime natives of the Gold Coast, believe that the *Father* or Ruler of the Gods and the universe, originally created man of two colours; namely, black and white. The tradition may be found in Bosman nearly as it is current at this day.

translation he had heard, for that was strong sense; but I had not written down the name of the fort, that the Moslems might know it when they looked in the book. I took the reed that was offered me and wrote جرج which they pronounced with tolerable accuracy; the king expressed his gratitude by a donation of provisions, wine, &c. But his feelings were most sensibly affected by an order which I gave clandestinely to mount the British flag upon the top of the building. It was an elegant silk flag, which I had previously designed to give his majesty as a private token of friendship. "White man," said he, "the great God has given you sense for my good. Do what you will, you are the same as my son:—go to Cape Coast, satisfy my nephew, and what you say is right let me have. But come back again, if you can, and send one of your friends to the great king to take care of my ambassadors. I will make you richer than all the other white men for I do not tell a lie, when I say I love you." He took me by the hand, in the most friendly manner; calling again to the ambassador (treasurer,) and desiring him to report faithfully what his sentiments were. "I am now going to council," said the king, "for the last time, but wait for me, I shall not be long." Upon this he retired, followed by Apoko, Kankam, Adusai, the Treasurer, and a few others.

As I retired, the king followed me to the gate. "With to-morrow's sun," said he, at parting, "I shall lose you; but if you love me I shall soon see you again, then I shall make a very great custom, and if it will give you pleasure to look at all these countries, I can send you safe all the way to the great water, to Haoussa, Marrowa, every where; for next time, you must go and see all my good friends, the kings of this country" (Africa). At parting I promised a full compliance with his wishes; which, (in order to disguise the pleasure I felt) I affirmed tallied with the customs of Europe; for hitherto I had cautiously avoided trespassing upon the scruples or jealousy of those whose counsels swayed the royal mind.

"Stop," said the king, as I held him with a parting grasp of the

hand, "you are going, and I must do you good; open your hand." I did so, and to my astonishment he spat in it, while I made an involuntary start to rescue it from his hold. My aversion to the royal bounty excited the most lively astonishment in all present, except Mr. Collins and Mr. Salmon; the rest could not comprehend how I should feel disgust.* "It is good! it is good!" they all exclaimed, "do not do so to the king: he is your friend, and does you a great honor." But I did not wish to engross to myself exclusively so much of this kingly liberality; and accordingly I introduced Messrs. Collins and Salmon to their share. The king was equally condescending to each of them, and his countenance reflected nothing but good nature.

When I returned to my quarters, I found the Bashaw, Abou Becr, and Kantoma. They came to felicitate me, they said, upon the great interest I held with the king: it gave them pleasure, because they knew I was a friend to the Moslems, more than any other people; and now I might benefit them, and all the traders. I promised I should never forget the friendship they had conferred upon me, publicly and privately. The esteem I had for them, I added, would last my life, nor should I forget to report their characters in their true colouring. You are, I concluded, worthy the king's confidence, and my friendship for you is from the heart. "Allah, and his holy apostle protect you, my son!" exclaimed the Bashaw, embracing me fervently; the others did the same, and they all joined in the most cordial wishes for my welfare. "May you live secure from sickness and misfortune; may

* To the Oriental reader I need only say, he will find it recorded of Mohammed, that his disciples and adherents were wont to wipe up his saliva with their hands, or rub it into their bodies from veneration. Refer to the interview between Mohammed and the ambassadors of Khosrout Parvits, sovereign of Persia; and what they reported of the dignity of the Arabian Prophet on their return to Persia. At Ashantee, the sovereign commonly spurts his saliva over the courtiers and kings, even of the first rank; or if it should fall by accident on the ground, they carefully wipe it up, and rub it on their skins. The practice is common in various parts of Africa, and even in some Moslem countries.

you return to us in health and safety," vibrated from every tongue: "we love you, and we love the great sultan who sent you, for he is a good friend to the blacks of all nations;* we know this from our brethren who go to the Koara (Niger) and Egypt." Here we were interrupted by the entrance of Apoko, Agampong, and Adusai. They came to swear me upon the Koran, they said, that I had no malice in my heart; that all I had done at Coomassy was done without any sinister design to bring white men to the coast, and arm the Fantees against their sovereign's government. The king, they added, knew better, nobody thought so except a few bad men; but it would please his people to hear me swear it. I did not hesitate to comply with the king's wishes, I objected only to the form he required. It was in fact a trial for which I was not prepared. Reasons, which I may be excused for not giving, urged me to do so, painful as it was to me, in the presence of Moslems, to whom I was much indebted, and for whom I had a sincere regard. The Bashaw placed the Koran upon the table. "By laying your right hand upon it," said he, "you will give pleasure to your friend the king: he is ashamed to ask you himself, but he wants you to oblige him, for all that." I sent a cane to the palace, to request the king would dispense with that form of oath, and accept in its lieu, of a custom familiar to Europe. It was agreed to, and I swore to the covenant of good faith upon the Bible: Messrs. Salmon, Collins, and Graves, followed my example; but a bitterness of feeling overpowered me, as I noticed the desponding countenances of the Bashaw and his friends: the former retired pensively to a corner of the apartment, hugged the Koran to his breast with both arms, and preserved a melancholy silence, in which he was imitated by the others, whose features exhibited an index of mortification. I had some difficulty,

* Our correspondence, at intervals, was carried on by note; but verbal or written, I never found that the Moslems entertained other than the most enlightened sentiments of the views of the British government.

after the Ashantees had retired, to banish their perturbation. For some minutes, I soothed in vain; at length, however, I was consoled by hearing Abou Becr exclaim, "God willed it so, it was so decreed." As the temporary reserve wore off, they protested they lamented I had not complied with the ceremony, for many reasons. "The Koran *I knew* was a good book, for it was written upon the everlasting table, under the throne of God:—The king, and all his idolatrous subjects believed in it too. It would have satisfied every scruple of the court, of my integrity, sincerity, &c.; and it would have conferred a great honour upon them and all the Moslems, and permanently have united their interests exclusively to those of white men, which was what they wished above all things."

These friendly people, and some others of their associates, delivered me a collection of manuscripts, containing geographical information of the central parts of the continent.

In the evening, the king sent me a horse and a cow.* Each of the principal Moslems called again with a farewell present. That of the Bashaw was a cotton cloth, made purposely by his wife: others brought sheep, kids, fowls, honey, &c. The rain fell heavily, and the Moslems staid till a late hour, explaining themselves upon the subject of former geographical conversations which could not, with propriety, be inserted here.

The following day I mounted my palanquin, to bid farewell to Coomassy. Drums, horns, flutes, castanets, &c. resounded from all quarters of the city; assembled thousands occupied the space between the quarters and the palace, and numerous bodies of troops were stationed in groups at various points. The captains of all ranks were drawn up adjoining the palace, to greet me as I passed, with a parting shake of the hand; and here I was suddenly enveloped in the smoke

* Different from the cattle of tropical Africa in general, those of Ashantee are of the largest breed; but so fierce that it is dangerous to approach them. The cow was lashed by the feet to a strong bamboo pole, which prevented it from rising up; but in defiance of obstacles it broke out into the forest.

from a thousand blunderbusses, fired, I might almost say, against my face, amidst flourishing, capering, and a variety of grotesque antics. Agampong, who commanded a detachment of men sent by the king to escort me to the forest, came running up to shew one of the pieces which had burst, and lacerated the hand of a soldier slightly. "The king is very fond of these guns," said he, "and he has not got too many." I promised I would endeavour to procure him one for that which had been spoiled. The Moslems had taken a stand at the extreme end of the palace wall. "I am an old man," said the Bashaw, as he gravely took hold of my hand; "Allah knows, if you go to the land of white men, whether or not I shall see you again: but if you love me, and if you love the king, you cannot forget us. I pray God and his Apostle to restore you to us." Abou Becr, Kantoma, L'Hadge Said, and Shouma, and many more with whom I was on terms of intimacy, prayed aloud for my prosperity. The converts and pupils shouted at a distance, perhaps all they knew of Arabic,—“ God bless you, white man.”

A messenger sent by the king overtook me during the stoppage:—"Sai," said the man, "wishes you a good journey. His heart is full, and he cannot see you; but he is making a strong fetische for his Gods, to send you back safe." The Moslems kept pace with my palanquin for some distance; and at parting, which they did with a renewal of their protestations of attachment, they continued to follow me with their eyes until the forest buried me from their sight.

We were deluged with torrents of rain* for five ensuing days; the forest was a continued sheet of water in many districts, through which we waded with the greatest difficulty and bodily exertion; for our feet sunk at every pace into an adhesive soil, while the dripping from the boughs, and the perspiration together, drenched our bodies so thoroughly, that the water flowed rather than oozed from the lower

* The rains set in at Coomassy about one month sooner than upon the coast, notwithstanding the difference of latitude is so trifling.

extremities of our persons and apparel. The march was indeed most harassing, and many of the people fell sick; nor did either Messrs. Salmon and Collins, or myself, escape indisposition and lameness.

At Amofo we were greeted by the Caboceer Coffee Ado Koum with a most hospitable welcome; and in general, our reception as we advanced southward was of the most friendly complexion, associated too with every ostentatious shew of respect.

At Ansah, my corporal by accident encountered his sister in the street, who had been dragged into slavery, together with many other women, during the wars of Ashantee upon the sea-coast. The man, overpowered with joy, seized his sister by the arm, and she with great willingness followed him to my quarters. The people assembled in crowds, and those from whose protection she had been forced away, vociferously demanded the liberation of the slave, alledging they had paid gold for her to the amount of twenty-five ackeys, (about £6.) and she was besides indebted to the towns-people half as much more. To satisfy all parties, I suffered the woman to be carried before the Caboceer Coinin Akim, by her brother and former protectors, and desired that chief would restore the woman to her relation, upon terms of equity suitable to the circumstances of the disputants. The palaver, as all African palavers do, took up many hours discussing; but at last I received a message, stating that the Caboceer had placed the woman under my protection, until the brother, who had liberty to convey her back to the coast, should pay eleven ackeys. This was agreed to, and I had the satisfaction to witness her safe arrival among her friends.

The rivers Dah, Prakomy, Praa, and Okee, had swollen to a great degree, and their torrents were rapid—seldom less than five knots.

Finally, on the 5th of April, I returned to the coast, in a state of health by no means equal to what I enjoyed either at Coomassy or during the journey through Assin and Fantee.

As yet, the rains had not commenced in that part of the forest of Fantee which is to the southward of Mansue; but during a journey of

one hundred and fifty-eight British miles from the capital, there had comparatively been no intermission between the showers. The swamps, such as have been noticed on the journey up, were swollen into little lakes, through which we waded with difficulty, and at uncertain depths; and the southern rivers and rivulets, more or less, were converted to foaming torrents.

The prospect of the ocean, as we entered an avenue leading to the town of Mouree, at 5 P.M. was inexpressibly delightful, as it presented a view of Cape Coast.

The sequel may be related in few words:—The servants of the Committee not only refused to accede to the terms of the treaty, which they chose to represent as a deed whereby the *sovereignty of Fantee* had been *transferred* to the king of Ashantee; but they also took upon themselves to forbid the payment of any proportion of the accustomed tribute to the king, or even of the 100 ounces* they had already tendered as a peace-offering in behalf of the natives of the town. Knowing, however, that their resistance alone would avail but little, they had in the interval of my absence obtained a *public* promise from the late Sir George Collier, to give support to their opposition. Thus encouraged, the governor and council made no secret of their intentions to bid defiance to the king, even before Sir George, who was then on a cruize, had returned to the Cape. The news which was thus publicly proclaimed became the general topic of conversation, and the Fantees, who now earnestly built their hopes on the assistance promised them from the squadron under the orders of the Commodore, again breathed defiance in their houses against the king, although still they were cautious in their intercourse with the Ashantees, to whom they artfully represented that they were willing to obey the king; but from the situation of their town, under the guns of a British fort, they were

* It should have been noticed earlier, that when I quitted Cape Coast, the governor and council authorised me by letter to pay to the king, on behalf of the natives 150oz. It was their subsequent advice, during the negotiations at Coomassy, as it has been stated, which reduced the offer to 100oz.

necessitated to that course of politics which the governor might prescribe, who, whenever he pleased, could destroy their habitations, and drive them into the bush.

On the seventh Mr. Smith, attended by Aggry, Binie, De Graaf, and some other town chiefs went to inspect an adjacent hill, which overlooks the back of the town, and on their return it was given out that a martello tower should be built there, without delay, to cover the approach of an enemy. This was enough, and the natives, no longer doubting the sincerity of the Company's servants, and reposing an equal confidence in the promise of "a white army being sent, if necessary, for their protection," disdained any longer to conceal what were termed their patriotic effusions; but which the Ashantees described as their insolence.

About eight o'clock the same evening, the horns and drums of the Ashantees announced a movement among these people. As I opened the door of my apartment to enquire into the cause of it, two captains headed by Akassy, the Caboceer of Kikewhary, rushed hastily forward; and when the attendants, who I perceived were armed, had closed the entrance, they told me that Adoom (the ambassador) desired an interview, as he had something particular to communicate. When it was explained to him that I waited his coming, he mustered and marshalled the whole of his force, amounting, at this time, to about five hundred men, whom he stationed in the adjoining avenues (for I was now residing in town).

During our conference, which related to the settlement of the native palaver, the prince told me, that although he was anxious to adjust that affair agreeably to the instructions he had received from the king, yet he had now called with another intent. He had learned, he said, from good authority, not only what had been transacting in town to the prejudice of the king, but also, that a plot was then in agitation between Binie, Aggry, and some other chiefs of inferior note, to assassinate both him and me, and then destroy his little

army.* "I do not understand the *palavers* of white men," added the prince; "but I am not afraid of what the town can do; it is you I am afraid for: and as your king placed you under the protection of my king, I have received strict orders to look to your safety, as Sai himself did while you were at Coomassy." I "replied, It was impossible such atrocity could be contemplated:" and he retorted, "Do you think so? Then you do not know the Fantees; but you will see by and by." "I know them well," I said, "and they dare not attempt it; however," I continued, "I shall report what you say to the Castle, for the honour of white men is implicated in the charge." "And I," said the ambassador, "who am certain of the truth of what I tell you, shall take care of my people, and station them at the quarters. In the meantime, I leave ten men for your protection 'till I see you again in the morning; farewell:" so saying he departed.

I wrote to the governor and council on the subject, and they, it seemed, had heard nothing to corroborate the fears of Adoom, although subsequently I had good reasons to know that such conversations had taken place, at the houses both of Aggry and Binie; whether the parties accessory to the plot were deserving the name of patriots or conspirators. I therefore, seriously preserved a defensive posture, and never retired to rest without the precaution of loaded pistols under my pillow. The house itself was guarded by the Ashantees, who, faithful to their trust, never for a moment deserted their charge.

The prince called upon me on the eighth, at an early hour, and expressed some anxiety to know what was intended to be done in relation to the native palaver. The king, he said, would accept of any sum we might agree upon, provided he was not exasperated by new reports of

* Upon the faith of the treaty, Adoom had already dismissed all his auxiliaries and the greater part of his own people.

the insolence of his vassals, who would surely repent it if they carried matters too far.

My anxiety, I replied, was as great as his, for I stood in some degree pledged to the king to settle it; but, as nothing could be done without the concurrence of the whites, I should visit the castle.

My inability to walk that distance* was provided against by the Ashantees; who having placed me in the ambassador's palanquin, (a sort of basket lined and stuffed,) they trotted off with me upon their heads, as far as the outer gate, where the officer of the guard met my retinue, to whom he communicated that it was the governor's orders they should not enter the fort. I demanded permission only for the prince who, I said, besides his quality of ambassador, was privileged to meet the governor and council with me, as a party to whom authority had been delegated, by the king, to assist in the settlement of the Cape Coast claim; and I would be bound, if necessary, for all consequences. In reply, his orders he said were peremptory, and he could not suffer a man to enter, whatever his rank might be.† I enquired if the prohibition extended to me, and being assured of the negative, I desired the Ashantees to wait my coming while I went forward.

The hall was empty, the *governor and council*, (i. e. Mr. Smith and Mr. Swanzy,) were closeted in the sleeping room of the former, and refused to come forward. The secretary, Mr. Williams brought me that message; and I, in reply, told him the object of my business was

* The castle was distant from my residence only a pistol shot; but the lameness I had contracted on the journey produced inflammation after my return.

† It was subsequently insinuated that the garrison was alarmed at *some act of treachery*, and this double insult was rumoured as a *palliative* for the indignity offered to the king as well as the prince.

It cannot, indeed, have escaped the reader's memory, that when Adoom first came down, in the heat of the quarrel, he was attended by above one thousand men, and yet the discussions took place in the hall of the castle.

not to exchange compliments, but to adjust the Cape Coast palaver with Mr. Smith and the prince, upon terms of equity, agreeably to the king's wishes; as I had already stated to them. In reply to this, after a lapse of some minutes, I was given to understand, that they should not abide by the treaty, neither would they allow the natives to pay one farthing. And with this answer I retreated from the castle, never more to set foot within its walls; a resolution which I inflexibly adhered to.

Thus, between the Ashantees and Fantees, it may be conjectured my life was in no very secure asylum. However that may be, I had no distrust of the former, and my confidence was repaid with a devotion and sincerity more than Christian like in these parts, and every way honourable to the commission I bore.

Policy suggested that I should yet conceal from Adoom the sentiments of the company's servants. Accordingly I stated that nothing could be done until the commodore returned to the coast: although I knew, in fact, his predisposition to support the interests of my opponents.

On the 9th, I served a protest upon the authorities of the castle, containing in substance the following sentiments:—"As soon as Sir George Collier arrives, I shall lay a statement of the council's conduct before him, and as I find it impossible to proceed in the discharge of my public duties as his majesty's consul and agent in this country, I shall request a passage to England in the *Tartar*, &c.

"As regards my negotiations with the king of Ashantee, I shall not say more than that I now throw the whole responsibility upon the council, as to any measures that have been or that may hereafter be adopted by them since my return to Cape Coast. At the same time, I have to remind the council, that, in consequence of their former impolitic conduct, the armed force of Ashantees and Assins, under the command of Prince Adoom, were to have been joined by a large body of people from El Mina in case of need, who had orders to destroy the town and population, which hitherto I have been the

means of preventing. It now remains for the council to do so in future."

In a supplementary part I stated, "I lament to tell you, that the consequences which will probably result from the perverse conduct of the council, will, I fear, be most serious to the merchants and people of this town, &c."*

The ambassadors destined for England, were all this time living in town, busied with preparations for the voyage they anticipated. Although I might fail in my personal exertions to bring men to rational reflection, who were pre-determined, from interests of their own, to thwart every plan which did not originate with themselves, I derived infinite consolation in the reflection that these ambassadors, on their arrival in London, would be capable of relating their own tale. Accordingly I rendered them every assistance in packing up their gold and presents. I indulged, moreover, in the hope that, however disposed Sir George might be to act, I could prevail in some way to leave matters in statu quo, until a fair and impartial statement of facts could be submitted to ministers, by whose instructions I might be guided on my return to the Coast, if I should be compelled to the step of seeking them in London.

In this state of suspense, the 9th, 10th, and 11th elapsed. At last the Tartar hove in sight. On her coming to anchor, I wrote to Sir George, covering copies of the treaties, &c. On the 11th, my letter was answered in terms of ambiguity, and I then demanded a passage for myself, and the ambassadors and presents. As regarded myself, Sir George acquiesced, but stated, that in the West Indies, he should take up Lord Combermere and suite. As related to the ambassadors and presents in their charge, he said he was unable to give them conveyance, and that he was expressly interdicted from carrying

* In the same letter, I protest, moreover, that from the little respect they thought proper to pay to my public character, I should never hold any future intercourse with them.

away any of the *natives* by a standing order of the Lords of the Admiralty. Whatever I could urge in support of this petition had no better effect. The following extracts from my correspondence with Sir George will be sufficient to shew the extreme anxiety I felt to seal the confidence I had so happily awakened in the king, and worm out the only little canker that existed, by settling the despicable native palaver.

“The king of Ashantee is so perfectly disposed to co-operate in all things for the promotion of the mercantile interests of Great Britain, that if the present opportunity is suffered to escape us, it may be the means of crushing, at a single blow, all future advancement towards commerce, or the cultivation and civilization of this part of Africa.

“Let it be remembered, that in proceeding to Coomassy, the whole party were endangered, if not in their lives, at least in their liberties, and it is notorious that the cause itself was almost universally pronounced hopeless and desperate. Indeed, I have good reasons for thinking that the general opinion would have proved correct, had I not politically stood forward as mediator between the authorities of the castle and the king.”

In reflecting upon the impolicy and injustice of the governor and council, I predicted the consequences which would probably ensue as disastrous to the mercantile interests and the natives. “The king’s power,” I wrote, “has been moreover considerably augmented since the conquest of Gaman, and when it is considered how long the commerce has been interrupted, I should be almost warranted to say annihilated; that the town of Cape Coast itself has been in the power of the Ashantees and Assins upwards of three months (although they have hitherto conducted themselves with moderation); that these men were empowered to proceed to hostility if necessary, and were to have been supported by a body of Wassaw and El Mina people; that the inhabitants are totally unable to protect themselves, and that the town is not defended by a redoubt tower or other outwork, that could effectually check the progress of an enemy, such as the Ashantees are known to

be, I am convinced, that you and every reasonable man must do me that justice which party spirit refuses in this country."

My communications elicited nothing satisfactory. Sir George said, "he regretted to see so much misunderstanding; and he had been told, that the Cape Coast people would not recognize the sovereignty of the king of Ashantee, even if the governor and council were to withdraw their support." He could not, he said, *prejudge* the case. I enquired, "if upon his honour he believed any such thing." "I will give no opinion," he added, "one way or the other." "But," I continued, "you will at least support my protest against the adoption of any rash and hostile proceedings, until I am able to learn the sentiments of his Majesty's ministers in relation to the treaty and negotiations at Coomassy." "I cannot interfere," replied Sir George, "in these matters; my commission is afloat, and I have no authority to act on shore." "Then," I added, "I have nothing more to urge in that particular, but in regard to the ambassadors, whose mission you can know nothing of, as indeed I do not know the precise object myself, and whose presence in England, (without considering the offering of friendship they are the bearers of) I imagine will be gratifying to government, and instrumental to the hopeful plan of turning the king's disposition from war to commerce,—a commerce which may almost exclusively be engrossed by British merchants and British shipping; if, as you say, you cannot furnish a passage for them in the Tartar, will you suffer them to accompany me to Sierra Leone, from whence I will convey them to England myself?" "I must," replied Sir George, "for the reasons I stated to you in my letter, decline taking them on board the ship."

* Unhappily no other conveyance offered, and they were left behind. During my stay at Cape Coast, they would never stir from my elbow, for the king, they said, had placed them under my protection.

This conversation with Sir G. Collier was conducted upon the most courteous terms, for he was a man I greatly respected in private life.

Two messengers from the king came down to me during my stay on the coast, the one to enquire after my health, the other to desire me to take care of his ambassadors, particularly the treasurer, who was a faithful servant.

The last messenger I despatched to the king conveyed my sentiments to the following effect:—"Remember your oath—remember me, for I am sincere, and will go to England to let the great king know that your heart is inclined towards him and his people. If I live, I will return; but do not expect to hear from me till eight moons are passed. Then you may look for a settlement of this palaver, which is too great to talk at the water-side, and therefore must be laid before the king, whose pleasure I will inform you of by a letter to my correspondent at Cape Coast. Never mind what the Fantees say, and take no umbrage at what the whites may do, till my master's pleasure is known; for you may depend he will act

Sir George, perhaps to palliate his refusal, invited the ambassadors to see the Tartar. They went on board, and for their amusement, two or three of the quarter-deck guns were discharged. One of the shots taking effect upon a small sloop which was at anchor in the roads, stove in the side and sheathing together. The copper being separated from the shot, it formed a sort of skull-cap, which the Commodore jocosely clapped on the head of the chief, and told him to shew it to the king, that he might know what the whites would do to him if he came to the coast.

When the party landed, they came to me in the society of the prince, who desired to know what was the meaning of the commodore's sentiments, and why he had desired to have the indented copper sent to the king, as he could not do so without explaining the object to his Majesty. Did it indicate a desire for peace or war? I replied I believed it to be merely designed for the ambassador's entertainment; and that as neither of those constructions should be put upon it, it would be advisable not to send it to the king.

As there existed no longer any hopes of temporizing with the governor and council, even under the auspices of the commodore, I judged this a fit opportunity to tell the prince the precise situation of affairs. Having done so, I assured him, that as I was going to England to state these particulars to my superiors, he had better inform the king of it, and wait my return, or until despatches could be sent out, which I had great reason to hope would set every thing to rights. He required to know how long the voyage there and back again would take, and I told him to count at least eight moons till I returned, or six moons for a letter; but in the mean time, I desired him to remind the king of his oath, and to assure him in my name, that under any provocation, he must not think of going to war against an object so unworthy of his greatness.

with justice. Above all things, bear in mind the necessity of abstaining from any thing like hostility against the people of Cape Coast, as that would be construed into a declaration of war against the whites."

I now earnestly busied myself with making such hasty preparations for the voyage as the time would admit of,—packing up such of the presents as were in my charge, &c.

On the 12th I received a notification from the governor and council, stating that all the interests of whites and blacks were to be called together in the hall of the castle, to discuss the *merits* of the treaty, and to signify their acceptance of it or *not*, inviting me to be there also, to meet Sir George Collier and themselves, for that purpose. Of course I refused attending, renewed my protest, and threw all responsibility upon themselves.*

Sir George called upon me in the evening; I then enquired if he had been at the *tribunal*. He said "he went to the hall by invitation of the merchants of Cape Coast, but he had not thought proper to give any opinion one way or the other."

While we were in conversation, one of my attendants brought in the young leopards, and Sir George taking a fancy to them, asked me to exchange them with him for two he had on board, (given him by Mr. Smith.) I said they were for his Majesty, and being part of the present under my care, I designed taking them with me in the Tartar. Sir George protested he had not room for them, and they were consequently left behind, but shipped for London by another conveyance, subsequently.

On the 15th I embarked at a late hour in the evening; and in bidding farewell to the prince, the ambassadors, and the whole party of Ashantees on the beach, I desired my last words to be conveyed to the

* Could it be imagined for one moment that I would submit to such a course of proceeding? If not, what interpretation could be put upon a mock tribunal of merchants, to examine into the merits of a treaty between monarchs?



An Ashantee Soldier.

king, " that he would never forget his oath, and never proceed to hostilities against the town ; but wait until he heard from me."

Our voyage included Ascension and Sierra Leone ; at the latter place I remained three weeks, and during that time I proposed hearing the sentiments both of Sir George Collier and Sir Charles M'Carthy, in regard to the merits of the treaty ; but the former declining to *interfere*, Sir Charles said he could do nothing alone that would be useful in reconciling animosities.

At Sierra Leone, about the latter end of May, I took passage to England by an early conveyance, and landed at the Isle of Wight about the close of the month of August.



CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES SUBSEQUENT TO THE AUTHOR'S RETURN.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MESSRS. GORDON, ROBERTSON, DAWSON, AND COLLINS—INACTIVITY OF THE ASHANTEES—STOPPAGE OF TRADE—CONDUCT OF MR. SMITH—GOVERNMENT TAKE POSSESSION OF THE FORTS—EFFECTIVE FORCE THERE—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—ATTACK OF MOUREE BY THE BRITISH—OBSERVATIONS—VINDICATION OF THE DUTCH FROM THE CHARGE OF EXCITING HOSTILITIES—APPOINTMENT OF SIR CHARLES M'CARTHY AS GOVERNOR OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA—HIS IDEAS OF THE POWER OF ASHANTEE—STATE OF THE GOLD COAST ON HIS ARRIVAL—BLOCKADE BY THE ASHANTEES—THEIR MILITARY TACTICS—MURDER OF A SERJEANT—THE BRITISH FORCE TAKES THE FIELD—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SIR CHARLES M'CARTHY—CORRESPONDENCE—OBSERVATIONS.

IN order to put my readers in possession of the present state of English affairs on the coast of Guinea, I subjoin an account of such events, subsequent to my return, as have come to my knowledge.

In the months of November and December, 1820, during my residence in London, I received letters from my correspondents on the Gold Coast, dated at periods between one and two months subsequent to my quitting the African *stage*. These letters, which were written by the late Mr. Gordon, governor of Accra Fort, and member of the council, Mr. George Robertson,* a merchant and

* This gentleman, a man of the first talent and respectability in the country, happened unfortunately to be at Sierra Leone, when I returned from the interior. Independently of reasons which may not be interesting to the public, or grateful to the hearing of some, and which therefore, may be suppressed, I shall simply observe, that at Sierra Leone, I conferred upon him the appointment of acting consul during my absence, subject to the approval of his majesty's government. With this power, after the recovery of his property which had been sequestered by the intrigues of the company's servants, he sailed back to the Cape.

representative of that highly respectable firm of Henry Hunt and Co., Jeffery's Square, London, Mr. Dawson, late governor of Cape Coast Castle, and Mr. Collins. The inferences to be gleaned from all this correspondence were satisfactory, inasmuch as they conveyed the most unqualified assurances that the public tranquility remained undisturbed. More than this could not be expected, neither could it be hoped that the lowering calm, like Mr. Bowdich's treaty, "would last for ever." Prince Adoom sent his compliments to me; and it was moreover stated that no apprehensions of any unfavourable tendency were entertained; but on the contrary, the most hopeful feelings were indulged in, from the circumstance of my being on the spot where justice and good faith ruled the destiny, not of men alone, but of nations. The little Ashantee army, it was believed, would not in the interval take the field against the natives of Cape Coast, supported as they were by the whites, however hostilely and insultingly they might conduct themselves towards the king. It was believed, moreover, that Adoom having communicated my parting messages to the monarch, the latter would confidently wait the issue of the time I had prescribed for my return; and that in the interval, the Ashantee troops would be equally scrupulous in conducting themselves with order and moderation upon the coast.

It seemed, however, as if this state of inactivity, on the part of the court, had been construed by the British authorities there into a political ruse, calculated to gain all that was possible by negotiation, without risking its honour and its interests in the sequel. It was, in fact, believed by them that Ashantee would not dare to take up arms, even against the natives, while the whites supported them in their resistance with unqualified vigour, such as they had already evinced in *cabinet* theory, and were inclined, as they represented, to carry into active effect in the field.

In short they argued as men whose concealed prejudices, interests, and resentments, had blinded their eyes to every prudential thought,

every maxim of temperate and judicious policy, as they might have connexion with the true honour of the crown, the interests of commerce, and British faith. The denial of this can only lead to a belief in the other alternative, viz., that the authorities who presided over our African establishments were wholly *ignorant* of the temper and resources of the monarchy, whose confidence they had already betrayed, and whose friendship they were insulting by puerile, and, it cannot be refuted, unnecessary and undeniable acts of provocation, purposely to thwart the measures which had been contemplated by government for *opening the communication with interior Africa*, by a cultivation of the friendship of the very monarch whom they by insults were urging to the necessity of taking up arms, if not in self defence, at least in defence of his maritime provinces—provinces which had been subdued by his arms—provinces wherein the conqueror's title, from the days of governor Torrane, had been recognized by treaties and by "notes," as they are called, which, by reversion, fell into the hands of the king, and upon which he constantly received his monthly, quarterly, or annual pay for the ground rent of the castles themselves, as the Fantees themselves originally used to do.

Peaceably as the Ashantees were inclined, it became apparent that the king reposed his faith upon that of the British government, as the fountain of supremacy; and the traders, oppositely circumstanced, and having none but mercantile interests to influence their movements, naturally placed no confidence whatever in the local authorities, either of Cape Coast Castle, or the town under its walls; consequently, although the Dutch markets were, as usual, constantly resorted to by Ashantee merchants and traders, scarce any of those people ever visited the Cape or its neighbourhood, and, as heretofore, the only vent for British merchandize, *guns, powder, and rum* included, was at El Mina, through the agency of our commercial rivals, who, in truth, reaped the harvest of a double profit, upon all the commodities they purchased of us.

In April and May, 1821, further accounts were received from the Gold Coast. I also received private letters from Mr. Dawson, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Collins. Those of the two gentlemen last named dwelt forcibly and interestingly upon the state of public affairs there, as they interfered with mercantile interests, and the danger impending over councils which were termed rash and inconsiderate.

The Ashantees under Prince Adoom, it seemed, were still in the town. They had waited the issue of the eight months with admirable patience and forbearance, even without a murmur. Already, however, up to the date of these letters, had nearly ten months elapsed, and ultimately they manifested some uneasiness at not learning any thing favourable to the cause of their sovereign, who, on his part, it was believed, was still averse from the adoption of any hasty resolutions of a tendency to resent the rupture which the company's authorities had created by recourse to arms.

Mr. Smith, it seemed, the original instigator of all the mischief that had ensued, or that might ultimately ensue, did not repose quite so calmly under the political frowns of the Ashantee monarch, as the reader might suspect, from the ostensible character of the public reports. This gentleman, whatever exterior surface he might shew, could not avoid betraying his fears, in the secret course of politics he thought it convenient to adopt; for notwithstanding recent proceedings, and without regard to the tenor of his sentiments, as they were to be gleaned from the public dispatches and letters designed for the inspection of his Majesty's ministers, or others in authority and of interest in the state, he renewed, it is said, the negotiations on behalf of the Fantees, when he found ultimately that it was his interest to meet the impatience of the Court of Ashantee, offering, it is stated, the 100 ounces, or from that to 150 ounces of gold, as a settlement of the claim.

Whether this renewal of overtures, if the account be true, associated as they were, too, with professions of friendship, was calcu-

lated to amuse only and procrastinate the time, is what I cannot take upon myself to say, although I believe most cordially that Mr. Smith, in despite of that insensibility and contracted knowledge of men for which he is so justly characterized, was alarmed ultimately at the attitude of public affairs. I can entertain little doubt of this; else, setting other reasons connected with my correspondence aside, why should he have continued to send messengers to court from time to time, directly or otherwise; or have held any communication with the prince upon the subject of a claim which he had resisted at the hazard of our dearest affections and interests, the honour of the British flag, and the prosperity of its commerce.

To give the reader a clearer insight into the secret machinations of the Cape politicians, it must be told that ministers, at least, were sensible of the imbecility of those to whom the public trust had been so long confided,* to legislate on the Coast of Africa. Mr. Goulburn, perhaps to relieve the natural anxiety I felt, had already done me the honour to say, that Government were sensible of the many evils attending the administration of public affairs upon the Gold Coast, and it was consequently designed to take the forts under their own management. This intelligence was moreover confirmed to me by a gentleman high in office in the Admiralty, and by several others in public trust, both in Downing Street and at the Treasury. This event, in truth, had been long looked for, and I think I am justified in saying, ardently wished by every reflecting man, whose property or whose interests entitled them to a vote in regard to their protection. These changes were not unexpected, but had been long in contemplation. In reference to the secret spring of action among the leading servants of the Company, but more especially Mr. Smith himself, they were of inducement sufficient to warrant every exertion on his part to persevere *ostensibly* in resisting the demand made by the king, without suffering

* See Quarterly Review, "Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee."

his recent temporizing maxims to escape to the knowledge of supremacy, even in a whisper. And this he was mainly anxious about, because the public correspondence for some time past, from the Committee of African merchants, guaranteed to their servants, perhaps in a limited sense, retirements proportionate to their respective ranks, to be paid to them from the date that the forts might be transferred to the possession of his Majesty's government. Mr. Smith, therefore, in common with his adherents, looked interestedly to his rank in that service, and he was accordingly doubly anxious to support the character of consistency, although at every hazard (short perhaps of an actual appeal to arms against the Ashantees). It was moreover hoped that Government, with their customary liberality would look with a favourable eye upon what had been described to them by his friends, and those who supported his pretensions, as the *energetic* and dignified resistance of a man of *talent* and *discretion*; and in reviewing the transactions on the day when their intrinsic worth might be estimated in sterling money, that they might be influenced to apportion the award upon a scale adequate to such services, as they stood arranged in order with the fulsome, and, as it would seem, designed misrepresentations of his nephew, in the description he gave of the former mission. Hence the panegyrists who edited the public testimonials submitted to the Colonial office and other departments of government, gave implicit credit to his public spirit, zeal, *discretion*, &c.

The king of Ashantee, it appeared, down to the month of January, resisted every overture (however indirectly they may have been made through the agency of the prince) of a tendency short of recognizing his supremacy at Cape Coast in quality of sovereign over the natives, of whom he demanded satisfaction, equivalent to the offence they had given; it would appear also that this monarch, having lost the original confidence he possessed, was not to be amused with vain negotiations, whose tendency he might have probed, through his ambassadors and emissaries upon the coast, where, for some months

past, they had been in constant habits of gleaning intelligence from the company's servants of inferior rank, relating to the change immediately contemplated, and which the Ashantees doubtless imagined would bring their sovereign's "palaver" to the cognizance of the fountain of truth, purity, and good faith. Upon these grounds, simply, we may account for a subsequent pause of the duration of many weeks.

About the latter end of the summer of 1821, fresh accounts arrived from the Gold Coast. My own letters from Mr. Robertson stated that the king was inflexible as regarded his claims, but that tranquillity generally prevailed, and every apprehension was removed from the minds of the British and the Fantees, from the circumstance of his Majesty's government having, it was thought, finally taken upon themselves the management of the forts. It was no longer doubted that the first object of ministers would be to send an efficient force to garrison the castles, for, will it be credited, that notwithstanding the assumed dignity of the governor, or governor and council,* the total amount of the garrisons, themselves included, was only *forty-five* white men, and these to give protection to no less than eight castles and factories, viz. Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Tantum, Accra, Succondee, Commenda, Dixcove, and Apollonia, all situated within the territory of Ashantee.† These reports of proceedings in London in particular, animated the drooping spirits of the natives of Cape Coast, as it moreover revived the courage of the British, instigating both to throw aside the mask, and leave to chance alone, I presume, the issue. Mr. Smith, it was clear, would be content to resign his trust with what he termed honour, i. e. under the semblance of having supported the dignity of the British flag in trials of severity, and under

* Mr. Swanzy and Mr. Smith, the two leaders.

† An equal division of the white forces would leave five and five-eighths of a man to each establishment. The black troops, including artificers, amounted to about one hundred, twelve of whom might be spared for each of the five officers.

circumstances which might appear of critical terror to those he wished to imbibe the impression, and who would naturally weigh in the balance the total numbers of the disposable British force, without learning the nature of the intrigues.

The Fantees eagerly and anxiously looked out for the arrival of an English fleet and a *white* army to their succour, such as the thoughtful or the thoughtless had led them to build their hopes upon. Such was the substance of private letters, my own among the number. Public as well as private ones of a few days' subsequent date, contained matters of a greater political importance, for as the great crisis approached, so it appeared that the spirit of resistance was suddenly metamorphosed into one of enterprize, in which blacks and whites together participated in common with the hero of the Cape. But this, besides its relative importance, which may warrant the insertion, being written by one of the servants of the company (Mr. Colliver), who had charge of the expedition, I submit the report verbatim as it was penned.

“ Cape Coast Castle, 21st April, 1821.

“ By the time you receive this, it is probable the African company will have ceased to exist. We have received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to deliver up the forts and settlements here to government. It is understood they are to be put on the same footing as Sierra Leone. A list has been furnished to government by the company's committee, of their officers, their age, length of service, the situations they fill, their emoluments, &c. We have been blockaded here since the 10th of February,* by the Ashantees (an African tribe), who have commenced hostilities against us. On the day before-mentioned our governor received intelligence that a black man belonging to Cape

* Thus (and by my own accounts also) it appears that the king waited patiently two months over and above the eight he had been advised of, for it was exactly ten months after my departure when the prince and the troops under his command deserted the town, and took up a station in the rear of Cape Coast. Still, however, they avoided every act of hostility.

Coast, where the people are under *our protection*, had been cruelly murdered by a chief of the *Fantees*, at a place about six miles from Cape Coast, called Mouree. I was immediately ordered to assemble all the soldiers I could in five minutes, and proceed to Mouree to seize the murderer. I quickly set off with four officers and eighty-five soldiers. A little before we entered the town of Mouree where the savages, (*the Fantees*) between two and three thousand in number, were assembled, we saw the mangled remains of their unfortunate victim. The town stands near the top of a hill, on the summit of which is an old Dutch fort. As soon as we entered the town a fire was opened upon us, but as my orders were to seize the murderer, if possible, without bloodshed, I did not for some time allow the men to return the fire. However, perceiving they were resolved to oppose us, I gave directions to my little party to give them a volley, and then to charge. The negroes retired as we advanced, and in less than an hour we gained the hill, from which our opponents fled in every direction. We demanded the keys of the fort from the principal man belonging to Mouree, who, not being engaged in the affair, had remained, and who immediately gave them up. In the fort, which has a drawbridge, we were perfectly secure from the attack of the negroes. The body we defeated were *Fantees*, who were *assembled to assist the Ashantees* in enforcing some *very unjust* demands made by them on the people of Cape Coast. As soon as the Ashantees who reside near Cape Coast heard that the Governor had sent an armed force against their friends, their drum beat to arms, and they hastened after us. *Fortunately*, we had defeated our opponents before they arrived; however, they rallied the *Fantees*, and took a position about half-a-mile from the town with a determination to oppose our little party. The governor, apprised of our situation, assembled all the force he could muster, and speedily about five thousand of the Cape Coast people, headed by our officers and carrying the British flag, were seen approaching. The enemy

immediately retired, and we were released from our *disagreeable* situation, after having been, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, exposed to a burning sun without refreshment. The negroes had forty-seven killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded, in this affair. We had one soldier killed, and four wounded. Since the affair, we have not seen one of the Ashantees or the *Fantees* here (at Cape Coast): and now a total stoppage of trade has taken place. We have not learned how the king of Ashantee intends to act, nor is it *safe* to *venture* out of *our limits* except in large parties."

Thus it appears upon the clearest evidence, that we were the first who appealed to arms, and under circumstances which, according to my reasoning, were rash and unjustifiable in the extreme, either upon the face of the old treaty, which it would seem Mr. Smith had some time back insinuated a desire to recognise, or, as regarded the laws of nations; for in the first instance, the murderer, (a Fantee) should have been demanded either of the prince, the authorities of the town of Mouree, or the Dutch governor-general at El Mina, ere any appeal was made to force, and this never was done. Without looking to the great waste of human life, as the sequel proved, and as might naturally have been foreseen in a meeting between organized blacks and a mob of fishermen, such as the Mourees in particular are, above all the little Fantee tribes, was it reputable to make an inroad and an abrupt attack upon a town where the flag of his majesty of the Netherlands waved upon the battlements of a castle which might almost vie as a fortification with Cape Coast itself, and which, before the Dutch took Elmina from the Portuguese* was the head establishment of that

* El Mina Castle, the town under whose walls is called Addena by the natives, was taken by the Dutch in 1638, chiefly by the aid of cannon which they planted upon the top of the hill of St. Jago. When become possessed of this, the strongest and best situated fort of Guinea, they naturally shifted their headquarters from Mouree to El Mina. The outwork or little fort of Condaadsburg they subsequently built upon the top of St. Jago hill, and thereby rendered it wholly impregnable on the land side, and, if

nation upon the Guinea coast? Was it just and honourable, admitting all the circumstances of the misunderstanding with the king of Ashantee down to this period,—was it just, I would ask, or creditable, without paying the compliment first of demanding the offender to be delivered up, to adopt such precipitate and summary proceedings? Was it agreeable even to that particular clause in the treaty made by Mr. Bowdich, which ran to the following effect.—“*The governor reserves to himself the right of punishing any of the subjects of Ashantee, guilty of secondary offences; but in cases of magnitude the offenders shall be sent to the king to be dealt with according to the laws of their country.*” Although we were not upon friendly terms with the king, we certainly were not in hostility, for hitherto the Ashantees had conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and moderation, as it has been already described, paying for every thing they required in gold. But now they no longer deemed it requisite to observe the bounds of neutrality, as in all probability they may have conceived that British councils, as they were regulated and administered in Africa, certainly teemed with nothing but perfidy. This, it is true, is conjectural, but it seems very likely to have been the case, for the Ashantees having taken up their position at a short station inland of Cape Coast, never afterwards opened any conference with the authorities of the Cape, or

properly garrisoned, it would bid defiance every way to a powerful armament, whether by sea or land. St. Jago is scarcely two furlongs from El Mina, yet it is situated in what sixty years ago constituted a distinct kingdom, viz. Fetu, in which our chief establishment (Cape Coast) stands. El Mina, from which it is separated by a little river, called the Salt River, is the metropolis of another little kingdom westward, called in those days Commany, from which Commenda is derived. Fetu and Commany, although formerly very populous, were about equal in strength and extent of dominions; for the kings of each governed but the extent of eleven or twelve miles of coast, and inland in about the same proportion. The town of El Mina is built of stone, and it is the only one so constructed on the Gold Coast. Mouree is also another of these kingdoms or principalities, formerly called Saboe. Old Fantee, properly so called, lies next to the eastward, of which Annamaboe was the capital, but each of the others is considered of the same family.

held any direct communication whatever with them or the town, the natives of which scarcely ever durst trust themselves out of sight of their habitations, when necessitated by their respective employments to go in the "bush,"* although for a time they would probably have been secure from molestation, as the prince himself durst not certainly have acted in a military capacity (unless defensively, for so he told me himself,) without express orders from the court to that effect.

Let it be remembered, that besides the internal resources of the monarchy, every town upon the line of coast, El Mina itself included, acknowledged fealty and was tributary to Ashantee, and from El Mina alone the enemy might, if he had thought proper, put in motion from eight hundred to one thousand men, as the Dutch government, notwithstanding their great castle and the title by which they inherited it, claimed no sort of supremacy over that or any other town of Guinea, but on the contrary distinctly admitted the title by which the king claimed sovereignty over the whole extent of country, including all the towns upon the sea shore which are overlooked by their forts and factories, from Axim to the Volta.

That these, our rivals in commercial enterprise, did secretly rejoice at a misunderstanding between the king and the British authorities on the coast, whereby the latter were necessarily excluded from participating in the benefits of a lucrative trade in the precious metal, pure as the Ashantees carry it to market; and that these disputes should have been procrastinated to the unconscionable length of years, to their exclusive advantage and satisfaction, is what I can

* Notwithstanding the outcry about Fantee having been *ceded* to the king, the governor and council never actually presumed to have any right or title of protection over it, neither would the people have recognized their supremacy, or cast off their fealty to the king, to enjoy the very precarious protection of the whites at that time.

readily conceive, because I know it to be a fact, from the sentiments I gathered from the Dutch officers, when I was last at Elmina.* But is not this feeling strictly in unison with commercial rivalry and private interests? Was it, taken in any sense, unnatural or unlooked for, that the Dutch should rejoice in the good fortune which accident alone, whether founded upon bad faith or bad politics among the contending parties, had cast in their way? If we thought proper, from private views and resentments, to enter into the quarrels of the natives, and make their "palavers" our own, at the risk of our dearest interests and the only motives which could induce a residence in such a climate, it surely did not follow that the Dutch, because they were of the same colour as ourselves, and were only distinguished by their blue coats instead of red, should tread in our steps, and follow the tortuous maze of a course of politics which they, and every sensible man, knew to be ruinous to their prosperity? Nor can it be imputed to a nation of such renown in these parts, (as successors to the Portuguese), that the government of the parent country, friendly as it is, in all its relations, with our own, should have contributed by any means, even of the most indirect tendency, to foment discord and kindle the embers of war, purposely to destroy the interests of their dearest ally, and those friends who love and serve them best. No, the government of the Netherlands is, as I conceive, too honorable and too grateful to entertain such sentiments, and her citizens and burghers

* His excellency, the late governor-general Oldenburgh, during one of my visits to Elmina, where I was his guest for some days, received a message from the king, purporting to learn what the sentiments of that nation were in reference to his misunderstanding with the British. To the honour of that gentleman's memory, be it recorded, that he took the messenger to the top of the castle, from whence, pointing eastward to Cape Coast, he said, "Do you see that flag?" Yes. "Then tell the king that the Dutch have ever esteemed him as a friend: they will have nothing to do, however, with quarrels; but so long as that flag shall be seen flying on its battlements, just so long will ours, for our monarchs are the greatest friends, and white men are all of one family."

too respectable to entertain any sentiment inimical to our happiness and prosperity in Africa, beyond the natural scope of local and commercial speculation, for which they are no way responsible, any more than ourselves.

Dearly as I love my country, and much as I respect its constitution, I can subscribe only to sentiments such as these; and if it has fallen to my humble pen to resist calumny and misrepresentation in other matters, it may as well include the task of vindicating the honour of Holland, and the good faith of its rulers, as far as their jurisdiction in Africa has come under my observation.* The Dutch then, I affirm, during my residence in that part of Africa, were in no way instrumental to the misfortunes that have since befallen our arms under Sir Charles M'Carthy; but they were the natural and foreseen results of early indiscretions, wherein Mr. Smith (I will take it religiously upon my conscience to say so) consulting, as it would seem, nothing but his own secret interests, prejudices, and animosities, drove the Ashantees to their only resource—arms, and prompted the government to adopt, what has been represented to them as the only alternative left to their choice, the necessity of vindicating the honour of the flag, and defending the settlement from foreign and barbarous devastation. The war, it is true, had not yet been proclaimed by the enemy down to the period when the forts were transferred to his majesty's government; but

* Some days previous to my leaving Coomassy, the Dutch sent a present to the king, of brocade, damask, and other rarities, which gave him great pleasure. To this present was annexed a message, whose purport may be gathered from the following sentences only: "The Dutch king is your friend as well as the English king, and now you are known in the land of the whites, every body will love you while you are the friend of their countrymen. The Dutch governor sends his compliments to congratulate you that the English king has sent an ambassador to Coomassy," &c. It must be admitted I did not learn this of the king. I was extremely anxious to know the purport of the message, fearing the possibility of a jealous interference, and I employed the Bashaw to obtain this intelligence.

when that event did happen, it must have been clearly perceptible that nothing short of a recourse to negotiation, could prevent the probable consequences of that rash and precipitate attack on the natives of Mouree, coupled, as it was, with a train of auxiliary aggravations such as no sovereign upon earth, meriting a throne, could compatibly with his dignity endure.

In dismissing the subject of the little Mouree war, I shall simply point out to the reader, as an instance of the governor's military talent, the precarious situation in which he must have left Cape Coast, when himself, the residue of the officers, and all the townsmen capable of bearing arms, were pushed forward to rescue the eighty-nine men from their supposed perilous situation on the eastern beach, as it was not known at the time that they had sought the favour of the *friendly* castle, whose flag they had insulted. Surely if I know any thing about Cape Coast, there could scarcely have been more than two sentinels left to guard the gates, and an invalid, perhaps, in charge of the fort. And as regards the town, it must have been proportionably defenceless. Still, however, it is consistent with other proceedings, and where is there room for astonishment?

To return to the sequel of this narrative, Sir Charles M'Carthy,* whom I was in the practice of visiting during his residences in London, obtained, about the time of the Mouree affair, through the interest of certain individuals, an appointment as governor in chief of the whole of our settlements on the western coast of Africa, from the Gambia to the Volta rivers, the former inclusive. The death of my correspondents, Messrs. Gordon and Collins, happened at no great distance of time after these regulations were carried into effect; but before Sir

* This gentleman, it may be recollected, I was upon friendly terms with at Sierra Leone, he also sailed for England a short time after I left that colony, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him soon after his arrival.

Charles left England, I had many interviews with him, wherein I took some pains to impress upon that gentleman a just conception of the impolicy and injustice of late proceedings. Sir Charles, I believe, was at this period of my own way of thinking, for his reasonings inclined to the same object as that for which I was commissioned, viz. that of promoting commerce with the interior of Africa, (and consequently through the dominions of Ashantee) by every possible means consistent with the dignity of the flag and the interests of the colonists. Sir Charles, however, was pleased to consider somewhat lightly, descriptions which tended to convey an adequate idea of the disposable force of Ashantee. He doubted that the king could send into the field more than twenty or twenty-five thousand men; yet had he confided in the reports of his friend Sir George Collier, he would at least have coincided in opinion with the commodore, that the dispositions of the sovereign, his tributaries, and people, were extremely prone to war, and the population considerable, and proportionate to the great extent of territory held by that government; for Sir George (from the information furnished him by Mr. Smith, whose object in this particular, and at this time, was by no means to deviate from the truth* (unless in derogation of the king), has represented in his reports that “the Ashantee army is *numerous beyond belief*, and though quite an irregular mass †, yet more than sixty thousand men can be collected, acquainted with the use of *fire arms*, and ready to sacrifice their *lives* to the nod or caprice of their chief or king, who is known to be *savage* and *cruel* in the extreme ‡.”

* I know, notwithstanding, that accounts were transmitted to government on another occasion, stating that “the power and means of the king of Ashantee were extremely limited.”

† Sir George, however, was not well informed of the military discipline of the Ashantees.

‡ Neither was he better acquainted with the nature of the king's disposition, who, in regard to his own people, or those of friendly powers, certainly does not deserve the name of savage and cruel—with reference to enemies, I have elsewhere portrayed the negro character, a character which I fear has too close an affinity to the human heart in general, white or black,—i. e. the negro never forgets, or forgives, unless atonement is made in time.

Sir Charles finally sailed for the Gold Coast, by the circuitous route and stoppages at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, &c. He landed at Cape Coast Castle in the early part of the year 1822, and found that settlement as might have been expected, and, as had been described, like a gangrened member of the empire, from which all communication was cut off, to prevent the contagion from spreading and infecting the vitals. It was in fact a dreary solitude, as regarded its former connexions with the interior; and with respect to information of any thing but the objects which immediately surrounded the castle, the colonists might as well have been stationed upon the little barren rock of Ascension in the midst of the Atlantic waves, for they were strictly blockaded, although no enemy could be seen. Trade, of course, was at a total stand, except as regarded the supply of the Dutch merchants, and one or two of the settlements both to windward and leeward, where the inland traders occasionally resorted with their gold and ivory. This was the reputable state to which Mr. Smith, to say the least of it, from mistaken notions of honour and dignity, had reduced the national reputation in Africa, and the character of its sovereign at the court of Ashantee: and this was the state in which he resigned into the hands of Sir Charles M'Carthy the guardianship of that flag, whose reputation, tarnished as I conceive it was by such a train of proceedings, he could not, it is probable, at the utmost stretch of ingenuity, have protected from the last violence and insult many months longer.

A change of chief governors, it would seem, led the king to hope for a change in the hostile sentiments of the whites; hence for several subsequent months he was quiet, and Cape Coast, although as rigidly blockaded as ever, enjoyed its solitude and that delusion of tranquillity which it had imposed upon itself. As it became apparent to the *enemy* (for such he was now considered and characterised), that the new governor was treading in the path of his predecessor, as regarded the "palaver," and that little or no hope remained that the British could or would descend to expostulation after so great an infraction of

the peace, he laid an embargo, it is imagined, even upon the tongues* of his trading subjects, who visited either the Dutch or windward

* By administering the oath draught, as it is termed. Before our conferences opened at Coomassy, the king compelled my linguists, and his own together, to take this species of "Fetische," not, however, for the purpose of stopping their mouths, but as a compulsory obligation, which enjoined, under the penalty of death, and the vengeance of the gods, a strict adherence to truth in the faithful interpretation of words and sentiments. The same draught is administered in all cases where the monarch's interests are concerned, and it was usual to compel the traders to take it during the Gaman war, that they might divulge nothing prejudicial to their sovereign, during their sojournment at the settlements. On their return to Coomassy, the oath was repeated under another obligation, viz. that they should report faithfully every political circumstance which came within the compass of their knowledge, binding themselves by the usual covenant of invocations and imprecations. The force and impression of this fetische may be well imagined, when I relate that my linguists, terrified at the bare thought of taking the oath draught, (simply a sort of consecrated water impregnated with sacred vegetable infusions,) urged me by various moving intreaties to prevail on the king to exempt them from compliance. Of course I would do nothing that way, as it was my interest as well as that of the sovereign to be able to distinguish falsehood from truth. The crowd of courtiers and priests, on that occasion, impeded the vision, so that I could not observe the particular ceremonies without committing a breach of decorum, and forgetting my rank, &c. I confess my incompetence therefore to explain the mystery, but for the reader's amusement shall quote what Bosman, on his own authority, relates. "The oath draught is usually accompanied with an imprecation that the fetische may kill them if they do not perform the contents of their obligation, and all parties are obliged to drink this swearing liquor. But of late years, (in covenants between party interests) some negroes are so refined that they oblige the priest to swear first, and drink the oath draught with an imprecation that the priests should punish him with death, if he ever absolved any person from their oath, without the unanimous consent of all. If you ask what opinion the negroes have of those who falsify the obligations of the oath draught, they believe the perjured person shall be swelled by that liquor till he bursts; or if that doth not happen, that he shall shortly die of a languishing sickness: the first punishment they imagine more peculiar to women, who take this draught to acquit themselves of any accusation of adultery, and if I may be allowed to make a comparison, this drink seems very like the bitter water administered to the women in the Old Testament, by way of purgation from the charge of adultery." The following is the form he describes of the most obligatory oath known:—

"Each priest or feticheer hath his peculiar idol prepared and adjusted in a particular and different manner, but most of them like the following description. They have a great wooden pipe filled with earth, oil, blood, and bones of dead men and beasts, feathers, hair, and to be short, of all sorts of excrementitious and filthy trash, which they do not endeavour to mould into any shape, but lay it in a confused heap in the pipe. The negro who is to take an oath before this idol is placed directly opposite to it and asks the priest the name of his idol (each having a particular one), of which being informed, he calls the fetische by its name, and recites at large the contents of what he designs to bind by an oath, and makes it his petitionary request that the idol may punish him with death if he swears falsely; then he goes round the pipe and stands still and swears a second time as before, and so a third time likewise,

settlements, and it was impossible to gain any intelligence whatever relating to the interior. Indeed it was not so much as known at what particular spot the Ashantees had stationed themselves.

Whatever opinions Sir Charles M'Carthy may have imbibed in England or at Sierra Leone, in respect to Ashantee (where indeed all his information concerning the Gold Coast must have been gained,) it seems he was extremely anxious to learn more of that country than what he could glean either from the reports of Sir George Collier or Mr. Smith, or from the works of Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Hutton. This anxiety was expressed in letters which he addressed to me in the year 1822, urging me, (agreeably to my representations to him in London that I had much important information to communicate) to lose no time in pushing matters forward, and desiring to have two or three copies of the present work by the very first opportunity, if I did not bring them out myself. Sir Charles, moreover, evinced a desire to obtain prompt information as regarded some, perhaps the political knowledge I had gained at Ashantee, but time and occupation rendering it impossible I could oblige him, I was reluctantly compelled to resign the honour of a correspondence, which private feelings of friendship and respect would have influenced me to continue, although my sentiments could never have swerved from that tone and feeling which have hitherto guided my pen, and therefore might not have been productive of good, if, as it was reported some months afterwards, Sir Charles seriously meditated, as soon as he should have organized an army, marching with it to Coomassy to dethrone the king in his capital.

after which the priest takes some of the mentioned ingredients out of the pipe, with which he touches the swearer's head, arms, belly, and legs, and holding it above his head, turns it three times round, then he cuts off a bit of the nail of one finger in each hand, of one toe of each foot, and some of the hair of his head, which he throws into the pipe where the idol is lodged: all which done the oath is firmly obligatory." (pages 124, 125, 126.) This is descriptive of the coast "fetische," but I believe it to be very similar to that which the Ashantees themselves practise, and which I have witnessed in various forms, excepting only the oath draught. The Moslems themselves are terrified at the *oby* of the Ashantees—the king's fetische.

To pursue this narrative,—Sir Charles speedily set about organizing the natives whose towns are situated under the castles; for hitherto this precaution had never been taken by his predecessor; and while this was transacting, every thing was as quiet as if no such country as Ashantee existed. It was not conjectured that the enemy might have been engaged in an inland war, neither that he was busying himself with preparations* for a campaign on the sea coast; but on the con-

* The Ashantees never undertake any national concerns without invocations to the deities, conjurations, incantations, and a variety of customs which occupy incredible time, as these mysteries can only be practised on particular days of the week or month, the others being deemed ominous and portending evil, are days of grief and tribulation. Out of the 365, the proportion of good or lucky days, the Bashaw says, is no more than 150 or 160. During the evil days, councils cannot be holden, nor can troops either march or engage the enemy, unless in self-defence. An Ashantee army, in proportion to the rank of its commander, and certainly if the king was at its head, could not march to Cape Coast or to the seaside in less than three or four months, for there are various other causes (independent also of circumspection, rank, and dignity) to impede the march, such as divinations from the flight of birds, track of particular beetles and insects, screechings of the turkey buzzard, dreams, predictions, celebration of customs, &c. &c. In short, the Ashantees are slow, and I believe, cautious in the cabinet; they are slower, however, in warlike movements, and, for those very reasons, more to be dreaded by those who do not know them; and certainly no man had a just conception of this nation during my residence on the Gold Coast. The Ashantees are energetic in the field on days when they can act; and, as the Bashaw and the Moslems in general relate, are more justly dreaded than any other tribe of Negroes. When the army takes the field, it usually pushes forward a body of two or three thousand men to the distance of a day or two in advance of the main army, covering the enemy's towns and frontiers by little detached corps of observation, who prosecute their march during the silence of night, in the most intricate parts of the forest, only seeking refuge as occasion may require, in the loftiest boughs of the trees, where they sustain life for many days, if necessary, upon a sort of soluble gum, pounded grain, and "war nuts," called by them Boesie, which they never travel without. As the main body advances, so do these detachments, and when the king and priesthood deem the opportunity a fit one for battle, these corps of observation, strengthened by others, concentrate themselves within a compass adequate to support the war with a most deadly effect from ambush and intrenched positions, or from the canopy which conceals their comrades; for during the attack, these elevated warriors pour incessantly upon the foe a tempest of musquet-shot, and poisoned missiles, javelins, and arrows.

The precautions taken by the Ashantees, during a march through the enemy's country, are equal to what is related of the tribes of North American Indians; and it is almost impossible to collect intelligence adapted to the service of an opposing force. Incredible as it may seem, it often occurs, as it happened in the Gaman war, that the king in person, at the head of an army, is able to conceal himself in the heart of an enemy's country (provided there are forests of sufficient capacity) until the crisis for action is deemed auspicious.

trary, it was believed that the king would be contented to preserve a defensive posture. It was hoped, that besides the organization of the militia, as they were called, (the bands of Fantees, or Cape Coast people, whose cause we had adopted) government would plentifully supply the place with arms, ammunition, &c., and men, if needful; but the latter were scarcely deemed needful at this time, as the colony of Sierra Leone and the shipping would furnish as many as might be wanting, if the enemy should evince more activity, or become bolder than heretofore.

Sir Charles, conformably to the system pursued by the great Cortez, the conqueror of the empire of Mexico, judiciously enough for defensive war, formed certain little alliances with a few of the inferior southern tribes of Fantees, Fetuans, Dinkrans, Inkrans, &c.. But besides that the bulk of the population of these parts, whose numbers since the wars of conquest were never great, still adhered faithfully in allegiance to the king, those mercenaries who embarked in the cause were never steady, and I believe never attached to our interests beyond the natural feeling that they did not wish to pay gold to the king or to any one else, whether their protectors or their oppressors.

Towards the close of the year 1823, Sir Charles, who doubtless was extremely impatient at the rigorous blockade enforced by the Ashantees, seemed to have come to a final resolution of marching at the head of his militia bands and West India troops into the interior, for the purpose of dethroning the king. He accordingly, I believe, wrote home (to England) for cannon of the description of light artillery*. In the mean while he arranged his plans for the meditated campaign; intending to avail himself of the ensuing dry season, which usually commences about the middle of November. Sir Charles, to

* The artillery certainly could have been of no use in such a forest as I have described, nor indeed would it have been practicable to transport the pieces, unless by dismounting them from the trucks, and loading the heads of the people with both. In open spots, however, there can be no doubt that they would prove very destructive engines.

whom credit is due for more than a moderate share of activity, zeal and talent, as a governor, did not neglect opportunities of improving the condition of the settlements, for indeed a very great proportion of his time, as was usual with him at Sierra Leone, was devoted exclusively to that important object.

Thus situated, the most sanguine hopes were entertained by the particular friends of Sir Charles, of the success which they imagined must, or would attend a plan of military operations conducted by him upon a scale of such imposing magnitude. About the month of March last (1824) further accounts were received from the Gold Coast, but they were in no way important, except as it was stated in a private letter, the king—the inflexible, the hospitable, the celebrated, the friendly, the distressed *Sai Quamina*, was no more; having, as it would appear, departed this life in grief and vexation, bequeathing to his successor the kingdom and the palaver together, as Mr. Smith had already resigned his share of it to the interest which succeeded him. The successor to Sai, the same accounts stated, had commenced his reign by an *edict* against the British, wherein they were accused (whether justly or not it is the reader's province to decide) of perfidy, infractions of treaties, violations of public faith, treachery, cruelty, &c. To revenge which, and to appease the shade of the departed conqueror, in the region of spirits, the new monarch vowed eternal war against the British until he had obtained satisfaction; declaring (in the form of the great oath of his predecessors) that he would not cease from hostility until he had watered the grave of the departed Sai Quamina with the blood of white men, &c.*

* It is essential to observe, that the account of the king's death may not be true, although it is highly probable. If correct, it induces me to suppose that that monarch was tenacious of the oath he had sworn to me, of fidelity; and under the fear of incurring the displeasure of his gods, by violating it he might possibly never have had recourse to other measures than those which he had already pursued in maintaining a defensive posture against the settlements. Certain it is, as the king confessed to me,

The first victim to the first aggressive act on the part of the Ashantees fell at a short period after this event, when they surprised a black man, who filled the situation of corporal in our service, and whom they put to death, as is their usual practice in common with all negroes. To revenge this insult, and to co-operate at the same time with Captain Laing, who had the command of another division of troops in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, now the capital of Fantee, Sir Charles resolved immediately to take the field.

Thus, as it was believed, upon the eve of the most important transaction that has ever been witnessed in that part of Africa, and while the public, from the nature of the last accounts, were in hopeful and sanguine expectations of receiving advices from Africa of the most satisfactory and flattering character, the appalling news reached England of defeat and distress. But let the reader form his own judgment upon the materials, as some of them have been already laid before the public. "The new energy displayed by the English on the Gold Coast imposed a salutary check on the savage chief of Ashantee, and at the same time held out to the neighbouring states a hope of protection against his oppressions. He was, therefore, for some time, quiet; but having *in a fit of passion* seized on a negro sergeant in our service, Sir C. M'Carthy felt himself bound to avenge the insult. A new corps had been formed on the Gold Coast under the title of the Royal African Light Infantry, and had attained a *high degree of discipline*; a detachment of this corps took the field under Captain Laing, an officer peculiarly well qualified for this service, inasmuch as he had a year or two before penetrated very far into the interior on an exploratory mission from Sierra Leone. The tribes which

that neither inclination, policy, nor the desire of getting the good things, possessed by the whites in their castles, could ever induce him to do them an injury. They were his best friends he said, for he derived all his power and influence through their means. In truth, it is not probable that the Ashantees, unless their safety depended upon it, would ever attempt our expulsion from the sea coast.

had previously suffered from the tyranny of Sai Tooto Quamina now seized the opportunity of shaking off his yoke, and many swore allegiance to the English government. In May last (1823) all the districts on the sea coast, west of the Volta, were in arms, to the amount of 30,000 warriors, while in the *interior* the inhabitants *unanimously* refused to pay the tributary exactions. Captain Laing took the Fantee country under his especial care. This officer in August last* (with a detachment of the West India regiment, and a detachment of the Annamaboe militia, supported by several native chiefs, totally defeated the Ashantees at Assecuma. On the 19th of last November, Sir Charles M'Carthy arrived from Sierra Leone, at Cape Coast, to take upon himself, in person, the direction of public affairs there. At that time it is stated the Ashantees had not ventured to approach the coast. A camp had been formed of the British troops (including the West India regiments, and others from Sierra Leone,) and great numbers of the native chiefs had joined them and sworn allegiance to the British government.

This is the substance of the reports of public transactions. Now it will be essential to turn to the less consolatory matters of private correspondence; the truth of which is too prominent to need any observation of its authenticity.

Accra, January 31, 1824.

“ It is unnecessary for me to communicate to you the seizure of one of our sergeants by order of the Ashantee Despot, and other causes that have led to a war between the British and that nation, as you have already been put in possession of these circumstances by my friend —. Suffice it to say your prediction (that unless speedy and effectual aid were sent from England, things would go hard with us,) has been too soon verified. The Ashantees have long threatened us with an attack; and on the 25th of last month intelligence was brought to Sir C. M'Carthy, that they were approaching the coast; but contrary to

* About the time the sergent was killed by the Ashantees.

what is usual, their forces were by report *diminished* as to their real numbers; the consequence was that Sir Charles divided his forces in four divisions, and marched into *the interior*! The enemy instead of dividing theirs, collected a force of 10,000 men, and attacked the division commanded by Sir Charles himself, (who did not muster 1000 muskets) and I regret to say, totally defeated and dispersed it! The whole of the whites are either killed or missing, except Major Ricketts and Ensign Erskine, who after many hardships, have succeeded in getting to Cape Coast. Among the killed and missing are Sir Charles himself, Messrs Buckle and Wetherill from Sierra Leone; also Robertson,* Dr. Tedlie, Jones, Brandon, Williams and Keddle of Cape Coast, all of whom you have seen, and several others with whom you are not acquainted. H—— and I were with the Accra division, commanded by Captain Blenkarne, and at least 150 miles to the eastward of Sir Charles, when this afflicting intelligence was brought to us; and by the same messenger we were ordered to fall back on Accra, and put the town and port in the best state of defence. It will now be seen that the Ashantees are a *people not to be utterly despised*!† In short it has come to this, if government do not instantly send out two or three thousand troops to put down this power, they must withdraw the British flag from the coast, and leave the field to the *cunning* Dutchmen to reap the harvest of *their* intrigue. The moment the issue of the battle was known, the people of El Mina commenced seizing our people, and those of Shamah, (another Dutch settlement) had the temerity to fire on the boats of the *Owen Glendower*! But here they suffered for their rashness by the total destruction of

* This was my friend and correspondent before spoken of.

† This sentiment indeed betrays the fatal secret that Sir Charles was over confident, perhaps deluded by the puerile or false insinuations of his predecessor in respect to Ashantee and its monarch. If so, to what an extent has not Mr. Smith to atone to his country, whether this loss of blood, treasure, commerce, and honour, may have proceeded from ignorance or misrepresentation, calumny or resentments, or secret intrigues and interests.

the town. It is a most *fortunate* circumstance that the frigate was in the vicinity of Cape Coast at this moment, as I know not how much *more* dreadful the result would have been. The divisions commanded by Majors Chisholm and Laing have returned to Cape Coast and Annamaboe; they can get no tidings of either Sir Charles or the Ashantees, and it is supposed the latter have fallen back a short distance to communicate their great success to their king, before they renew the contest. Sir Charles's orderly, who escaped from the field, affirms that Sir Charles was wounded in two places early in the action.

“It is but justice to say, the Danish governor Richlieu, has acted the part of a man of honour towards us. He has spared neither expence nor personal exertion to assist us in putting down the Ashantees, and if the Dutch had acted the same part, matters would ere this have been settled in our favour. To secure the favour and trade of the Ashantees, the Dutch have been so mean as to instil into the minds of these *people that our object* is to bring *their nation under our yoke,** and if we are driven from the coast, they (the Ashantees,) will again have opportunities of disposing of their slaves to the Portuguese and Spanish vessels!

P. S.—“A report has just reached us, that Sir Charles is *safe* among the Dinqueras, a country situate about sixty-five miles north west of Cape coast, and in our alliance. I sincerely hope this report may be confirmed, but for my part, I much doubt it.”

Accra, January 31, 1824.

“The late disastrous events have brought us into a very critical situation! On the 29th ultimo Sir Charles directed Captain Blenkarne,

* Setting all prejudices aside, it would hardly have been possible for the Ashantees to draw any other conclusions from the magnitude of our military preparations on the coast. I greatly fear the king must have reflected as I have done myself, with bitterness of feeling upon the days when he favoured me with a visit at my quarters, to explain the fears of his captains respecting the Fantees—as on the day when he made me swear I had no intention to deceive him, and arm the Southern tribes to war upon him. It would be thought romantic to say, my heart still throbs with anguish at the retrospect.

the commandant of James Fort, Accra, to proceed to Aikin, and there to form an encampment. The object of this was (I have some reason to think) to menace and divide the forces of the Ashantees. We left this on the 4th instant for that purpose, but in consequence of some dissatisfaction among those on whom we relied for aid, our forces were but slender, and after having remained in the Aguassim territory three weeks, our forces having *refused to proceed*, we were *obliged* to fall back on this place. In the mean time, our good governor, hoping by his own presence to infuse confidence into the *dastardly* Fantees, among whom he had trusted himself, was attacked on the 21st instant by 10,000 Shantees who had been *near* him for *some* days. It was unfortunate that at this time, a force under Major Chisholm, another under Captain Lestrangle, and a third under Captain Laing, were all at distinct camps, and knew nothing of what was going on until all was over. We have nothing authentic, but report is busy in making bad worse. We have every reason to believe almost all the whites have been killed. Mr. Erskine, the only officer who returned, is wounded; Sir Charles is said to have been wounded in two places; nothing to this day has been heard of him. The action took place behind Secondee almost ten miles inland. The wounded (one hundred) made their way to that settlement and afterwards to the Cape, in canoes. On the 28th, Major Chisholm returned to Cape Coast, but had not heard of Sir Charles. He mustered all the forces he could, and Captain Laing was sent with him to search for Sir Charles. The amount of their forces I cannot state, not having heard, but the *blacks* are, I fear, *panic struck*.

Government will see the necessity of now doing what ought to have been done long ago. Unless three or four thousand men are sent out to beat these *savages* out of hand, they will keep the country agitated until they effect the total subjugation of the coasts. You can scarcely imagine the panic which prevails *every where*. The defeat appears by the imperfect accounts we now have, to have been *complete*. The forces under Sir Charles, are supposed to have been only five

hundred.* What was that to ten thousand, in a wood, surrounded and out of ammunition? Poor poor Sir Charles! The *treacherous* and *timorous boasting Fantees* have effected a mischance which time cannot repair. If alive what must be your feelings! If no more, how horrid a death must we suppose to have been invented for you! Major Chisholm is doing all he can to put this castle in a state to repel every aggression. The *sincerity* of the Dutch is doubtful. The enemy have not been heard of since the action; they are, it is supposed, returned to their encampment; *we* are the most exposed to their attacks, this situation being so open."

Thus far had the printing of this work proceeded, when the following correspondence appeared in the daily journals, containing but too simple a solution of the silence of my own friends. They had *all* perished in this unequal contest. My predictions have been but too completely fulfilled. †

* This is not probable when it seems the British confederated force, allies included, could assemble together 30,000 men. If true, however, it is an unaccountable sample of that prejudice or contempt entertained for the enemy. Sir Charles's judgment must have been clouded indeed, to have dreamt of marching ten miles inland with five hundred men only!!!

"Cape Coast, Feb. 23.

† "The news I have to tell you are of the most distressing nature. His Excellency Sir C. M'Carthy, with a few regulars and militia, and some of the natives, made a rapid advance into the Wassaw country to repel the Ashantees, who advanced in great numbers, and in the most gallant style. The attack commenced about two o'clock p. m., on the 21st of January, across a river about twenty or thirty feet wide. The firing was tremendous on both sides till six p. m., when it was found the ammunition on our side was all expended; on which the Ashantees began to cross the river in great numbers, and the havoc began. The natives of our party (the Fantees) would never carry bayonets; but the regulars and militia used them with the most deadly effect. Each one bayoneted three or four Ashantees; then, snatching the bayonet from the musket, they dashed into the middle of the enemy's force, falling nobly and killing till the last. As his Excellency and staff commenced retreating, they were attacked in the rear by about two thousand of the enemy, who had been sent round to intercept them, after which nothing certain has been learned of any of the whites. Only two officers escaped out of the battle, who were Brigade Major Ricketts and Lieutenant Erskine. Those that are missing are his Excellency Sir Charles M'Carthy, the Honourable Mr. Buckle, Messrs. Wetherell, Williams, Heddle, Jones, Rayden, Robertson, Tedlie, Brandon. There is not a doubt of his Excellency and most of them being killed. It is said their

corpses were used in the most shocking manner. It is pretty well ascertained that Williams is a prisoner. Thus in one day has the sword cut off what disease left.

“The most lamentable part of the catastrophe is, that it was caused in a great measure by the officer who had charge of the ammunition, and did not bring it forward as he ought: the Ashantees never would have broken our line had there been powder. When Major Ricketts went to open the three last kegs, he found—what think you? Why *Macaroni!!!*—while the Ashantees, who plundered the camp next day, took ten barrels of ball-cartridges, with a great quantity of other booty. When we got the news of Sir Charles's disastrous fight, we retreated directly; captain Laing going to Cape Coast, by the way of Annamaboe, while I, with Mr. Fraser, and all the Fantee force, marched across the country to reinforce Major Chisholm; but when Captain Laing arrived at Annamaboo, the reports from Cape Coast were, that the major and his party were also cut to pieces, and he sent expresses after me to fall back and garrison Cape Coast, as the panic was so great, and an attack dreaded. I shall always recollect with pleasure, the reception I met with when the standard was seen advancing over the rocks, and the bugles played ‘Over the hills and far away.’ The whole town appeared mad with joy: such a day in a man's life richly repays for years of pain. Fortunately, next day, Major Chisholm and party arrived, having never been engaged. I was ordered to occupy the camp of Djguah with my little band of eighty; none of the auxiliaries having come up.

“All trade is at a complete stop; every merchant's goods are deposited in the forts, which I have no doubt we shall have to defend till we hear from England, as the Ashantees will no doubt make a push to destroy us before supplies can come out. The short of the matter is this—England must either now withdraw her protection from this coast, or send down a force to put down as cruel an enemy as the world produces. The loss of the merchants is not to be calculated, such a quantity of goods being on hand.”

Another letter of the same date says,

“When Sir Charles M'Carthy and Major Chisholm were in the interior, they divided their army, and each took a different route. Sir Charles, I hear, had only 1,000 men and ten officers, of which only fifty have returned. They had gone but a short way, when they were attacked by the Ashantees, by all accounts 10,000 in number. Our party behaved very well, and had much the advantage, until they found all their ammunition was expended. There were only two officers that were not killed, and they had to make their escape after being wounded. The battle took place on the 21st, and we did not hear of it until the 23d ultimo. Poor Mr. Heddle was the first that fell a sacrifice to these dreadful barbarians. He was shot through both his knees, and in that state he killed with his sword two of the enemy. In a short time after a party of the Ashantees came to cut off his head, when he shot himself in the heart.

“The officers who returned wounded are Major Ricketts and Ensign Erskine. It is said that the heads of those who were killed are carried to Coomassy. We expect the enemy to come down to attack this place, but if they do, they will meet with a warm reception, as we have the frigate *Owen Glendower* and the *Raven* sloop of war to assist us. I have put all our property into the castle for safety; but I do not think there is the least fear, but it is better to be on the safe side, as the people of the Dutch fort of Elmina are supposed to be rather favourable to the Ashantees. We have blockaded



Drawn by L. Dugues

A Cavalier of Ashantee equipt for War.

it to prevent any supplies being brought there. In fact, we shall never be at peace until Elmina is under the British flag; and instead of Government sending out a few white troops, they should send out three or four regiments. Major Chisholm is sending home despatches, and I have no doubt he has stated to Government the actual necessity of sending immediate relief."

Cape Coast Castle, March 23, 1824.

The following are the heads of what has lately occurred on this coast:—

The late warfare that the Gold Coast has been engaged in with the Ashantees, for the last twelve months, has created little or no importance until the present period.

His Excellency, Sir Charles M'Carthy arrived here from Sierra Leone, in December last, and in the early part of January marched to the interior, towards the river Pra, with the force of from 6,000 to 7,000 men, consisting of natives and companies of a West India regiment. On the 21st of January, near the Pra, a most desperate battle was fought, and from the superior force of the enemy, they had surrounded our troops in every direction; and after our ammunition was totally expended, the troops under Sir Charles retreated, with a loss of nearly all the officers, and sorry I am to state the inhuman manner in which they have been treated, amongst whom the gallant chief, Sir Charles M'Carthy, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The loss of the Ashantees was upwards of 1,000, who were brought down by our fire. Every possible means has been taken to ascertain the loss of our officers and men, and intelligence has been received from a messenger, who saw at the enemy's camp the heads of nine white men (officers) with their jaw-bones taken out, and amongst them was the head of Sir Charles. This is invariably a practice among these savages, when an enemy falls into their hands. It is said, that our loss of men was not to any great amount: out of 140, said to have arrived in the *Joseph Green* transport in November last, one half have paid the debt of nature.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary, addressed, to the commandant of Cape Coast Castle, from the Dutch settlement of Elmina, dated March, 1824, and read to the writer of the above by Brigade Major Ricketts, the day before I sailed from Cape Coast Castle, March 22, 1824:—

"It was my fortune to be near our lamented chief when he received a wound in the breast by a musket ball, I believe mortal. Buckle, Wetherell, and myself conveyed him under shelter of the nearest tree, and there sat to await that fate which appeared inevitable. We had not remained long before we were discovered by the enemy, who immediately rushed on us with their knives. In the struggle, I received a desperate cut on the left side of my neck, and before the stroke could be repeated, a man who appeared to be of authority among them fortunately passed, and ordered my executioner to desist, which was immediately complied with. On my being released from their grasp, and turning round, I was horror-struck at seeing my three companions lying headless corpses at my feet. I was now bound as a prisoner and conveyed towards their camp."

A strong force have now crossed the Pra, under the command of Captain Blenkairn, West India regiment; and it is to be hoped that the Ashantees will meet their reward. An action is hourly expected to take place, and the natives appear fully resolved to revenge the fate of our poor countrymen. The *Owen Glendower* has been usefully and actively engaged with the army in destroying the towns along the coast, where the enemy had taken shelter; she sails to-morrow morning to destroy a town in the Gaboon, which has lately insulted the British flag, and murdered the crew of an English merchant vessel.

Chapter VII

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ASHANTEE.

ANTIQUITY AND POWER OF THE MONARCHY OF ASHANTEE—NATIONAL CHARACTER—WAR OF DINKIRA—REIGN OF SAI TOOTO—MASSACRE AT ACROMANTEE—SAI APOKO—CIVIL WAR—SAI AKWASY—SAI KODJOH—WAR OF GAMAN—SAI QUAMINA—EMBASSY FROM DAHOMY—SAI APOKO II.—SAI TOOTO QUAMINA—WAR OF GHOFAN—FIRST BONTOKO WAR—WAR OF ASSIN—MURDER OF THE KING'S MESSENGERS BY THE FANTEES—FANTEE WAR—ATTACK OF ANNAMABO—DEATH OF CHEBOO—RATIFICATION OF THE TRUCE—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS—PRISONERS OF WAR AWARDED TO THE GOVERNOR, AND THEIR DISPOSAL.

THE growth and consolidation of this comparatively great empire, is much talked of by the Heathens as well as Moslems; and both are agreed, that the tribes of Ashantee, Gaman, Dinkira, and Akim, were driven by the believers, in the early age of Islam, from their original inheritances in Ghobagho, Ghofan, and Tonouma, to the *forests of Wangara* (i. e. the states of Ashantee inclusively, and the south eastern parts of Gaman) where they maintained their independence at the expence of much blood, and defended the country gifted with the precious metal, against the most vigorous efforts that were made to bereave them of it. Whether the sea coast was already peopled, tradition does not say; but it is affirmed, the tribes spread over the land, down to the margin of the ocean, peopling, it may be conjectured, some countries which heretofore lay desolate, like the forests of

Fantee and Assin, and others, whose primitive inhabitants were not adequate to the defence of their towns. Thus, Ashantee, contrary to what may have been represented, is the parent country, and the stock from which the early generations of Fantees and Dinkirans sprung.

As early as the hejyran year 1000, and from that to 1050 (A. D. 1640,) Ashantee occasionally ruled, by its influence, over part of Akim, Assin, Quahou, and Akeyah: it was then esteemed a powerful little monarchy, and could probably send, in conjunction with its allies, sixty thousand men to the field, indifferently armed with bows and arrows, and a very few musquets; but even at that time they were men whose resolution, combined with a natural ferocity, rendered their name terribly illustrious among the adjacent tribes.

Nations, who term themselves the most civilized in the world, and others which are the most savage of the human species, seem equally anxious to justify every aggressive act, and vindicate the national honour, by repelling what in their own countries passes for calumny and falsehood. The Ashantees, not being competent to defend the honour of the throne, and the national character by written memorials, in the systematical style of Europe, endeavour to exonerate their sovereign and themselves from the odious imputation of violence and ambition, by harangues calculated to demonstrate that black is white, and white black; for the truth of which men are too apt to appeal to whatever may be considered sacred, whether it be the awful majesty of heaven, the day of final retribution, or the deities of heathen adoration and superstition: the rest is left to chance and the sword.

The Ashantees, of all ranks, are thus loyal and zealous, in common with other nations, and the king himself takes pleasure in recounting his forbearance, and describing the aggravation that roused the vengeance of his ancestors and himself, against those federal powers, which, in an earlier age, were independent little kingdoms, and now submit to the yoke of government as provinces of the empire. The king, during

various desultory conversations, took particular pains to ingraft an impression upon my mind, that it was a maxim associated with the *religion he professed*, never to appeal to the sword while a path lay open for negociation. He maintained that he would defy even his enemies to prove that his assertion deviated from the truth, either as regarded himself or his ancestors.* Be this as it may, the Moslems themselves corroborate the assertion, although they accuse the government of unbounded ambition.

The tribes under the early sovereigns (for they always enjoyed the rank and title of kings) were unsettled in their habitations, while the Arab influence yet existed on the Jolliba, Koara and Ghulby rivers; but they were firm and compact as a nation, and not (as my informers reported) wandering to the distance of the Arab.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in Africa, as in other countries where slavery is tolerated, the wretched captive frequently turns his thought towards home, his tribe and family. If his country is remote, he is certainly less tortured by hopes and fears respecting his emancipation; others, whose nation is a neighbouring one, and who are less valued on that very account, are more or less in the practice of emigrating in proportion to the treatment they receive; and if they can successfully conceal themselves in the forest from the pursuit of their masters, and the observation of travellers, they endeavour to shape a course towards their homes; but should they fail in the undertaking, at a distance, they simply exchange one master for another—a bargain which is rarely the most profitable to them, as the new proprietor becomes intimate with the secret propensity of his slave, and as an antidote for the evil generally sells him in a distant land. The slaves of Fantee, Ashantee, Assin, or

* It is worthy of remark, that many of the whites upon the gold coast so far acquiesced in these sentiments, as to admit that Ashantee has never been engaged in war with the maritime states from sheer caprice and rapacity. I may also be permitted to quote Mr. Mollan's words to me, "that he never knew the king to make a palaver without cause, or violate his word."

any other country thereabouts, absolutely find no security anywhere among the provinces, unless they are fortunate enough to incorporate themselves with the tribe they belong to, for, if they are picked up elsewhere, they become *legal prizes*, and I believe this custom prevails all over Africa.

The wars of Dinkira are still fresh in memory; the scull and thigh bones of its last monarch are still trophies of the court of Ashantee, and still those people, on solemn days, repeat their insults to the relics of its king and caboceers.* The origin of this war and its sequel, may be read in Bosman's Description of the Gold Coast, which is so far supported by current traditions, that I cannot do better than quote the author's words. "Dinkira, elevated by its great riches and power, became so arrogant, that it looked on all other negroes with a contemptible eye, esteeming them no more than its slaves, which rendered it the object of their common hatred, each impatiently wishing its downfall, though no nation was hardy enough to attack it, till the king of Asiante, injured and affronted by its governor, adventured to revenge himself on this nation in a signal manner."

"The occasion of which was this—Bosiante, the king of Dinkira, a young prince whose valour was become the admiration of all the negroes of the coast, sent some of his wives to compliment Zay, the king of Asiante; who not only received, and entertained them very civilly, but sent them back charged with several very considerable presents, to express his *obliging resentment* of the grateful embassy: and being resolved to return his obligation, he some time after sent some of his wives to compliment the king of Dinkira, and assure him of the great esteem he had for his person. These ambassadors were not less splendidly treated at Dinkira, being also loaded with presents; but the king cast a wanton eye upon one of them, and

* After the decisive battle which preceded the conquest of Dinkira, the body of the deceased Boshanty (Bosiante) was disinterred. The flesh being separated from the bones, the former with barbarous indignity, was given to be devoured by serpents, and the latter (the scull and thigh bones) preserved as trophies.

being hurried on by exorbitant lust, gratified his brutal desire: after satisfying of which, he suffered her, together with the rest, to return to their country and their injured husband, who was informed of this affront: But he took care to make the king of Dinkira sensible that he would not rest till he had washed away the scandal in his injurious blood. After he was made sensible of the king of Asiante's resolution, knowing very well who he had to deal with, he heartily wished he had not been guilty of the crime; but since it was done, he offered him several hundred marks of gold to put up with the injury. The enraged prince, deaf to all such offers, prepared himself for a vigorous war, by raising a strong army, in order to make a descent on Dinkirat and not being sufficiently stored with gunpowder, he bought up great quantities on the coast, the Dinkirans being foolish enough to assist him themselves, suffering his subjects to pass with it uninterrupted through their country, notwithstanding they knew very well it was only designed for their destruction. Whilst he was making these preparations, the king of Dinkira died, which might encourage a belief that the impending cloud of war would blow over. Whether the governors of Dinkira were too haughty to implore a peace of the injured Zay, or he instigated by the enemies of that country, is uncertain; but he still immoveably persisted in his purpose of utterly extirpating the Dinkirans. And about the beginning of this year, being completely ready, he came with a terrible army into the field, and engaging the Dinkirans, who expected him, he beat them; but fighting them a second time, he entirely defeated them. The negroes report that in these two battles, above a hundred thousand men were killed. Of the negroes of Akim only, who came to the assistance of the Dinkirans, there were about thirty thousand killed, besides that a great Caboceer of Akim, with all his men, were cut off. "Thus," says this able author, "you see the towering pride of Dinkira in ashes, they being forced to fly before those whom they not long before thought no better than their slaves, and themselves being sold for slaves.

This Dinkira war, according to the Moslem records, commenced in their year, 1132 (A. D. 1719.) Bosman wrote in 1721, and he says, these transactions took place but a few months previous. This, they say, was the first great war in which the believers were compelled to unite their arms with the heathens of Ashantee, Banna, Juabin, and other tributary states in the North, led on to battle by Sai Tooto, dignified by his subjects with the epithet of Great. This monarch it was, who first raised Coomassy from an inconsiderable town to the rank it now enjoys as the metropolis of the empire. He did not, as Mr. Bowdich has represented, found Coomassy, but he increased its size to a capacity for the reception of the court and army, when he was influenced to translate the seat of government, which, heretofore, was occasionally established at Kikiwhary (N. of Coomassy) and Bequa, in the neighbourhood of Doompassy. Sai Tooto was already king before the seat of government was a permanent one, nor did he enjoy any increase of dignity, as the same author writes, although a great increase of power and influence, after the subjugation of Dinkira; for this kingdom introduced the Ashantees and Moslems to a knowledge of white men, by the consolidation of an empire now become maritime by its aspect over the Wossa country, whose sovereigns were compelled to suffer the Ashantees to pass as they might have occasion in the pursuit of commerce at the Dutch settlements, where their early supplies of powder and guns were obtained with commercial regularity.

The legends descriptive of the history of Ashantee, earlier than the reign of Sai Tooto, are somewhat obscure; but were they the reverse, it is not presumed the reader would find an interest in their perusal; (for this reason I shall suppress a series of unconnected accounts relating to one or two of the earlier sovereigns.

The wisdom as well as valour of Sai Tooto are themes on which the natives dwell with a national satisfaction; in short, he was, as they say, the great, and the good; for, in his reign, justice was ever on the

alert, and the claims of his subjects were listened to without distinction of rank or title.

The conquests effected by this prince were more comprehensive than has been stated. He ravaged Assin with fire and sword, for some indignity offered by its monarch towards his person; he entirely subdued Quahou, and induced the government of Akim to a limited obedience. He subdued, besides Dinkira and Tofal, a great extent of country beyond the Tando river. He invaded Gaman with a powerful army, with which he vanquished those tribes, and reduced their monarch to the condition of a tributary. The Desert (of Ghofan) only was an impediment to the progress of his arms north; and, in short, he created an empire, including tributaries and allies, which was strictly of a feudal complexion, by the union of all those kingdoms and principalities between the 6th and 9th degrees of latitude, and between the 4th degree of longitude west from the meridian of London and the river Volta. The auxiliary kingdom of Banna was the right arm of Ashantee in those days, and still is.

Ashantee, however, excluding what it governed upon the western coast by influence alone, was yet to be considered an inland power; for during this reign its arms never penetrated within forty or fifty miles of the European settlements upon the sea side; and all those countries, viz. Aowin, Amanaha, Ahanta, Wossa, Fantee, Inkran, Aquapim, Aquambo, besides others their tributaries, on the line of coast, enjoyed the greatest political freedom among themselves; and many of them, if Bosman may be credited, wished for the downfall of Dinkira. Akim, it would seem, then a powerful little kingdom, was alone sensible that its proper interest warranted every exertion of vigour both in the cabinet and field, to keep back so powerful an invader, and preserve the equilibrium of the respective nations; hence, they joined their forces to the Dinkirans, and by the unfortunate result of the campaign, entailed upon their country the conqueror's vengeance; for the sovereign of Ashantee, who probably rejoiced in having so good a pretext for invad-

ing Akim, entered that territory with the victorious army, and after defeating the king in a pitched battle upon the confines, reduced him to the necessity of supplicating a peace, which was granted upon the condition of his becoming a tributary, and defraying the expence of the war, by a present of two thousand bendas* of gold; for the fulfilment of which, two Akim caboceers of high rank, named Kakramsee and Adjumako, were compelled to take fetische, and deliver themselves up hostages on behalf of their sovereign.

But these conditions the king of Akim endeavoured to evade, or, as some say, the captains of his army, and the great chieftains, who were called upon for their quota of the contribution, refused to subscribe to the terms of the truce, threatening, if their king would not lead them to battle, they would elect another in his place. Be the truth which way it may, Sai Tooto, impatient at the delay, and urged by the reiterated complaints of his rapacious captains, levied another army, which he sent against Akim, and, followed by the flower of his nobility, quitted the capital on the day following, to invoke the necessary aid of his tutelary deities, at the sepulchre of Bantama. After the celebration of certain orgies, the monarch tracked the steps of the army, at a leisure pace, and before he could join the main body, was suddenly assailed by a superior detachment of the enemy, as he was crossing the Praa at a ford where that river separates the province of Yomoha from Akim. The first volley, it is related, wounded the sovereign in the side; but still vigorous, he threw himself out of the hammock, and rallied his men as best he could; a second discharge from the forest killed him outright, and he fell with his face into the river. The consternation was now general; and in the panic that ensued, the Ashantees cast away their weapons, each man endeavouring to save himself; but in vain, for the ambuscade issuing from their concealment, fell sword in hand upon the fugitives, and put every one to death, to the

* The Benda is two ounces weight.

amount of two or three hundred persons, of whom sixty were women and children, either belonging to the monarch or his generals.

This calamity did not put an end to the war, which now broke out with greater fury than ever. A town called Acromantee, that harboured the enemy the night previous to the attack, (many or most of whom were inhabitants of the place) was consigned over to the army, as a proper object to wreak their fury upon; accordingly, it was razed by fire to the ground, and every living creature, men, women, cattle, and even fowls, except such as were of the sacred order, were doomed to bleed in expiation. *Miminda Acromantee*, (implying Saturday and Acromantee,) by which the national affliction is recorded, has been considered ever since an oath of the most solemn and unequivocal import; and the day itself has been cast into the calendar among the list of ominous days stigmatized by the Ashantees as days which forebode evil; for which reason they are dedicated to expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices; nor will any man, be the emergency what it may, commence the most trivial enterprize, either on Saturday or the other days so characterized. The words, as recorded, are deemed too profane to utter, unless in a whisper between friends; and this redoubtable oath is most commonly taken by inference only, as, the dreadful day, the day of the Gods' chastisement, &c. The effect of these expressions only, as I have witnessed at the court, clouds every brow with woe, from the king to the slave who stands behind his chair; many fly from the presence,—such, for instance, who are not men of influence at court, or who may be involved in litigious palavers, the issue of which is uncertain, and may be dangerously prejudiced when anger clouds the brow of Majesty. Others cover their faces with both hands, uttering at the time a charm or invocation to the patron Gods to shield them from the ominous import of those words, and the effects of the king's wrath or sorrow. If it is appealed to as an imprecation, while justice is pending between parties, it signifies that the life of one or both individuals is staked on the verdict,

i. e. upon the supposed justice of their cause; the oath itself entails the penalty of death, frequently by torture; and hence it arises, that many men bring those punishments upon themselves, from indiscretion in the heat of argument, where the sum contended for may not exceed the value of five shillings.

After the death of Sai Tooto, the Ashantee army returned home, bringing in their train a considerable number of prisoners, who were doomed to be immolated to his shade; for as to the body of the king, it was never recovered. A gloom pervaded the capital, and that gloom at last degenerated into bitter reproaches and invectives against certain chiefs of the Issounah tribe, who, it was suspected, had temporized with Assin while the king was on the march, and had, as it was imagined, betrayed the interest of the state, through an act of imprudence, in not bringing the Assins to battle at once. The kingdom stood in need both of a sovereign and a new order of nobility, as most of the ministers and officers holding the first rank were cut off at Cormantee; and these great changes were not effected without bloodshed. The conquered nations, thinking it a fit time to disencumber themselves from the chain of vassalage, while the capital was in commotion for the election of a new sovereign and new ministers, one by one proclaimed their independence, and refused payment of the customary tribute. Thus, when Sai Apoko, (سَيِّ أَبُوكَ) the brother of the preceding monarch, was called to the throne, A.H. 1144, A.D. 1731, the wars of his predecessors were to be fought over again.

The most remarkable events during the reign of this prince, were the entire reduction of Assin and Akim, the re-occupation of Dinkra, the perfect conquest of Gaman, and its annexation to the empire as an unconditional tributary. In fact, this monarch once more gave stability and vigour to the government; and in effecting the subjugation of Bouromy and Yobati, which he shortly after did, it may be said he performed as much for his own glory as his great predecessor, and too much by far for the nations of the sea-coast to

expect any repose, while they were encircled by the territory of a prince whose subjects derived their very existence from foreign wars, as they themselves did from intestine ones, and the quarrels between the English and Dutch, in matters connected with local interest, when the parent countries were at war in Europe.

When Akim bowed to the yoke of the conqueror, a new election of chiefs ensued, and the lands were distributed among the favourites of the court. Then it was the Ashantees became possessed for the first time of certain deeds,* which in the language of the English settlers are termed notes,—the conqueror's right serving them as a title of course, (although it does not appear that this title procured them payment.) The path to the sea side was now invitingly exposed to this enterprising nation. In the west they were masters of the defiles in Tofal, and upon the confines of Wossa, which opened to them a prospect of the kingdoms of Aowin and Amanaha, commonly called Apollonia; the former on the Ivory coast, near Bassam and Cape Lahon; Ahanta also lay before them on the south, and Fantee on the south-east. In the east, or east-south-east, they overlooked the now provinces of Inkran, or Accra, Aquapim, and Adampe, while Aquambo, the only existing kingdom in that quarter worthy that title, courted the conqueror's alliance, and was received into protection as a confederate of the empire.

* These notes, or title-deeds, convey an obligation on the part of the late African Company, to pay to the chiefs to whom they were delivered a certain annual sum, by way of rent for the ground upon which the settlements stand. At least, it cannot be denied that this was the original import of the deeds in question, for the object was to purchase security of person and property, by attaching the leading characters of the country to the British interest, while yet in its infancy. Mr. Bowdich, *upon his own testimony*, "laments the mortifying destruction of European records, by which he is confined to follow the reports of natives," on the subject of the notes in question. Whether this author felt that his own dignity was implicated, is not material. But had he candidly said, these feudal bonds, (for such they unquestionably are,) disgrace my country, and, (in the language of the king of Ashantee) put shame upon my face at the court of Coomassy, that the honour of my sovereign and the flag of the nation should be so degraded in the estimation of the lower classes of society, as to pay an indirect tribute, he would have spoken the language of zeal and honour.

In this stage of politics Sai Apoko, in the latter part of his reign, enacted new codes of laws, adapted for the government of the various departments of the state; but some of these regulations being considered inimical to the interests of the chiefs, and as they represented it again, to the public welfare, a dangerous conspiracy was raised against the throne, in the very heart of the kingdom. The capital, moreover, took a share in these transactions, and the king was obliged to fly his palace, by night, and seek refuge at Juabin, where he convened a sort of diet; but some of his enemies were already in arms, and he was compelled to the same alternative. The province of Akiah is celebrated for a battle, which Apoko fought with the rebels, near the town of Dinkenny, and which terminated in their utter discomfiture, although many of the ringleaders availed themselves of the vicinity of the mountains, and saved the remnant of their scattered followers by a precipitate flight. Here they endeavoured to make a defensive stand, while their friends in the city implored pardon on their behalf; this, under certain limitations, was granted, and the country, from a state of anarchy, again subsided into tranquillity. But the king did not survive long after, having been suddenly arrested by the stroke of death, as he was sitting in council; and he expired as the attendants were removing him to the harem, after a reign of twelve lunar years, short of some months, for he died A.H. 1156; A.D. 1742.

At the demise of this prince, a revocation of the obnoxious edicts took place, whereby an ample scope for ambition was again enjoyed by the chiefs of the army, whose object it was to preserve the old constitution, upon that basis which guaranteed to all the principal officers of state, and generals, or captains in the army, a proportionate share of influence in the city, a political preponderance in the councils of the nation, and a princely rank in the provinces. This was a fit time to regulate the terms of succession to the hereditary prince,* and it was not suffered to elapse unheeded. Had it been practicable

* Or the prince elective, for the Ashantees are not over scrupulous provided he is of the blood royal.

to have given stability to the wise regulations of Sai Apoko, it is generally believed by the Moslems, that the empire of Ashantee, at this day, would have held a rank proportionate to several of the most powerful monarchies inland; and instead of exhibiting that unstable force of tribes and nations (forty-seven, as they say, in number), whose interests are, in some instances, necessarily the reverse of that of the court, from the oppression they daily groan under, (owing mainly to the arbitrary influence of the chiefs), it would have exhibited an irresistible union between every tribe, and every principality of the empire; and it would have placed the nation upon such a respectable footing, that it might have given laws to Dahomy, Dagomba, and all the land westward. "But this wisdom," said my informer, (the Bashaw), "they are not gifted with; the eternal decree is sealed upon the hearts of infidels; therefore are they suffered to wander in ignorance, and perpetrate those horrid systems of slaughter that desolate the land, and steel the breasts of the few, who are spared, with hatred and revenge*." The truth of these sentiments is scarcely to be questioned. Powerful as the monarchy of Ashantee certainly is, collectively estimated, it may be considered as a fabric whose foundation is subject to periodical

* The prevalence of this opinion among the Moslems in general, coupled with my own observations upon the Negro character, almost warrant the assertion positively, that the latter from innate causes are incompetent to spread into a large consolidated monarchy, such as we see in Asia, the northern parts of Africa and Europe. Notwithstanding the ambition of Negro princes, stimulated by that of their captains, is certainly more conspicuous, and perhaps more volatile in the path of life, than sovereigns of the northern zone are accustomed to feel; the latter contenting themselves, for the most part, with preserving their estates inviolable from foreign encroachment, and their kingly prerogatives from innovations attempted by the subject; while the former, we see, impelled by an inordinate thirst after power and wealth, wherever they may be acquired, and at whatever expence; consult nothing upon the casualties of war; but eagerly stake their crowns, their lives, and what is religiously of greater importance to them, the insult their relics are subject to, upon the issue of a single battle. This contrary action of the passions incidental to man, and the propensities of our nature is, doubtless, affected, however remotely, by the operation of a moral law, which in countries where it prevails, serves the subject as a standard, by which he may lawfully weigh the actions of a prince, although he may not under all governments be permitted to pass judgment upon them *viva voce*.

decay, and therefore requires unremitting attention; or figuratively speaking, it may be assimilated to the coarser metals, which are brilliant only from continual friction; and to pursue the similitude, governments that are founded upon laws which the people, from record and tradition, are persuaded to be of divine institution, may be compared with those metals, precious in the estimation of the world, which preserve their own lustre unassisted by art: and although at intervals they may not flash so vividly upon the senses, yet exhibit an uniform refulgence derived from their incorrosive nature.

Ashantee, and perhaps Dahomy, deserve to be called *powers of our own creation*. But to reconcile the assertion with fact, it must be admitted, we are intitled to no other rank than that of indirect assistants. In using the name of his majesty, as I was compelled to do in the course of the negociations, the king (of Ashantee) would frequently exclaim; "The God of his fathers preserve him, and increase his glory upon earth;" and, during familiar conversations, he would say, "the good things I possess, I am indebted for to my Gods, and the benevolence of your king. My ancestors never knew white men personally; but they were equally sensible of the obligations they owed to the whites, who enriched them when they were poor, and fed the people by trade, while Ashantee was yet but an inconsiderable nation compared with its modern extent." "My great ancestor Sai Tooto," said the king to me, "a short time before I parted from him, would have served your king's great ancestors as faithfully as I will, (the illustrious son), if that intimate knowledge which your presence conveys to us had been decreed during his reign; for we all know the whites to be a people who serve the God of all gods and men."

(The sovereign who succeeded to the throne of Sai Apoko, was named سي اكوسي Sai Akwasy. Several intestine commotions took place during his reign, in the provinces of Bouromy, Quahou, and Akim, whose Caboceers were instigated to take up arms by the intrigues of the court of Dahomy, whose monarch received them into pay, and promised to support them with an army for the restoration of

their original forms of government. Thus animated they took the field, pitching upon Quahou as the most eligible theatre of action, from its vicinity to the Volta at a point whence the promised succours were to arrive. Sai Akwasy, having come upon them rather suddenly, defeated the rebels with great slaughter, and took prisoners the caboceers, or vice kings of Bouromy and Quahou; the other escaped for the time; but being shortly after beset by the king's troops, he blew himself up with gunpowder, together with many of his principal wives, children, and slaves, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies*.

When the king discovered how matters stood with regard to Dahomy, he determined to revenge the injury he had sustained, by passing the Volta with his army contrary to the advice of his most able counsellors. This resolution having been adopted, he ravaged a great track of land of the king of Gouaso, who was a tributary of the Dahoman empire. On the second day, news was brought of the approach of the Dahoman army, and shortly after, one of the most sanguinary battles in the records and traditions of the country was fought by the two monarchs: night only put an end to the conflict. In the morning, Sai Akwasy was for renewing the engagement, but

* Suicide is very prevalent in the Negro states; but its complexion is materially different from the horrors so called in Europe. It is put into practice chiefly by men of rank, who are solicitous to preserve their remains from the brutal insults of their enemies; for which reason a retired thicket is usually selected, or they blow themselves to atoms, by confined powder; or procure a faithful slave, or their children, to destroy them, and inter their bodies in secret. Another description of suicide is when a man deprives himself of life in revenge against an opponent, while any matter where justice is concerned may be pending: in this case, the party is said to have killed himself upon the head of his oppressor, who seldom escapes the retaliation of the law without a pecuniary fine to the state, and other disbursements among the courtiers. The third class of suicide is totally different from either of the foregoing, from its connexion with the religious or superstitious belief of the people; as when the priests ordain that a sacrifice, voluntary or involuntary, is incumbent upon an individual, who may have incurred their displeasure, (the displeasure of the gods or fetische, as they term it,) or whose wealth may have fired their avarice. These victims of blind bigotry go singing and dancing into the grave, for when their doom is sealed, they habit themselves in their best attire, and adorn their persons with pieces of sacred gold, chanting their own dirges, and dancing about for several days, previous to the appointed one of self sacrifice; or as it is usually called, making their own custom.

was arrested in his plan by the screeching of some ominous birds,* as it is said, and upon consulting the gods (Fetische) it was discovered they were not propitious to the undertaking. While a retreat was in agitation, the Dahomans, mistaking the inactivity of their enemies for want of resolution, came on to the charge with their accustomed impetuosity. The king, who did not think proper to abide a second contest, drew off his army as best he could, and fled rather than retreated to the Volta, re-crossing that river with precipitancy. But he had the mortification to witness the destruction of a great part of his army, who, for want of a sufficient number of canoes, were compelled to remain stationary until the next morning. Thus the Moslems describe the result of the campaign, although they are persuaded that the resources of Ashantee, in the present day, are adequate to crush the whole power of Dahomy to atoms, as the sovereign of that country might have known some time back, to his cost, were it not that the government of the former is apprehensive of giving umbrage to the Sultan of Dogho, who is the protector of Dahomy, which is a remote appendage of his crown, and which he considers, if not as a sea-port of his own dominions, at least, as a maritime state, depending upon his empire for its political rank among nations.

After the defeat of Sai Akwasy, as before related, the kingdom was filled with grief and mourning; the provinces were severally beaten up for victims to sacrifice in the capital, in expiation of offences done to the guardian gods, and to appease the shades of the great captains who fell in the war.† The streets of Coomassy,

* It is worthy of remark, that the Ashantees are as superstitiously affected by birds, as the Greeks and Romans were in former ages.

† The Ashantees are firmly persuaded, that the ghosts of the departed are suffered to revisit the earth, and brood over the actions of their families and kindred. If due oblations are made to these shades, it is imagined they will intercede with the deities to render the lives of their progeny happy

according to my informers, were drenched in human and animal gore during the whole of the great Adai custom, which is chiefly remarkable as it corresponds to part of the lunar month called by the Moslems Dhu'l'hajet ذوالحجّة the 12th of their calendar, and the twelfth day of which is particularly set apart by their law for the great pilgrimage, when the victims (sheep, &c.) are sacrificed in the valley Mina, near to the city of Mecca, as expiatory offerings to the supreme Deity.

In proportion to the losses sustained by the court, so the policy of the government occasionally decrees the affliction of the provinces; for such a maxim is held efficacious, in order to check the imaginary rejoicing of foreign tribes, held in vassalage; or any real plot the opportunity might induce the tributaries to engender, with a view of emancipating themselves from the conqueror's yoke. Gold, and victims for the altars, are the *only* penalties enforced; the latter, it is true, however, are not, as might be supposed, indiscriminately chosen; they pass, indeed, under the name of delinquents, and are so far deserving that anathema, as having been convicted of speaking disrespectfully of the king, or of his government; of having harboured secret intentions inimical to the prosperity of the state; of having violated the civil laws; or of having invoked the wrath of their gods upon the heads of their oppressors;—a crime which, of course, passes for witchcraft and sorcery among the Ashantees; but which, in reality, is the same ceremony, and is performed with the same invocations or incantations, as they themselves practise, the conquerors' prerogative making the only distinction in the texture of the offence.

A war with Banna terminated the career of Sai Akwasy, for he there received a wound, of which, although he lingered some months,

and prosperous. Some imagine these spectres to be employed, as witnesses, over the actions of the living, and that every new moon they report their knowledge to the gods. Others believe as the Koran teaches, that the witnesses who are to bear evidence against the conduct of the wicked are the shadows of their own bodies while living.

he never after recovered. Sai Kodjoh, سي كدجوح the nephew of the former monarch, succeeded to the vacant throne, in the year 1166, A. H. 1752, A. D. On his elevation to that dignity, he dispatched messengers to the tributaries who had withheld payment of certain arrears while the war with Banna lasted. Some of these powers would not submit to the demand, alleging, as an excuse, that they had served in the wars under the former monarch, and his death had deprived them of their proportion of plunder. The king of Gaman first took up arms, and was imitated by the tribes of Dinkra, Wassa, and Tofal. This war, the Ashantees admit, was the most desperate they were ever involved in, and the empire stood at a crisis where occasionally the hazards fluctuated to the advantage of the enemy. Twice did the king carry his arms into Gaman, and was each time defeated with great slaughter, owing mainly to the weapons wherewith his enemies came armed to the field being of the same description as those of his own troops, namely, musquets,—besides an auxiliary force from Kong and Ghofan, consisting solely of cavalry. Each time the monarch returned penitential to the capital, and made new invocations and new sacrifices to the gods and his ancestors; being determined, as the Ashantees relate, since he found them to be still auspicious, to abide every risk rather than relinquish the enterprize.* The third invasion proved successful, and the king returned to his capital, bringing with the army a multitude of captives, of both sexes and all ages; the children were preserved to recruit the losses his armies had sustained; and the adults were either sacrificed or sold in the market of Mansue, upon the confines of Fantee, from whence they found their way to the West Indies. The province of Wassa fell shortly after under the avenging sword of the king, who let loose the fury of

* This is one of the wars religiously deplored by the Moslems, for they were in this instance compelled to fight in the ranks of the heathens, against their brethren in faith who espoused the interest of Gaman.

his troops upon its northern confines, and bereaved several large districts of their whole population. The most culpable among the insurgents were dragged to the altars of the capital, and two powerful tribes of that nation were subsequently removed to Bouromy and Quahou, either to supply a deficiency of the population of those parts, or to secure their future allegiance.

It is a prevailing maxim, I believe, with most negro princes, as it may be with other barbarous nations, to exterminate their enemies whenever the chance of war throws them in their power, rather than conciliate them as subjects, and reconcile them to the change they undergo. But I do not find that this maxim, which, under limitations, affected by circumstances, is the policy of the court of Ashantee at the present time, in proportion to the rancour and aversion of its enemies, was ever so rigidly enforced, (excepting in the primitive wars against the believers,) as in the reign of Kodjoh. A negro can hardly be persuaded that an enemy might be converted to a friend, and as he naturally thirsts after his gold, if he is so far successful, nothing can satiate him short of his opponent's blood, which is esteemed the portion of the spoil due to the tutelar gods (and acceptable to the shades of his ancestors) whose service it is incumbent on him not to neglect, lest their wrath should overwhelm him on a future day. The fault, according to the friendly Baba, "is in their nature:" whether the curse of God rests upon them or not, it becomes not me to enquire; but I think it highly probable that the absence of a system of moral feeling, inculcated by doctrines like those of the purest of religions, is mainly the cause why in Africa the passions of men are permitted to wander in the labyrinth of vile excesses we daily see committed with impunity.

The subjugation of Gaman at this time laid the Sarem country prostrate at the feet of the conqueror, who penetrated Shouy, Ghombati, and Ponin, in a sort of *friendly* way to receive the submission of the southern and western tribes, and invite the Caboceers to court. This is one of the chances, which, as the Moslems say, the fortune of Ashantee

presented for the utter conquest of Sarem, as far as *Mr. Bowdich's Kingdom of "Bahooree,"* i. e. the sea, in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas. But this scope of ambition exceeded the aim or the judgment of the monarch, who was content to receive presents from the Kings and Caboceers of those nations who heretofore courted the alliance of Kong, the original mistress of Sarem and that part of Ghunja, whereon the metropolis of Ashantee is built.

After the return of Sai Kodjoh from Gaman, he was engaged in several wars of a domestic character in Banna, Akim, and Aquapim, but they were too trifling to be of any interest to the reader.

The Dahomy war seems to have been forgotten during the reign of Kodjoh; for, what is remarkable in the politics of the two courts, a friendly embassy arrived at the capital, with presents from Abomey, announcing the succession of a new sovereign.* This flattering deputation excited public rejoicings throughout the empire. Costly entertainments were given to the ambassadors; and, according to the etiquette of African courts, a splendid embassy was got up by Kodjoh, to express, as Bosman's translator says, "his obliging resentment" at the Dahoman capital. Sai Kodjoh did not long survive these civilities; he died, however, at a crisis rather unfortunate for the state; for as the infirmity of age crept upon him, he confined himself to the palace, and his enemies availed themselves of this opportunity, to circulate in the provinces a report of his death: there was no king in Coomassy, they

* Several messages of this formal complexion have been exchanged between the two courts; but this in particular, as the Moslems relate, was the second *embassy*,—the first being in the reign of Sai Tooto. They suppose, and perhaps justly, that the sultan of Dogho, disappointed of the Dahoman councils that conduced to the war on the Volta, in the late reign, and hearing continual reports of the growing power of Ashantee, was anxious to reconcile the wounded feelings of that court, from an apprehension that the government would not neglect the opportunity, at a period of tranquillity, for carrying the war into the Dahoman territory, where the result of victory or defeat might equally operate in checking his own influence upon the sea-coast, and at all events deprive him of a share of the revenue he annually derives from that maritime kingdom.

said.† This notice at any time is a charm sufficiently powerful to kindle the flames of war; accordingly, Assin, Akim, and Aquapim once more raised the standard of rebellion or defiance; and when Kodjoh, by invitation, enjoined them to keep the peace, and lay down their arms, they killed his messengers, threatening, out of derision, they would march to the capital, and seat one of their women slaves upon the throne, who should settle the turbulence of the chiefs, by proper chastisements. Preparations for war were then vigorously resorted to; but Kodjoh died while the army waited for the approaching dry season.

Sai Koamina, or Quamina, (سي كوامين) mounted the throne, A.H. 1196, A.D. 1781. This prince made a vow never to enter the walls of his palace, or associate with his wives, until he obtained the heads of Akombrah and Afosoo, the two active leaders of the revolt. He joined the army without loss of time, and by diligent marches took the Akims by surprise. The head of the latter was the consequence of a partial engagement; and it is still a trophy in the *royal cabinet* of human relics, together with that of Akombrah, a Bouromy chief, who had joined the confederacy. There was no war with Banna during this reign, as Mr. Bowdich represents, (page 258;) and his story of the king's head being sewed up in the abdomen of a woman, but which was afterwards discovered, and placed on the king of Ashantee's great drum, has no foundation whatever, according to the testimony of Moslems and idolaters.

A congratulatory embassy arrived from Dahomy, another from Salgha, and a third from Yandy, shortly after the accession of this prince to the throne. These flattering testimonies of friendship, it

† During the recent war of Gaman, Kong, &c. against Ashantee, the Cape Coast people, because they wished it, gave out a similar report, aggravated by a circumstantial account of the manner in which they had been informed that the sovereign of Ashantee had fallen in a great battle, wherein the Ashantees were cut up to a man.

would seem, instead of stimulating his ambition, bereft that prince of the necessary energy to govern such a nation, and greatly conduced to his deposition, the origin of which was his attachment to the Moslems, and, as it is said, his inclination to establish the Korannic law for the civil code of the empire. Sai Koamina, according to the Bashaw, was a believer at heart; but the safety of his throne would not allow him to avow his sentiments. His name is handed to posterity as the most merciful of the race of kings. Towards the close of his reign, he prohibited many festivals at which it was usual to spill the blood of victims devoted to the customs; yet he could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the barbarous practice of watering the graves of his ancestors with human gore. These and other innovations were of a tendency to alarm the great captains; they feared, it is said, that the Moslem religion, which they well know levels all ranks and orders of men, and places them at the arbitrary discretion of the sovereign, might be introduced, whereby they would lose that ascendancy they now enjoy. To anticipate the calamity they dreaded, a conspiracy was entered into, and he was deposed.

Sai Apoko, the second of that name, was elevated to the throne of the deposed monarch A.H. 1212, A.D. 1797. This was one of the most promising princes the nation ever had. He was the brother of the deposed Koamina, who (in revenge it is supposed) occasioned his death, it is said, by sorcery, after a reign of two years*; during which the Bontokos (Gamans), once more broke out into rebellion at the instigation of Kong, threatening to march to the capital and restore the lawful prince to his ravished dignity. This war lasted upwards of fifteen months, during which the entire force of Kong and its allies joined with that of Gaman, crossed the Tando and gave battle to the Ashantees,

* Mr. Bowdich says a few weeks, but upon what authority is unknown to me, for the Ashantees contradict his statement.

near a large town called Barbanou, which is distant one watch from that river.

The force of the enemy, as the tradition goes, was above four times that commanded by the king. The princes and Caboceers of Banna, Juabin, Takima, and Coransah, took an active part against the invaders; and the Moslems, in despite of their prejudices, on one memorable, as on some inferior occasions, were compelled to join the ranks of the heathens against their brethren in faith. The Ashantees suffered some reverse of fortune during the first campaign; for the enemy's cavalry spread over the open plains of Massy, but could not penetrate that intricate mass of forest in which the capital stands. The Gamans fought hard and bravely upon the Tando, for notwithstanding the national antipathy that prevails against strangers, the Ashantees liberally bestow the titles of warlike and courageous upon this nation.

The king, it would seem, acted purely on the defensive, until the tributaries came up, he then gave battle to his enemies in the open plains, whom, after several days fighting, he defeated with prodigious slaughter, and returned to his capital laden with spoil and captives. Among the latter were upwards of five thousand Moslems, who were distributed among the provinces and in the capital. In no instance were these people subject to the penalty of death, as many of the

* The king, in conversing upon the topic of the Fantee tribes, invariably said, they were the most despicable people in his dominions, or that any of his ancestors ever triumphed over in their days. "I could forgive them for being insolent," said the monarch, on one occasion; "if they were capable of facing me in battle, like the Bontoko tribes; for then, however angry I might be, I should respect them as men, and when the war was over I should love them as I do other people: but the Fantees are like women, who quarrel with their tongues only; and if they are corrected, they shed tears to excite compassion." The Caboceers, the commonalty, and in short all sects and classes of people, entertained no other sentiments than those of the last degree of contempt for the Fantee nation; while no one withheld his tribute of admiration from the Bontokos. The tribes of Banna, Bouromy, Akim, and Quahou enjoy proportionate reputations for valour.

heathens were, neither were they sold into slavery. Some, according to their inclinations or capacity, were suffered to redeem themselves from captivity by paying a ransom; some were ransomed by the pious Moslems of their own country, or of Dagomba, and others were liberated at a subsequent period, when their sultan sent an embassy to Coomassy; many, however, to whom the king had been bountiful, chose to remain in Ghunjah, and they are now incorporated with the tribes of believers who inhabit Baboso, Western Sarem, and Banna*. The king did not survive his triumph many months; but died from a lingering illness.

The reigning sovereign, Sai Tooto Quamina, سَي تَوْت كَوَامِين brother of the deceased monarch, was elevated to the throne A. H. 1215, A. D. 1800. Sai Quamina, for this is the name by which his subjects call him, gave a sample, in early life, of that spirit of enterprize which is so prominent a feature in his political career. "Thank the great God and the gods of my country," said the king, one day, "that I have been made acquainted with white people, for Ghunja will now become a place of knowledge, and my subjects will gain knowledge from the whites, who read in books what old people say. Hear this, captains!" said his majesty, addressing the conversation to Adusai, Apoko, Kankam, and some others in waiting, "what say you?"

* It is worthy of reflection, that the doctrine taught by Mohammed is, in leading matters of faith, congenial to the feeling, the prejudices, and passions, of most African tribes. The Ashantees without knowing the contents of the Koran, are equally persuaded that it is a volume of divine creation, and consequently that it contains ordinances and prohibitions, which are most congenial to the happiness of mankind in general. It may be that the Moslems sedulously inculcate a prejudice which operates so greatly to their own prosperity in heathen countries; for their lives and property are secure to them only in relation to the faith they profess. The African, however, laments his ignorance of the art of writing, with more ostentation than sincerity; for he boasts at the same time that his gods like to be served with vigor and activity in the field, rather than by prayer and actions such as we term moral; and which belong as a form of worship to the great God only, whom they regard as a Being more intimately attached to the whites than themselves, although not exclusively so, for they allow that the gods of Africa are his subordinate agents.

“Tis true O king,” replied Adusai, rising, “now what have you to fear? The great God of the Moslems, who is the same as the white men worship, is your guardian. He defends your dominions on the land side, where the believers live; and he protects you on the sea coast, for he gives you a great name in the land of white men, and turns their king’s heart to do you good.” “Yes,” answered the sovereign, spreading out his hands and looking up towards heaven, as the Moslems do in prayer, “I am a thankful slave of the God of all gods and men—I am not ungrateful, I am not proud and ignorant, and therefore I know the great God has made me kill all my enemies, that the white king should tell me true things for my good, so my heart is open to him, and I will serve him as he shall desire.”

This prince took the field (a few months after his elevation to the throne) against Ghofan, when, as the Moslems say, he was yet a beardless boy. Ghobagho shortly after united with his enemies, who drove the king of Banna, his ally, from his capital, which they razed to the ground, carrying off in their retreat a multitude of captives. But here their success terminated. The king advanced in time to prevent the same devastation in Coransah. The belligerent armies met at a short distance from the town of Kaka, where a fierce engagement ensued. The enemy retreated, and perhaps on that account the victory was claimed by the Ashantees. The king diligently pursued his adversaries as far as the desert, where they joined a body of reserve and again offered battle to the Ashantees. This action was decisive, for the enemy, defeated at all points, fled precipitately to the Volta, leaving, as it is said, 100,000 men upon the field, between killed and prisoners. Two tributary kings fell alive into the hands of the Ashantees, and one, the king of Ghofan, (a Moslem) breathed his last in the Ashantee camp, after witnessing the slaughter of all his defenders. Amon Koitea, who commanded an army, consisting of 50,000, men gained infinite honour by a charge which proved decisive in the fortune of the day. This

defeat led to the occupation of a considerable territory, bordering the desert, which, heretofore, belonged by a sort of feudal, yet a limited title, to the Ashantee monarchy; although, in reality, its inhabitants enjoyed a state of comparative independence.

A war with Gaman, called for distinction, the first Bontoko war of his reign, again challenged the military genius of Sai Tooto Quamina. This, however, was no more than a partial revolt of the people, who availing themselves of an opportunity which they deemed favourable, transferred their allegiance from the reigning prince, a tool of the court of Coomassy, to the nephew of their late monarch, who had sought protection of the sultan of Ghofan, the prince who lost his life on the desert confines in the prosecution of his plan for subverting the government of Ashantee. These commotions were, however, quickly suppressed, and the vigour of the Ashantee councils (which, as the king says, never slumber) gained the nation a more exalted character than it, perhaps, ever enjoyed before. A profound peace of five years duration subsequently fixed that character abroad, and created a flattering belief in other powers, that at length the empire was controuled by more moderate principles. What greatly contributed to the national satisfaction, was the arrival of ambassadors at Coomassy from Abomey, Salgha, and Yandy, bearing honourable presents, and congratulatory messages to the young Sai, whose alliance was courted by all the powers of Ghunja and Dagomba. This calm, hitherto unprecedented in duration, might have lasted if the king's word may be taken for it, to the end of his reign; but for the secret passions of unjust men, who fanned the flame of war, and nurtured discord into open rebellion against his authority, by arming the people and exciting them to hostility against his person. Remonstrance served only to confirm their assurance and augment their audacity, for when he sent honourable tokens of his esteem to the chiefs, recommend-

ing them to keep the peace, they killed his messengers, and bade open defiance to his authority.*

The memory of Meredith, the author of an "Account of the Gold Coast of Africa," justly claims a tribute from my pen, for the candour with which he describes the progress of the Ashantee war in Fantee. As long as fidelity shall, in the public estimation, be superior to method and studied language, this little book with all its blemishes,† (for some indulgence may surely be extended to an author who, at his peril, speculated a little conscientiously upon tender points of the service he was engaged in,) will claim a proportionate rank with Bosman, the only other author I know of who has written honestly of that part of the world, as became a modest and an honorable historian.

The great movement of the Ashantees southward, as related to me by the king himself, and which was confirmed by the Moslems, who participated in the victories over the Fantees, and at Annamaboe, I shall briefly describe, without robbing Mr. Meredith of his own words.

Assin, at the accession of the reigning monarch, enjoyed profound tranquillity, under the government of three chiefs of that nation,

* This sketch of history relating to a period when Ashantee was scarcely known to us, even as an inland nation, was related by the Bashaw, Aboubeer, Kantoma, and some others. Its interest may be trifling with the public, for it is confessedly a plain narrative, designed to shew the progressive aggrandizement of the empire, and its influence over the Moslem powers.

† I shall consider an apology for excluding the last section of Meredith's book from sharing in the panegyric as unnecessary, for I am greatly of opinion that what passes under the title of "A short History of the African Company," was never written by that author. The political influence designed in that narrative sufficiently betrays the source from whence it emanated. Setting aside its ostensible object for appeasing the public mind, and reconciling the government to a continuance of ministerial or parliamentary favour, I believe it may rank in fidelity with other parts of that work.

Cheboo, Apoutai, and Amoo; the two former ruling over the western, the other over the eastern half of what once unitedly constituted a kingdom, which, after the conquest effected by Sai Apoko about the year of the Hejyra, 1146 or 1147, was torn thus asunder by the policy of that prince, to induce a tractable submission to the court of Coomassy. The great Sai Tooto, it is affirmed, forfeited his life in endeavouring to bring to pass what his successor could only accomplish by the massacre of thousands, and the expatriation of those tribes who were attached to the ancient monarchy.

The grave of a distinguished caboceer, a subject of Amoo, was pillaged of a quantity of gold by a near relation of Apoutai, who happened to be present at the obsequies. This marauder fled during the night, and was pursued by messengers, who, failing in their object, demanded satisfaction at the house of Cheboo. The policy of that chief inclining hostilely towards Amoo, the complainants were dismissed somewhat rudely, with a message purporting that it was a tale of Amoo's invention. The messengers next proceeded to Coomassy, where they opened the business to the king, who suspended judgment for several months, with the hope of effecting an amicable negotiation, and reconciling the chiefs; but being disappointed in his expectations he at last issued a decree, that the relations of the deceased should be reimbursed by Apoutai, to the amount of the property alledged to have been stolen. This chief happened to be at Coomassy when the palaver was discussed, and availing himself of a favourable opportunity, fled back to Assin, collecting his followers on the route. Amoo, instigated perhaps by the court of Ashantee, resorted to arms to enforce his claims; but after gaining one battle, was defeated in a second, and compelled to fall back upon the frontiers of his protector. Here, however, he took up a strong position, and defended himself vigorously until succoured by a reinforcement: thus strengthened, he once more took the field, transferring the war into the heart of his enemy's coun-

try, where he burned several large towns, and defeated his adversaries in a pitched battle. Moderation, as the king said, it was no longer incumbent upon him to observe, for he could not remain a passive spectator of violence that tended to the destruction of *his* people by their own hands; but as he was still averse from using coercion, he once more endeavoured to tranquillize the passions of the belligerents, and bring them to a sense of their *duty* to him, by sending to each party a present of gold.

This expedient was but temporarily efficacious; other battles were fought with alternate success; but Amoo had the prudence to subscribe to the king's authority, by again resuming his defensive position in the hills of Moisy, and between that town and Doompassy, where some partial skirmishing however took place, and in the interval messengers once more arrived at both camps with presents of a golden hilted sword, an axe, and a pike, plated with that metal, for each chieftain. The purport of the message to Amoo was an injunction to break up his camp, and leave the palaver as it stood, until the next Adai custom. That to Apoutai was a requisition to keep the peace, and not molest Amoo during his homeward march. But this chief, elated by his last victory, thought of nothing but how to destroy an enemy whose situation appeared to him hopeless, and who, in imagination, was already a captive; accordingly he dissembled his policy, and signified acquiescence to the authority of the king, by drawing off his troops. His opponent, confiding implicitly in the truce, descended unhesitatingly into the plains, where he was attacked so vigorously and so suddenly, that he could purchase his safety only by a speedy flight, at the expence of the greater part of his followers, who retreated as best they could, to the first Ashantee town. This aggravation was a prelude to the massacre of the king's messengers, and a number of Ashantees and Moslems who were in the camp. Some of these people were barbarously mutilated, and others suspended by the feet or arms to trees, upon the frontiers of the province.

The king, justly irritated, now determined to wreak his vengeance upon the authors and abettors of the injury ; and accordingly he raised a powerful army, with which he entered the Assin territory. But Cheboo and Apoutai, terrified at last by the threatening calamity, fled together towards the Praa, after making an ineffectual attempt to cover the towns Anseh, Kikiwhary, &c. The first, called by way of distinction, the great chastisement, happened between Anseh and Kikiwhary, where, after a partial conflict, the chiefs and allies, (for some Fantees, as the king affirms, were among the prisoners) were compelled to fall back upon the Praa, and in the confusion attending a retrograde march, they were put entirely to the rout, by an impetuous charge of their pursuers, who chased their enemies to the opposite bank of the river. These events are recorded in many popular songs and traditions, according to which it would seem the Ashantees destroyed thirty thousand of their adversaries. The fugitive chiefs, however, escaped this time, and the Fantees received them with open arms, promising, that as their interests were linked in one chain, they would exert their whole power to protect them.

The king, anxious to gain possession of his enemies by a friendly overture to the Fantee chiefs, deputed messengers to Akoom, the caboceer of Assekamah, a Fantee province that preserved connexions and some shadow of allegiance to the sovereign of Ashantee, requiring that Cheboo and Apoutai might be given up to him. The present of the king on this occasion was twenty ounces of gold, an umbrella, and fifteen slaves. These articles were accepted, but the council of Abrah rejected the monarch's solicitation, neither would the Fantees, although repeatedly invited, send deputies to the royal camp, to assist in discussing the palaver, when the king proposed to settle the differences by a legal investigation, permitting the Fantees to have a voice in his own councils. Hereupon the Ashantee ultimatum contained a demand to march through Fantee in pursuit of the relic of the Assin army ; and, as it was perhaps foreseen, the messengers were rewarded for their

temerity by a course of barbarous torture, and finally, their bodies were cut open, and stuffed with a preparation of salt and malaqueta pepper.

The king, gaining no intelligence of his messengers, ordered the army to advance under Ado Matta and Aby Dougah. These chieftains, with very little loss to themselves, defeated an united force of Assins and Fantees upon the frontiers, and the two distinguished fugitives were once more compelled to seek their safety in a precipitate retreat through the forest, where they sheltered themselves for some days, and to avoid being cut off fell back upon the main army which was then on its march from Abrah. Another rencounter happened not long after between the Ashantee advanced guard and the main body of Fantees, headed by Cheeboo, Apoutai, and many Braffoe chiefs, whose prowess in war was the characteristic of the dignity they enjoyed: but this engagement, like the other, terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the Fantees, who seem to have had no conduct whatever in the field, at least against a resolute enemy. The king arrived upon the ground in time to support the van of his army, and, by a judicious manœuvre, decided what little chance the Fantees might have enjoyed by a charge in flank, that cast his enemies into a panic, and left him undisputed master of the field. The rout was again general, some fled tumultuously towards Abrah, and others to the sea side, Cheeboo himself setting the example.

In this stage of the war Apoutai made overtures of peace which savoured more of art than sincerity, promising to deliver up hostages for his future allegiance, upon condition that the king would take upon himself the payment of certain debts which had been contracted during the war, and swear by his great oath not to disinherit him hereafter of his stool. All this the king agreed to, and in token of a perfect reconciliation, again sent presents to Cheeboo and Apoutai. The latter received thirty ounces of gold, some slaves, and a large quantity of provision for the subsistence of his followers. To the former was

delivered an equal quantity of gold, and a number of Fantee prisoners of war. But, unaccountable as it may seem to those who are unacquainted with the force of the passions in Africa, the king's messengers again experienced the fate of their predecessors, and the Braffoes, it is said, boasted of devouring their hearts in a state of palpitation.

The heads of these hapless men were struck off, and, in frolicsome aggravation, the carcasses were suspended from the boughs of trees, and the mouths of the victims being stuffed full of excrement, the heads were placed in regular succession along the path where it was known the Ashantees would advance. After this act of brutality the Assins and Fantees thought proper to decamp to the southward, for still the chiefs were emboldened, by an opinion that the king would not choose to risk a campaign among the large towns, and particularly those seated under the guns of the British and Dutch forts. But in this speculation they were woefully deceived, for whatever might have been the early policy of the Ashantee councils, the late indignity practised upon the king, wound that monarch up to a pitch of phrenzy, and he vowed by his redoubted oath he would never sheath the sword nor return to his capital, without the heads of Cheboo and Apoutai. The war henceforth assumed the sternest features, even of African hostility. The utter extermination of the Fantees was contemplated, and orders were issued to spare neither the aged nor young children; but both sexes, and all ages were for a time doomed to expire by the sword and the musquet, or in the flames of their houses. The avidity with which the Ashantees thirsted, as they called it, after perjured blood, the mouldering ruins, the solitude, and desolate plantations of Fantee, but too plainly indicate at the present hour. Many of the inhabitants fled at an early stage of the conflict. Some chose to remain, in the presumptuous confidence of destroying, or witnessing the destruction of the king's army, and participating in the spoil; and others, including

the slaves, and those who may be termed fortune hunters, associated in marauding bands, plundering and murdering both friend and foe, indiscriminately. This feint of resolution was, however, but of short duration, for the king advanced rapidly, taking town after town, without encountering any serious obstacle,* until he approached Abrah and Emperou, although several skirmishing engagements and one or two severe but partial conflicts, happened on the route. The aggregate of the enemy's loss was incalculable, for literally none were left alive in the rear. Atia, the chief Caboceer of Abrah (the capital of Fantee), was a prisoner at head quarters, and every overture made for his ransom was rejected. The Braffoe tribe (like the Shorfa among the Moslems) was a particular object of the king's vengeance, and accordingly they suffered the severest effects of his power.

The few who escaped the destruction of the capital (for that fell to the conqueror after a battle, or rather slaughter, of the most sanguinary character) fled to Annamaboe, then the largest city upon this part of the coast. Thither also Cheboo and Apoutai fled, and the king, nothing relaxing from the rigour of his oath, pursued the retreating forces with one-half of his army, while the other was employed in razing the towns, and exterminating every living soul they met with; for none, by the monarch's own confession,

* From the observations I have made upon the genius of the two nations, there is nearly as much disproportion in force between the Ashantees and Fantees as between an organized European force and an undisciplined body of rioters. The Ashantees are trained to firing with celerity, as we ourselves use the musquet; their manœuvres are rapid, orderly, and uniform, and their other military tactics, which it would seem have been borrowed from those of Europe, are ably seconded by a propensity to war, and a natural bravery that is not excelled by any nation upon earth. The Fantees, on the contrary, display no skill in military evolutions, unless we should take into account the uncouth and disorderly antics they practise in the field; and for the use they make of the musquet, I am fully convinced their old weapons, bows and arrows, would be equally and perhaps more efficacious in defending their persons against the assaults of their enemies; for as if the recoil of the piece were capable of inflicting a wound, they sedulously hold the weapon at a distance, and discharge its contents at the elevation of a few feet from the ground, without taking aim.

were at that time received as prisoners, except a few Caboceers of the first rank, who were doomed to expiate their offences in the capital, that the people might also participate in the exultation of the army.

The military policy of an African government, is conspicuous in the cabinet maxim of Ashantee, during the war with Fantee. It may in some degree be assimilated to the modern tactics of recent introduction to Europe, by which the armies of France, under their late leader, pursued a direct object, however remote, with that celerity which frequently guaranteed its own success, and leaving half the war behind, terminated the campaign by a single blow at head quarters. The only material difference existed in those horrid butcheries practised by the Africans, who, (unprovided with that efficient force calculated to overawe the frontiers of an enemy, and check the population of towns, where every man by habit and education is trained to war) are instinctively taught to exterminate their enemies as a precaution necessary to their own safety, in victory or defeat. The African will rarely be persuaded to leave an enemy in the rear of his army. If he be a merciful invader, it is usual for him to put to death those, only, who may be captured in arms. The population of towns must, nevertheless, be translated to a spot of security, and sometimes their houses razed to the foundation, while the invader's aim is unremittingly rivetted upon the seat of government. By this policy, the subversion of a powerful state is frequently accomplished, by what is figuratively termed a handful of men; and the prisoners become hostages, and in some degree responsible for the aggravations that may follow.

In the Fantee war, the exasperated feelings of the king would not allow him to tread the path of mercy; hence the other alternative of sacrificing the population to his own security, was resorted to.

Acoom, the Caboceer before mentioned, who preserved some shadow of respect, or allegiance to the king, was taken into protection;

but by an act of treachery, in which he sold a thousand or twelve hundred Ashantees to the slave dealers upon the coast, he forfeited that favour, and was shortly after defeated by the royal forces, who compelled him to abandon to their fate the wreck of his little army.

The Ashantees, after destroying Abrah and Emperou, moved to the coast, from which they were now distant a march only. Cheboo and Apoutai, not caring to trust their persons to the defence of the Annamaboes, again fled, in time to secure their retreat, with six or seven hundred followers, upon Cape Coast, where they had been invited to sojourn by the natives themselves, who introduced these unfortunate men to the acquaintance of governor Torrane; from whom they received *assurances of protection either by mediation or force of arms*. In the meantime the viceroy, or king of Dinkra, leading on the advanced guard, first gained sight of the sea in the neighbourhood of Cormantine, where he not only destroyed the town, but took possession of the Dutch fort. There the Annamaboes had hitherto vainly boasted that their enemies would never gain sight of the sea, and this success, as it seems, gave the governor the first uneasy impression,* for he instructed Mr. White, then governor of Annamaboe Fort, to send a message to the commander of that division, *requiring to know what could have induced the king to march his armies to the coast*. The king of Dinkra, as I was told at court, mistook

* The conduct of governor Torrane in not endeavouring to negotiate or mediate with the king on behalf of the people, before the destruction of Abrah, and the total extinction of the Braffoes, was certainly blameable; but after that event had occurred, to leave matters to the issue of another battle, where the people wanted both courage and conduct to defend themselves, was deserving of a high degree of censure; for indeed the promise of his support, inadequate as it was to effect the smallest impression beyond the reach of the cannon of the forts, alone encouraged that puerile and fatal obstinacy which led to the massacre of so many thousands of misguided victims, even under the walls of Annamaboe, a fort which, from the extraordinary disbursement its erection cost the British government, has been represented as the bulwark and the "*sine qua non*" of African fortifications.

the purport of the governor's message for a specious pretext to gain time, or obtain by policy what arms could never accomplish,—“chaffing,” as it is called in the enlightened age in which we live,—and the chief's reply, that when the governor would send *him twenty barrels of powder and one hundred musquets*, he should be told what the king's designs were, savoured as strongly of the same tortuous system of perversion; for the Ashantees are not a shade behind ourselves in consulting that primary feeling in every man of honour, the preservation of the dignity conferred upon him by nature and rank.

It was in vain to shew the return messengers the destructive power of artillery, as that brave gentleman, Mr. White, humanely did, in hopes of averting the approaching tempest from the town. The whites were ignorant of the king's force, and as Mr. Meredith justly observes, “had but an imperfect idea of the bravery and intrepidity of the Ashantees; for it was supposed they were like the natives of the coast, who cannot stand against a regular fire: and often conceal themselves in holes during an engagement. It was little imagined that the courage of these people would carry them to the very muzzles of the cannon,” &c.

The governor's message met with no attention at head quarters, and the king on a sudden made his appearance at the back of Annamaboe, whither the infatuated natives had drawn out their force to meet the invader. The usual skirmishing battle took place; the Fantees were driven in with great slaughter, and the enemy entered the town pell-mell in pursuit. The fort was already crowded with as many women as it would contain, and whole troops of the sex, beside children and aged men, took their station under the ramparts, where the guns afforded them a feeble protection, and that but momentary. I am justified in using the term feeble, for these unfortunate people, in defiance of the fire of the garrison, were every one carried off or

inhumanly butchered upon the spot,* and the fire became so hot as the Ashantees advanced towards the beach, that not a man, *white* or *black*, could stand at the embrasure, or shew his head above the ramparts:—neither was it practicable to work the great guns any more; without the certainty of being picked off by the enemy, who surrounded the fortification on every side, within the distance of half pistol shot. As to the Fantees, who fired without taking aim, they were already dead, or dispersed, and the enemy prowled in mixed groups among the ruins, some seeking for plunder, and others glutting their revenge by cutting and mutilating their victims, or severing the heads and legs from the bodies of the slain, and slicing the flesh and sinews from off the bones, in order to convert them to drum pegs and whistles; and the lower jaws and teeth, to ornamental trophies, and necklaces. In this state of consternation and distress, the utmost the little garrison could do, was to defend their gate, which the Ashantees endeavoured to force or fire. The governor, and two or three others, were disabled by wounds; two men were killed, and the remainder of the garrison sought refuge in the two little bastions on the vest, that flank the approach to the gate; here they laid themselves prostrate, to avoid the enemy's shot and arrows, and from time to time repelled, with musquets only, the most intrepid of the assailants who attempted to force an entrance below.

The king assured me that it was no part of his plan to attack the castle, and even after the guns had been turned against him, he would willingly have negotiated, if any serious overtures had been made; and in this expectation he refrained, during the remainder of the day, from

* These are the words of Meredith: —“The Annamaboes conceived that with the aid of their canoes and their knowledge of swimming, they would be able to escape; but they were pursued too closely by the Ashantees, whose fury appeared insatiable; men, women and children were followed by indiscriminate destruction in defiance of the efforts of the garrison,” &c.—p. 141.

carrying matters to extremity against the whites; whereas the castle he knew, was at his mercy, and had not the white flag been lowered the next morning, he would, by the help of his gods, have seated himself in the governor's chair. To pursue the confession, it would seem that dispositions had been made during the night, and the army had received orders to hold themselves in readiness for an assault on *the following day*, when orders came down from Cape Coast Castle to display a flag of truce. This emblem of peace, which was just in time to prevent an assault that foreboded the last calamity, was hailed with repeated acclamations, and the king gave every assurance that he was pacifically disposed. "My enemies," replied his majesty to the deputation who waited upon him, "are the Assins and Fantees; and I have now pretty well assuaged my anger against them."

Governor Torrane, in his public letter of the 18th June, 1807, *designed for the king's hearing*, palliated his conduct by saying, that notwithstanding the steps he had taken *to give protection* to the Fantees, he had ever held him (the king) in the highest respect, and that had he seen any messenger from him, antecedent to the attack on Annamaboe, it was his opinion the blow would have been avoided *in that quarter*.*

The king listened to every thing that was reported, with that cautious reserve belonging to the councils of his nation when roused to

* This affected recrimination (for surely no milder epithet could be bestowed upon it) was doubtless calculated to meet its object in England. Colonel, or Mr. Torrane, was confessedly a man of greater talents and education than any of his successors, or, for aught I know to the contrary, his predecessors; and it is evident he saw his political errors when it was too late to negotiate upon terms strictly suitable to the honour of his country and the dignity of the British flag. Admitting that this officer did not know that the united Fantee forces were incompetent to check the incursion of the enemy, will any man doubt that he did not know his own incapacity to do so; and since his policy, ostensibly or virtually, might incline to support the Fantees and protect them, did not the active part of the business, war, or negotiation, belong entirely to himself? Would it not,—since his judgment had failed or been outwitted, would it not have been more humane, more honourable to himself and his country, to have turned his guests (Cheboo and Apoutai) into the forest, to provide for their own security? Surely even the king in his heart would have applauded the act

hostility ; but as his majesty required ocular demonstration of the sincerity of white men's professions, and as it was not convenient to that monarch to meet the governor at Cape Coast, it was politely insinuated that the latter should visit the camp at Annamaboe.

The ill-fated Princes of Assin had lived some time at Cape Coast, under the protection, as they had been given to understand, of the governor's negotiating talents, and the faith of the African company, pledged by their head servant. Their personal security was, however, but a transient delusion ; for although the natives of Cape Coast at first resisted the overtures of the governor to give up their guests, they were finally prevailed upon, by the impending danger, to relinquish their defence, and the governor, unsolicited by the king, insinuated an armed force into their houses, and seized, not without resistance, the person of Cheboo, whom he consigned to the little mercy his enemies were in the habit of displaying. Apoutai, by the vigour of his defenders, made good a retreat, and once more shone in arms in distant warfare. But his coadjutor was sent as a present to the king, to serve for the basis of a treaty and an introduction, to give the colouring of sincerity at the meditated interview : and this man, after suffering tortures and indignities the most exquisite, was compelled to resign his head as a trophy for the king's death horn, which is its decoration at this day.

This policy, cruel as it was, procured governor Torrane an honourable reception, when he subsequently waited upon the king in his camp at Annamaboe. The latter confessed to me that if he had been inclined to visit Cape Coast, his army would not have been restrained from following his steps, and as mercy had been solicited for those people, he did not wish to bring upon them any calamity their imprudence might give rise to.

The treaty of peace was a formal and a solemn acknowledgment on the part of the governor, that by right of conquest Fantee, including *Cape Coast and every other town in the neighbourhood, belonged exclu-*

sively to the empire of *Ashantee*, with the reservation of a judicial authority to the company over such towns as stood in the vicinity of any of the castles ; and in confirmation or ratification of these terms, the governor expressly admitted the king's title to those deeds, called notes, upon which he paid him the arrears then due, and a tribute, called perhaps a present, which was demanded of the Cape Coast people.

The feelings of the monarch, by his own reiterated confessions, were overpowered by the *handsome* behaviour of this officer, when he sallied out to meet him.*

When the preliminary discussions took place, the king urged his right to dispose of the prisoners as he might think proper. All disputations proving ineffectual to move a conqueror's title, the terms of agreement were acceded to, by which, if the most credible witnesses are to be believed, some of the refugees who had availed themselves of the protection afforded by the fort, were consigned, together with a proportion of the relic of butchery, to slavery. A certain portion of the prey are said to have been accepted by the governor, for the purpose, it is to be hoped, of restoring them to their families, and not that he might pocket the emoluments arising from their sale into bondage ; nevertheless, many or most of these wretched creatures, found their way eventually to the West India plantations, where they or their posterity may still drag on the chains of slavery.

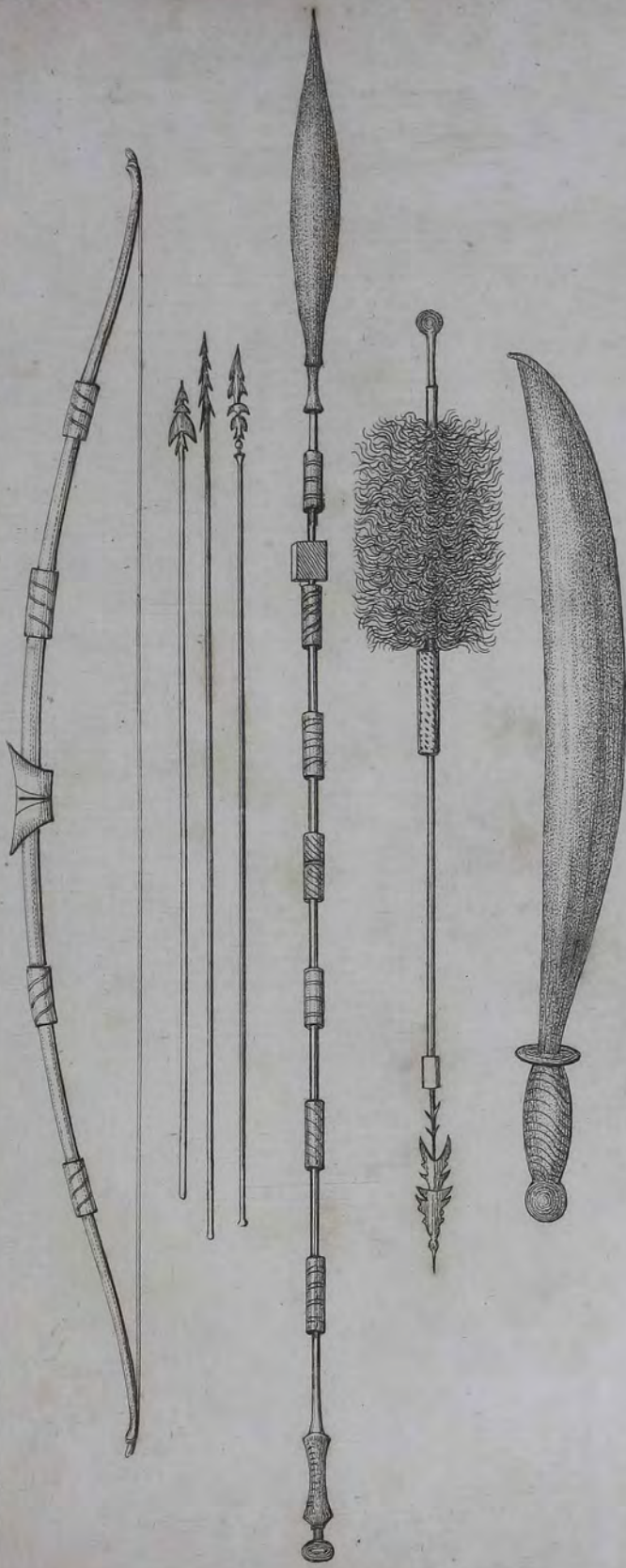
The last military act of the government of *Ashantee*, previous to my mission, was the invasion of *Gaman* in the year 1819, the

* From the hour governor *Torrane* delivered up *Cheboo*, said the king one day to me, I took the English for my friends, because I saw their object was trade only, and they did not care for the people. *Torrane* was a man of sense, and he pleased me much. He gave me these presents (shewing a trunk containing various articles of value). *Mr. White* was also a man of sense, and a brave man ; but *Mr. Smith*, said the monarch, rising from his seat, is contem or contempo, (a weak vain boaster), I think he learned all he knows of the *Fantees*, as white men read books and learn better things.

defeat and death of its sovereign, and the annexation of that kingdom to Ashantee as a province, in lieu of the tributary rank it enjoyed before.

Torrane, whose name it delighted the king to hear, was a man like Daendals, who, if properly supported, would have created empire in Africa: of his moral qualifications, I may say in the words of Horace:—

————— Omnisenim res,
 Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque, pulcris
 Divitiis parent; quas qui contruxerit, ille
 Clarus erit, fortis, justus—Sapiens ne? Etiam et rex,
 Et quidquid volet. —————



Military Weapons of the Ashantees.

PART II.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER VIII.

WANGARA.

CREDIBILITY OF INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM THE MOSLEMS OF GUINEA—CHARACTER OF THE RELIGION OF ISLAM—ANECDOTE OF THE KHALIFA OMAR—ANECDOTE OF MULAI SOLIMAN, EMPEROR OF MOROCCO—VINDICATION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE MOSLEMS OF ASHANTEE—THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AUTHOR—REMARKS ON THE MISSION FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE, IN 1817—TRAVELS OF THE MOSLEMS—AUTHORITIES, AND EXPLANATION OF THE MAP OF WANGARA—REMARKS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL STATEMENTS PUBLISHED BY MR. BOWDICH, RELATING TO THE COURSES OF THE NIGER—ON THE VARIOUS DISTANCES DENOMINATED A DAY'S JOURNEY—ENUMERATION OF ERRORS IN MR. BOWDICH'S SYSTEM OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA—GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ASHANTEE; ITS ROADS, PATHS, TOWNS, RIVERS, LAKES, &c.—WANGARA—COURSE OF THE NIGER—THE ASWADA—THE LOGOS—GREAT LAKE OF AYOH—RIVER OF BENIN—EMPIRE OF ZOGHO—YARRABA—RAPID CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFRICA—HAOUSSA—RELATIVE SITUATION OF THE MOSLEMS AND HEATHENS—PROTECTION NECESSARY FOR TRAVELLING IN THE INTERIOR—GREAT DIVISIONS OF WANGARA—ENKASY—GHOFAN—YANDY—ABOMEY—EASTERN DISTRICTS OF WANGARA—HORSES, WEAPONS, &c.—BENIN—GAMAN—ROCK GOLD AND GOLD DUST—MANUFACTURES IN GOLD—MOSLEM POPULATION IN ASHANTEE—CHARACTER OF THE FANTEES.

An enquiry into the credibility of information derived through the agency of Moslems, may perhaps be no uninteresting or unprofitable introduction to this chapter; for in weighing this subject with due attention, I conceive I have anticipated all that can be urged in opposition to the testimony of native African travellers; by which expression I mean Moslems;

for as to the heathen Negroes, I have reason to know that their fidelity as narrators or interpreters may be justly suspected. In fact, their intellectual faculties, like those of savages in general, although powerful in the emergencies of life, never stray from the usual routine of human pursuits to explore unprofitable mysteries; neither is it to be forgotten that a cautious scepticism is necessary, where the secret interests or affections of men are to be poised against the words to which their tongues may give utterance.

Although I do not submit my name to the reader, as guaranteeing the veracity of the Moslems to whom I am indebted for the substance of these remarks, yet I will take upon me to say, that I depend with as much reliance upon the information I obtained through their means, as I should on the testimony of any class of honourable men in Europe. And why not? Are there not many standing authorities of literary renown, whose writers were of that faith, and whose works are the rallying points in Oriental literature, quoted moreover by the most respectable in the classes of Christian authors of every nation? But as regards the Moslems of Ashantee and interior Africa, it may be urged, they are some degrees below the Arabs and northern Africans in the scale of civilization and intellectual acquirements. Admitting, upon the general average, that this is an undeniable truth, its effect is more than counterbalanced by the advantage these Guinea tribes evidently possess, in being more intimately acquainted with the land of their nativity, and the countries through which they are in constant habits of travelling, than the Arabs can possibly be. And these lands, be it remembered, are situated precisely in that part of the African continent which is most interesting to the geographical inquirer: for there the African maps of the most modern construction exhibit naught to the eye, save a dreary blank, here and there indeed broken upon by courses of rivers, positions of mountains, and names of kingdoms, like the paucity of islands scattered over the surface of its western ocean: but with this difference, that many of the characteristics inland are either vaguely marked down, or, what is even more to be lamented, their fidelity is in no very remote degree

associated with hypothetical criticism and unsubstantiated axioms, gleaned from the testimony of authors of a very early age, and who, in fact, never knew the central parts of this mysterious continent, excepting through the reports of its natives. Public curiosity, in short, finds nothing to feed upon that is satisfactory, beside the bare outlines of this vast surface, with the tracks of a few successful European explorers of our own times, among whom the name of Park is deservedly pre-eminent; and that pre-eminence is infinitely enhanced by a modesty of style almost unrivalled in modern literature of that description, forming a strong contrast to the unblushing pages of some authors, who vainly attempt to rival his fame by egotism and a redundancy of words.

Moslems, of whatever nation, provided they have been initiated in the doctrine they profess, are virtually men of knowledge, as they ought to be men of honour and probity; and the educated negro is with justice esteemed upon a par with other professors of the faith, whether from Cairo, Medina, or the sacred city itself. The Koran, wherein the prerogatives of all men concentrate as within a focus, was, morally speaking, conceived in the true spirit of benevolence, whereby every professor of that religion, however abject his condition in life may be, is strictly upon terms of equality with his neighbour, as the law instructs in civil and religious matters. This fascinating maxim, from which the balm of consolation oozed into the breasts of the afflicted idolaters of subordinate ranks, enticed a willing audience among the lowly and oppressed, such as most of the inferior tribes of Arabs were before the chapters were revealed, or the new law formally promulgated. Indeed, the Moslems themselves do not hesitate to admit a truth, which, in point of fact, may be traced through every page of the Koran, although lurking under the mask of religion; namely, that Mohammed raised the oppressed against their oppressors; or, in a political retrospect, planned a revolution in the morals of men, upon the prevailing principle of action whereby ordinary innovators are actuated—by winning to his interest those who laboured under real or imaginary grievances, and by their

agency sapping the edifice which prescribed limits to the several classes of society, and obedience where it was due.*

What I have already advanced on the subject of "Islamism," (for I consider it to be by no means irrelevant to explain its impression) may be still more essentially elucidated, so that the reader may be furnished with materials wherewith to establish an opinion of his own.

In the reign of Omar, the second Khalifa, about the Hejyran year twenty, (according to the historian ben Shohnah) an Arab prince named Jiabalah, chief of the Pagan tribe of Ghassanida, who wandered over the plains of Syria, professed a desire to renounce idolatry. With that intention he visited the court of Omar, to whom he did homage as his liege, and was initiated in the law. The Khalifa, feeling an interest in the voluntary sacrifice his guest had made, conceived a partiality for the prince, and took him with him on the pilgrimage to Meccā, with intention to instruct him in the rites and mysteries incumbent upon devotees. In running the tour of the temple conformably to custom, it happened that a pilgrim of ordinary rank took the prince by his sleeve and pulled him on one side, in order to pass himself, at which incivility Jiabalah was so enraged that he struck the intruder a violent blow; and, not satisfied with the vengeance he had taken, continued a strain of vehement abuse, in which he reproached the man with insolent conduct towards a person of his quality. Omar, noticing the immoderate anger of the prince, and that he reiterated menaces and ill usage against a man whom he had already punished and turned out of the ranks, said to him, "Calm your transports, otherwise I shall cause that man to return the blow you gave him, for you ought to know that Islam has rendered you both equal; and the prince and the slave, when in the exercise of their worship, or acts of piety, such as the functions of the pilgrimage, are but as men equal in all their prerogatives."

* As prejudices may have been excited against the negro professors of the Moslem faith, by a former publication on Ashantee, and as their testimony is appealed to in the following pages, the author claims indulgence for a few preliminary observations intended to rescue their characters from calumny and misrepresentation.

Jiabalalah, stung to the quick by the words of the Khalifa, conceived so great a disgust, that he promptly gave up his newly adopted faith, and retired to Constantinople, where he became a Christian.

A circumstance which occurred during my residence at the court of Morocco, in the year 1811, is also illustrative of this point. The Sultan Mulai Soliman, conformably to his usual practice, visited the public mosque of Sidi Yousif on a certain Friday; but being a little after time, the area was crowded with worshippers to the very portico. It happened also, that the congregation were in the act of adoration, (in a prostrate posture,) and the Sultan could barely find room for the ceremony, by squeezing his body amidst a motley group who occupied the threshold; and that with great inconvenience; for his head, in lieu of touching the ground, repeatedly came in contact with the heels of a slave, who occupied the space before him. This man, finding himself molested, left off his devotion to enquire into the occasion of it, but instantly recognizing the features of the sovereign, he started upon his feet, and would have retired on one side, had he not been restrained by the forcible grasp with which the Sultan held his hayk, and again dragged him involuntarily into the posture he had quitted. When prayers were over, Mulai Soliman desired the attendance of the slave's master, whom he reprimanded for not inculcating into the mind of his vassal a true knowledge of the "law of God." To the slave he said, "Mark these words, which have a relation in common to the class you belong to:—on the throne, in the palace, in the city, or in the field, you shall know me for the sovereign commander of the faithful by day or night; but in the Mosque, or at devotions, you shall not know me as what I am, neither shall you know your own master, for before God the prince and the slave are equal, and must meet judgment according to their several actions, without distinction of rank."

Thus the religion of Islam, as it is properly styled, wherever it prevails, whether at the splendid courts of Constantinople, Delhi and Morocco, or in

the less ostentatious governments of interior Ethiopia, is uniform, as well in practice as in its influence upon the minds of men.

The Moslems of Ashantee, with whom I held communion, were for the most part men of strong natural parts; all were more or less acquainted with the doctrine of their prophet, and some, particularly the natives of Salgha, Yandi, Kook, Nikky, and other parts of the north and east, were men of education and talent, the majority equalling, perhaps, the average population of the states of Morocco: for even there the proportion may exceed ten to one against those who are capable of expressing their thoughts by written characters. The fidelity and pointed attention of these Guinea Moors, during my stay among them, biassed me with a conviction of their sincerity, and thereby established a mutual understanding and attachment; for when it was discovered that I was acquainted with the language of their religion, my apartments became the receptacle for all ranks of that faith, and figuratively speaking, I was an idol to whom the daily congratulations were paid with an exactitude and benignity not very unlike devotion.

This will seem strange to some of my readers who have perused the work of Mr. Bowdich, wherein it appears they treated him with a scowling inhospitable malignancy, arising from prejudices of a commercial nature. The truth is, no such feeling ever existed, as far as my information carried me at Coomassy; but I regret to say it is one of the many instances abounding in that work, of egotism and hyperbole, assuming the character of all the zeal and talent of the greatest hero that ever trod the African plains. But dismissing the evidence of my own conviction of facts coupled with the confessions of Moslems and idolators, it may be only requisite to pass judgment agreeably to the author's acknowledgments. These men who treated him so unworthily, were, as it appears in other pages, in habits of strict intimacy with the mission, whereby reciprocal acts of courtesy were exchanged, and mutual visits were paid. These men who wantonly insulted the dignity of his public character, from rival jealousy

of European influence in the commerce of the country, were his daily companions, and they were the identical parties who furnished him with such materials for his book as are really deserving of credit. Yet this cordiality, the author would have it appear, was the result of time and prudence. It were loss of time to pursue the inquiry further; but as the characters of men may in some degree gleam through their writings, I will yet trespass upon my reader's patience by inserting a few notes of correspondence that were occasionally written to me by these Moslems, and which are still in my keeping.

الحمد لله الذي جعل القلم لنا كلام متكلم وجعل فرطاس لنا رسول مرسل بلد الي بلد
مكان الي مكان ذاك الحبيب اني عبدك يا سيدنا ومولاني &c صوم

“Praise be unto God who created the use of the pen for conversation, and who created paper that we may substitute letters for ambassadors, &c. This (an enclosed MSS.) shews you the route from country to country, and from place to place, written by your servant for his beloved friend, master, &c.

(Signed) “Shouma.”

الحمد لله وحده هذا القلم اني يسمع اني جا اليك صحبت والخيير والكرمة والحب بالله
ورسوله سلم الي مني وسلم عليك يا سيدنا اي نتمين

“Glory is due to God alone. I comprehend what you have written. I hear your words and return my love, blessing, and gratitude; and may the love of God and his apostle in peace attend you. May peace dwell with you. (properly my lord), &c. From me, &c.

(Signed) “Abou Becr ben Touri.”

الحمد لله وحده ثم الحمد لله جعل القلم لنا لسانا متكلم بين الحبيب والحبيب وبين
 اخي واخوانه اشهدكم يا ملائكتي ربي اي مرني مسكن صاحب العباد كله وصاحب السعد انه
 سعد في بطن امه انه شهد انه لا اله الا الله وان محمد رسول الله دليله من بركر الربلدنا فد وصل
 السعاده الي كل الخلابوشهادة جماعة كله وصاحبه الملك اشنتي سي كومن يقول سي ادي
 اسبي الله جعل الخير والرزم وسعد بينهما صاحبي اصحب المسلمون طول الله عمرك مع
 الخير والسعد والدرجت مع الحب الله والحب الناس مع

“Glory be unto God in unity. Be his holy name glorified for the powers of speech, by which our tongues are made to converse with one loving friend and another, and between a brother and his brethren. So I bear witness to you, O ambassador of the great king, truly a benevolent friend of the blacks of every nation, and a friend to the felicity (of man) as happiness consists in fidelity, and therefore in sincerity I bear witness that there is no other God than one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God. May this guide you in safety to your country, and may you enjoy ample felicity to the full extent of my friendship; as there is truth in this invocation, and that you are the friend of the king of Ashantee, Sai Quamina, &c. &c. God Almighty shower down upon them both (the king of England and the king of Ashantee) blessings and abundance, and may he unite their hearts, and cement the friendship between them permanently.

“My friend—friend of the Moslems, God prolong your life in the enjoyment of his bounty and benevolence, and may you return again to us with the love of God and the love of men in sincerity. Written by Mohammed, commonly called Baba, the Moslem Bashaw of Coomassy.”

الحمد لله وحده ذلك مسكي اعطاه صاحبه وحبيبه فرطاس وفدوصل لنا ذلك جزاك

الله خيرا وطويل الله عمره وعظمه الله بعظمة كثير اجمع العافية البدن وصحت الجسم وحمدته
 واشكره ويرجعك الله الي بلدك باعافية والقدراعصم*

“ Glory be to God in unity. Kind friend thou didst give some paper to thy loving friends, and the esteemed donation came to us in safety. May God multiply his rewards, (may he) prolong thy life and raise thy greatness to a high renown, with health and strength of body. Praise him therefore in gratitude, and God will carry you back to your country in vigour, for omnipotence belongs to him in truth.—From Abdallah ben Ghatta.”

This might suffice to prove the truth of the attachment of these people personally, and to the interests of the mission, without going to further quotations, as it is also evidence of a refinement in courtesy. But it is due to candour and to the welfare of future travellers that I should circumstantially exonerate this friendly sect from ungrateful misrepresentation, by an open avowal that I found them disinterested in their proffers of friendship, liberal to an excess in courtesy, and staunch to their engagements, when their services, even from the hour I became acquainted with them, were called for. Devoid of Arabian or Turkish bigotry, they felt but a very remote interest in those anathemas of the Koran levelled against Christians and Jews as enemies of the faith: buried in the wilds of Ethiopia, they could listen passively to the recitations of early times, when the roar of battles raged in the north, and religious phrenzy desolated the Asiatic and African plains, without feeling moved otherwise than by a transient effusion of gratitude to the Almighty, for promulgating a law which taught them the heinous offence of idolatry; whilst the religious inveteracy of the Arabs against the name of Nazarene, or Roumi,

* These notes, and the Arabic manuscripts, I have submitted together, exactly as they are written, and without regard to the orthographical errors they contain. In the translations, however, which are according to our own reading and interpretation, I have judged proper, for the reader's convenience, to adhere to the idiom of our language, by substituting the implied sentiments of the authors, for a rigid and literal translation of words.

they considered something in the light of a national antipathy, with which locally they had nothing to do, and which it was not incumbent on them to imbibe themselves, or to instil into the minds of their children. In the practice of devotion they were constant and apparently sincere, although some of them violated the law of temperance, indulging by stealth in spirituous liquors and palm wine. When taxed with the crime, they would reply, "God pardon our offences, they are manifold; drinking strong drinks we know is a relic of the days of ignorance, but it is a custom of this country which we learn from our mothers."

The Moslems of Coomassy and Salgha are nearly as jetty-complexioned as the idolators themselves; but many from the inland countries are, more or less, as fair as the northernmost desert Arabs. As another instance of deviation from the institutions of the Koran, and of which they also give their mothers the credit, their faces and bodies are cut by prolonged incisions, the object of which is to distinguish their respective tribes or nations. The superstitious ceremonies of the Pagans they deplore with sympathy, and the diabolical custom of offering human victims for sacrifice they hold in just abhorrence; but still pity is mingled with their indignation.

The Moslems are the only class of subjects belonging to the kingdom, who are morally scrupulous in virtues such as we prize ourselves. This the king is sensible of, and hence the attachment he evinces for the professors of that faith, is at least politically sincere; but it must be confessed also, that that monarch is somewhat religiously inclined towards the followers of Mohammed from a reverential awe of the universal God, the Father, according to his imagination, of the creation, of every terrestrial deity, and of those invisible powers, whose benign or malign actions agitate the world, and inspire the hearts of men with good or evil propensities. Notwithstanding this sovereign chuses to adhere faithfully to his Pagan rites in all their manifold horrors and enormities, he does not neglect to supplicate the Moslems for their prayers, particularly when oppressed with anxiety, when the state council is convened on business of emergency, or when the national priests or necromancers

are unable to solve any problem to the satisfaction of majesty. The talismanic charms fabricated by the Moslems, it is well known, are esteemed efficacious, according to the various powers they are supposed to possess ; and here is a source of great emolument, as the article is in public demand from the palace to the slave's hut ; for every man (not by any means exempting the Moslems) wears them strung round the neck, either in cases of gold, silver, or the hairy hide of wild beasts, such as lions, tygers, monkeys, elephants, sloths, &c. Some are accounted efficacious for the cure of gunshot wounds, others for the thrust or laceration of steel weapons, and the poisoned barbs of javelins, or arrows. Some, on the other hand, are esteemed to possess the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable in the field of battle, and hence are worn as a preservative against the casualties of war. Besides this class of charms, they have other cabalistical scraps for averting the evils of natural life : these may also be subdivided into separate classes ; some, for instance, are specific nostrums in certain diseases of the human frame, some for their prevention, and some are calculated either to ward off any impending stroke of fortune, or to raise the proprietor to wealth, happiness and distinction.

We are told, in Mr. Bowdich's work, that he received ill-treatment at Coomassy ; a truth which cannot be denied : yet the Moslems had no share in it, directly or indirectly. On the contrary, it appears by the general testimony, they advocated the cause of the white men, notwithstanding public opinion pronounced censure for the indecorous precipitancy of the party in their conduct to the king, whose orders, the author, according to his own confession, indignantly spurned at ; and thereby entailed upon himself and his associates a chastisement humiliating to his personal feelings, and highly offensive to his dignity, as a public functionary. In reference to this insult, according to Mr. Bowdich's statement, the king would not allow him to depart from his capital on a certain Wednesday, but insisted that it should be the Monday following, in opposition to every remonstrance : Mr. Bowdich, who was equally inflexible, insisted upon the king's compliance, or on leaving Coomassy "without his approbation." The king said, he might break the law

if he thought proper, and the other retorted, with a slight qualification, "he would send for the treaty and tear it in pieces before him." The king, in disgust, no doubt, rose abruptly and retired. In effect, the project was carried into execution that very day; but the party had scarcely traversed fifty yards through the city, ere the "gong gongs were beat, and a crowd of swords and musquets attacked them (as the author expresses himself,) headed by the landlord Aboidwee, who, in the first rush, seized both luggage and flag." The author then narrates a circumstantial account of a *battle*, during which "his party were attacked with heavy swords and large stones," and this battle lasted near a quarter of an hour, although in the sequel it is admitted that the party did not even draw their swords in self-defence, or, what was even of primary consideration, in defence of the proud flag which had been consigned to their vigilance and discretion, when it was first ravished from their grasp. On the contrary, *the king* was applied to for rescue from the *murderous* weapons that flourished over their heads, and which besides wounding "several of the party, had well nigh cut short the thread of the narrative by an unmerciful blow with a scimiter, which, being promptly fended off, only grazed the author's face." This disaster, in the language of Mr. Bowdich, he considers to have "perfected the impression of his spirit." Waving this momentous consideration, may it not be enquired if such a train of rash proceedings, taking the author's own words for it, were calculated to perfect an impression of any thing more weighty? This, in substance, is what is described in pages 136, 137, &c., of that Mission to Ashantee; but which, as the affair was revealed to me by the king, by the caboceers, by the Moslems, and lastly, by several Fantees who were in the *engagement*, is materially inaccurate—I must say *falsely embellished* with incidents that never occurred. During my residence at court, the king particularly enquired if the king of England was angry at what had happened to Mr. Bowdich, when he attempted to go away without permission. He confessed that he gave orders to stop him, but not to ill use the white men; whereas "some of his people had beaten them" (flogged was the term) "with sticks, because they would not obey his last message to return until they discovered that he was serious. When they were brought back to their house

it made him very sorry for what had occurred; but he was sorry also the white captain should tell him before the caboceers, that he would go when he chose, for that was not the custom of the country, nor was it proper." The king's declaration accorded well with that of all ranks who witnessed the transaction, and of my own servant Coffee, who was in Mr. Bowdich's employ at the time. No crowds of musquets, or other fire arms, no swords, or other offensive weapons, save sticks, were resorted to during this *engagement of a quarter of an hour's durance*, and consequently none were either killed or wounded in the action; but all, all is a fabrication, if the testimony of above a hundred witnesses is to be credited before the bare assertion of an individual. What did really happen to the party was, however, sufficient to leave behind an indelible stain upon the capacity of Mr. Bowdich as a *plenipotentiary*, and privately, perhaps I am justified in saying, as a man of mature understanding. On the other hand, it would be silly to suppose that the author's intemperate language, or the misfortune that befel him, were at all adapted to raise the national reputation of Englishmen; for what he arrogantly refused the king in full court, he was ultimately induced to comply with in the midst of public and private insult.*

* Mr. Bowdich, it seems, must have been unaccountably deficient in a knowledge of the usages of courts, and the decorum to be observed towards a crowned head, although that head might be a black one, else how could he presume, in the face of the world, to avow having threatened the king with tearing to pieces a treaty of peace and commerce which had just been ratified and exchanged with a "respectable" native power, in the names of two sovereigns (of whom one claimed the tribute of his allegiance); not to enumerate the trading company he contrived to represent, and whose property in the country might have warranted the conciliatory steps that were taken for its security at that time.

Many instances, indeed, occurred, wherein the author's conduct involved him in disgraces; and well might the Cape Coast messengers declare before the king's ministers, "that his uncle (Mr. Smith) had sent them as a check upon him, and that he was not doing right in talking so to the king, but should wait his pleasure in quitting the capital," &c. (page 138). In truth, these unlettered children were better informed than their educated master, of what was due to royalty in any court in the universe; and Mr. Bowdich ought to have known, that even under republican forms of government, an envoy does not take what is vulgarly termed French leave, but waits for passports and a congé.

The Moslems who are to be found in Coomassy, are either natives born in the north-eastern districts, bordering the Volta river, or they are subjects of various inland kingdoms, whose residence in the capital is temporary only. The former class is the most numerous, if we include their slaves or proselytes, whose education is limited to an imperfect knowledge of the essential prayers and ceremonies of worship which they practice under the auspices of their masters, who devote a certain portion of each day to their education. The foreign Moslems, beside those of Salgha, Yandy, and other parts of Dagomba, and Ghunja, are from the inland districts bordering the Ghulby and Koara rivers, to instance the kingdoms and districts of Houssa, Killinga, Magho, Bargho, Marroa, &c.; and these men, who upon the average are better educated, are proportionably gifted with knowledge more extensive than their Guinea brethren possess. Hence it is that the arrival of a well educated man is announced by public rejoicing, and he is entitled to a degree of veneration in proportion to his talents. Natives of Cairo, of the great Desert, of Medina, and Mecca, sometimes (although rarely) visit the empire, as well as adjacent kingdoms; and the Tunisian and Tripolitan merchants occasionally penetrate as far. When any of these events happen, the epoch is commemorated by rejoicings at court also, and a suitable number of human victims are doomed to bleed in honour of the visitors. Even the imperial Sherfa tribe extend their travels as far as this remote district of heathen Afrjca; and, as the sea presents an obstacle to their progress southward, they pursue their rambles east and west to the neighbouring courts, as politics or commerce may invite their steps. These descendants of the prophet's family are received at Ashantee with hospitality unlimited in its scope; they become the honoured guests of king and ministers, while the population in bulk venerate them as demi-gods, and look for an increase of wealth in proportion as they compete in tendering respect and offers of service to their visitors: for no man is ignorant of the pretensions they set up on account of their sanctified genealogy, and their consanguinity to kings and emperors of the past and present day. Expiatory and propitiatory offerings of all descriptions are tendered to the

stranger's god, as well as to the national and tutelary deities; the poor commonly make oblations of the blood of fowls, eggs, pigeons, &c.; the superior classes of citizens, that of goats or sheep; and the court, that of slaves and prisoners of war; as was practised under the old Mexican emperors, who reserved these unhappy men for public sacrifice, on days dedicated to state ceremony, to religious festivals, rejoicings, or lamentations.

The degree of respect entertained for the Sherfa by the Guinea Moslems, is at least equivalent to the homage that is their due in the Barbary states. These princes, to whatever nation they may belong, enjoy a precedence over their brethren in faith on all ceremonious occasions; and this distinction is unreluctantly accorded even by the Bashaw of Coomassy. In the distribution of presents made by the king, and the great officers and captains, their share of gold and provisions is at least equivalent, and it most commonly exceeds the rest in quantity. There have been three of these princely visitors at Coomassy during the reign of Sai Quamina, and none ever came so far to the south and west before; a circumstance that induces the present sovereign of Ashantee to arrogate to himself a greater degree of glory than his ancestors ever enjoyed. The last of these princes was the Sheriffe Brahima who was at court during Mr. Bowdich's mission in 1817, but who, after a residence partly at Coomassy and partly at Abomey, the capital of Dahomy, during the space of nearly three years, quitted the former for Nikky, with an ample fortune, and in charge of a large caravan of pilgrims, who had entered into engagements with the Sheriffe for protection to Cairo.

The inhabitants of Morocco, Fez, Taffilet, Suse, or the deserts in their vicinity, rarely frequent this part of Guinea; nor have the Ashantees any direct open communication with the Niger between Ghou and Yamina, a space of nearly six hundred miles horizontal, although they sometimes visit those regions by circuitous routes, under the guidance of a friendly Moslem: the reason is that certain hostile kingdoms intervene both north and west of Ashantee.

The geography of Western Africa, as it is submitted in the Map, is carefully

compiled from a series of manuscripts,* and from information purely native, whose authors were in frequent habits of traversing the African Continent from south to north, (or vice versâ) from the forests of Ashantee to the several ports of the Ghulby and Niger eastward, as far as Bornou, and even Bagharmi, where, it is stated, the Shary forms a junction with the waters of the Shady in its course to the Egyptian Nile. Whatever may be the various sentiments of the learned in African literature, as regards the natural and political features of the internal parts of this continent, I take no part in the controversy, neither am I wedded to any theory, however presumptive or otherwise the evidence may appear. In this avowal, which embraces every hypothesis, it will be only requisite to repeat that the reader is naturally at liberty to establish his own reflections upon the materials before him, while the author of the treatise, whatever may be his sentiments individually, will simply claim the privilege of asserting, that it could not concern him either intimately or remotely, if it even should be shewn by possibility or demonstration, that the Niger, the Koara, the Ghulby, &c. pour their waters into the eastern or western ocean, into the northern African sea, (the Mediterranean) or into the swamps and lakes which have been supposed to exist between the equator and the tropic of Cancer, and to which the erroneous name of Wangara seems to have been given. Far be the thought, however, that might obtrude a shade of disrespect towards the conceptions and prejudices of the world of science; for many illustrious writers, and others whose talents are known only in private life, are perhaps in the full enjoyment of opinions founded upon hypothetical conclusions, and the assertions of travellers, which as far as philosophical reasoning should have influence, may possibly claim as much, or more public attention, than any isolated system whatever, relating to the great rivers of Africa.

Among the manuscripts furnished by the Moslems for illustrating the geography of interior Africa, is one whose features are descriptive of the kingdoms

* The manuscripts to which I refer are submitted in the Appendix, together with their translations, agreeably to my own reading and the knowledge I derived from the natives.

and districts bordering the courses of the Jolliba, Koara, Ghulby, Shary, Shady, and Nile, to the outlet of the last-mentioned river at Alexandria, on the Egyptian coast. It was written agreeably to a desire I expressed, that my informers should substantiate what they had verbally reported of the courses and names of the great inland waters. Some trifling passages are not quite intelligible; but as a point of greater consideration, it is not clear to me whether the authors intended to trace the Niger from Youry westerly to its source (in which case Bambouk is to be deemed the reservoir), or that it was principally designed to give information of the countries upon the parallel of the Koara, the Jolliba, &c. and between their fountains and those of the Gambia and Senegal. The manuscript, indeed, supports the former supposition, yet the latter, after all, would seem to be the most probable conclusion; for, according to Park, the countries of Foota, Toura, Foota Joulaba, or Jalo, and Bambook, are watered by the streams which compose these great western rivers, and consequently the Niger, in its course eastward, cannot in all human probability intersect so many rivers, whose inclinations are to the north. It is worthy of remark, however, that the Moslems should say its Bambara name, Jolliba, (pronounced Joulaba) is derived from the country Foota Joulaba at the extremity of a great range of mountains, which form a sort of chain stretching eastwards, nearly as far as Kong.

In reference to the Appendix to Mr. Bowdich's work, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, called "Courses of the Niger or Quolla, by Moors of Haoussa, Bornou, and Jennie" there is a great coincidence with the manuscript in question in leading features. If, however, the objection already started, that Bambouk cannot contain the source of the Niger, be substantially true, the evidence throws nothing in the scale; that of the Jennie Moor (No. 4) excepted, which it would seem is thus far corroborative of what the Kong and Manding Moslems report: viz., that the Jolliba rises behind their country westward, and between that and Melly, in a mountainous ridge that extends as far as the sea, called Bahar Ahmar, a name which may be interpreted either the Red River or the River of

Savages (and which I take to be the Gambia): without enumerating places of minor note, it passes on to Yamina*, from thence to Sago, Sansanding, Jennie, Timbuctoo, and Ghou, where the Jolliba ceases to bear that name. Ghou is the first kingdom westward upon the Koara; it flows then to the south-east, passing Kaby, and some other states, to Youry: according to the manuscript, it then runs through Boussa (for the author, besides its eastern channel, gives it a southern course through Wawa, Kaima, Khodobari, Khamba, Yarraba, and Ageasse) into the sea at Benin. The eastern channel, i. e. the Koara, continues to flow away in that direction, passing Noofee and Atagara to the Sharee, and the Chadee, from whence it enters Foor and Waddai, until it unites with the Nile. This manuscript, as it is published, I read over to many Moslems, and they all agreed that it was correct in substance, although not sufficiently explicit, because it did not name the southern branch, called by them the Ghulby Kanbaja, or Shadarba; neither did it state that it flowed into the salt sea of Benin, by the way of Wawa and Yarraba, the channel which Mr. Bowdich acknowledges to have expunged, because he imagined it to be a road instead of what it really was designed for, a river; hence he merely refers to it as such at manuscript No. 1, of the Houssa Moor.

In compiling the sketch of a chart at Coomassy, representing the geographical information I gained of the Moors, it was with some difficulty they were made to comprehend it; but this was eventually accomplished, with tolerable satisfaction to myself. Latitude and longitude it could not be supposed they knew any thing about, for had they been so qualified, that alone would have argued a pre-eminence over the Arabs and northern Africans, who

* It is said that Yamina received its name from a prince of the Ismaelian dynasty, who, by his ambassadors, prevailed upon one of the early sovereigns to abjure the Pagan rites, and embrace Islam; which being acceded to, and confirmed by oath, the Sheriffe, as an honourable epithet, bestowed upon the city the name of *يمينا*, (from *امين*, an oath,) implying it was a city sworn into confederation in defence of the Koran.

are alike ignorant in these essentials. Journeys of days, half days, and watches*, according to their own distribution of time, and according as the Arabs themselves compute the distance of one place from another, serve them in lieu of meridional lines and parts. The bearing and relative position of roads, rivers, kingdoms, &c. they described even with a degree of accuracy. Shareka and Moghareba, east and west, were terms not unknown to them, any more than those which express north and south. But their favourite expressions were the rising or setting Sun; the Sun on the right eye or on the left, and the Sun full on the cheek, implying the courses or bearing (relatively) E. and W.—those NE. or NW. and that which pointed due north. By the same characteristics they described the bearing, and by days' journies the distance of one inland kingdom from another, confirming all they advanced by the testimony of their travelling manuscripts, and the evidence of those amongst them who had visited the places they mentioned.

The allowance of sixteen British miles, three-fourths of the same to be made good on the horizontal distance, I think, from my own experience, is equivalent to a day's journey, where the country is intersected by forest or thicket; or where the surface is interrupted by hills and mountains. One-fourth reduction from the actual distance by the path, is certainly not over-rated in proportion to the capricious winding of roads, such as I travelled over; and I have been credibly assured that the southern roads exhibit, more or less, the same aspect, whilst those inclining southward of east, and northward of west, are moreover greatly impeded by hills, mountains, and ravines.

* These watches divide the twenty-four hours into nine parts. The first, at sun-set, is called المغرب, Mogharb; the second, العشاء, Lâshâ; the third, الشفق, Shafak; the fourth, نصف الليل, Nosaf Leil, (midnight;) the fifth, الفجر, Al Figer, (day-break;) the sixth, السبع, Sabah, (sun-rise;) the seventh, العدا, Al Ghadâ; the eighth, الظهر, Dohor, (noon;) the ninth, العسر, Al Aser. Some, however, reckon no more than five watches, which are necessarily four hours forty-eight minutes apart. These are Mogharb, Nosaf Leil, Al Figer, Dohor, and Al Aser. This division of time denotes likewise the hours of prayer, when it is incumbent on true believers to assemble in the Mosques, or to congregate in devotional exercises in the field, or in the house.

The impervious forest and thicket, in which most of the capital towns of Ashantee are embosomed, breaks off in some places about fifty, and in others sixty miles north-east and west of the metropolis; the roads then become open, free, and not much inclined to those curvatures, which are unavoidable in the wilderness of Assin. Hence, from Akeyah, Quahou, Massy, and the Tando, I imagine that twenty miles, with four-fifths of that distance to make good for the horizontal distance, will not be over-rated, for those countries reputed to be champaign land. It should be recollected, that horses are common inland, throughout the eastern districts, as far north as the Koara, and that camels are not uncommon. In the north they are also plentiful; they abound, in short, wherever the country is adapted to their procreation and use, and the natives of those parts, as Mr. Bowdich had a fair opportunity of seeing during the Yam Custom, make use of those valuable animals in their caravans.

I have been in the practice of travelling in the same manner in the north of Africa. In the year 1814, I travelled, that is, rode, from Mogadore to Tangier, between which there is a difference of nearly five degrees of latitude, and about three of longitude, giving an horizontal distance some trifle short of three hundred and fifty miles, but which in reality was about four hundred and forty-five, for the road branched off inland, leaving the direct track, and upon gaining the higher latitudes, the surface was abrupt and hilly. This journey I performed in eighteen days, which would almost average twenty-four miles six furlongs each day. This is what would be termed regular easy travelling, in the countries of the Gharb, and every where north of the great Desert. The actual and the horizontal distance in this calculation are at variance ninety-five miles, which should be accounted for thus:—seventy-four miles to be reduced by a rate of five-sixths for the angular inclination of the roads, and twenty-one miles more for diagonal or indirect courses, a sweep that was made to avoid the plains of a rebellious tribe of Arabs. But even this is nothing compared with the rate at which couriers will travel on foot the same distance, as it is no uncommon thing for those hardy men to perform the journey to Tangier in eleven

days, nay, some few of them are able to accomplish the distance in ten. But these efforts are put in practice upon cases of emergency only, and when the express is desired to make his way by night as well as day. By the same rule the Morocco, Suse, Taffilet roads, &c. are traversed, and at the same rates. I have journeyed to the capital of this empire in all seasons of the year, and I invariably found that six days or twenty-five miles each day was the full average rate* without incurring the risk of fatiguing the cattle. These, which may be termed domestic journeys, apply exclusively to known places, the towns and cities of the same empire; whereas the routes leading to foreign parts, and from kingdom to kingdom, are not traversed so rapidly, whether they are mountainous or the reverse. In the temperate zone, twenty-four miles by the road is reckoned a full and complete journey in traversing remote districts, and twenty miles is estimated as the average; the former making good four-fifths of the actual distance, would give about nineteen miles one and a half furlong, and the latter exactly sixteen miles for the horizontal distance each day.

It has been shewn by an authority no less respectable than the Quarterly Review†, that “Mr. Bowdich seems determined to reconcile himself to every hypothesis that had ever been formed of the course and termination of the Niger. But the way in which he makes his Quolla to perambulate the whole of the African Continent, and literally to quarter it with its divergent branches, some flowing to the east, some to the west, some to the north, and others again to the south, is not only geographically absurd, but physically impossible.” I must confess that I am at a loss to conceive what materials that gentleman could have found at Coomassy for the arrangement given to his map, in support of an hypothesis of the texture of which he has submitted no evidence. The Moslems of Coomassy, with all the elucidation I was capable of giving to the

* It is true I have travelled that space in four days, but I have no room to be vain of the feat, for a gentleman who is now in England accomplished the same distance in three days, and his horse, although greatly jaded, survived the fatigue.

† No. XLIV. March 1820, p. 292.

subject, with his book and map upon the table before us, were unable to comprehend not only the heterogeneous courses of the rivers, but the very names he has given to many places, and which, it does appear, have no existence whatever, except on paper.

It would, perhaps, be an act of injustice to that gentleman, to say I make no doubt that his system of African geography, which, as he assures us himself, was checked by the artless prattle of children, was a fabrication of his own: I do not say so; but this I will affirm, that the names of kingdoms, cities, rivers, mountains, &c. which might have been familiar to his hearing at Ashantee, were, as it seems, so transplanted and shoved about when he constructed his map, that, to use a hackneyed phrase, " 'Tis now so like nothing, that there is nothing like it." Nay, it cannot be said to agree with those names of places which are heaped together in the appendix, many of which are really deserving of credit. The Gambaro running westerly out of the lake called Caudee to Timbuctoo; the Quolla going to the rising sun, and uniting to the Moonda, the Agoowai, the Zaire, or Congo, the Nile, &c.

I would not be thought hostile to any hypothesis, neither do I in the capacity of reader object to speculations, even such as Mr. Bowdich has indulged in, provided they are characterised by their proper names. But as my pen may have been as indignant at these incongruities as my feelings were at Coomassy, when the author's map was found to be useless, it is incumbent on me to point out some of the most palpable errors, and this I shall do as briefly as possible. Beginning then at the top of the map, I find a place called Yahooodee, a country or town of non-existence. Yahooodee simply implies Jews, the tribes of Jews, &c. which term the Moslems apply to those people of the Mosaic faith who inhabit the lower Atlas, and the district of Suse. They also apply the term Yahooodee to the Hebrew or Jewish tribes, whether native Africans or not, who inhabit Marroa, some parts of Fillany, and the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo. Of these people I imagine the author of the information spoke, when he endeavoured to make Mr. Bowdich comprehend the import of the word Yahooodee. As a nation or

a tribe they cannot be inserted with propriety in any map, for they exist even in a more deplorable state of servitude and humiliation in those districts than in the empire of Morocco.

Haoussa, which stands in the neighbourhood of his Yahooodee, he represents a city with two lakes, &c. giving it the latitude of nineteen degrees or thereabouts; but which should have been described as a mighty empire or district whose capital city is Kassina; and Youry, which he places on the lower river, is Quolla, a powerful kingdom connected with and dependent upon that metropolis, from which it is distant only fifteen good journies, east and west. His kingdoms of Barrabadi and Kallaghee, are totally unknown at Coomassy. His Gambaroo river has no existence whatever; but Gambaroo is a large city and district eastward of Kano, and on the south bank of the Koara. Katinna, the city placed between his kingdom called Kassina and his city of Haoussa, is equally unknown, unless intended to express the true Kassina, in which case it is placed as many hundred miles out of its position as the Haoussa city in relation to the latter, being considered the western limits of that district: but Haoussa and the tributary kingdoms are upon the Koara. The towns conducting from the Gambaro to Katinna, are entirely unknown by name, even to natives of Kassina or other parts of Haoussa. Of the names scattered between the rivers, and eastward of his Jolliba, some indeed are known, although the greater portion do not enjoy that advantage. Taking a peep over the Quolla from Noffee, there will be seen an extensive desert upon the chart; but which has no existence elsewhere, if the natives of Nooffee or Noufy, are to be credited, any more than those long harmonious names in the vicinity of Wawa, spelt Goodoobirree, Gillimakafoo, Garagooroogee, Paangee, &c. The same rule may be applied to many more such, and the small writing is commonly erroneous. Of his kingdoms south of the Koara, and between that river and the Aswada, (supposing the Roman letters to have that signification) it is to be lamented that some of them are not yet established; witness his Firrado, Doolooe, Fobee, Kaybee, and others. But in justice to the author it must be admitted, that in the midst of such extensive regions he has hit upon some, perhaps I

should have said, many places that really have existence, although in most cases it appears he has mistaken kingdoms and districts for towns and cities, and *vice versa*. In short, there is little to be commended, besides the names of those provinces which now constitute the empire of Ashantee. Yet his river Laka, his river Mory, his river Kaarhalla, and that which he calls Coombo or Zamma, (unless Kambah) are alike unintelligible to natives of those parts. True it is, there is a town called Coombo; and his river called Mory, or, as it should be written, Mawry, is a kingdom upon the banks of the Ghulbi, a river which it seems he never heard of. Gooroma, which is marked as a kingdom, happens to be the capital city of one of the most puissant governments of interior Africa. Nay, he did not know that the Volta was called the Aswada; that there was a great city called Nikky, the metropolis of Killinga, distant from the Niger or Koara, and the vicinity of Youry, only thirteen days; that there was a lake in the dominions of Ashantee called Bouro; (although he will find it written and published in one of the manuscripts) or that there were provinces in the empire bearing the name of Akiyah, Ajorah, Yobati, Baboso, &c. All these inferences may be drawn from his map. Turning from this barren subject, to the little sketch called "Reported Courses of the Rivers," &c. affixed at the corner of the said map, I shall only remark, that his Oongoora, which is pronounced by the Moslems and Pagans broad and full, Wankara, nearly as we write it, should be removed from its elevated station, and be again inserted, in proper characters, in a latitude considerably lower than his lowest river, (of those running east and west) and above a thousand miles more to the westward of the longitude he has assigned it.*

It would, perhaps, have astonished the survivors of the mission of 1817, to be told, that their party had first the honour of exploring a region so famous in

* Since these sheets were written, accounts have been transmitted to England of the death of Mr. Bowdich upon the Gambia. As an author, it is for the public to determine how his untimely end may affect the world of African literature. As a private man, and a laudable adventurer in the pestilential climates of that continent, all men of feeling will deplore a loss that adds another name of some little distinction to the already inflated list of travellers, whose existence is now only to be found in the pages of history. I

record which has been so long searched after, and of which it has puzzled so many men of erudition, (transcending our own by far,) to form a solution agreeably to the writings of the ancients. Nevertheless it is an undoubted fact, authenticated by the testimony of every Moslem in Coomassy, that Wangara, or Wankara, is a mighty district (like what was called the province of Africa, where the city of Aphrodisium stood, and from which that of Mehedia also took its name) spreading over all that tract of land from Gaman inclusively, or the Manding States of Enkasy and Ghombati, in the west, to Khimbee, and Ajasee, in the east; and from N. to S. from Ghofan and Tonouma, down to the margin of the Atlantic ocean. But I shall submit, as I may find occasion, such other observations as I am warranted to do, from the unanimity and confidence which all my informers opposed against any argument of a character to destroy their testimony.

Whatever class my literary errors may belong to, or however unworthy I may be to obtrude upon the good sense of the public, I trust I shall not deserve the imputation of having knowingly misrepresented facts. The map of Wangara, will at least enjoy the merit of being free from*

too can mourn, because there are few to be found possessing as much zeal, enterprize, and literary talent as Mr. Bowdich was qualified with, notwithstanding the blunders I lay to his charge in the volume he wrote on Ashantee, or the revolting egotism and misrepresentation with which it abounds. While I disclaim the influence of prejudice in regard to this unfortunate gentleman, I am free to declare that I look to his publication only, the false colouring it has given to matters of importance, and the consequent false impression it is calculated to make on the understanding of the reader; and whether its author be living or not, I conceive my duty is the same. I will venture to assert, that had he been still in existence, it would have been impossible, by any effort of the pen, to have extricated his name, with satisfaction, from the obloquy associated with my charges. As he is dead, no degree of censure can affect him. Let him slumber, therefore, in a peaceful distant grave; but let me undeceive the world in matters connected with a public interest.

* When Mr. Bowdich arrived in England, Mr. Cock applied to me to translate his Arabic manuscripts. I took some pains in doing so, and those papers which came under my observation did not support the speculations he subsequently launched into, for they were in a limited degree supplementary, as his book was already written, with the reservation, perhaps, of his geographical section.

speculative or conjectural matter, excepting where such speculations are characterised as such (by dotted lines, &c.) Besides the corroborative testimony of the manuscript, the two maps stand supported by a mass of information gleaned from the Moslems of the interior parts. I have purposely revised my old maps and sketches, expunging from them a variety of reports which were unsubstantiated by writings in the native character, and which it was my original intention to publish connectedly, but with a specific mark, to distinguish those features which were corroborated by the Arabic, from others which were not so.

Every thing short of ocular demonstration, it cannot be denied, is defective; or at least liable to error. Latitude and longitude are unquestionably the criterions by which the mind may satisfy itself of the relative position of objects: yet where these essentials cannot be obtained in practice, others, founded upon authority, may be substituted with more or less pretension to accuracy; and information derived from these sources may even stand the test of public criticism. Liable as my own map may be to errors, I shall not deem it inconsistent at a future day, should my destiny again lead me to the shores of Africa, to expunge, with my own hand, the faults I may then discover, and publish to the world any misconceptions, however extensive they may appear. Such, I conceive, is a duty incumbent upon every man, who, by profession should, in a course of active service, enjoy local advantages whereby he may, from time to time, reap information calculated for the public ear.

The kingdom of Ashantee, from west to east, *i. e.* from Gaman to the Volta River, embraces about four degrees of longitude, including its recent acquirements in the west; and from south to north, *i. e.* from Cape Coast Castle to the tributary kingdom Ghofan, about four degrees of latitude. This is the full extent of what, politically, is modern Ashantee; for over this tract the king rules with unrivalled sway: every king, chief, viceroy, or caboecer, being his absolute and unconditional vassal, as tributaries or not, and most of them holding their governments by virtue of an appointment from the court.

The numerous kingdoms, or principalities, which in the days of Bosman flourished in the vicinity of the Gold Coast, have successively been engulfed in the vortex which has since spread under its modern name of Ashantee, into that great political association of kingdoms, that have fallen under the sword of the ruling dynasty, and are now only to be distinguished as provinces dependent on the court of Coomassy. This is to be understood as referring to what originally was called the kingdom of Dinkra, the mountains of Tofal, the kingdom of Wassau or Warsaw, that of Amanaha, Aowin, Showe, and Toosequa, on its western longitudinal meridian; those of Soko, Takima, Coransa, Massy, Assin, Fantee, and Ahanta, on the central meridian; and the districts of Ghofan, Baboso, Banna, Yobati, Ajorah, Bouromy, Akeyah, Aquahou, Akim, Aquapim, and Aquambo, in the east, bordering on the Volta.

There is a free and unobstructed communication with all the leading provinces, by roads or paths, which by way of distinction are collectively called great roads; and, separately, they bear the name of the sovereign in whose reign they were cut, or the country they lead to. These roads are eight in number; not nine as Mr. Bowdich was informed. The Aowin is the first, leading to the western coast, to Apollonia, Assinee, Bassam, and Lahou. The second is the Wassau road, leading through Dinkra to Wassau; from whence it again branches off, east and west, the former leading to the river Praa, which is crossed to El Mina, Commenda, Chamah, &c., and the latter striking through Ahanta, to Cape Three Points, and the European establishments in its vicinity. The third road is that leading through Assin and Fantee, to the village of Doonqua, where it forks off in two branches, the one to Annamaboe, and the other to the Dutch fort at Mouree; which is about four miles eastward of Cape Coast Castle. The fourth is a road, running south-east, and north-west; through Juabin, Yomoho, Akim, and part of Aquapim, to Accra, and the English, Dutch, and Danish settlements in that neighbourhood. These are the four great maritime causeways, from whence

the Ashantees derive all their supplies of powder, guns, and European merchandize.

The inland roads of Ashantee are, first, that leading from Coomassy, north-west, to the ferry of Ensoota or Ensotah, on the River Tando, and from thence branching off in two directions, the one to the northward, leading to Bontoko, and Houraboh; the residence of the late king of that country, (Enkasy, Kong, &c.); the other inclining more westerly, to Shouy, Soumah, and Sarem in the west. The second road leads through Takimah west, or Coransah and Banna east, to the River Aswada, and the mountains of Sarga, the eastern circuit of which leads on to Ghobagho, and the western to Enkasi, Kong, and Manding. The third is a road cut through Massy, Coransa, and Banna, easterly to the Aswada, below the Desert of Ghofan, where it again branches off northward to Ghobagho; and eastward to Tonoma, and the kingdoms of Dagomba. The fourth, and last great path, is the one leading to Akiyah; from whence it sprouts out in two branches, the one easterly to Bouromi and the Volta, the other inclining to the northward of the lake Bouro, through Ajorah, part of Yobati, and Baboso, to the Volta again, beyond which is Salgha. The two last roads are sometimes called the old roads, from their antiquity and pre-eminence. Besides these, since the recent subjugation of Gaman, the king employed a considerable body of troops in cutting a path more westerly through the forest, that would lead to the open plains on the Tando, and to Gaman, by a route reported to be shorter by two journies than the old one into which it is made to strike, at the distance of one watch from Coomassy.

The minor roads and paths are more numerous; the chief of them is one leading through the north-eastern provinces to a ferry called Goya, named after the chief town in Bouromy, south of the Bouro Water. Another of this class proceeds to Quahoe, from whence there is a cross road to Akim, Aquapim, Accra, Ningo, &c.; and another, branching easterly, to Aquambo and Dahomy: but it is reckoned extremely hazardous to enter that kingdom from

the side of Ashantee through Aquambo. There is another road leading from Coomassy to Sumah and Showy, in the west, over the Tando. Another also, taking through Akeyah, between the Banna road and the Volta, and leading to the eastern extremity of the Desert, from whence it is only two good journies to a considerable town of Ghunga, called Agaga. Several roads of a like importance, lead, more or less, to the east and west of south, with branches that fork to the principal towns on the sea coast, and to the forts or factories of the three European powers, there established: viz. one over the Aquapim Hills, to Ningo, Pram Pram, and the mouth of the Volta. Another through Akim, to Berracoe and Winnebah. A third breaks out at Tantum by a branch from the main track, leading to Annamaboe. Some other branches, besides, extend from Wassau through the Ahanta country, opening a communication with the windward settlements, from the Praa to the Ancober rivers. But all these roads are of comparative insignificance, and many of them are shut up, from time to time, by fallen timber, swamps, and barriers of matted vegetation, cemented together by uncommon rains, tornados, or the sudden rush of torrents from the hills. Neither are the main roads exempt from these casualties; for sometimes it occurs that the most frequented tracks are reported by the last traveller to have become impassable, in which case it is usual for the government to employ men to remove the obstructions, or to cut a new opening in the parts adjacent, as may be effected most expeditiously.

The principal towns, as well as most of the superior villages, are within the track of the high roads: yet there are others, of distinction, to which access is gained by traversing paths diverging from the main trunks.

Ashantee, from the latitude of $7^{\circ} 30'$ north, down to the water's edge, is a solid rampart of vegetation, extending east and west, from Aquapim to Ahanta, in the form of one compact forest, either (as it is found about fifteen miles inland) of the most stupendous character, or (as it may be seen in the vicinity of the coast) exhibiting an entanglement of lofty bush, blended with tall trees. The paths that intersect this forest are unavoidably the most capricious and serpentine. The labour of cutting them straight would indeed

be a severe tax upon the industry of the nation. But the government, for reasons of a political nature, connected with the recent aspect of some of the Fantee towns in the neighbourhood of Forts, does not yet think proper to remove the impediments of this natural barrier, between the sea coast and the capital of the empire. Hence the generality of them notwithstanding they are considered as main roads, are scarcely to be called footpaths.*

The roads or paths leading inland are infinitely superior to the others, and as the forest is cleared on the fourth or fifth day, and in some places, the third from leaving Coomassy, these tracks extend over vast plains where there is no great impediment to the traveller, unless the jungle may have become matted in certain spots. Gaman, Banna, and in short the greater part of Sarem, in the south, is almost universally champaign land, in some places variegated by clumps of trees and shrubbery, scattered in patches widely distant apart. Ghunja beyond the Volta, as also Dagomba, have also a similar aspect, although hilly, if not mountainous, in the vicinity of that river; and it has more woods than Sarem.

The seat of empire is environed by numerous large and small populous towns, the chief of which is Juabin†, bearing south-east from Coomassy, one day's journey. It is reckoned to be about one third the size of Coomassy, and its population is estimated at seventy thousand souls. Below the city is the lake Echouy, at a very inconsiderable distance, and in the neighbouring hills (for it is inclosed in a natural amphitheatre) are many small towns and villages,

* As it was the universal impression, that all public disputes ceased with the ratification of the treaty, I did not hesitate to urge the necessity of forming a broad open path down to our chief settlement, offering, as my instructions authorized me, the loan of tools for that purpose. The king, in reply, said, "I know the white king is a true friend now, and he can only tell you to ask me that for my good; but then he lives a long way off, and does not hear what insolent people the blacks are, when they think the white king is their friend, and will help them to fight. Now, as soon as my nephew comes back, I shall make a proper road, that the trade may go to the English." The Moslems subsequently corroborated this intention.

† Mr. Bowdich has erroneously spelt it Dwabin; the natives pronounce it as I have written, and the Moslems spell it جواين, which is the same.

whose inhabitants, beside their usual occupations, derive extra emoluments from fishing, an operation which they perform with canoe and circular net, the same as is practised on the ocean. Many thousands of Fantees, Assins, and Gamans, are there detained prisoners of war. Of the two first nations some are considered free, although narrowly watched to prevent their escape to the sea side: the rest are absolute slaves, having been sold and transferred in due succession from hand to hand. From their superior capacity in aquatic employments, they are considered valuable property by their taskmasters.* In short, Echouy, or as it may be also called Bussem Echouy, and the territory thereabouts may be considered the Siberia of the Court: for it is also a place of banishment for inferior ranks of insurgents, whom the king may think proper to spare, or reserve for future punishment.

Eastward of the lake is a little district of Akim, called Yomoho, whose chief town is Adumpore. It has also a great population scattered about in little villages, whose inhabitants are agriculturists, and supply the markets of Juabin, Bequa, Sarasoo, Dompassy, &c. with corn and yams.

Beyond Yomoho, on the north-east, is the province of Quahou, formerly a little kingdom of itself. This is reckoned a very fruitful spot, and in many places the land is clear and open, even down to the Volta, where there is another valuable fishery that gives employment to many thousands of the natives of those parts.

The route from Coomassy to the lower part of Aquambo, Aquapim, &c. down to the mouth of the Aswada or Volta, lies over a very hilly country greatly intersected by water-courses, many of which incline easterly, and discharge themselves into the Volta; the banks of which river, on both sides, are occasionally infested by a banditti, who are sometimes daring enough to plunder the smaller crooms in its vicinity. The insurgents are mostly

* Two of these unhappy men, whom I had an opportunity of conversing with, assured me, that between Fantees and Assins together, their numbers now approached to twenty-five thousand, and that above four times that number had perished, either on the altars of the metropolis, or by famine, misery, and the cruelty of their masters.

Aquambo negroes, excited to rebellion against their conquerors the Ashantees, by other branches of the tribe who fled before the invading army, and have established themselves on the Dahoman shore; yet, in peaceable times, they are also considered the subjects of Ashantee. It is reckoned eighteen journies from Coomassy to the mouth of that river.

The route to Accra lies through Yomoho, Atoa, and Akim.* The surface for the most part is abrupt. The provinces of Akim and Aquapim are mountainous or hilly; yet many extensive tracts on the eastern frontier of Akim are entirely free from forest and thicket.

A medical gentleman of the name of Isert, in the service of his Danish majesty, made several excursive tours in Aquapim, and, as it is reported, would have travelled further inland had it been agreeable to the views of the Company. According to the traditions still preserved amongst the officers of Christiansburg castle, this traveller experienced much hospitality from the natives, and was greatly delighted with the beauteous novelties that opened to view as he advanced to the northward. After passing the chain of hills he found the land to be open, yet not entirely free from forest. The crooms on the line of path, unlike the Fantee roads, were numerous, populous, and imposing; and they scarcely averaged the distance of two miles apart.

The streams are very numerous throughout the Akim and Aquapim provinces; some of them, particularly after heavy rains, are impassable until the water subsides. The chief of the rivers crossed by the Akim path between Coomassy and the coast, are, first, the Dah, which rises at no great distance from Jamacasi, passing Juabin and falling into the Praa, two journies westward of the ford at Prassoo.

The second river of magnitude is the Praa, which is crossed between Anoka and Argosi on the fifth day. This river being a tutelar god is dignified

* Mr. Bowdich says, that on the route to Accra, the river Boosempira is crossed on the sixth day, by a tree laid over the stream; but this is contradicted by general testimony. A messenger who came to me from Accra travelled to the capital by this route, and he declared the breadth of the river to be great, adding, "That it was not always fordable, and that no such thing as a bridge existed there or elsewhere on that route." The Birrum river is about ten yards wide at Monosi.

with the name of Bussem, which may be interpreted sacred, awful, majestic, holy ; * it rises in a mountain between Akeya and Quahou, near a little croom called Sumtasoo, and sacrifices are made at its spring head, which is said to be a large gaping rock about half way up the side of the mountain. Here the full vigour of the God is supposed to exist, yet the water does not always gush out with the same force.

The river Birrum is the third in rank on the Accra route ; it rises near Sonara in Quahou, and falls into the Praa at a very short distance from Dansansoo.

The Corim, the Sagwa, and the Souho, are streams which rise in the Aquapim hills, and flowing eastward fall into the Aswada within forty miles of its mouth.

The river Saccoom, between Accra and Berracoe, has also its rise in the Aquapim mountains, and a branch of it is crossed at three journies from Accra.

Accra is scarcely one hundred and sixty miles horizontal distance from the capital, yet the surface is so rugged, and the paths so obstructed and circuitous, that the real extent of ground is near two hundred and forty miles, according to the time it employs the traveller in going that distance.

Akeyah, Bouromy, Ajorah, Yobati, and Coransah, are reckoned among the most populous provinces of the empire. The habits of the people are more commercial and enterprising, and their evil passions less predominant than those of the Ashantees. This may be, in some degree, attributed to the great influence of the Moslems in the above-named provinces, in Bouromi, and in Baboso, where likewise they sojourn in great numbers. † It is also to

† Bussem is the native word for Fetische.

* Notwithstanding the Moslems who inhabit the capital are necessarily induced to espouse the court politics in public life, they are secretly averse from coalescing with the army, for two simple reasons ; the first is religion, which forbids that the lives and liberties of " true believers " should be sacrificed to the caprice, or in the avaricious wars of heathen monarchs ; the second is an innate repugnance to contribute to the aggrandizement of a power that is already dreaded by the Moslems in general.

be observed, that these people, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Banna, were the vassals, in the middle of the last century, of the sovereigns of Salgha.

The road leading to Bouromy and the Volta, at Goyah and Odanty, is frequented by the traders who convey merchandize to the markets on the confines of Dahomy, for the supply of that empire. The distance to this ferry is reckoned twelve days good travelling. The path is passably smooth as far as the mountains of Akeyah, about sixty miles from Coomassy, yet the forest extends to their very basement. After gaining access to the opposite side, the path takes through extensive plains, where trees are only to be met with in detached spots, and sometimes none will be seen for many miles. The surface is covered with high grass and jungle, which the inhabitants fire, and employ the ashes to manure the plantations.

Elephants abound in Bouromy, Yobati, Baboso, and Banna; and hunting these animals is one of the chief occupations of the people. The natives of Yobati are reckoned so adroit at the sport, that they can furnish above a hundred loads of ivory, for Coomassy, in the space of a month, if required. It would seem that the elephant was an equivalent gift of Providence in the lieu of those veins of precious ore, which are to be met with in some districts southward, and westward, where these animals do not usually herd.

The Moselms are particularly numerous in Yobati, and in all the provinces to the east and west of north: they live in political societies governed by their respective princes, who are vassals to the king, but who enjoy prerogatives exceeding those of any other class of subjects.

The lake Bouro, a sheet of water of a greater extent than the Echouy lake, lies to the northward of Yobati, and in the season of rain is distant from the Volta one watch, or about three hours easy walk. The Echouy being situated in the land of the heathens, and close to the capital, is a place of greater renown. It is supposed hence to have obtained the title of Bussem, being called indiscriminately Echouy, or Bussem Echouy, the sacred lake.*

* There is, as Mr. Bowdich relates, a popular superstition that the Europeans will cut a water communication from the sea to the Echouy, the guardian God of the metropolis; but that the Moslems

Hypothetical as this may appear, it is in some degree corroborated by the reports of the Moslems, who affirm that the title of Bussem was conferred upon it by an ancestor of the reigning sovereign, in commemoration of a battle gained in its neighbourhood, over the Akims, when they attacked the royal army by land and water. During those wars the Echouy was considered the guardian of the capital against Akim, then the most powerful and warlike tribe of negroes in the neighbourhood. The water of Echouy, notwithstanding it is filled by the torrents, and by rain descending from the amphitheatre of hills, is sometimes brackish, and this happens particularly during the greatest heat, when the land has been droughty for any length of time. Yet I never heard Mr. Bowdich's assertion that the water gave a reddish hue to the colour of the hair confirmed by the most credulous native; on the contrary my enquiries extorted a smile, and a reply, that it was like other water, only "sometimes salt like the sea." In this property the Echouy differs from the Bouro, for the latter is perfectly fresh and pure, at all seasons. The Bouro is also deeper as well as larger, and is navigated by fishing canoes like the former. If the rains are excessive, it overflows its natural limits to the extent of many miles, and sometimes discharges its surplus of waters into the Aswada. A little river that rises in a mountain between Banna and the little desert of Ghofan, flows by a southeasterly course into the lake, and contributes, during the sun's greatest action, to supply the deficit occasioned by evaporation. This stream, as the lake rises, inundates and fertilizes the land periodically on both sides, and the natives plant their fields as soon as the water subsides. Fish of a large size, and of delicious flavours, are said to be taken in the lake, and conveyed alive to Salgha. Many thousands of families also gain a living on its shores by

nourish the legend, I cannot believe; although I do not say they may be unmoved by a rumour which would flatter their hopes of emancipation from the yoke of heathen vassalage, mild as it is in respect to them, and place them in a situation from whence they might draw the same mercantile resources, as do now the Ashantees, who, by means of powder and shot alone, support that great political influence. Absurd as the tradition certainly is, if the Moslems are at all affected by it, it can only be with a friendly anxiety for its completion.

drying the article, and selling it to traders who make it a profession to frequent the markets of Dagombah.

Between Bouromi and Akeyah, there is a small stream that has its source in the mountains of the latter district, and which in its course easterly to the Aswada, forms a continuation of swampy patches like the bogs which surround Coomassy on the south and east. To this land they give the name of Ghorekati غريفة a name synonymous with humid, watery, and deep.

The distance of Yagy from the capital by the above route will be about two hundred and fifteen miles.

The route to Daboya and the kingdom of Ghobagho takes northerly through the districts and provinces of Massy, or Akeya, Coransa, Banna, and the Desert. The principal towns are Jamakasi, Kikiwhari, Enaso, Sakado, Kikiwasi, Graga, Dankari, Measi, Batmali, Coransa, Boben, Kerahem, Kantano, Kaka Caranda, Dawa; then the desert of Ghofan, and the Aswada river.

The route to Salgha, the metropolis of Ghunja, takes through the provinces of Akeyah, Ajorah, Bouromi, Yobati, and Baboso: the towns are numerous, but those of note are Jamacasi, Antoa, Damoka, Akroforom, Manbon, Adijani, Amatini, Akokoa, Batoda, Atabaho, Yobati, Sakenim, Yagy, and Salgha.

The route to Kong and Manding, leading on to the great kingdom of Melly on the Jolliba, intersects the provinces and districts of Massy, Safoy, Takima, Ghombati, and Enkasy. Here, however, the policy of the natives (who from about nine degrees to twelve degrees of latitude in this direction, are principally Moslems) is directly inimical to that of the court of Ashantee, and consequently there is rarely any commercial intercourse with the southern Manding tribes, excepting the few who, after the defeat of Dinkera, submitted to the yoke of vassalage, under the government of Ashantee, and were permitted to enjoy their inheritances peaceably in Ghombaty, Sokoo, and the confines of Ghofan.

A few of these people I occasionally saw in Coomassy. They are fairer complexioned than any of the heathens of these parts, but less robust, and seemingly less vigorous. Yet the greatest resistance the Ashantees met with



Drawn by I. Dupuis.

A Moslem of Hong in Military Costume.

during the campaign in Gaman, is admitted to have originated with the Mandings, who are the best cavalry troops, as they are also the best Elephant hunters in any part of Sarem.

Their warlike weapons are scimiters, bows and arrows, darts, and lances of the old Arab* construction, and whose blades, besides being of the length of sixteen or eighteen inches, are sometimes barbed and envenomed the same as the arrows with a deadly sort of poison, said to be known only to the inhabitants, and differing materially from what is prepared in Ashantee or Banna.

The more easterly kingdoms of Wangara, above the parallel of eight degrees of latitude, contain a still greater proportion of Moslems than the western, as far at least to the eastward as the great lake of Ayoh. The Moslem powers north and north-west of Dahomy are, it is affirmed, when united, able to raise an army adequate to drive the Dahomans from the capital, and strike terror into the breasts of the surrounding nations, as they have done on former occasions. But the Sultan of Zogho, to whom the Dahomans are tributary, is adverse to these invasions, as long as they are faithful in their remittances to the Court.

The Natives of Entaa, Mahee, and Gouaso, over the Aswada, are mostly of a tawny brown complexion, alike in persons, language, and features; but differing in customs, inasmuch as the tribes of the two last named provinces, distinguish themselves by scarifying and puncturing various parts of the body, besides the face, which the Moslems practise in common.

The metropolis of Ashantee,† according to my reckonings, will be found

* One of these lances and some darts which I gave to the late Sir George Collier, were tolerably ingenious specimens of workmanship. The former was covered alternately with silk, pieces of red cloth, and tiger's skin, ornamented with tassels and amulets neatly cased: the handle was covered with the skin of a snake.

† The territory of Ashantee is particularly ill adapted to surveys upon any trigonometrical principles, or even the application of astronomical instruments. Choice of stations can never avail in the country; and accident alone must guide the footsteps of the traveller to a spot where he can obtain a partial

about nine geographical miles to the southward of the parallel of seven degrees of north latitude, and in two degrees sixteen minutes or nearly so of west longitude. It approaches in bearing nigher to the meridian of Elmina, than any other town on the line of coast, and when the path is open, the distance by that, which is called the Wassau path or route, is traversed in less time by one day, and as some say one day and two watches, than any other station on the sea coast, a proof of its westerly inclination in regard to the longitudinal meridian of Cape Coast Castle.

The military resources of Ashantee are great indeed, without casting into the scale her preponderating influence in Sarem and Dagomba. The bashaw Mohammed assured me, that the armies of Ashantee that fought in Gaman, amounted to upwards of eighty thousand men, (without including the camp attendants, such as women and boys) of whom at one time above seven thousand were Moslems, who fought under his orders. In this estimate I speak within bounds, for I am inclined to believe he alluded to the army of Banna as a distinct force, whose numbers varied from twenty to twenty-five thousand men, armed with tomahawks, lances, knives, javelins, and bows and arrows. Of the eighty thousand the King can put muskets and blunderbusses in the hands of from forty to fifty thousand. The opposing enemy, including the auxiliary Moslem and Heathen powers allied to the army of Dinkera, amounted at times to one hundred and forty thousand men, of whom a great proportion were cavalry. The issue of that war, which restored

glimpse of the firmament, of scope sufficient to enable him to make use of an artificial horizon: for where vegetation, such as I have described its character, does not grow, houses stand, the former being removed to give place to the latter in the stations of crooms, or in the land that may have been cleared for the reception of grain and yams.

A pocket sextant, a compass, a thermometer, and an horizon, were all the instruments I could procure at Cape Coast antecedently to the journey; for, on my application to the governor and council for the use of others (which, it is true, belonged to them privately) I was assured that none could be procured; or that there were none. To add to my misfortunes, the sextant was so much disorganized, that after repeated trials, I was compelled to lay it aside, and the thermometer got broken in Coomassy.

the sovereignty of Gaman to the king of Ashantee, must unquestionably have increased his military strength to the extent of twenty or thirty thousand more men, although it is true the relics of those tribes who submitted, or escaped the butcheries, were not considered worthy to be trusted with arms during my stay at Court.

The King of Dahomy and his auxiliaries, the bashaw says, can raise about* fifty thousand men, of whom from eight to ten thousand only are fusileers; the rest are armed with bows and arrows, besides sabres, and iron maces. This, he says, is the greatest force the Dahomans ever sent into the field.

The king of Benin is, however, by far the most powerful of the three monarchs, in regard to the number of his troops, for he can arm two hundred thousand upon an emergency, but he cannot furnish above ten thousand with muskets.

The dominions of the Ashantees, east of the Aswada, are considerable, but do not extend as far as has been represented. Yandy forms no part of the empire; but it is true that Ashantee influence carries great weight in the councils of the sovereign of Dagomba. Those which are deemed the north-east frontier towns are Coobeya, Yansala, Banko, and Toubary, in Tonouma and Entâa; the town last mentioned serving as a frontier on the Dahoman side; but in none of these places are Ashantee troops stationed, the people being left to the government of their caboceers, and the jurisdiction of their own laws. In fact, they seem to belong rather to the class of tributaries, than subjects; yet they are compelled, whether Moslems or heathens, to serve in the wars of

* The population of Dahomy, notwithstanding, is infinitely greater than that of Ashantee properly so called, with the provinces of Akim, Assin, Fantee, Dinkra, &c. included. It is greater in proportion to extent of territory, although the character of its wars, as described in Mr. Dalzel's history of that kingdom and the conquests of Ardrah, Whydah, and Popo, is precisely the same as in Ashantee. The most populous provinces and principalities of Ashantee lie to the northward of the seventh degree of latitude. That of Bouromy alone can raise 10,000 men, and Coransah, about half that force; Quaho six thousand, Amanaha, and Aowin (termed the kingdom of Apollonia,) three thousand; and the great provinces of Soko and Takima twenty thousand. These troops are to be considered independent of the actual armies of Ashantee, as also of the auxiliary forces of Banna, of Gaman of the upper provinces on the banks of the Aswada, and the alliances with the sultan of Yandy, or the tributaries eastward of that river.

the empire. Salgha, the chief city of these districts, whose station I have assigned $8^{\circ}. 50'$ latitude, and $0^{\circ}. 25'$ longitude east, is reported to be of twice the size of Coomassy, and its population, of whom nearly one-sixth part are Moslems, to be about four hundred thousand souls. The Korannic law is that which governs the population not only of Tonouma, but also of Simmer, Ghofan, Ghomba, and the northern tribes of Entaa; and in most of these places the heathens are, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, either subservient to it, or they cheerfully comply with a judicial doctrine whose ministers they are from childhood taught to respect as apostles of the great God, and whose *fetische* is thought to be of greater power and efficacy than any ritual or magical incantation known among themselves.

The route to central Wangara, leading to the capital of Dahomy, the Moslems sometimes travel over, but the heathens never. This is a path which forks off in two branches from Quahou; the upper or northern one leading through the southern districts of Bouromy to Goyah and the ferry at Odanty, and the lower or southern one, through Aquambo to the ferry at Nagho, a capital town now subject to the dominion of Ashantee. The upper road, by a circuit round the Mahee hills, leads to the towns of Fosoko, Arico, Chaca, Gholamto, Meami, Atoy, and Abomey.

The land is supposed to be equal in fertility in these parts to that of Benin, which is universally allowed to be the richest and best cultivated in any part of Wangara; but the population is not by any means so great as the latter, for the tribes are constantly harassed by invasions of the Dahomans, who pursue the same barbarous maxims in their wars as the Ashantees themselves. The countries to the eastward of Dahomy, including Ghodau, Yagah, Khimbee, Ayoh, Ajasee, and Benin, are all heathen, or are governed by heathen monarchs, whose laws and religion have no relation to the Korannic institutions, but are in a proportionate degree the same as prevail generally among the heathens, although in a milder manner, from the more commercial and agricultural habits of many or most of the tribes in eastern Wangara. The people of these parts, however, in common with the Moslems, practice circumcision.

The current coin throughout these regions is cowries; not only do they circulate east of the Aswada, in Dahomy, and Dagomba, but also in the Ashantee provinces of Bouromy, Baboso, Yobaty, Quahou, Aquambo, and Inkran, where gold is not found; for the Gold Coast extends no farther east than Berracoo.

* Wangara, as I have already noticed, written ونقرا † and consequently pronounced nearly as we do, excepting that the g should be blended with the sound of guttural k, imitating the Arabian ق, is that great strip of land which comprehends the minor districts of Sarem, Ghunja, and the southern parts of Dagomba, with part of Yarraba in the south also. Its sweep along the line of coast embraces about six hundred and sixty geographic miles, i. e. from Cape Lahou, the boundary of Ashantee, and its Gaman province or kingdom on the west, to the parallel of longitude that marks the track of the Formoso or Callebar rivers, which, according to my authors, are its boundaries

* See those very interesting reports in the Quarterly Review of 1820, No. XLV. Art. "Course of the Niger," founded upon the intelligence obtained by the late Mr. Ritchie, a gentleman who sailed for Tripoli about the same time that I embarked for Guinea, and whose hopes, as he assured me in England, embraced not only the survey of the Niger westerly from Bornou, but also the prospect of joining me at Coomassy, on his anticipated route homeward by the way of Cape Coast.

Mohammed, a native of Timbuctoo, with whom Mr. Ritchie became acquainted, furnished him with the information his reports convey, substantiated, as he describes them to be, by the testimony of "Sidi Hamet Tooghar, the Cadi of Tripoli, who resided many years in the interior, and by Sidi Mahomed Dghies, late Prime Minister," &c.

Of Wangara, a place but vaguely known to the northern Moslems, it is a remarkable coincidence, that one of these reports should actually corroborate my own information on that point, as the following extract will shew:—"From Timbuctoo to Wangara is about *twenty-five days' journey*; the inhabitants bring *gold dust* to Timbuctoo." He (Mohammed) had not been there, but understood it to be in a *southerly* direction. Diffident as I may be in obtruding my own opinions on the world, or biasing the reader's judgment, I cannot in this instance refrain from stating my entire conviction of the identity of Ashantee, Gaman, &c. &c. with the true and only Wangara known to the nations of North Africa; wonderful as it may seem, that we should have actually colonized the country for many ages past, without ever having known it even by name.

† And by some ونكرا or, adopting the Persian ونكرا ^{۶۱}

to the rising sun, (the east.) The navigation between Benin (and between all those great streams which intersect the Warree coast,) and the Koara and Ghulby rivers, is not, as my informers say, to be doubted; and it is possible to perform the voyage from Benin to Timbuctoo and Sago without setting foot on shore, although it is not usual to navigate against the streams of those great waters, the Kadarko, the Shawanka, the Ghulby, the Koara, Shady or Jolliba, particularly in the rainy season, when the rivers are full; for although they know of no rapids or cataracts to the south of Wawa, yet the natural velocity of the streams is so great as to impede the canoes in a northerly progress, although impelled forward by the strength of fifty men and more. Two of my informers declared, they had performed the voyage from north to south, under protection of the sultan of Youry, as far as the gates of Benin.

Returning to Wangara, the first individual to whom I applied for information, was the very Bashaw Mohammed known to Mr. Bowdich by the name of Baba (*father*). Wangara was a subject of interest in our earliest conversations. Of this man I begged to know where that celebrated country, its lakes, its rivers, and its swamps existed. The reply was, "Wangara is a large place; it is not a kingdom, neither is it a city; but it contains many kingdoms and many cities: the ground you tread upon is Wangara." At this explanation I betrayed a mixture of surprise and incredulity. "Can you doubt what I tell you?" replied the chief; "if you do, enquire of our people whether I do not speak what is true." Shouma, Abou Beer, Cantoma, Mohammed bel Cassim, and some others who were present, confirmed the assertion, (as did the king himself, on a day of subsequent enquiry if he knew Wangara,) in terms the most positive and convincing.* Wangara was naturally an object that claimed a leading interest, from its having been the great focus of speculation among the learned in Europe. Rivers it has many; for the eastern confines are exceedingly low; but swamps (except little incidental ones, such as occur

* لا ريب فيه وان الله علم "There is no doubt about it," was the expression used by the Moslems, "and God knows it is true."

on the Ashantee path) it has none, besides what may be found on the great tropical Delta, (Warree) during the season of rain, when in truth the whole eastern country, as far as the Callebar river, or the Rio del Rey, is more or less swampy, and may in many places be navigated over in canoes, through the heart of the lower forest regions, where the trees are at this time to be seen growing as in the bed of a lake.

In the course of many subsequent meetings, although my enquiries were reiterated where doubt and conviction were still somewhat at variance, the replies were uniform:—"This is Wangara, and we believe there is no other country of that name on our side of the great deserts; but if there is, we never heard mention of it, and therefore it must be a very small place." "Where are the great rivers talked of in the Gharb, (in Ismaëlia) and which the Arabs say run to Wangara?" "The rivers of Wangara are numerous; they are such as we have already described, running into the great salt sea of Benin, and from whence you came (Cape Coast.) The greatest river of Wangara runs south behind Dahomy, direct to Warree, and is fifteen long journies to the east of Abomey." "Is not this the Koara you speak of?" "No; the Koara is another very great sea; * it runs to Noufy, where it takes three days to cross the water; from Noufy, the water runs by two or three channels into the Lake of Shady, and the sea or river so called, passing Bousa, Souy, Kassina, Yakoo, Kano, and Gambaro, in its course easterly, below Bornou, to the Bahar Neel (Nile) of Egypt. The Ghulby, after a long eastern course, inclining to the north, runs into it at Noufy, and the great Benin river turns from it to the south, cutting from the direction of Wawa, through Kaima, Khodobari, Agiassy, and Benin. They are all great seas, but the Koara is the greatest in the universe." "Is the great river of Benin

* The Guinea Moslems, in speaking of rivers, invariably called them seas; بحر was their characteristic name of running water, salt or fresh, to which they subjoin large or small. The terms Wad, Wadai, or Wadan, properly signifying river, which the Arabs and Northern Africans commonly use, were not in use among the Wangara Moslems.

the Ghulby that flows from Ghoroma in the kingdom of Magho?"—"It is not that sea itself, but it is connected with its waters through the lake Nôufy."

This conversation is extracted from a diary, which it was my practice to keep. On a subject which I deemed of importance, I have preferred inserting the arguments verbatim, devoid of all embellishments of the pen, or any bias which a change of language or my own conceptions might suggest.

I have, in an earlier page, ventured a somewhat anomalous comparison of Wangara with that district of the north, known by the name of Africa to Greece and Rome. But, perhaps, it might be more correctly compared with that vague appellation *Guinea*, by which we describe the country itself. The discovery of the true position of this district, assuming the fact upon the grounds I have stated, would, I am aware, incline to a revolution in the theory of the Niger itself; but as it is no part of my plan to speculate or infringe upon the prerogatives of the reader, I shall abstain from any hypothetical conclusions of this nature.

Concerning the course of the Niger itself—the Jolliba of Park, called by the Arabs, Bahar Neel, Bahar Abied, Bahar Soudan, &c. and by the Wangara Moslems, Bahar Koara, I never heard of two different opinions in regard to its termination. South or north of the Great Desert, in Wangara or Mauritania, the sentiments were the same, that the great flow of water is easterly to the Egyptian Nile. Yet it must be confessed, that none of my instructors had ever tracked its course beyond the western limits of Bornou. It was an orthodox opinion, that the Shady, as well as the Koara, united its waters with innumerable other large and small rivers (like the Amazon) which contributed to replenish its channel in the dry season, when it usually tracks its course mildly; and in the season of rain when it runs in tempestuous eddies, sweeping off in its current whole islands of matted vegetation.

The great rivers of Wangara, besides such as exclusively belong to Ashantee, are, first the Aswada, or Volta, called by the heathens Adirray. This river rises in a cluster of hills or mountains called Sarga, bearing north

from Coomassy, behind the desert of Ghofan, and distant seventeen journies, or about two hundred and seventy-two miles horizontal. Its course through the desert inclines greatly to the eastward of south, until it passes Yajy, where its general inclination is southerly, till it discharges itself near Cape St. Paul, and where it is known to navigators by the name of the Volta. In its course it laves the provinces of Baboso, passing Salgha, Yobati, Bouromy, Quahou, Aquambo, and Adampy. In Ghofan it is a narrow stream not much above ankle deep; but, on the parallel of a town in Tounouma, called Dafoo, it is broader, and becomes navigable from its junction with another small river, called Bahar Bourgan. In the neighbourhood of Salgha it is a great river, as wide according to the testimony of my informers, as from the quarters I occupied to the palace gate, a distance about equal to the dimensions of the Thames at Battersea. The lake Bouro, south of the town of Yajy, does not always overflow its embankments to a great extent; but only when the rains are heavier than usual. It then runs by a channel into the Aswada. This inclination of the water of the lake, is propelled by a stream which rises on the confines of Ghofan, as it has been stated, and empties itself in the Bouro. In Bouromy, and Quahou, the Aswada is much wider and deeper than at Salgha, particularly in the latter province, where its dimensions in some places exceed double the width before related, and consequently it is greater than the Thames at London. In Aquamboe, near the mouth of the river, it is so wide that the human voice at its greatest elevation cannot be heard from the opposite shore.

The great river that flows between Dahomy and Benin, and which consequently must be the Logos, is crossed in the forest east of Tounoma, where it is very narrow and shallow; but it is navigable near the town of Konjasi, where it bends south-east in its track to the sea behind Ardrah. The name of it, according to a Moslem of Tounoma, I was assured, is Komashar (کماشر) from a valuable sort of gum, so called, which abounds in its neighbourhood, and is collected for the markets of Yandy and Nikky, where it is sold to the northern traders. This river is inferior in

size to the Aswada, although equally adapted to the purposes of navigation, they both being exempt from cataracts and dangerous rapids. From Goyah it is fourteen journies, easterly, to the Komasha, or about two hundred geographic miles; but from Salgha to the same river, in the upper part of its course, it is no more than six. Its source is near Yandy.

Behind the Komashar in the Ayoh country, and upon the parallel of Salgha, is a lake of very great extent, whose shores the traveller, on an eastern or western journey, does not quit for two days; the name of it I know not; but my informers describe it as a fresh water lake, which had no communication with any river. Zogho is due north of this lake, from which it is distant six journies, or less than one hundred horizontal miles. From hence to Abomey it is seven journeys, and to Benin eleven. Its distance from the Komashar, at the ford, is three journies only. There are many populous islands in this lake, with towns and villages, and the natives of these parts are subject to the dominion of the sultan of Zogho. The tribes of Ayoh inhabit an extensive flat surface, south of the lake, and they also serve the sovereign of Zogho as tributaries.

The great river of Benin is among the easternmost of the great Wangara rivers. From Abomey to this river it is fourteen journies due east; and from the lake, before-mentioned, to the Kadarko River, a river which is said to fall into or unite with the Benin, it is but four good journies through the Yagah country, a country inhabited by a race of heathens; the same nearly in language, laws, and customs as Ayoh. Khimbee is the last district or principality in Wangara east; and that also is an appendage to the throne of Zogho.

This great empire (Zogho), I conceive to be the Gago of Leo; and that the g, intended doubtless for a soft one, has been inserted by the translator to express the Arabian characters, ζ or δ which, being nearly synonymous, are oftentimes indiscriminately used to mark the same sound. My informers said, in the most positive terms, there was no kingdom existing between Dahomy and Zogho, except such small ones as were tributary to the latter,

the sultan of which was the most powerful monarch known in these parts, without excepting the kings of Ashantee or Benin. They confirmed what Mr. Dalzel reported in his history of the kingdom of Dahomy; that the sovereigns of this country pay tribute to Ayoh, which they affirm is the same as Zogho, for these southern tribes are employed, as occasion may require, to collect it by force of arms. They call the sultan of Zogho, although a rigid Moslem, the friend of Dahomy; because that monarch suffers the government of Dahomy to exist when he might destroy it at his pleasure, for he can lead on an army of 500,000 men, a very great proportion of whom are good cavalry troops, well armed with short javelins, lances, bows and arrows, and cutting swords. The affinity, therefore, between Ayoh and Zogho, is the same as between Ashantee and Inta, or Entâa agreeably to what Mr. Dalzel has said, for Entâa is also the name of those tribes in Ghunja, who are settled near the Aswada, and who built the city of Salgha.

The sections of Wangara, as they are now politically divided, were, according to the traditions of the country, once united in one consolidated empire, under the government of a king, who resided at Yandy, and who governed Dahomy and Benin, the latter in tributary subjection. This southern empire, which was of no long duration, enjoyed its supremacy before the Arabs were known upon the Niger; and it was their encroachments chiefly, which, by causing the northern powers to fall back, contracted the resources of government and ultimately gave occasion to the tributary kingdoms to shake off their allegiance, (the tide of conquest flowing from east to west,) some of these sovereigns, in the sequel, becoming proselytes and others tributaries to the Arabs and their auxiliaries. Somewhere about the hejran year 300 (that memorable epoch when the Arabs were led to expect that some portentous revolution would occur in the west; or, as it was metaphorically predicted, the sun would rise in that quarter;) the great empire of Wangara, which might then have been nearly as extensive as Bornou, was compelled to receive laws from the natives of the banks of the Koara and Ghulby. The auxiliary Moslem powers poured their forces into the

northern provinces, establishing their head-quarters at Killinga; from whence, at that time and for two or three subsequent centuries, they overawed the surrounding countries to the effect of eliciting tribute in ivory, slaves, and the produce of the gold mines of Ashantee and Gaman.

Whether the great districts of tropical Africa, such as Ghunja, Sarem, Dagomba, Killinga, Marroa, Fillany, &c. &c. are indebted to the Arabs for the names they now bear, I am not able to decide; but that of Yarraba, as I was assured by many, certainly received its name from the eastern Arab tribes, as the sound itself implies; as did also Fillany, from the western, in relation to Taffilet, (east of the Atlas Mountains), the land which gave birth to the conquerors of the West. Fillany is the proper name of the tribe of Taffilet. The deplorable action of war in this country is unquestionably a bar to the attainment of a correct and lasting system of its geography; and this evil, coupled with the few incidental opportunities that offer for checking the reports of travellers, and comparing their writings with those of ancient or established authority, must ever increase the obstacle as long, perhaps, as the natives of Europe and Africa shall be found to have feelings and interests of opposite characters. We need not go far for a solution of what this problem would give: It may be seen by a reference to maps of Guinea, which were engraved as recently as the early part of last century, that upon the Gold Coast only, many kingdoms enjoyed, in their day, a political and substantial existence; but which are now no more; or at most they exhibit but a shadow, which gives only a faint outline of their original splendour, their opulence, and their vigor; having been, from time to time harassed by cruel wars, of a tendency to extirpate or expatriate the population in a mass, and their names as nations. Let the reader refer to the map of Bosman's description of Guinea, where he will discover the names of powerful little kingdoms, such as Dinkera, Akim, Quahou, Aquamboe, Fantyn; besides those of less note, such as Adom, Coomany, Saboe, Ladincour, Acron, Agouna, and some others, the most celebrated of which barely enjoy their present oblivious rank and names as provinces of the

Ashantee Empire, while many places are totally extinct, and their ancient glory is supplanted by the ingress of a foreign population, bearing the names of their own tribes, to distinguish the new colony nationally.

The works of the ancients upon the subject of African kingdoms, appreciated by the most celebrated geographer of the present age, should not therefore be rashly rejected; however we may feel inclined to scepticism, on the ground of natural and permanent distinctions of land and water.

Another tradition says, that after the decline of power in the east, Dagomba and Ghunja were both united, more intimately than at present, and formed one great kingdom, that ruled from Magho to the sea shore of Dahomy; and that this was the political aspect of western Wangara for many generations, between the dismemberment of the original Wangara empire and the first coming of the Europeans; or, as they express it, the first knowledge their ancestors had of white men; the early Portuguese navigators.

At another period, when I know not, Kong and the Manding country were mistresses of Sarem; and they governed many other maritime nations in the south west. Haoussa, says the Bashaw, was then governed by a sheriffe, whose armies were composed of Arabs and Africans, from the north and east. Yarraba, at times, was tributary to it, as well as Killinga, and Arab fleets ruled the cities and tribes upon the banks of the Koara, the Ghulby, &c., as did their camel and cavalry armaments by land, wherever the country was adapted to open warfare. The heathens then could only find safety in the mountains, in close countries, and in those extensive forest lands wherewith the continent abounds; for the Arabs scoured every assailable point, to the effect of exacting tribute, and propagating the creed of the prophet in nations the most remote. The Moslem countries of the Koara, continued my informer, in a tone that evinced envy and regret, owe their religious felicity and the security they now enjoy to the wisdom of the old Arabian councils, and the vigour of their horse and camel troops, which the most powerful of the heathen nations trembled to confront on the plains

of north-east Africa; for most of the northern tribes, as well as those of Wangara, were possessed of none of those useful animals before they knew their conquerors. But, he concluded, the same causes which contributed to the subjugation of Soudan, and the propagation of Islam, in the revolution of years, aided the converted people, by God's will, to drive back the holy nation upon the deserts from whence they came, and where their posterity still exist, although some Arab tribes are yet to be found on the Koara, whose influence, comparatively, is not great; and whose jurisdiction is limited to the government of themselves, and the few insulated Ethiopian tribes of Moslems in their neighbourhood.

But for these events, it is the opinion of the Moslems of the south, that every nation, down to the sea coast itself, would have been converted to the service of Allah, long ere this, and the Koran would have been known throughout *Africa*; whereas now the Idolaters are strong in the south; and although they respect the Moslems from the fear of the most high God, to whom they observe them pray, yet many tribes of true believers are by them held in subjection, as may be seen at Ashantee; and are compelled to pay tribute and fight the battles of heathen princes, whose religion and whose interests are necessarily the reverse of their own.

The absence of that political co-operation in the north, it is affirmed, is mainly the cause why the southern believers are checked in their efforts to propagate God's worship by dint of arms; for the existing governments in the vicinity of the great inland waters are supine, and devoid of that energy which distinguished the career of the Arabs. If I might hazard an opinion I would say, that the European trade upon the western and Guinea coasts, particularly the importation of guns, powder, and rum, operated greatly to the prejudice of the southern Moslem tribes, by arming so powerfully against them the idolaters of their neighbourhood.

The Moslems with whom I conversed are agreed that the maritime nations of heathens maintain their political preponderance on the coast, and their influence inland, by the use of European arms, the means of procuring

which are necessarily at their command, from the wealth of Africa, (the gold mines of Wangara), so eagerly sought after by all nations, from the reign of Solomon*, being the produce of the soil they cultivate; and which is defended by such forests, mountains, and morasses, as defied the strength of the Arabs and their auxiliaries to approach, in the plenitude of their conquests. The Moslem sovereigns of Dagomba and Ghunja, and the sultan of Zogho, they assured me, ardently wished for a free communication with the whites; although the latter, from political reasons, did not think proper to root out the heathens in Dahomy, as he might if he had chosen. All these nations ardently desired such an intercourse, as would procure them the same weapons and commodities as the Europeans now import to Fantee, Amanaha, and the windward countries; a commerce which it is not the policy of the maritime powers, such as Ashantee and Dahomy, to permit; and therefore the interior states purchase what they require of the manufactures of the north, at the great markets of Haoussa, Killinga and Sarem, besides certain other stationary markets, upon the Koara, frequented by the northern traders.

In reply to a question, if it were possible for me to visit Yandy, Zogho, and Nikky;—the Bashaw said, it was not to be doubted, that the name of the king of Ashantee was sufficiently powerful to carry me safely to those places, or any part of the east to the extent of Yarraba; (Benin excepted) and if coupled with that of the great white sultan, my sovereign, it would not only be a sufficient passport, but gain me the friendship of any court in Soudan. The king of Dahomy also, he added, would be jealous, and the king of Ashantee would not wish me to visit his country, because it lies on the sea side: whereas in the north and eastern districts, where the alliance exists, my visits would give pleasure to the king and caboceers, who would feel pride in the envy of other nations.

* I scarcely need observe, that Solomon's *Wangara* was on the eastern shores.

The great kingdoms or empires of modern Wangara are three in number, Ashantee, Dahomy, and Benin, and their dependencies. Those of minor importance contained in the districts of Sarem, Ghunja, Dagomba, and Yarraba, including the tributaries, are, in the West, Enkasy, Gaman, Aowin, and Amanaha, or Apollonia; in the centre, Ghofan, Tonouma, Entaa, Mahee, Gouaso, Kerapy, Popo, Whydah, and Ardrah. In the east, Yagah, Khimbee, Ajasee, Jaboo, Kosie, and Waree.

The Moslems are scattered over the new provinces of Bouromy, Yobaty, Baboso, Sokoo, and Takima; but their political sway is confined to the government of themselves. Enkasy is the first Moslem principality in the north-west, inhabited by some strayed tribes from Manding. From Coomassy to Soke Aila, the capital (or market-place) of Enkasy, it is fourteen journies, and six more to Kong. Agreeably to this, I have placed the former in $9^{\circ} 26' N.$ lat. $3^{\circ} 42' W.$ lon. and the latter $10^{\circ} 12'$ lat. 4° —lon. and which I conceive to be very near the truth. Enkasy is tributary to Kong, and Kong itself pays tribute to Melly, a kingdom in which the Moslem influence is great, although its sovereign is an unbeliever.

Ghofan is the first Moslem government in the north beyond Banna, from which it is separated by the Gaman province of Sokoo, formerly a little principality, by Banna itself, Baboso, and the Deserts. It is hilly or mountainous in the NW. and desert in the SE. but it has many extensive fertile plains, well cultivated, and the country contains a moderate population, who were the most warlike and active of the enemies of Ashantee (Kong, and the Manding tribes, perhaps, excepted). Ghofan, seven years back, was tributary to the sultan of Kong, but since the subjugation of Gaman, in the late war, the king of Banna, the ally of the Ashantee empire, has overrun many places in the south, and established a new frontier upon the river. The Koran is the only established law here, and at Ghobagho, another Moslem country, to the north east, now of a greater importance than Ghofan, from which it is distant only seven journies, or about one hundred and twelve

miles; and from Coomassy to Daboya, its capital, (although the sultan mostly resides at Botintasy) sixteen journies or two hundred and fifty-six miles. I have accordingly assigned it the latitude and longitude of $10^{\circ} 15'$ N. and $0^{\circ} 32'$ W.

The Desert, which must be crossed from Ghofan, is an extensive track of coarse white sand, with a few stunted bushes, whose greatest breadth from N. to S. is four journies. Water, however, is to be found in abundance in the Desert; mostly in large stagnant pools, or lakes, besides the Aswada, and many of its tributary streams, which flow through the heart of it. The Sarga mountains, which are very lofty, lie to the westward of Ghobagho, from which the loftiest ridges are distant five journies; but a branch of them may be seen from Daboya and Botintasy.

Yandy, the metropolis of Dagomba, is seated in a small district named Simmer, on the confines of the great forest of Tonouma. It is on the line of the main road from Salgha, from which it is distant six days to the NN.E. and from Coomassy twenty-one, or three hundred and thirty British miles, which would give it about the latitude and longitude of $9^{\circ} 40'$ N. $1^{\circ} 20'$ E. as I have assigned its position on the map. From Yandy to Abomey, the capital of Dahomy, it is thirteen journies, and to Benin twenty-eight, giving to the former a distance of two hundred British miles, and to the latter three hundred and forty. Different from travelling in Ashantee, all these journies may be performed with facility, from the general open state of the country, and the use of horses, and other beasts of burthen. The great forest, or wilderness of Ghomaty, is five journies distant from Yandy, in the NE., the southern boundary of which serves also for the boundary of Wangara in that direction.

✓ The eastern kingdoms and tribes of Wangara, are deemed infinitely more populous and more civilized than the western: a truth which, I believe, is not to be questioned, for there agriculture is encouraged, and commerce exists upon an equal scale with the most commercial people in Africa. In pursuit of gain the natives of Khimbee, Ajasee, Ghodau, Benin,

and Mazam, wander to the most remote parts of the continent in caravans, or by means of the great waters that intersect Yarraba and Killinga.

In all these countries, Benin excepted, horses are plentiful, particularly in Ayoh and Yagah. Fire arms and gunpowder are, however, unknown in these parts or very scarce, but their weapons, which they wield with great dexterity and execution, are much dreaded in that country. These weapons, which I have seen in Coomassy, are very long supple lances, barbed and poisoned, targets, bows and arrows, tomahawks and iron maces, the former of which they are in the practice of poisoning with a venom more deadly than that which is used by any other nation, as its operation is said to be sometimes instantaneous, and its wound, although ever so slight, usually produces death within the lapse of a few minutes. The troops of the sultan of Zogho are armed in the same manner, and his subjects, who, although commercial, are as brave as the Ashantees, and perhaps more enterprising, are proportionably dreaded by the surrounding nations. Benin itself, although not strictly tributary to the sovereign of Zogho, frequently sends presents to the Court of the latter, where, by his ambassadors, the king cultivates the friendship of a power he has too much reason to fear, from his great resources inland, and the means he has of insinuating a Dahoman army on the west over the Lagos river.

Benin itself is rich, and comparatively a civilized well governed kingdom, superior to Ashantee in the arts and conveniences of life, in the state of society, and in the administration of the laws, which, however, have no better foundation than custom and tradition. The spirit of commerce reigns here, and particularly in the northern provinces, in its utmost vigour; and the land itself is so fertile and populous, that it is usual to travel the day long amidst corn fields or plantations, of which the tall and stunted palm, date, plantain, banana, yam, cassada, and some kinds of fruit trees besides, occupy the surface of many acres, which are enclosed with mud walls or bramble, to distinguish them as private property.

The Moslem traders of Benin are said to navigate on their great rivers,

and the eastern branches which join the Kadarko, the Shoanka, and Shaderbah.* Some of these rivers open a communication with a tribe of heathens named Gargari, who live in tents, and are not black, but a red skinned people, yet they are not of the Arabian stock. The best breeds of horses and mules come from these parts.

On the sea shores of Benin there is no navigation adapted to canoe voyages, for the sea runs so high, and breaks with such violence upon the Warree, Kosie, and some parts of the Dahoman coasts, (as I have seen the effect myself,) that the natives of those parts scarcely ever venture out of their rivers; and the sea, unlike that of the Gold Coast, yields them little or no tribute from its stores; but in requital, they enjoy in security from the surf and the tempest, the most prolific inland fisheries known any where in Soudan. There is, moreover, an open navigation, by means of these rivers and lakes, extending from the city of Benin westward to the Volta, crossing the Cradoo lake, the Lagos, passing Porto Nova, Whydah, Popo, and Cape St. Paul. On the eastern side of Benin, the extent of river navigation is not precisely known, unless to the natives themselves; but it is admitted that there are channels which intersect all the Warree rivers at right angles, running within the compass of one or two days from the sea shore, out of the Formosa river into the Forcados, Dodo, Nun, St. Nicholas, Bartholomew, Callebar, Bonny, &c; that the land hereabout is covered with thicket and forest trees; † that the navigation in Warree, although unobstructed by natural causes, is proportionately dangerous, from the ferocious character of the people in these parts, and the bands of robbers who lurk in concealment among the trees, ready to attack the trading canoes. The sovereign of Benin,

* This river is called by the natives of Dagomba, Ghulby Kanbaja, and by the Haoussa Moslems, Shaderbah. It is remarkable, that there is a city in the kingdom of Maury, near the Lake Noufy, which is also called Kanbaja.

† I have been at the Dodo, and have seen many of the rivers between the Formosa and Callebar, and such I know to be the aspect of the country.

powerful as he is, cannot, as my informers say, exact entire obedience from these people, who are supported in their independence by the association of numbers of the discontented subjects of Benin itself, who emigrate to the forests of Warree for personal security, or to escape the retaliation of violated laws. There are said to be three great forks which branch off from Ajasse at ten journies from the sea, to which they run in a course inclining to the east of south; and all these streams, in their upper courses, are studded with richly cultivated islands, towns, and villages.

On the western boundary of Wangara is Gaman, formerly a powerful kingdom, and now a province of the Ashantee empire. Its boundary on the west is a flat country inhabited by the Mandings; Ghombaty, and Enkasy bound it on the north. The Tando river separates it from Ashantee Proper on the east, and Aowin, Amanaha, Lahou, and Bassam on the sea-coast, are its limits in the south. The town of Bontokoo, the ancient residence of its sovereigns, bears north-west from Coomassy, from which it is distant eight journies. I have accordingly assigned its place on the map, $7^{\circ} 36'$ lat. N. $3^{\circ} 25'$ lon. W. Houraboh, the residence of its last king, is five journies beyond Bontokoo, and its position, by the same calculation, will stand good at $8^{\circ} 30'$ — $3^{\circ} 58'$.

Gaman, and particularly its provinces of Ponin, Safoy, and Showy, contain the richest gold mines known to my informers, in this or any other part of Africa; who by way of illustration say, that in Ashantee, Dinkra, and Wassau, the veins of metal are found at the depth of twelve cubits (twenty-two feet) below the surface, but in these Gaman provinces at five (nine feet.) The ore is dug principally out of large pits, which belonged to the late king, in the neighbourhoods of Briquanti and Kontosoo. The gold from these parts, according to specimens which were shewn to me, is of a very deep colour, mixed with red gravel and pieces of white granite. It all falls under the denomination of rock gold, and is considered of more intrinsic value than that of Ashantee, although the latter, as it passes for current, is mostly pure. The gold of Gaman, i. e. the pit gold, is sometimes brought to the Ashantee market in solid lumps, imbedded in loam and rock, which together would



A. Man & Woman of Gaman.

probably weigh fourteen or fifteen pounds troy, and of pure metal might possibly yield, if separated from the dross, about one pound or one pound and a half. But even this, as I was credibly assured, is no sample adequate to convey a just idea of the richness of the mines, many of which, and of the richest in ore, are either dedicated to the national gods, or are deemed, as in Ashantee, too sacred to cut into. Other specimens which bore the most perfect natural appearances, were displayed daily before my eyes, in solid lumps, which the caboceers wore attached to the wrists, during and after the Adai custom, and which would in some instances, I am inclined to think, weigh as much as four pounds. The dust gold of Gaman, which is collected by washing in the beds of torrents during the rains, the same as in Ashantee, Fantee, and Ahanta, is also higher coloured, cleaner, and better than what is gathered in any other country*. On the banks of the Barra, a stream which rises near the large Moslem town of Kherabi, and flows south into the Tando or Assinee river, the Gamans also wash for gold; and during the season of rain, my informers relate, there is occupation for eight or ten thousand slaves for two months; and the metal they collect, added to the produce of the pits, the great bulk of which used formerly to be exported to Manding and Kong, (where it was manufactured into trinkets, and from thence transported to the nations of the Jolliba) now finds its way to Ashantee, from whence it passes in small quantities to the maritime provinces of Apollonia, Ahanta, Fantee, &c. and is there alloyed before it reaches the hands of the whites; and the principal part of the metal is either carried away by the inland traders, or remitted to the correspondents of the Moslems at Yandy, Salgha, Banko, Wabea, and

* Although Quaho, Akim, and some other parts of the empire bordering the Volta, formerly yielded much gold, yet, at present, there are few, if any, pits in those provinces, which pay the working, unless it should be imagined that the inhabitants have purposely neglected them of late years, perhaps to avoid the evils they might anticipate from the cupidity of their conquerors the Ashantees. To the westward of Cape Coast, in the little district called Adoom, which is one journey inland of Poho, or three short ones from the sea; in the neighbourhood of Jaccorary, the natives have many rich mines or pits, where they dig out the ore and grind it between rubbing stones to separate the metal from the quartz pebble.

other great cities of the north-east districts. In this active state of currency it shortly reaches Zogho, Salamo, Kook, and last, Nikky, the metropolis of the great kingdom of Bargho, where also it is transformed into trinkets and ducats, (Mitskal) and under its new characters is as rapidly translated to the Koara at Haoussa, or is circulated in the provinces or neighbouring kingdoms of Wawa, Maury, Kaima, Baman, and Kandashi. From the Koara and the Ghulby it is circulated through all parts of Soudan, the Desert, and its kingdoms, Bornou, Egypt, and the Gharb, but it never finds its way to any of those countries perfectly pure, and never in its crude state, either as it is dug from the mines, or in lump or dust as it passes for the medium of exchange in western Wangara. The Ashantees themselves manufacture a little into trinkets, chains, breast-plates, and ornaments; it melts away in a moderate equal proportion in its north-easterly progress, even before it reaches the kingdoms of Bargho or Magho, where the great manufactories are.

Within the empire, the provinces of Soko and Takima, independent of the native population, who are heathens, contain many large towns, where the Moslems live in distinct societies under the jurisdiction of their own laws, but in subordination to the caboceers, appointed by the king of Ashantee, or the tributary sovereigns and princes, whose governments were not violated in the late war. Nomassa, the metropolis of Soko, is said to contain about a thousand Moslems. In Waraki, the proportion is even greater than this, and at Kherabi they are permitted to live entirely by themselves in a city which was described to me to be as large as Doompassy, and where the head bashaw of the believers resides, who governs, for the king, the Moslems of the north-west, in number, probably exceeding 80,000 of both sexes, including the proselytes. But even at this estimate, as I conceive from the reports of the Bashaw of Coomassy, the believers who are settled in the north-eastern districts and provinces of Ashantee west of the Aswada, in Yobati, Bouromy, Baboso, Coransah, part of Ghofan, and the kingdom of Banna, are infinitely more numerous, and may, upon the total average, bear a proportionate relation to the heathens, as one to fifteen.

As the maritime nations, and the Fantees in particular, are, of all the tribes of Wangara, those with whom the British have hitherto been the most intimately connected, I shall conclude this chapter with some information respecting their character. The king of Ashantee alluded to them in several conferences, public and private: "If I had not loved white men," said he, "surely I should not have made peace when the white flag was displayed, but I would have had the forts where I knew there was plenty of gold and merchandize. The Fantees wanted to govern the castle, and they alone were enemies to us both; they formerly ill-used white men, * but they dare not now." Indeed the king's observation was a just one, in every point; for, previous to his visit to the Coast, it was perhaps hardly known at times whether the British governed themselves, or were governed

* Meredith, in characterizing the natives of the Coast, says, "They are too well acquainted with our weak condition," &c. "They know we are only formidable when surrounded with walls and guns. It was a most fortunate circumstance for the British character in this country, that the Ashantees made a trial of their courage and strength against Annamaboe. If they had attacked any other fort, under similar circumstances, *they most probably would have succeeded,*" &c. "We hear of contributions being imposed on our neighbours, forts pillaged, governors threatened with torture or beheading, others actually murdered, one gentleman surprized, and now a prisoner," &c. "Neither have the British been permitted to enjoy perfect tranquillity. The governor of this fort (himself at Winnebah) was seriously threatened twice, by Attah, the late king of Akim. He sent a peremptory message, demanding a quantity of powder, lead, and guns, accompanied with threatening language, calculated to excite terror," &c. "This demand was not complied with, *but a present was sent to him, as a token of friendship,*" &c. In a second demand, according to this author, he met a *polite refusal*, which so irritated him, that he says, we believe, "he would wish to be revenged," &c. In consequence, the governor is obliged to keep within certain limits; and prudence restrains him from walking any distance from the fort, for fear of being surprized. Again he says, "Two instances *he is obliged by candour to state*, have come to our knowledge, of *two governors having been literally flogged*, &c.; one captain of a ship nearly flogged to death, and another *almost murdered*, besides other cruelties and indignities too painful to relate." Might it not be reasonably asked, if these are the people, as the Committee would insinuate, for whom we should risk the honour of the flag so precariously insulated, our property, and our lives, against a friendly power, who claims their allegiance by right of conquest and cession, and who, at the same time, meets our overtures with open arms, and hails our footsteps in the capital, as the treading of demigods? The Committee are bound to answer the question to their country!

by the natives, whose arrogance knew no moderation, in the plenitude of their strength, and whose maxim it was to terrify into compliance, by every act that cruelty, falsehood, and treachery could devise. True, however, it is, and equally humiliating, that they palliate their sins of this dye by recriminating upon the whites, whom they accuse of acting towards them unconscientiously, and without any other regard than to their own proper interests. It was no uncommon thing for the natives to assemble in arms, at any little disgust they might take, and shut up the garrisons within their walls. Cape Coast Castle itself, the redoubted fortification, that, as Mr. Smith would insinuate, was to bid defiance to the whole power of Ashantee, has repeatedly experienced this calamity from the natives of *its town only*; and the last time it happened was but a very few years back, and since their subjugation by the Ashantees, when the people, from their house-tops, had almost, I had said, overawed the garrison; for the cannon-shot could only perforate the mud walls, without dislodging the enemy from the thatch; while these plied their weapons effectually through the embrasures, killing the sergeant, and maiming others; and this disgusting anarchy terminated, as usual, in a humiliating compromise, wherein each party bound themselves to restore peace to the other, as it would seem, upon the basis of a mutual forgiveness. As to the out-forts, excepting, perhaps, Annamaboe, they have occasionally exchanged masters with the natives: and his *sable Excellency* has been seated under the flag-staves, or in the halls of his deposed predecessors, negotiating at head-quarters for their own abdication, upon golden terms. What, I would ask, led to the demolition of the fort at Winnebah, recently, but these very outrages? And what befel Mr. Meredith himself? Did not the natives drag that gentleman and another, barefoot, over burning stubble, that lacerated and scorched their feet at every step,—flogging them, at the same time, in a most inhuman and degrading manner? and was not Mr. Smith an eye-witness of this brutality, which in the sequel cost one or both gentlemen their lives? Can it be denied that matters have been carried to that point of extremity, that governors in former years have been compelled to fire their magazines, and blow themselves

into the air, to avoid falling into the hands of an infuriated people? But in palliation of these acts, as the Fantees relate, if it were practicable to draw out a just list of aggravations and offences, and enumerate the sins of all, it would probably be a matter of speculation which way the balance might incline.

The ponderous power of Ashantee, in lieu of contributing to the insecurity of life and property, *alone guarantees both* to us, by its friendship, its *interests*, and the position it occupies in the rear of its maritime provinces. The Fantees have it no longer in their power, as the king justly observed, to pursue their rancours so audaciously, although other tribes may still enjoy such privileges.

In the wantonness of cruelty, it was a common practice with the Fantees to attack the canoes of white men, drag them on shore, make them carry the great drum on the tops of their heads, flog them, compel them to pay ransom, &c. Mr. Swanzy himself, if his own confession may be entitled to credit, has had the honour, in common with others, of undergoing one or both operations.*

And what are the people of the sea coast, now. I have sat in council at Cape Coast Castle to arbitrate upon a business relating to Mr. Blinkarn †, or Blenkairn, the governor of Apollonia fort, and the insignificant king of that country; wherein his black majesty, by threats and insults the most alarming,

* The Fantees, Mr. Meredith writes, “ demanded of the Dutch government forty ounces of gold, under a threat of destroying their fort at Cormantine, (originally built by ourselves) if the sum should be denied them. The Dutch government would not comply with their demand; in consequence of which the Annamaboes marched out, headed by their king; and as the fort was incapable of making resistance, it was pillaged, the guns rendered useless, part of the walls levelled, and the artificers attached to it made prisoners.

† This is the same Captain Blenkairn, who, it seems, has the command of one division of the forces raised for the defence of the British settlements on the Gold Coast, and which was too far distant to share in the action wherein Sir Charles M'Carthy, and the troops under his immediate command, sustained that terrible defeat.

the most aggravating, extorted from that gentleman gold and merchandize, exceeding I believe the value of thirty or forty ounces? And what redress did he obtain? What were the steps taken to vindicate the honour and inviolability of the British flag? and lastly, what expedient was resorted to, to check the cupidity of the petty tyrant on future occasions, and secure the person and property of this officer from fresh indignities, or the outrages resistance might bring on his head? These are questions which I, of course, must answer; *None**! No, not a shadow even of consolation; but on the contrary, the affected dignity of these legislators having, perhaps, in contemplation that aspect which was necessary to give currency to the pecuniary grant of the government, and carry weight in Downing Street, at the Treasury, or before Parliament, induced its award so far in favour of the princely robber, that it suggested the necessity of *censuring the conduct of Mr. Blenkairn* for having complied with the demand; as if his loss and the predicament he stood in were not severe enough, or that he durst have expostulated with the tyrant. This gentleman made a long stay at head-quarters, and from what I could learn, he was placed in that critical situation which created a dread at the thought of returning to the dominions of a despot, who to renew the expression, had as great, or a greater share in the government of a British castle than himself, or the Company he represented. Yet it would seem to have been instilled in the public mind, that the government there enjoyed power and influence, and that empire belonged to us on the shores of that continent. The *notes* alone might suffice to prove that a veil has hitherto concealed from public observation the actual state of things as they lately existed. But setting those deeds aside, I assert, in positive terms, that the Company were never entitled to any rank as territorial rulers; for

* Indeed, it must be confessed, that if the united British garrisons had been conveyed to Apollonia with intent to revenge the affront, the chances are, that few would have returned to report the issue of the campaign. This does not argue, however, against the adoption of a course of policy adequate to the emergency of the business.

they never enjoyed jurisdiction over an inch of ground upon the continent, if we except those inches circumscribed by the walls of the castles; to which, as we have seen, their titles were frequently contested by the maritime towns, and which they at all times held in insecurity, notwithstanding they paid annual, quarterly, or monthly tributes, or presents (call them by either term) to purchase that respect which they were never able to command for their sovereign's flag; whether from incompetence or the inadequacy of the funds at their disposal or not. If any trifling exception deserves to be registered against this sweeping clause, it is simply this; that the invasion of Fantee, by the king, and the extirpation or expatriation of its tribes by the armies of Ashantee in 1807, and subsequently, opened, as it might seem, a field for the scope of ambition, feeble and dishonourable as it was, upon the face of the treaty, whereby the title of the conqueror was acceded to and formally acknowledged; violated, acknowledged again; violated during the government of Mr. Smith, and acknowledged once more by his nephew at Coomassy, in 1817.

The political aspect of Cape Coast, after the great invasion of 1807, and other subsequent movements, with a powerful sovereign, now the liege monarch, in the rear, and the European castles in the van; the people reduced, as we see, to the shadow of their former strength, in course of time naturally threw them to a certain degree into our arms, for that protection which they knew we could at all times *purchase* by negotiation: hence although tribute had been paid over and over again, they were encouraged to resist the demand *exactly as I landed in the country*, purposely and sinisterly, as it did appear, to prevent my journey to court, without awakening my just suspicions; or to gain time for the climate and disappointed hopes to work their baneful effects on my constitution. It must be observed, however, that linked as the interest of blacks and whites may seem to have been in political feelings, the former, in some towns, could never be brought to forget the sway they heretofore enjoyed over the councils of the chief establishments; accordingly we find them, enfeebled as they were, lording it in the town, compelling the garrison at Cape Coast to seek safety

behind their walls ; where they remained shut up, upon an insignificant quarrel about a man who refused to pay his debts. The appeal, as usual, was to arms, and some fell in the conflict*.

As another proof how limited this dependence was, the governors of forts were never, at any time, able to prevent those horrid systems of murder and sacrifice connected with the superstitious rituals of the barbarous pagan religions. I have known many unhappy victims to water the earth with their blood within gunshot of the walls of castles. At Accra, two women and as many men were butchered, with every aggravating circumstance, directly under the ramparts ; and all that could be employed, persuasion, was urged by the governor (the late Mr. Gordon) to no purpose. At Tantum, during the government of the late Mr. Adamson, the same class of murders were continually practised with impunity ; the same at Apollonia, Dixcove, Succondee, and Chamah. The only degree of decency observed at Cape Coast (and that but latterly,) was to compel the natives to practise their odious massacres at a distance from observation. Rather than adopt a system of moral and religious policy which might be found to interfere with long established interests ; rather than pursue maxims of humanity supported by good example ; the people have purposely, I am justified in saying, been suffered to practise, among other vices, these diabolical tragedies in open day, and in open spots ; or in their houses, and in "the bush." I should disgust my readers of the tender sex were I to relate more of the depraved propensities of these untutored people ; suffice it to say generally, that they

* The king once observed to me, that he knew the nations of Cape Coast were a saucy turbulent people, and that they cheated the English as much as they did the Ashantees, bidding defiance to the authority of governors, and treating white men, in common, with brutality. "If you," said the monarch, "tell me my master (the king of England) is agreeable to it, I will bring them all to Coomassy and send another tribe to live among the whites ; I will not kill them, but will give them land, and a good governor to make them obedient, and if the people I send should become saucy I will remove them also, or authorize the whites to cut off their heads."

inherit all the vice, and much of the infirmity of human nature; all the evil affections or passions of the whites; all the malignant and brutal inclinations of savages; and none of those refinements which do honour to the human heart and understanding. If this is not a fair picture, let who will contradict it. The humane, the charitable, and religious in parliament, heretofore used their efforts, to induce the inculcation of a system of education among the natives; whereby these unhappy propensities might ultimately be corrected, and the people enlightened by scriptural and other knowledge. The liberal vote of £5,000 per annum, in addition to the former grant, was carried in the House of Commons, expressly to promote that desirable object, in association with the views anticipated by government when His Majesty was graciously pleased to honour me with the appointment of consul at the court of Ashantee.

Neither the Dutch, the Danes, nor ourselves, can claim merit for having ameliorated the heart of the Gold Coast African, or even softened the barbarous asperity of his nature. But, as may regard recent improvements in the morals of men, in that country, during the administration of his excellency, the late Sir Charles M'Carthy, they are out of the question; for with the means at his disposal, over a people so greatly reduced in strength, and as regards the serious interest taken by government in promoting knowledge, spreading civilization along the coast, and in short encouraging the prosperity of those colonies by means, which to them seemed reasonable, advantageous, and promising; there can be no doubt that some, perhaps many, of the evils I have described to have existed in my time, were rooted out; for power must exact obedience, and as a tribute to the memory of Sir Charles, I will say, that few men knew better than he did how to regulate it, and fewer possessed more ability or inclination to temper it with indulgence towards the feelings and interests of those who were dependent upon him.

The Dutch have suffered from the villainous disposition of the people, both in former and recent years; perhaps, in some instances, proportionately

with ourselves. It is but a short period back, when the natives of El Mina rose upon their chief governor Hogenboom, (I think the name was) the predecessor of President Oldenburgh; chased him into his garden, on the banks of the Salt River, and there murdered him in a barbarous manner. At Eguira, many years back, it is true, they and their fort were blown up together into the air. In the Antese country, at Adoom, Abocroe, Axim, Accoda, Boutry, Shamah, and other lands in the west, they have occasionally borne their share of the calamities; whether they originated in their own mismanagement, or from the natural fraud, turbulence, and ferocity of the tribes of those parts.

At Succondee, where we are still established, the Antese negroes, in former times, burnt our fort, massacred the governor and his garrison, and plundered the Company's warehouses, private property and all.

See what Bosman relates of the Adomese negroes, and others inhabiting the banks of the Praâ or Chamah River, at its outlet in the gulf; for it is a fair specimen of what they would be, in common with the Ashantees, and Dahomans at least, if they had the same power as those nations.

"Anqua, the king," he says, "having, in an engagement, taken five of his principal Antese enemies prisoners, he wounded them all over, after which, with a more than brutal fury, he satiated, though not tired himself, by sucking their blood at their gaping wounds; but bearing a more than ordinary grudge against one of them, he caused him to be laid bound at his feet, and his body to be pierced with hot irons, gathering the blood that issued from him in a vessel, one half of which he drank and offered up the rest unto his God." On another occasion he put to death one of his wives and a slave, drinking their blood also, as was his usual practice with his enemies.

At Commenda itself, now the dirty little mass of fishermen's huts, where originated (through the insolence of the inhabitants) the existing quarrel with the king of Ashantee, the people formerly were as turbulent as they are still, (or were in my time) insolent and despicable: the Dutch themselves

can bear testimony to it. In the early days of which I speak, and since also, they attacked the fort of that nation from the tops of their houses, as Cape Coast itself was insulted by them of late years. The action, on one occasion, lasted five hours during the night, and although they failed in their object, yet they succeeded in intercepting a reinforcement, as they landed on the beach, and cut their throats. The treacherous chief gunner, in the service of the Dutch, while the massacre was taking place within reach of the cannon, had nailed up the touch-holes of the pieces, and thereby prevented them giving any assistance to their comrades, whose slaughter they were compelled to witness in silence.

Coming eastward to the Fantee country, the same writer says, and he truly says it, that the English were so horribly plagued by these people, that they were sometimes confined to their fort and not permitted to stir out. And if the negroes disliked the governor of the fort, they made no more to do, than send him packing back to Cape Coast in a canoe, in contempt; and which, so far from being able to resent, we were compelled to make peace by a present.

Christiansburg itself, the chief settlement of the Danes, and one of the best fortifications on the Guinea coast, was once actually taken from them by the negroes of the leeward coast; and they entirely gutted it of its stores and property; nor was the castle again restored until the Danes condescended to send a handsome present to the king of Aquamboe.

In later days the disorders have raged in a moderate equal proportion: many instances could be deduced to prove, that those tribes from whom we might have had reason to hope for a greater degree of friendship, and in whom from local interests, we had a right to expect a greater share of honesty and attachment, have been the very parties who have wantonly triumphed in sedition, insult, and knavery.

But, our relations on the Guinea Coast, I am inclined to think, have never been properly understood; and yet Meredith, a servant of the company, and who is comparatively a very modern author, has in some way been suffered

to betray the secret : he says, " It may be necessary to remark that we appear to claim no *right* of conquest in Africa, as far as it respects the natives ; the company pay *ground rent* and *water custom* at most of their settlements. The people are regulated by their own laws and customs and will not submit to ours. When they agree to any laws, between the whites and themselves, they generally break them, if they operate against the interest of the blacks. The forts have been maintained for the purposes of trade only ; and to enforce laws is attended with much difficulty, expense, and risk, consequently it is prudent to avoid hostilities, if they can any way decently be avoided." What can be clearer than this ? If it is now the object of the legislature to establish a sovereign controul on the Gold Coast, it would probably be adviseable in the first instance, to purchase the Dutch and Danish settlements ; then, by a very *different* kind of alliance than that which was effected, carry the war to the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

The connection existing, in my time, between the whites and the natives of the maritime towns, but chiefly Cape Coast Castle, was indeed in all matters concerning the inland people, a pure and intimate association of interest with those of the Coast ; having for its object, as Mr. Bowdich justly remarked, an united effort to profit by the ignorance of the unsuspecting trader of the interior. I have conversed with several of the Company's servants, upon the impolicy, as well as injustice of such a system ; and the usual reply was, " the Governor conducts his trade upon the same principle as we do, for it has existed time out of memory, and were we to set our faces against it our goods might remain on hand for ever, as the town brokers, upon whom we depend to bring us trade, would give the preference to another, who would comply with established regulations." Our neighbours, the Dutch, wisely protect the interest of the foreign trader, and thereby guarantee their own ; the consequence is, that they enjoy a proportionate mercantile, as well as political confidence at Coomassy ; and the commerce of the interior, for those reasons chiefly, may be carried to El Mina, in preference to any other town upon the line of coast, or any other European establishment.

There is no slander, then, in saying, as not only Sir James Yeo, and Mr. Bowdich, but many others besides have said, that the British and the blacks were, however compulsively on the part of the former, leagued together for the purpose of defrauding those Ashantees who might place some faith in a white countenance; nor those alone, but strangers of all colours. It has been stated, that the grievances and disorders of this and other complexions were imaginary and unfounded. Let us see if the defence will bear the test of investigation; and, in doing so, I shall commence with the remarks made by Bosman, pages 12 and 13, of the nature of African commerce in his days.

“ At Dikjeschoftt (Dixcove) properly called Infuma, the English built a small fort, anno 1691. I have often heard the English themselves complain of this place; for, besides that it is not a place of good trade, the negroes thereabouts are so intractable, fraudulent, villainous, and obstinate, that the English cannot deal with them; for if they have recourse to violence in order to bring them to reason, they are also opposed by force; and that so warmly, that these five years past they adventured to besiege them in their fortress, and were very near taking it; at last, they obliged the English to their terms without allowing them to exercise any power over them; and hence proceeded an alliance so strict betwixt them, that they jointly cheated all the *ships* that came to trade there, by putting sophisticated gold upon them, a fraud which they have frequently practised, as they did about three months past, upon two small English ships (one of which was laden to the value of £1,700 sterling) for all which the master received only false gold; so that he lost his whole voyage at once; nor did his companion suffer much less: and what mostly surprised them was, that they received it as well from the whites as the negroes. They applied themselves to the English chief governor on the coast, desiring they might have their goods returned, or good gold exchanged for the false: but, to complain to him, was to go to the devil to be confessed; for he, participating in the fraud, would by no means help them. This cheat has become so common that it daily happens; but that the whites have *always* a hand in it, is what I dare not affirm; however, I am very sure that

this place deserves the name of the false mint of Guinea, of which every trader who comes to the coast ought to be warned ; for the making of false gold is here so common that it is publickly sold, and become a perfect trade ; the price current being in my time about a *crown* in good gold for two pounds sterling of false.”*

The Fantees, the natives of Cape Coast, and in general those of the other maritime towns, enrich themselves by these very means, coupled with the impositions they practise upon the inland people, as well as upon us. In reference more particularly to the gold frauds, it may be observed, that it is usual for the towns-men to call themselves brokers, because the Ashantees, Dinkrans, Wassaws, Akims, Assins, and others from the inland parts, on their arrival at the settlements, in times of intercourse, are in the practice of putting up at the houses of one or other of the natives who speak a little English, and are in the service and pay of the whites ; and these men receive it pure and unadulterated, as it passes current in the interior. Before they accompany the trader to the house of the white merchant, they endeavour, either during the hours of repose, or as a fit occasion may present itself, to change the gold, or reduce its value, by the intermixture of what is no other than coloured brass filings ; or if the guest is too much on the alert, they contrive to do it in the merchant's apartment, before the face of patron and guest,—unknown, of course, to the latter, but oftentimes with the knowledge of the former, who dare not resist the fraud, as they confess, and as I have repeatedly witnessed myself. Nay, these conscientious brokers themselves, when taxed with their impositions, will say, “ How can I afford to keep the traders in my house, unless I make a profit by them ?—innocently, as it would seem, imagining that they are entitled to pay upon two, or perhaps as many more

* As Bosman then wrote upon the subject of sophisticated gold, and the manner in which it is palmed upon the whites ; so I may now write of what came under my observation ; for the same system prevailed generally, and even the established white merchants were victims to it ; as they took the gold knowing it sometimes to be a fabricated mixture.

brokerage commissions as they can secure to themselves. Thus, the emoluments these people were in the habit of reaping, through their agency, in commerce, amounted, upon an averaged estimate I made, at 12 or 15 per cent. reduction of the value of gold, and 10 per cent. at least for frauds,* and pay they were in the habit of exacting from the merchant, making together, at the very lowest estimate, 20 per cent. reduction from the profits due to the toils, and upon the property of the British trader, to the detriment of local and commercial interests in general. Instead, however, of 20 per cent., they have even been known to cheat and plunder all parties, to the amount of 50 per cent. and more; but this extensive villainy usually happens from accidental opportunities, or when the confiding master trusts his servant to inspect and pack his gold for the London market, from whence he gains his earliest knowledge of the fraud, by letters from his correspondent.

Such sentiments as integrity, honour, and even honesty, would inspire, are wholly unknown or disregarded by these people, be their relations to the white man intimate and confidential as they may; for the truth of the matter is, they are strictly and almost exclusively engrossed with plans and plots, which have no other object than their own proper interests and feelings. I believe, indeed, that there is no criterion to judge when the broker would pause in his career of chicanery, as long as he imagines he is secure from detection; but whether the whites first set them the example, or that the latter only conformed to established orders of trade, is what I cannot answer.

* One description of fraud or extortion was conducted in this manner:—An Ashantee would have occasion, let it be supposed, for guns. The broker would enquire of his employer, *in English*, how much he would sell for. If the fixed price was seven ackeys a gun, he would tell the trader nine, and pocket the other two himself, with the knowledge and consent of his master, who, as I have said before, dare not resist the imposition, for fear of losing the broker's services and connexion. Hence the natives are so anxious to place their children under the whites, as servants, to learn, as they call it, *proper sense*; for when once they have a smattering of English, their fortunes are made, as brokers and rogues.

An unfortunate French vessel, in 1819, scarcely experienced any better treatment at Cape Coast Castle itself, than did those English ships recorded by Bosman. The captain shewed me some of his "brass pan" trash, mixed with good gold; and I believe he weighed anchor from the Cape earlier on that account. Some English captains have also been duped by the same artifice, in my time; and I am justified in saying, that some of the whites are in the practice of procuring sophisticated metal from the natives, which they mix with current gold dust already alloyed, and pass off upon strangers and foreigners, as occasion may offer. Indeed, those who were the least implicated in the fraud, perhaps, had boxes containing two separate qualities of metal, the one (designed for the London market) sifted, or blown, as it is called, out of the other, which is reserved for the unwary and unsuspecting. Indeed I had a practical knowledge of these truths, for I suffered a loss of four ounces of gold, shortly after landing, by the same deception. The term fraud, in application to the latter instance, may perhaps sound harsh; for certainly there is a great distinction in the nature of the two offences, where one man makes a secret trade of the commodity, and the other merely gets rid of an article to the best profit, which may have come into his possession in a fair course of trade.

What is no less obnoxious to the true interests of Great Britain, and of course equally detrimental to the mercantile interests of individuals, they practise, besides gold frauds, others, such as watering the rum, and then restoring its pungency with Mallaguetta, Chili, and other peppers; pulverizing charcoal, and sifting the granulated particles, which they intermix with the gunpowder; and various tricks besides, in which, it is degrading to confess, they were not only countenanced, but imitated by the whites. The king (of Ashantee) is no stranger to these peculating intrigues, for he assured me that his own purchases, coming from the governor's store-room, were alike adulterated; but he innocently attributed the whole of the cheat to the people of Cape Coast.

The French nation, enterprizing and renowned in its commercial relations with the colonies of the East and West Indies, and with Africa itself, as regards the reigning dynasty, I am inclined to believe reaps as much or more solid benefit from its system of intercourse with strangers, than any other European nation, however commercial, speculative, and enterprizing. The acknowledged vivacity and courtesy of this renowned and gallant people may in some degree contribute to banish scruples, and establish the necessary confidence; but those qualifications alone would certainly be insufficient to promote their relations, to the extent at which they have been seen to flourish. Looking to Africa only, it will be apparent, that at Senegal, which is of little local value, as compared with a station on the gold coast, they have pushed their trade to a far greater distance inland, than any other European power, not exempting even the Portuguese in the southern hemisphere; and they journey by land to their factory at Galam, on the river, with as much safety, probably, as they would travel from Marseilles to Paris; for the native kings and princes of those parts are either strictly in alliance with them, upon terms of mutual interest, or they are bound down by treaties which they rarely violate; for their interests are, moreover, consulted, in the payment of annual presents, consisting of the manufactured goods of France, such as cutlery, cloth, powder, &c. all which are stipulated for in these covenants, and written down in the Arabic language.

Thus, moreover, they are permitted to count on the defensive alliance of the Trassart, Braknart, and other Arab tribes who inhabit that part of the desert between the Senegal river and Portendic, as also occasionally in the south, in the kingdom of Cayor, and the tribes adjacent, as far, may be, as within a few journies of the Gambia.

Fairs or markets might be established on the Gold Coast, upon the prevailing principle of trade throughout Africa. It is not for us to change long established maxims, commercial confidences, and rooted prejudices of such notoriety, but to conform to the customs of the countries in which we live,

(surely as long as they have a tendency to promote our interest,) and reconcile ourselves to those reasonable systems of traffic upon which the native reposes his faith, either in the shape of barter, as the Arabs and Africans of the Desert, of Numidia, and even of many parts of Mauritania itself conduct it, or in gold and cowries, as the natives of Wangara are in the practice of dealing. A weekly, or perhaps monthly fair of this description, at the settlements, would have no tendency to interrupt the course of trade at other intervals; and it could not fail, when known and confided in at Coomassy, if properly conducted, supported, and persevered in, to be made known to the inland nations, as far as the Koara at least; and the natives of those parts, if we were upon terms of friendship with the king of Ashantee, would, it is probable, be permitted to resort to the sea coast, to purchase of every commodity, save and except guns and powder; or if that were not permitted, (as I entertain little doubt it would) the Ashantees themselves would take the same commodities, and dispose of them again at their own markets, to the traders who come from Salgha, Yandy, Daboya, and other parts of the north and east.

I have hitherto suggested nothing for the more orderly and more profitable regulation of trade; for I have hitherto been scrupulous about intruding my conceptions upon the province of the legislature. I cannot avoid thinking, that by the practice of a judicious system, such as the French adopted when Canada belonged to that nation, it would conduce to establish the fundamental principle of all fellowship and intercourse—confidence. That once accomplished, would render all the attempts of the maritime natives to defraud, nugatory; for instead of placing the broker paramount, it would reduce him to his natural level, as an auxiliary, and not a dictatorial dependent. The commerce of Barbary is regulated by daily or weekly markets;—for instance, Morocco, Fez, Algiers, and Tunis. Eastward of those places, as far as the Persian Gulf, the practice is the same. In the deserts, and upon the shores of the Niger; in Dagomba, Killinga,



A Man & Woman of Banna.

Haoussa, and Marroa, &c. the natives, whether Arabs or Ethiopians, know no other medium of intercourse, or they give their confidence to no other. The whites, however, must first set the example of probity, then rigorously enforce it, as their influence may admit; and in lieu of suffering the inland trader to take up his abode at the broker's house, his independence ought to be provided for by a public bazaar or inn, free of cost, and adequate to shelter him and his effects, during his stay upon the coast. The Dutch come nigher to the feelings of the inland natives than ourselves, but they might find room for improving their system of commerce also.



CHAPTER IX.

SOUDAN.

ANCIENT AFRICA—DERIVATION OF THE NAME—THE GHARB—SOUDAN—TRADITIONS—INROADS OF THE OCEAN—NAMES GIVEN BY THE ARABS—ANCIENT POPULATION—IGNORANCE AND INDIFFERENCE OF THE PAGANS—GREAT DIVISIONS OF AFRICA, SOUTH OF THE DESERT—GHUNJA—SAREM—DAGOMBA—GANOWA—BAMBARA—FILLANY—MARROA—KILLINGA—HAOUSSA—YARRABA—THE NIGER—SHARY—GHULBY—CAPTAIN LAING'S OBSERVATIONS—DESCRIPTION OF ROUTES MARKED ON THE MAP—JEWS OF SOUDAN—TRAVELS OF THE ASHANTEES—PRIVILEGES OF MOSLEM TRAVELLERS—CURRENT COIN—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

OF all the various names given by the ancients to that vast continent we now call Africa, those of Lybia and Ethiopia appear to have been the most generally adopted ; and, perhaps, the most comprehensive in relation to the whole peninsula, as far as actual knowledge, or imagination prescribed its limits : for it is not to be supposed that Africa beyond the equator was ever known either to the Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, or Vandals, except from vague reports ; circulated for the most part through the channels of upper Egypt, Judea, and the districts of Hejaz and Yaman, in Arabia, nearest to the opposite shores of the sister continent. This, at least, may be inferred from the want of records to prove a contrary fact, in regard, specifically, to the

distant inland parts, and the mode of traversing those regions, as practised by the Arabs and Moslem Africans of the present age. It is a truth not unprofitable to pause at here, that the religion propagated by Mohammed is, of all other doctrines ancient or modern, sacred or profane, the only one which insures safety to its votaries among the savage hords of Lybia; and therefore, it would seem, that the ancients, for opposite reasons, never could traverse even the deserts with that security which their posterity enjoy. We are told, that so early as six hundred or six hundred and four years before the birth of Christ, the limits of the continent were, in some rude degree, known to the Egyptians, from an actual voyage of circumnavigation, performed in the reign, and by order of Pharoah Necho, monarch of Egypt; that these ships, we may suppose a fleet, departed from the Red Sea, (perhaps the port of Suez) doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the westernmost projections of the land in the north Atlantic Ocean, and Cape Spartel, at the mouth of the Straits, returning to the shores of the Nile, by the way of the Mediterranean sea. The respectable authority from whence this has emanated, scarcely leaves room to hazard a doubt upon the subject; yet many may, notwithstanding, feel inclined to disbelieve it; according to the various objections that might be urged in refutation of the probability, that such frail barks as were constructed by the ancients should be adequate to a voyage of that magnitude in unknown seas, and in comparatively high southern latitude; where the turbulent character of the elements so rigorously beset the Portuguese in after ages, that in commemoration of their sufferings, the headland, now the Cape of Good Hope, was anathematized by the appellation of Stormy, or the Cape of Storms. But admitting that the same class of vessels, which were capable of navigating all parts of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, were alike calculated to navigate the ocean, still there would be room for doubts connected with the manner in which these mariners supported life; for they could hardly have carried with them preserved flesh, corn, or dates sufficient to last them out the voyage; and if the old Africans were disposed as the moderns are, and have been for generations past, these

voyagers could not presume to effect a landing unless their numbers were sufficient to preserve them from becoming the slaves of the natives.

Dismissing the train of unavailing conjectures this might lead to, it may not be amiss to notice what the Arabs say in relation to the etymology of the word Africa; for they pretend to give a clear explicit account of its derivation. In the first place it is a term acknowledged to be of Arabian extraction, as indeed its sound implies; although its etymology has been, by many, so vaguely handled. The most important in the list of European reasonings, and one which, in fact, conveys an air of some plausibility, is, that it derived its name from a certain Arabian King called Ifraki or Ifriki, who fled before an Assyrian army into Egypt, and from thence into the deserts of Barca; but finding no sustenance for his followers, and their herds of cattle, he sent out scouts westward towards the Cyrenaica, or perhaps the Tripolitana, who shortly afterwards returned with the joyful tidings of land fit for pasture and tillage. This tradition, which I must confess I never heard of, is intended to combine, jointly, not only the derivation of the word Africa, but of Barbary also, notwithstanding its actual distance from these Lybian deserts, or from the ancient Syrtis, now called the Gulf of Sidra, which separates the Tripolitana from the Cyrenaica. To this effect, it is added, that when the fertile districts were discovered, the scouts impatiently rushed into the presence of their sovereign, crying out *ber ber*, signifying in Arabic, land, land; and from that it derived a name, which, by the Romans, when they became acquainted with the country, was softened down with a Latin termination to their own liking, into the word Berberia, or something resembling the sound of that combination; and which we, claiming, naturally, the same privilege, have again corrupted to Barbary.

If it be inquired of a modern Arab by what name he distinguishes the continent of Africa, he will perhaps say there is no specific name for it, by reason that there are many regions in the southern hemisphere, which are entirely unknown to us; but that since his countrymen became masters of the land now enjoyed by their posterity, those great districts have been jointly

distinguished by the appellation of Al Gharb, or Maghariba, signifying the western land, in relation to its bearing from Arabia and Syria, the focus of empire under the primitive Khalifs, whose arms were so ably carried to the margin of the Atlantic Ocean; the waters of the setting sun. Gharb (which is comparatively a modern name) he would again subdivide for the different sections, calling the land and deserts westward of the Nile, comprehending the whole Cyrenaica and the Lybian desert down to the ancient Syrtis and southward as far as the present kingdom of Fezzan, Magharib Mokribi, or the *First Division West*. This is perhaps a more explicit name than Afrikia (from Mafroka), but both are well understood as relating to this great tract. The westernmost boundary of the old Tripolitana, properly so called, and the old Carthageniensis, including the present Bashalics of Tunis and Algier, and the vice-regency of Tenez, embracing also part of Telmsen on the line of coast, and south as far perhaps as the old Roman garrisons of Tuggert, or Worgala, in or on the desert confines, would be distinguished as Maghareb al Wasat, (al Ouast) or the *Middlemost, or Central West*; and Moghareb al Woasa, the *Furthermost West*, if he were a native of the western Mauritania, would be the name by which he would describe his own country.

The deserts, also, are divided simply in this manner, for the word Sahara, which is desert, does not imply any particular district, and is equally applicable to any sterile spot in Arabia, or elsewhere.

Soudan from اسود Aswad, (black) is a general and vague appellation in use among the Arabs and northern African tribes, as relating particularly to those nations which border the left bank of the Niger, although not exclusively so, for they as frequently apply the term in a far more comprehensive sense, whereby they include the whole of tropical Africa known to them; and it may consequently be translated with the greatest propriety *the Land of Negroes, or Black People*, for that is simply the meaning, and no other*.

* If what may be described with the greatest simplicity, suitable to the understandings of all men, is also the most beautiful, as many are inclined to believe, these names of the Arabs are not to be called trifling.

Like the word Caffreria, which is a corruption of the Arabic Kauferau, a term in use among the Arabs of the sixth and seventh centuries, it is (although not of the reproachful character of the latter, which implies "the land of infidels") somewhat contemptuous in signification, as it then stigmatized the southern tribes indiscriminately as an inferior order of the creation, of whom many about that period, and since the wars of the Arabs upon the "Bahar Soudan" Niger, have embraced the Korannic faith and incorporated themselves with their conquerors.

The Moslems of Haoussa, Killinga, and Dagomba, however, as also some of the desert tribes in the west, use Soudan as a generic and proper name, by which they describe certain very extensive tracts inland. The name, according to the signification given by the Arabs, is perfectly familiar to them, and in conversation with foreigners they use it, by adoption; but still they reject it in their geography, as a term of a vague and indefinite importance, which is truly the case. Soudan is the name given by the Wangara Moslems in general, and particularly by those of Ashantee, to that great strip of land stretching away east and west along the parallels of the desert, and the great central rivers and waters from Bambarra in the west to Bornou in the east. These regions they again subdivide into two parts, calling the first Kably or Soudan; Kably in reference to its greater approximation to the Kabla of the city of Mecca (the east) and the latter Gharby, or Soudan Gharby, from its bearing west, towards the regions of the setting sun. Some also make a third division of Soudan, "beyond the waters," and this they call Wastany Wasat, or Soudan al Wastany, signifying simply Middlemost Soudan.

Beside these principal divisions, they allow of another Soudan in the more central parts of the continent, below the southernmost provinces and kingdoms of the Bornou empire, on the south bank of the Shady; and this they call Soudan Dakhlala; a term which they admit to be vague, and which I conceive to be synonymous with interior Ethiopia, for its meaning is strictly interior Soudan.

Africa, according to traditions I have oftentimes heard repeated by Arabs

(for the Berrebers, or mountain Africans, know little of the matter), is the old name, somewhat corrupted, by which the land beyond Nile westwards was called by their ancestors, many ages before the birth of Christ, and probably long before they had any practical knowledge of its internal features. This original name, as they pronounce it, was *Al Mafroka*, the disunited, or divided land; implying as the general opinion goes, that it was cut off from the continent of Asia by the course of the Nile from south to north; for the eastern geographers, it is well known, included all that tract of land bounded on the east by the Arabian gulf, and on the west by the river Nile, under the head of Asia.

Another tradition, which however is not so popular, gives it the name ascribed to it, not from the separation of the land by the course of the Nile; but from the division caused by the Red Sea; from whence, they say, the ancient Arabs named the opposite shore *Mafroka*, the disjointed or broken land, because they believed the waters to have concentrated there after the deluge subsided; or that they preserved the tradition of a subsequent rush of the Indian ocean, whereby the Almighty inflicted a heavy chastisement for the transgressions of certain tribes in the *Hajaz*, or stony Arabia, whose loss may be found on record in the *Koran* itself.

Although, as I before remarked, the Berreber tribes know so little of these traditions, it is a singular truth that they are firmly persuaded that the African continent originally joined that of Europe in the west, where the *Herculean* pillars now stand; and also, that in the same early age, the land of *Mauritania* projected a considerable number of leagues more in the Atlantic Ocean than it now does. No one presumes, however, to account for the age it happened in; except as they vaguely narrate, that since the universal deluge the sea broke in upon the land where the straits of *Gibraltar* now exist, and spread its waves around to the extent it now does; sweeping into the abyss myriads of human beings, with their cattle, and habitations; burying all but the summits of the highest land, which, together with the tops of mountains, are still to be seen under the semblance of islands scattered over the surface

of the water. The Arabs and Asiatics in general shew no great respect to this mountain tale; yet it is worthy of remark, that when the early Moslem tribes carried their victorious arms to that part of the Spanish coast opposite the Tingitana*, the fortunate generals, in pursuing the system of naming the conquered territory, as caprice or accident might dictate, without respect to the names by which the Spaniards themselves called them, any more than they had heretofore respected the old African names of places (excepting, however, where the Atlas, and other mountainous ridges bid defiance to their encroachment,) adopted the African legend, as it agrees with several capes and head-lands, as Trafalgar and Algezeiras, called by those people Terf al Gharb, and Al Zeira, or Jazeira, implying part of the Gharb, or Mauritania, and its island, are expressive of the credit given to the tradition by the old Africans, literally, and perhaps by the Asiatics, figuratively.

Here, indeed, the imagination might wander into a labyrinth, but which could lead no where beyond unprofitable conjecture. That the world has been more than once buried under water, totally or partially, the accounts of other lands, or the geological researches in our own, might induce some to conjecture in opposition to chronology, sacred or profane. If we were to consider the subject of any real importance, and that some hypothesis must necessarily be established, this great influx of water eastward might be associated with the effect produced by the inclination of the currents of the North Atlantic Ocean, from their vital source of action in the Gulf or Straits of Florida. This, again, might lead to a supposition, if any one were inclined to speculate so far, that the New World, as it is called, (the Continent of America) has been justly so named, or at least, that some mighty revolution in nature, caused (if it ever was the case) the separation of the two continents, Europe and Africa, and gave the name of Inland, or Between-land Sea, to the water that now divides

* This happened in the reign of the Khalifa Walid ben Abdalmalek the 6th sovereign of the dynasty called Bani Ommeya (Omniade) who governed the empire about ten years and six months, namely, till the year of Christ 715.

them, as its modern name implies in the Arabic, as well as the languages of past and present times in Europe.

It is a popular notion of the modern Africans, as well those of Barbary as the natives of Sarem, Ghunja, and Dagombah, that the original influx of inhabitants came from the east, some time after Misraim, the son of Ham, founded the empire of Egypt; which event took place, according to our own chronology, 2188 years before the birth of Christ, and 160 years after Noah's embarkation.

In quoting the authority of Ashantees, and other natives of Guinea, it is invariably to be considered, as relating to African Moslems, born in those parts; for the unlettered heathen is so decidedly ignorant and disinterested about researches into past ages, that I will venture to affirm, if he should pretend to describe any thing remote, it will only be with a view to impose upon the credulity of the enquirer; for his ordinary replies even to the most simple question regarding the custom of a neighbouring tribe or nation, is, *How can I tell? I am not of that country, and I never was there to see*; and so he drops a subject that would fatigue his understanding, because it neither gives him pleasure, nor is likely to be productive of advantage. In fact, it would almost warrant the assertion, that the negro is qualified with knowledge only that he exists, and that he must one day die. If questioned about his ancestors, he can only affirm, with the same simplicity, they lived, and they are dead. And as regards the creation of the world, its political changes, or any of the records of sacred or profane history, if it did not put the muscles of his face in motion, to be asked such a question by a white man, he would at least mildly say, *Enquire of the Moslems, who pray to the great God, and hold strong fetish; they know these things, and more: they can tell you; but I am ignorant*. I speak this upon the most satisfactory information, namely, a practical knowledge of the habits of indolence, ignorance, and superstition by which their faculties are obscured, and their understandings bewildered; for during the many trials I made at Ashantee, and upon the Coast, without casting in the scale my Barbary experience, every attempt failed me, even in the most trivial

enquiries, to elicit information from the Pagan, either directly, or through his interpretation; for they are equally given to misrepresent facts, if they imagine the recital will amuse; added to which, their very limited knowledge of European dialects is another insuperable obstacle to the attainment, through their agency, of any, even the most superficial knowledge whatever. This truth is grafted upon my mind so positively, that it must be confessed I have but little respect for books whose authors have compiled them upon negro authority.

Africa south of the Desert is divided into many important sections or districts, by which certain tracts of land are characterized and known to the natives of remote countries, who, perhaps, never heard mention of the kingdoms they contain. Those familiar to my informers were Ghunja, Sarem, Dagomba, Ganowa, Bambara, Fillany, Marroa, Killinga, Haoussa, and Yarraba.

These great sections, all within the Torrid Zone, extend east and west from about 7° of west longitude, to 12° east, or thereabout, and from the shores of the Gulf to the 17th or 18th parallel of north latitude.

Ghunja, collectively, contains the empires of Ashantee and Dahomy, exclusive of Gaman in the west, and Banna in the north. The western boundary of this section is the River Tando, and eastward it stretches away as far as the Lagos river. Its southern base upon the line of coast, may therefore be computed at five hundred geographic miles, in which is included the military and commercial establishments of all the European nations who traffic in Guinea. Upon the 8th parallel of latitude, it is more contracted, and does not probably exceed three hundred and eighty miles; yet here it occupies twenty days to traverse from its eastern to its western confines, and sixteen from north to south.

Sarem is separated from the former by the River Tando; yet its eastern limit northward of Coransah, is the Aswadah river. It stretches away westerly, *as far as the land that projects into the sea*, (doubtless, Cape Palmas.) This land they call *البر بحري*, (Al bir Bahooree) the maritime country,

(west,) and which it is probable Mr. Bowdich mistook for a kingdom so called, as he has assigned a position to Bahooree, (the sea-coast) between the 8th and 9th parallels of latitude, behind Gaman. Sarem contains the kingdoms of Gaman, the tract of land known by the name of the Ivory Coast, Banna, Takima, Soko, Ghofan, Enkasi, and Kong. There is no town called Sarem, but the district so named is about five hundred and thirty or five hundred and forty miles in extent, from east to west, and it occupies full thirty-six days to traverse from limit to limit. From north to south it may be about three hundred and seventy miles in extent; for it also requires twenty-four stages to traverse it in that direction. Sarem is environed on the east by Dagomba; south, by Ghunja; north, by the Manding country; and west, or north-west, by the mountainous district of Ganowa.

Yarraba is the greatest in extent among these southern sections. Its boundaries are, on the north, Killinga; on the east, unknown districts of the Soudan, called Dakhlata; on the west, Ghunja and Dagomba; on the south, Benin and Waree. It is said to occupy the traveller forty days, in traversing from east to west; but its extent north and south I cannot speak of with any certainty; however, it may possibly spread as many as four hundred and sixty geographic miles, reckoning from the southernmost provinces of the kingdom of Bargho, in Killinga, to the land which runs parallel with Cape Formosa.

Killinga, which is a district of great political and natural importance in central Africa, is not inferior in extent to any of these southern departments, Sarem and Yarraba excepted. It has for its boundaries, Fillany, on the north-west; the Koara, Marroa, and Haoussa, on the north and north-east; the kingdom of Yakoo, and the Soudan Dakhlata, east; Yarraba and Dagomba, south and south-west. The Ghulby river flows through the heart of it; and beside the kingdom and principalities of Kambah and Maury, it contains those of Zogho, Baman, Wawa, Kandashy, &c. The population of Killinga is reckoned to exceed in numbers that of any other district of an equal surface; and the inhabitants, who, for the most part, are

Moslems, are considered the most opulent people of any in the south. It may be reckoned, indeed, that the districts of the east, namely, Haoussa, Killinga, and Yarraba, are in a comparative state of civilization, and that they enjoy, moreover, the metallic riches of the earth, which the nations of the west, who in turn become masters of the Wangara mines, pour into these countries as fast as the precious metal can be collected, and which is only, as it would seem, held in trust for the public good, at the expence of much blood, and a barbarous system of rapine and extortion.

Ganowa is a district bearing north, inclining west from Sarem, which is its boundary on the south, as is also Bambara on the north, the kingdom of Melly, and part of Dagomba, on the east. Its surface is, for the most part, hilly or mountainous, particularly in the west. It is a district known only to the western Moslems, who journey from Kong, Enkasy, and Manding, to the Jolliba at Bammakoo, to Kaarta, Woled, Omar, (the Ludmar of Park) and the Desert.

The kingdom of Melly, which lies to the southward of Bambara, and between that district and Dagomba, is also by some rated among these sections, as one of equal celebrity, in proportion to its size, and equally ancient as the rest, over which, however, it has the advantage of having preserved its original political influence in those parts, and which, consequently, still entitles it to the rank of kingdom.

Bambara is that district whose western limits the unfortunately renowned Mungo Park traversed, in his journeys to the Niger. Its ancient metropolis is Sego, pronounced Sago and Sagho; but it has now many cities, as well Moslem as Heathen, of equal importance. Its boundaries are the Great Desert, Massina, and Beroo north; Fillany, east; Dagomba, Manding, and Melly, south; Kaarta and the Foulah country, west.

Fillany is also a district of much importance in the features of African geography. The Niger runs through the heart of it, and it is watered by many other large navigable streams, connected with that river, both in the northern and southern shores. Its boundaries are Marroa on the north east,

Killinga on the south east, Magho on the south, Bambara on the west, and the Desert on the north west. It is considered also an extensive tract, and as my informers supposed (although erroneously) was tributary to Ismaelia, or the empire of Morocco. That it was conquered by the Arabian arms and colonized by those people is well authenticated by the annals of Barbary. The Moslems of Guinea also, admit the fact; they are aware too that the Arabs have been progressively driven backward upon the deserts, and many of their conquests wrested from them by the heathens (a catastrophe which they religiously deplore); yet they persist in saying, that tribute is exacted, from the people of those parts, in the name of the Sheriffe of Mauritania, whoever he may be. Fillany, it is but a reasonable conjecture, derived its name from the province of Taffilet, behind the Atlas mountains eastward, from whence all the Mauritanian armaments issued, prior to the Mahadi dynasty, and the building of the imperial city of Morocco in the Mauritania, properly so called; and, indeed, where the camps and caravans yet assemble preparatory to their departure for the east or south.

Fillany, as relating to Taffilet, is perfectly synonymous with it, although coinciding with the African mode of assimilating the land to the name of its tribes. Thus the tribes of Taffilet are indiscriminately called Fillany, exactly as the other is pronounced and spelt in the Arabic character. Concerning the tribute, which they affirm is still collected in the name of the Sheriffe, and remitted to him by land, across the desert, I think I may venture to affirm, that not an atom of the money ever reaches the treasury of that prince. Perhaps, it may be employed to subsidize some of the neighbouring Arab tribes, and for state reasons it is still denominated *heddia* (tribute or donation) as heretofore, when the emperors of Morocco were powerful enough to exact their claim by force of arms, whenever their colonists in Soudan were remiss in their payments.

The celebrated city of Timbuctoo, or Tombuctoo as it is better known, still enjoys a supremacy in Fillany, notwithstanding those of Taslima, Jennie,

and Wakwari, are esteemed larger, and more populous; it is therefore called the head, or metropolis of that district.

Marroa, a district that joins Fillany in the south west, Haoussa in the south east, the Koara south, and the desert at opposite points of the compass, is known only to occupy a somewhat remote although central position between Fillany and Haoussa; its limits I do not presume otherwise to describe. The land hereabouts is deemed a sort of African paradise, and the population is proportionably great; numerous streams intersect the plains, some of which are of great magnitude, rolling volumes of water southerly or easterly to the Niger.

This district, and some of the eastern provinces of Fillany, were originally subdued by the Arabs, at a very early period. The Moslems of Ashantee relate many traditions concerning the early wars of the Arabians, when they turned their arms beyond the desert, the most prominent of which relates to an invading army, sent by one of the Viceroy's of Cairowan, during the dynasty of Bani Abbas; somewhere about the hejyran year 180, which corresponds with that of our own era 796. These wars were of many years duration, and the "sacred" volume made an effectual impression on this part of Soudan by the vigorous efforts of the old Arabs, under several successive Khalifs of that dynasty, from the magnificent Haroun al Raschid to the reign of that celebrated prince of the dynasty called Fathemia, Moez al din Allah, who was lineally descended from the great reformer Mahadi.

A very intelligent Moslem, a native of Nikky, named Jelelly ben Shoam, who sometimes took a leading part in these historical conversations, affirmed that Moez, as soon as he had seated himself upon the Egyptian throne, directed the whole force of the Khalifat against eastern Soudan, which he ravaged with fire and sword, extending the law (Koran) to kingdoms of idolaters, that were hitherto unknown to the Arabs. When the general, whom he called Abdallah ben Iyak, had effected a passage for the army down to the Koara, he distributed his forces into several divisions, forming them into

naval armaments with which he ravaged many of the central kingdoms, overawing others, and inducing many powerful sovereigns to renounce their diabolical superstitions for a religion of "purity and peace." This, which appears to have been the first great effort of the Arabs beyond the Niger, succeeded beyond all human calculation, and for many ages after, perhaps until the destruction of the Khalifat itself, by the Tartar Holagul, tribute was punctually remitted to the Mediterranean shores, to Cairoan, Mehedia, Cairo, or Damascus; cities whose former renown still delights the ears and imaginations of these Ethiopian converts, as it does those of the present generation of Arabs.

Marroa was thus early reduced to the form of a province, dependent upon the vice royalty of Cairoan, with which it was so far incorporated as to be colonized by a population of Arabs, who made that district a sort of head quarters, or rendezvous for the caravans, to and from the central Gharb; or that tract of land comprehended between the Tingitana and the Cyrenaica. The virtue or efficacy of camels and horses is still venerated in proportion to the *religious* part they bore in the wars against their idolatrous ancestors; for both these valuable animals were introduced by these Arabs, or at least they were not known south of the Niger, until the Arab supremacy preponderated on that river, and their influence extended as far as the Ghulby.

Haoussa is a district of no less importance than either Marroa or Fillany. It is an extensive tract of land, stretching easterly from these two districts, as far as Rakka or Kano. The Desert is its northern boundary, and Killinga and the Koara river its southern. It is reckoned eighteen journies, or about three hundred miles horizontal, from east to west; and may be as many more from north to south. Youry is a powerful kingdom of this district, together with several others of less magnitude, as Konbash, Garanti, and Yandoto, the whole of which are tributary to the sultan who rules in Kassina.

This district shared the fate of the others, when the Arabs lorded it over the Niger, and it still contains a remnant of the conqueror's posterity, who having escaped a certain great persecution of the believers, when the Arab

garrisons were driven to the deserts, obtained permission to establish a form of government among themselves, according to their respective tribes and kindred. The Arab population of these parts is now estimated at four large tribes, or about two hundred and fifty thousand souls. Haoussa is described to be of great wealth, luxuriant, and populous. Beside the Koara, many large navigable streams intersect the land, and a constant and free communication, by water, exists between its chief cities and those of Bornou, Yarraba, Benin, Fillany and Marroa. Independent of this traffick, a more remote intercourse by caravans is maintained, under limitations, with the tribes or hordes of Desert Arabs, with Azben, Ferjan, (or Fezzan,) and even with Egypt. Its boundaries, as given to me by the Bashaw of Coomassy, are the Desert and Jekky north; the Koara south; Noufy east; and Marroa west.

Dagomba is a district separating Ghunja from Bambara and Fillany, and Sarem from Yarraba and Killinga. It is also highly populous, the land mostly champaign, and well cultivated. Yandy, the chief city, is said to be at least four times as extensive as the capital of Ashantee. The length of this district, from north to south, is about two hundred miles; and from east to west nearly three hundred and thirty. Yandy enjoys great celebrity all over the African continent for its riches and its manufactures. The natives are, moreover, highly enterprising and commercial, and they maintain a constant communication with the neighbouring kingdoms; but particularly so with Haoussa and Sarem, for the conveniency of whose traffick their city becomes a depôt, and a periodical mart, as well for their own manufactures as for those of Fezzan, Egypt, Smyrna, &c., as also for slaves, gold, and ivory, collected in and upon the confines of Wangara. Its distance from Coomassy is but twenty-two days; yet the Ashantees rarely venture so far from home, unless under the escort and protection of a Moslem.

This district, says the Bashaw, was never subject to the depredations of the Arabs, yet in former ages, when the spirit of religious enterprise existed in full vigour among the Moslem nations of east and west Soudan, the powers on the Niger, and their auxiliaries ravaged many of the eastern

kingdoms ; and the navigation of both the Ghulby and Koara, were almost exclusively under Arabian controul. Even that great section Yarraba submitted to Korannic jurisdiction, or was compelled to receive laws from the Moslems of Haoussa, Marroa, and Fillany, whose preponderating influence, from time to time, affected more or less every kingdom down almost to the shores of the Atlantic, or that tract which collectively is termed Wangara. The particular period to which these traditions refer, nearly corresponds with the year of Christ 1200 ; for the prevailing belief is, that the Moslem arms were every where successful, up to this time ; and their religion, indeed, still gained rapidly over the continent until the commencement of the seventh Hejyran century, when civil dissensions crept into the state and engaged the tribes to war with each other, in opposition to the denunciations of the Koran, and that ostensible maxim of policy which should have harmonized their councils for the preservation of their political and religious footing amidst tribes so barbarous and warlike.

As enemies, the Arabs are said never, at any time, to have penetrated beyond Nikky, which is thirteen days south of the Koara. Two of the most powerful sovereigns in that neighbourhood, namely those of Magho and Dzogho embraced their creed by invitation, and deputed ambassadors to the Arabian head-quarters tendering their submission.

The names of these sections refer particularly to the Moslem system of geography ; from whom, in all probability, they derive an exclusive origin, as the Ashantees know them, it would seem, through the agency of the Moslems, and the Fantees know nothing about the matter ; but on the contrary say, " We don't know that ; it is the Crammo's (Moslems) talk." It is presumed, however, that the information is of importance, for these names are commonly known to every Moslem nation in Africa.

The Moslems of Kong and Manding commonly used the term Wangara, as relating to Ashantee, Dahomy, and Benin, east of the Formosa. Of the Niger, well known to them by its Bambara name Joliba, they reported to this effect ; that it has its source in a chain of mountains which bears west, and

something north of the capital of Kong, from whence it is distant eighteen journies. According to this estimation I conceive, its fountain may exist in about $11^{\circ} 15'$ latitude north, and $7^{\circ} 10'$ longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich. The intermediate space comprises a part of the district called Ganowa, inhabited by the Manding and Falah (Foulah) tribes. The surface for the first five or six days, they relate, is inclining to hilly, yet it is by no means abrupt; and forests alternately abound, but they are not so impervious as those of Ashantee. After the first hundred miles, the traveller commences ascending a cluster of lofty mountains, and this labour occupies him six days. The mountains abound in rivers and rapid torrents, which discharge themselves on the opposite sides into the Jolliba, and further to the westward they are so high and steep that no man can ascend to their summits; which are barren, bleak, and oftentimes covered with snow. They are inhabited about half way up by ferocious tribes of cannibals. The source of the river lies about two days distant up the mountains; and is distant from Coomassy thirty-eight journies, or about five hundred British miles horizontal.

The river in the neighbourhood, at the head of the mountains, is a small rapid stream full of cataracts, which foam over a bed of rocky ground, where it would not be possible to float a canoe. It flows on to a considerable distance among the valleys and broken ground until it has cleared the mountains, which it leaves far to the south, as it explores a channel on the plains of Melly. On the confines of Bambara it is already a large river, occasioned by the junction of many other rivers of almost equal magnitude and whose sources are in these mountains. It passes Yamina, Safana, and Sago, to Massina and Jenny; beyond which it spreads into a large lake, called Bahar Dibber, or the Sea of Ghimbaba. The Dibber is very large, and in the season of rain the land on the opposite side, although high, is not discernible. Beyond Jenny the river, at the opposite outlet of the lake, inclines to the north till it reaches Timbuctoo. From thence its track is easterly to Ghou, having then traversed the district of Fillany. From Ghou it enters Marroa, passing through Corimen, Kaby, and Zanberma, as it

inclines with a southerly fall to the Youry, and the lake of Noufy. From Youry the river inclines south-east, passing the cities of Noufy, Homan, and Magamy, in the form of a great sea, which has several outlets to the south, and three great branches which communicate with the Shady on the east. From the Shady the river flows, under its new name, to Gambaro, after having passed Haoussa, Rakka, Yakoo, and Kano. From Gambaro it sweeps a little to the southward of Bornou, Ghotta, and Arkani, till it enters Bagharmy, where it forms a junction with the Nile of Egypt. Its course beyond this is through Kordofan, Foor, Wady, Sennar, Nubia, &c. On the confines of Habesh, (Abyssinia) it again spreads into a large sea, and its channel receives the tributary waters of innumerable rivers of the largest size, of which that called Shary, between Foor and Wady, is best known from its situation in the land of believers. Indeed, this is the substance of what was advanced by the Moslems, as well from the east as the west, natives of Sarem, Dagomba, and Ghunja; or inhabitants of the banks of the Ghulby and Koara. Briefly, they would say, the great sea flows to Egypt, and the little one to the salt sea, from whence you came, (the Guinea Gulf,) but they are both united at Noufy.

The Ghulby is said to flow also easterly upon a parallel with the Koara itself, which it joins, as has been related, in Haoussa. Admitting this to be the case, its source may be considered somewhat conjectural. In truth there was a diversity of opinion upon this topic, some maintaining that its fountain existed in the chain of mountains before mentioned, between Kong and the river Ahmar; whilst others affirmed that the Ghulby itself was a branch separated from the Koara by a ridge of mountains, in the vicinity of Janny; and that the navigation of this southern limb was open and unobstructed from Janny to Ghoroma, the capital of Magho, through Konbory. Perhaps the latter was the prevailing opinion. All my informers were ignorant of the rivers called in Park's map, Ba Nimma, Maniana, Ba, and Moosica: of these names that of Maniana alone was familiar to them as a nation of

idolatrous mountaineers; behind Kong, and subject to the sovereign of Manding, who was a Moslem. Yet the route to Sego, on the Niger, by the way of Banna, Ghofan, and Baddin, leads to a great river or sea, running also easterly, and distant from the Jolliba but four or five days. This river is named the Yasser.

In reference to the source of the Niger, it was published in a London paper, of the 14th of January, 1823; that Captain Laing, (the gentleman who has recently returned from the Gold Coast with official dispatches of the late disasters in that quarter) saw the hill during his mission to the interior, "where the Niger (called Timbie) springs. The river flowing on from the hill of Loma in $9^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude, and $9^{\circ} 36'$ west longitude, marks the boundary between Sangara and Joolimani, the former bearing to the right of east, and the latter to the left of west. The geographical scite of Loma was ascertained by taking the bearings of two points, and from the well known accuracy of Captain Laing, there can be no doubt of the observations being correct." This officer started on the 16th April, and returned the 29th October.

The rout from Ghofan to that part of the Niger, which is in the vicinity of Sago or Sego, takes through the kingdoms of Ghobagho, Kasogho, and Safany, the latter of which is tributary to Melly, another kingdom westward, of greater power than either of the others; and which is separated from the Manding states (most of whom pay a tribute to it notwithstanding,) by a chain of high mountains called Jibbel Kaunagh, probably the same mountains observed by Park from the Niger. The chief towns on this route, after crossing the desert, are Lankantira, Katary, Botintasy, and Daboya the capital of Ghobagho. The route from thence inclines to the NNW. taking through the towns of Denkary, Bonough, Bouasa, Cabary, and Yaba (a city of greater extent than Salgha). From Yaba the traveller proceeds through several other towns, which are marked on the map and described in the manuscript, until he alights on the banks of a great river, called by the

natives of those parts Bahar Yasser.* At this station, to which I have assigned the latitude and longitude of $12^{\circ} 50'$ north and 2° west, it is usual for the traveller to stop several days at a city of some magnitude, called Borma from the island on which it is seated. Kow, which is a city of great magnitude in Safany, is distant from the Yasser river one easy journey, and from Kow to Sago, in a direction still inclining to the westward of north, it is no more than four journies. The usual track pursued by the traders from Ashantee is to Kantano in Banna, a city little inferior in size and population to Coomassy itself, and from this station to Sago, or any part of the Niger in Bambara, it is no more than twenty seven days' journies, or eighteen from Daboya. From Sago to Jenny it is no more than four water journies, or ten long ones by land.

The north banks of the Niger, westward of the Dibber-lake, were little known to my informers, except that they knew them to be populous, containing many tribes of heathens and Moslems intermixed. But south of the river, in the kingdom of Konbory, they described many large towns and cities, some of which, as Tastima and Fedanky, were inhabited by a population exclusively Moslem. The Korannic law governs all these parts, or the people from choice and the veneration they have for Moslems conform to its tenets in civil matters.

Camels and horses abound in all these parts, as well as in Manding, and the people are warlike as well as commercial. The houses of the inhabitants are flat-roofed, and constructed, for the most part, with clay, although not differing materially in architecture from such as may be seen in the northern states of Africa, on the Mediterranean shores; they are not built, however,

* In the construction of my map, it may be necessary to remind the reader, that I have studied nothing as regards the probable termination of rivers, &c.; not conceiving myself warranted to do so in a work of this kind: but where the natives described water to exist, or any other local object, there I have simply inserted it, leaving all speculative matter out of the question; so that the map itself is no other than a compilation of their own, at least founded upon their authority exclusively.

higher than those of Ashantee, with the exception only of a few, which are two stories. The common luza, (almond) the tûta, (mulberry) the luzal hendi, (cocoa) and many of the productions of North Africa, grow spontaneously in these parts, blended with the palm, date, plantain, and a variety of other species, such as may be found everywhere in the Torrid Zone.

Janny is a very large city in the kingdom of Massina, and Ghimballa a district or principality bordering the river, and having a town called by the same name, which is seated one journey from the Dibber lake, on its northern shores. Massina is the most westerly kingdom of Fillany.

From Janny it is reckoned seven or eight land journies to Timbuctoo; and it is usual to travel the distance on horses or camels through Ghimbala, in preference to performing the voyage across the Dibber, which, besides its southerly inclination, is subject to storms, the merchant being moreover harassed by canoes belonging to the petty kings and chiefs who live on its banks, and who are in the practice of extorting goods and money.

The Arab tribe called Woled Moghata, inhabit the desert confines behind Massina; and in travelling to their douars, or encampments, from Janny, you fall in with a large river, on the 10th day, which flows to the south-east, (perhaps south;) the name of it, however, was not known. Neither these Arabs nor the neighbouring African tribes use fire-arms; they may indeed have possession of a few, which they purchase or take from the natives of the Senegal and Gambia; but gunpowder being at all times a scarce commodity, these weapons are not in much repute. The fact may be, that the inland people of those districts are debarred a free traffic in those commodities by their maritime neighbours, the same as the practice is among the Ashantees and Dahomans. Many of the chiefs, however, have a few, which they exhibit with great ostentation on days of ceremony. Beyond the river which flows through the country of the Woled Moghata, is the great and populous district of Marroa, of which the kingdom of Foulaha, containing the tributary states or principalities of Ghou and Kaby, are the westernmost boundaries. Atogho and Zanberma are kingdoms on the south bank of the

Koara, opposite the former, in the district of Fillany. The Great Desert approaches the river at Sago, within the distance of twelve journies; this desert, called by way of distinction Sahara Azki, or the Pure Desert, is the most barren of vegetation of any known in these parts; and the traveller can seldom procure water for his cattle, under the lapse of ten or twelve days.

The second route falling under description, is that leading from Salgha to the right of north through Tonouma, part of Ghobago, Ghomba, and Mousee, to the powerful kingdom of Magho, whose capital city is Ghoroma. There are two roads by which the traders journey,—one taking north from Salgha to the city of Betariby, the other inclining more easterly, through Banko and Caja to Yandy, in the country of Simmer. The former, however, is considered the more direct route; and as such it is preferred by travellers whose object may be to visit Ghoroma direct. The towns between Betariby and the Ghulby, are Yashily, Deghony, and Wabia, a capital city, as large as Coomassy, and a territory purely Moslem. The great wilderness of Ghomaty, frequented by the elephant-hunters, lies to the right or eastward of this, stretching off to the neighbourhood of the city of Zogho itself, from which it is distant a single journey only.* From Wabia the road leads through Kousago, Takolshi, Sakoya, and Coltega, to Boughori, (a city of the heathens, of very considerable magnitude;) from thence it is only one journey to the Ghulby, بحر غلبي, in the kingdom of Magho, passing through the town of Batili.

This, which is a circuitous route to Haoussa, (for the Niger itself they rarely or never visit between the parallels of 1° west, and 6° or 7° east,) is often preferred by the traders who visit Haoussa, on account either of the

* All the countries in this direction, from Ghobago and Mousee to the kingdom of Kaima, are considered only in the light of provinces or principalities of the great kingdom of Zogho, whose sultan receives tribute or presents from most of the neighbouring nations, Dahomy and Benin included.

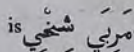
commercial habits of the people, or their proximity to the great fairs* and markets, which are generally holden weekly in the vicinity of the Koara, and to which the merchants from all parts of the north-east are in the constant practice of resorting. Ghoroma is on the north bank of the Ghulby, and distant from Batili one journey by water, or three by land. By this road it is seventeen journeys from Salgha to Ghoroma; but by the way of Yandy it is one day more, the track upon either parallel bearing to the right of north.

The traders who visit Magho generally proceed northward to the little tributary heathen kingdom of Ghotto, to which there is a communication by water, either by the overflowing or connexion of a lake, called by the Moslems Kouzagha, and which lies to the north-east of Ghoroma, at six journeys distant. The River Ghulby is parted from at the great city of Andary, a capital station of the traders, on the second day. The lake itself is considerably more than one journey in length, from east to west, and the water of it is perfectly pure and sweet-flavoured. To Ghoroma I have accordingly assigned the latitude of $12^{\circ} 25''$ north longitude, 1.33 east. Nearly upon the parallel of Popo, and to Andary, I have given $12^{\circ} 34'$ latitude, $2^{\circ} 12'$ longitude, which would place it on a line nearly with Whydah.

Magho is a kingdom which contains a mixed population of Moslems and Heathens,—the former enjoying the government. The sultan † is one of the most powerful princes south of the Koara, and may, as my informer stated, vie in rank with the sultan of Bargho, his eastern neighbour. The dominions of the sovereign extend right and left of north to Atogho, (a principality of heathens south of the Koara and Koubory,) where the population again is

* Fairs and public markets are common in all parts of Soudan, as well as in the states beyond the deserts. The African, indeed, gives his confidence to no other medium of intercourse. Even among the ferocious tribes of Guinea, the people are in the enjoyment of their weekly or monthly markets.

† The name of the reigning monarch, as described to me,—I think it will be seen in the MSS.

is  Mariba Sheikhy.

mixed. The people of these parts, Moslems or Heathens, are highly commercial and enterprising.

From Magho the traders sometimes drop down the Ghulby to Kook, Nikky, or Rougha; but there is another route leading inland through many towns, which may be referred to in the chart or native MSS. leading also to Nikky, the metropolis of Killinga, and the great kingdom of Bargho. From Nikky, the Haoussa road leads over the Ghulby, to Wory and other towns in the north-east, through the heart of Bargho, and from thence to its tributary kingdom of Wawa, as it will fall under description next in order. The road from Nikky to Kassina, below the Noufy lake, takes through the kingdoms of Maury, Kandashi and Souy, leaving Kaima and Atagara, two other powerful states; the former Moslem, and the latter Heathen, in the south and south-east. The track of country on this route is mostly champaign, rich, and fruitful, well watered with innumerable small rivers, and some great ones, which it is affirmed flow southerly, and fall into the sea in the neighbourhood of Benin.

Two or three journies eastward of Nikky is a lake of moderate dimensions, called Callio Makaro, which they relate, has no connexion with the River Ghulby; and the water of it is said to be brackish, or salt. Salt is also dug out of the earth hereabouts, and transported to all parts of the south and west, as also to the markets of Nikky, Youry, Boussa, Kook, Kassina, &c. To this lake I have assigned the latitude of 12° north, and $6^{\circ} 30'$ east. The chief towns in its neighbourhood are Ghora and Ghatagha,—the latter a very large and populous city, inhabited by a great proportion of Moslems, and resorted to from all parts of Soudan. From Ghatagha, the route to Kassina inclines to the left of east,* through Fogha, Toukani, Bakoridi, and Conka, to

* This is the city of which mention has been already made, that its name is the same as a great southern river called Shaderbah, or Vahar Kanbaja.

Hanbaja, along the track pursued by the Ghulby in its course to the Noufy. Some of the other principal towns are Kaado, Fakaro, Ghosi, Rekena, and Marina, which is a city of the very first rank, and the metropolis of Souy. To this place I have assigned a position, $13^{\circ} 28''$ north latitude, $11^{\circ} 10''$ east longitude. It bears south-east from the Noufy lake, from which it is distant two journies. The Moslem law prevails throughout these districts. At Fakaro, Kaado, and Kanbaja, the governments are in the hands of these people, who rule a mixed population of Moslems and Idolaters; but the latter are not tolerated in any part of the kingdom of Souy. The intercourse between Bornou and Souy is very great, and both nations are skilled in manufactures. The land is said to be amazingly rich and productive in corn and fruits. The city itself is said to be as large as Yandy, which is the largest in the south, upon that parallel, or below it. The fairs which are held here are resorted to by people not only from all parts of Haoussa, but also from Bournou, Yakoo, Gambaroo, Maury, and Bargho. The heathen kingdom of Yakoo, the capital of which is Saghona, bears easterly from Marina, inclining, perhaps, a little to the south, as it is below the lake called Shady. Still further to the south-east is the negro kingdom of Gambaro, which, as well as Yakoo, are sometimes tributary to Bornou. From Marina the road leads northerly over a river called Ghulby Kerba, to a small town called also Souy, from whence, after crossing a second large river, whose name is unknown to me, it will lead to Rouma, also a large city of the Moslems, and an important place of trade. From Marina to Rouma it is four good journies, and from Rouma to Kassina, which bears north of it, it is four more, over the great eastern outlet of the lake Noufy, called the Koara Raba, or Koara Rafa, through the towns of Cooney, Mayo, Moro; Malabo, and New Birini, (built after another city of this name, and of great renown.) Old Birini, which is still a place of some importance, bears about west north west of Kassina, from which it is distant three journies. To Kassina I have assigned the latitude of $15^{\circ} 12''$ north, longitude, $11^{\circ} 50''$ east, it being

about nine hundred geographic miles from Coomassy, or seventy-three journies, by the foregoing route through Magho, Bargho, and Maury, and sixty-eight hard travelling by a direct path.

There is a river, the Moslems relate, of very great dimensions, and which serves as the boundary on the lakes, between Bornou and Haoussa and the desert. This river, which they name Bahar Bairam, comes out of Bornou, and falls into the Koara, somewhere between the Noufy and Shady, or perhaps into one or the other of them. To go from Kassina to Rakka and Kano, two large principalities of the Moslems, on the banks of the Shady, it is usual to cross the Bairam, I think the first or second day. Haoussa is separated on the north-east from the desert, and Sokory, a place of some importance, on its confines, by a chain or cluster of small mountains, called Jibbel Taurica. The Felatah tribes inhabit all the country hereabouts. The sultan of Kassima, which is a city no way inferior to those of the first class in Africa, is supreme in Haoussa, receiving tribute from all parts of it, including the lesser kingdoms of Youry, Koubash, Bousa, Garanty, and Yandos. The Felattah tribes, and the Arab territory of Jekhy, I think, stand in the same relation to this monarch, who is a rigid Moslem, and whose dominions in the east contain none who do not conform to the faith. The Moslems, in fact, compose the great bulk of the population of Haoussa, and its government is exclusively in their hands. Jekhy, which is a station of much greater renown than Sokory, is distant from Kassina twenty journies, in a north-west direction. It is a rocky or stony district, inhabited by a branch of a tribe of Arabs called Woled Gormah. From Jekhy the caravans and traders explore their way to all parts of the north and north-west,—to Taffilet, Algier, Akabli, Tunis, Tripoli, &c.

There is a route from Janny to Jekhy, as may be seen in one of the MSS. by dropping down the Dibber to Alfine, and from thence, by land, through Kasoo, Dansoo, Sakam, Boghfom, and Aty, then over the Koara to Kankawansa, Henkonta, Dankasado, Dody, Kamana, and Jekhy, from whence to Azban it is twenty-three day's journey, and to Egypt (Cairo) one

hundred. This is the usual track of pilgrimage performed by the natives of the west and south-west, besides those of Safany, Melly, Manding, Koubory, &c. Haoussa and Marroa are, perhaps, the most important commercial districts in central Africa, and their manufactures of cotton goods, carpets, trinkets, and cutlery, some of which I have seen, are little, if any thing, inferior to those of Mauritania. Horses and camels abound everywhere, and the inhabitants fight with bows, arrows, darts, and lances, in common with most or all of the inland nations. The population of these parts must indeed be great, if it is true, as related, that, like Benin itself, or superior to it, there is scarcely a piece of waste land to be seen, or where corn and other nutritious vegetables are not cultivated by the inhabitants, who, I think the Bashaw told me, here make use of the plough, and I believe nowhere else south of the Desert, unless that instrument may be used in Bornou. Some of the mosques and public inns in Kassina, Old and New Berini and Marina, as well as in Haoussa and Marroa, in general are said to be very elegant structures, having marble basins and fountains for ablution. The palaces of the sovereigns are built with proportionate magnificence.

Akom in Bornou is considered a sort of metropolitan sovereignty or principality; for here the sultan, it is said, chiefly resides, who rules the whole empire, to the confines of the Desert, Nubia, and Sennar. Bornou is considered the greatest monarchy in Africa, without exception. The inhabitants are Moslems, not only there, but probably from the 8th or 9th parallel of longitude upon the Koara and Shady, to the shores of the Red Sea, excepting some insulated tribes, as it is stated, of Christians, and perhaps Jews, the former living independent in the mountains, and the latter in subserviency to the believers.

The city of Bornou is stated at twenty journies to the east of Kassina. Ganem, Bagharny, Foor, and Wady, are eastward in rotation from Bornou, on the southern route to Masser (Egypt) and the Holy Land, called Shem, or Shemo. The principal stages, or places where pilgrims and travellers

alight to refresh, are marked in the map called Soudan, from Wady to Upper Egypt. The Shary is a great river, running easterly into the Nile, at Sennar. More than these general outlines of Bornou and the districts eastward of that empire, I dare not take upon myself to give, for all those countries were but imperfectly known to my informers, as they confessed themselves. From Wady to Egypt it is fifty-three days direct, or sixty by the usual track through the heart of Sennar and Nubia.

Another route called, by way of distinction, the direct track from Coomassy, or from Salgha to Youry in Haoussa, takes from the Aswada river through Tonouma, Simmer, and the mountains of Gofil and Yarako to Zogho, the metropolis of the kingdom so called. From thence through part of Killinga to the Ghulby, in the neighbourhood of Nikky or Kook; then over the river to the kingdom of Bargho and that part of Killinga which stretches away to the south western banks of the Koara, and which contains the kingdoms and principalities of Baman and Zamberma in the west; and Batako, Wawa, and Fagh, in the east. This is a road as well beaten, and, perhaps, as safe as any in Africa; and by this channel there is a constant communication kept up with Haoussa, Killinga, Kaima, Maury, Atagaru, and Yakoo. The towns on this route (from Salgha) are Bokoky, Yanomo, and Kanyasha*; the last mentioned a city of great renown in Tonouma. From Kanyasha, to Kadanki, Cabouto, and Koujasi another city of some magnitude near the neighbourhood of the Komashar river, or perhaps a branch of it, which explores a course through Dahomy in its passage to the sea; and which I imagine to be the Logos, or connected with that river. From Koujasi the road leads on to Zoukoma, Jadagho, and Keno, another capital

* From Kanyash or Kanjasa there is another main road, leading a little to the right (east) of north, through Masoko, to the great cities of Dagomba, Banko, and Yandy; the former as prosperous and extensive, and the latter more so than Coomassy. From Yandy the traders frequent the Ghulby by another road, leading to the city of Kisba, in the principality of Simmer; easterly and on to Arigoh, the wilderness of Ghomaty and Banano, or Grogary in the little kingdom of Kambah. All these countries are either Moslem, or under Moslem laws.

city of Dagomba, where the Moslems are very powerful. From Keno, over the mountains to Gofil, a frontier town of Zogho, on the south west. These mountains, which are described to be very lofty, precipitous, and barren, and which usually occupy the traveller three days, to traverse from south west to north east, are the natural boundaries between Zogho and that part of Dagomba which is governed by the sovereigns of Yandy, the former power having from time to time made great encroachments on the latter district. To Gofil, which is eleven journies E.S.E. from Salgha, or about one hundred and seventy British miles, (horizontal) I have assigned the latitude of $9^{\circ} 45'$ north, longitude $2^{\circ} 39'$ east. The Yagah tribes, who are heathens, lay to the right of it, or easterly. The Ayoh, and their lake, are in the south; the latter distant from it five good stages. Khimbee, and the "land of the great waters which flow to Benin," are still further to the east.

From Gofil the road leads on to Arjou, Motom, and over another chain of mountains in Zogho, of two good days march to Yarakoo, from whence it is one more journey to the city of Zogho. This, as I have elsewhere observed, is a place of very great importance as regards its relations both commercial and political, with all parts of Wangara; and with Killinga, Haoussa, Dagomba, and Yarraba. Its influence between the longitudinal parallels of the Volta and Callebar rivers, is said to be bounded only by the ocean.

The Moslems are incredibly numerous in these parts; the government exclusively belongs to them, and more than half the population of the empire are probably of the Mohammedan faith. To Zogho I have assigned the latitude $10^{\circ} 27'$, longitude $3^{\circ} 34'$ east, and which I have reason to think will not be found to be many miles from its true position. It is distant from the ocean at the nighest point of approximation (near its parallel, the Logos river,) twenty journies or little more than three hundred horizontal miles. And Yandy, to which I have assigned $9^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude, $1^{\circ} 14'$ east longitude, is distant from the sea coast in the neighbourhood of Whydah no more than fifteen journies, or about two hundred and forty horizontal miles.

From Zogho the traders journey forward to Dankou, then over a forest

of small dimensions to Salano, a town of considerable note. The route then inclines north, through Jambodo, Sooso, and Corerey to the capital city of Kook, a station of the Moslems, and a place of great trade on the Ghulby. To Kook I have assigned a station in my map at $11^{\circ} 50'$ latitude north, and $4^{\circ} 45'$ east longitude. From Kook to Nikky the capital of Bargho, or Killinga, it is no more than two stages by land. The whole distance from Salgha to Nikky being no more than twenty-five journeys, or about four hundred miles (horizontal distance). This will assign to Nikky a station at the latitude $12^{\circ} 7'$ north, longitude $5^{\circ} 12'$ east.

From Nikky to the Niger, in the neighbourhood of Youry (the most powerful of the kingdoms tributary to the government of Haoussa,) it is no more than twelve days, or short of two hundred miles horizontal, making the whole distance from Salgha to that station upon its banks, no more than thirty-eight moderate journies, or fifty-two from Coomassy. The towns on the route from Nikky to Youry are, first Rougha, a place of great magnitude on the Ghulby; over that river to Sabousara; then Wory, a city also of the first class in Baman; then Roa, Ghado, Doshi, Confi, and Wado, the metropolis of Wawa. From Wado to Sholo, and Ghasaghasa, where the Koara is crossed over to Youry, which is distant about half a day from the river. To Youry, therefore, I have assigned the latitude of $14^{\circ} 30'$ north, longitude $7^{\circ} 33'$ east. The Noufy lake and town are seven journies to the east or south east of Youry; Bousa is midway on that track, and it is eight journies more to Kassina, by the route north of the Koara. From Youry to Timbuctoo it is twenty-six journies westerly by the route north of the Koara, through Kaby and Ghou. Bargho, better known to the eastern Moslems by the name of Killinga, is a kingdom of equal renown with Zogho, and the Moslems are, in most of its districts, in greater numbers than the heathens.*

* The other list of routes, their bearing, distance, &c. in day's journies, according to the Moslem maps, or manuscripts, caravan and pilgrim tracks, &c., it has not been deemed essential to copy here, as they may be referred to by the reader in a more systematical arrangement in the little map entitled Soudan.

The Jews of Soudan are, according to my informers, divided into many large and small tribes, with whose names they are unacquainted. Their mode of life in some countries is pastoral; but the towns are filled with traders and artificers of that faith, who gain a subsistence at their several employments, in the service of the Moslems, under whose government they live as vassals. This, in reference to Mr. Bowdich's kingdom of "Yahoodie," I may be permitted to say, is the only state of society in which that oppressed nation is suffered to live; and the tribes, without security in their possessions, without public revenue or arms, are hourly exposed to insult and rapine from the blind zeal and active bigotry by which their lords are animated in those countries. The lands occupied by these people cover a wide extent, between Massina and Kaby. They are said to be mingled also with the upper Foulaha tribes, eastward of Timbuctoo, and in many parts of Marroa they have inheritances or are employed as artificers in the cities and towns; "As we live among the heathens," said the Bashaw, "so do the Jews in Marroa and Fillany with our brethren; but they are not esteemed like us, for they are a people hardened in their sins and obstinate in infidelity; the anger of God is upon them, and therefore are they given to the rule of the Moslems, until they shall become incorporated with the faithful. The tribes are not black, but of a colour resembling the Arabs of the north. But what is more material, these Soudanic Jews are reported to have been the original inhabitants thereabout, before the Arabs were acquainted with central Africa. They are, perhaps, distinguished from the Hebrews, the posterity of Abraham, inasmuch as I never heard them described under the appellation of Bani Israel; although that name must have been familiar to the Moslems from the pages of the Koran; and I found, in antecedent conversations, upon the subject of Egypt, they were well informed of the events which befel the children of Israel in the days of Moses. The estimation in which the Moslems of Wangara hold the glorious reign of Solomon, King of Israel, is equal to that of their northern brethren; and does not materially vary from the translations that have been given of the works of Arabian authors who have

written fictitious popular tales known in Europe as such, and which occasionally refer to that age or the relics of that miraculous power over the elements and invisible spirits with which Solomon was entrusted. I shall not, however, tire the patience of the reader with what might be too marvellous for the comprehension of any but a Moslem. It will be sufficient to say, that the introduction of the Jews to Soudan is a subject worthy of investigation. If my information be well grounded, and a correspondence could by any means be opened with these insulated tribes, much important information relative to the early ages in Africa, might be derived through their agency, as they would have been the first people, it is presumed, who were gifted with the art of writing. These tribes, whether Hebrew or African, wandered, it is believed, originally from the neighbourhood of Upper Egypt, while the children of Israel were held in captivity.

✓ The countries westward of Gaman are but little known to the Ashantees, who court no alliance in that quarter, nor does an Ashantee trader ever venture his person beyond the distance of fourteen journies west. In the north they sometimes travel as far as Aughoa, the capital of the heathen kingdom of Moussee, whose position is to the south of Magho, and to the east of Kasogho. Aughoa is distant from Coomassie twenty-five journies by the Salgha and Yandy Roads, which would give a distance of three hundred and sixty British miles. Their object in frequenting this place is to collect that vegetable substance called in Park's Travels by the name of Shea Butter, although oftentimes they draw their supplies from a forest in Banna, near the town of Kantano its capital, where it does not grow so spontaneous, nor are the trees so prolific.

The Ashantees now constantly visit Ghofan, south of the Aswada, and sometimes also Baddim,* a district in Manding by a circuitous route, avoiding the territory of Kong, which is considered politically hostile to their country, and occasionally, although very rarely, they visit the Niger at

* Perhaps the Baedo of Park.

Sago, where the Moslems say a remnant of one of the tribes fled during a former reign, and are to this day retained in the service of the king of that country, but in these journies they must first consult their safety by a religious escort, or by their ability to obtain the use of the king's name.

Eastward, the Ashantees rarely visit Dahomy, and never Benin. Between the feelings of the three courts there is a rankling, although somewhat torpid inclination to hostility, founded upon jealousy and maritime influence. As regards Dahomy, Mr. Bowdich was' misinformed if he was told that the kings of Ashantee and Dahomy had but once exchanged compliments, for it is a practice which is politically adopted on various occasions. At Benin, the Ashantees have no friends, consequently there is no correspondence between the two courts.

The NE. is mainly the track of amity and alliance, and this, which is one of the most beaten roads in Africa, the Ashantees travel over without scruple, but mostly in the society of Moslems, to Salgha, Tonoma, Ghamba, Yandy, and other parts of Dagomba. Sometimes these traders extend their journies to Kook, Makrari, Nikky, &c. and sometimes, although less frequently, to the Koara at Haoussa. But in these latter excursions they require the aid of the Moslems as religious protectors.

More to the northward of east, there is another great track leading through Dagomba to the great kingdom of Magho on the Ghulby. This road the traders are also familiar with, and they now and then extend their journey as far as Ghoroma, and more rarely to the northward of that station, but never without the usual precaution. It is a fact of notoriety in the countries of Wangara, that no heathen can be perfectly secure in his person and property beyond the precincts of his sovereign's jurisdiction, excepting, however, the character of ambassador, whose person should be held inviolate, that of king's merchant or trader which is equally sacred, hunters of elephants in the king's name, and on his account; and lastly, men of rank, or others whose influence or interest at court is powerful enough to gain for them a travelling protection by the use of the king's name, and recommen-

dation to other sovereigns and princes. These, and only such characters, are passports for the subjects of Ashantee, by which they may travel in security, and this maxim, I am credibly assured, relates not only to the empire in question, but also to all the heathen kingdoms thereabouts. It is the practice to arrest all strangers upon the confines, and conduct them to court, where the *palaver* is discussed, and the fate of the intruder, should he have ventured without the necessary precautions, terminates either in detention, slavery, or death. Hence the favour of using the king's name is great, and the king of Ashantee never confers it except upon those whom he has confidence in, as men of ability and prudence.

The Moslems, as it has been stated, may travel secure and unmolested in all known parts of the African continent, yet such of them as are subject to the rule of heathen princes, will not willingly venture their persons in the territory of a hostile state; like the heathens they may not pursue a direct journey to the place of their destination, avoiding thereby the capital cities and abodes of princes and sovereigns, but must directly shape a course to the metropolis of each kingdom, there to participate in the hospitality of the court, to make known their intentions, and to claim the protection of the sovereign as far as his influence may extend,* and all this may be accom-

* This is also the simple method practised by the Arabs and the northern nations of Africa, in journeying from the shores of the Red Sea, from Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, &c. to the remote parts of the Continent. Such, moreover, is the practice of the Mauritanian Arabs and Africans, in their excursions over the desert to Soudan, for every sheikh of a tribe looks either for a present or a visit by which he may confer the sacred rights of hospitality, and receive the stranger's acknowledgments. Without these formalities it is by no means safe to pass from one district to another, unless the caravan is of sufficient magnitude to afford protection to itself. I cannot help thinking that the misfortune which befel Mungo Park was owing to the neglect of these indispensable precautions, without which a voyage down the Niger would be impracticable, unless indeed it were possible to fit out a vessel of the class of gun-brigs for that service. By a reference to the journal of Amadi Fatouma, it will be seen that the influence of the king of Bambara afforded protection to the white men as far as Janny, where it does not appear that any other attention was paid to the sovereign, than by sending on shore a piece of

plished by the Moslem with or without a present, as his property or circumstances suggest themselves to his royal host. Nay, on the journey from Coomassy to Haoussa, he seldom disburses a mitskal of gold or cowrees (the value of ten shillings) but, on the contrary, is frequently a gainer by the generosity of princes, and his daily wants are moreover liberally supplied at their expence, and oftentimes with unbounded hospitality.

The river of Sago and Janny is called by the natives of those countries Joulaba, (or Jolliba) they have also distinct names for the other rivers, that flow into and from the Dibber, but the Arabs call the water Bahar Neel, or Neel Zakhar, the swelling Nile.

Ghimbala, the Jimbala of Park, is a sort of principality dependent upon the sovereign of Massina, and Wakwari is the metropolis of the country.

I did not meet with a man who had visited the celebrated city of Timbuctoo, although I conversed with two or three whose travels extended to

Baft; an attack was then made on the party in the Dibber Lake, which ended in the defeat of the aggressors, who were unprovided with fire arms. In passing Kakbara and Timbuctoo, it would seem that no notice whatever was taken of the sovereign, nor any present sent on shore to him, so that to me it does not seem surprising that the party were so constantly assailed by war canoes from Janny to Kaffo, or that they encountered so many obstacles on the voyage to Youry. The story of Mr. Park's death was no secret with any of the Moslems in Coomassy, and it happened precisely as Mr. Bowdich has related, which, in point of fact, agrees with the journal of Isaaeo. The capital of Youry is distant from the river a short day's journey, and it is said, that when the king sent provisions to the canoe, he entreated by message, that the white chief would visit him on shore, and he would meet him near the waterside, an intention which that sovereign put in practice, but was irritated at finding the canoe would not wait, and had already gained an offing from the port; for Park, anxious, no doubt, for the prosecution of the voyage, quitted his anchorage without thinking it incumbent on him to pay his respects to the king, although the public curiosity or suspicion was excited by his detention two days on the river in gleaning information of Amadi Fatouma. It is the opinion of the Moslems, that no present was sent in return for the provisions, and if so, the conjecture of Park's editor, that they were withheld from the king by the chief, is well founded. When the king sent his army to Boussa, the Moslems say it was done to bring the white men back by force, but their destruction was never meditated; and the king, when the catastrophe was related to him, punished his officer with fine and imprisonment.

Sago and Janny. The travellers frequently saw canoes and caravans arrive at Janny, from the interior, by the way of Walet Tuano, or Timbuctoo; the latter journey, which they also performed by land, occupied seven days, the route lying through Ghimbala and Massina. The journey from Janny to Walet, cities purely Moslem, took up ten days, in the direction of the Great Desert, west of Massina. The Moslems were reported to be very numerous on the southern plains; but the unbelievers were not less so in the mountains which separate Fillany from Bambara, and the greater proportion of both sects marked their faces and bodies with cuts or punctures, to distinguish the tribes they belonged to, the same as is practised in Sarem and Ghunja. During my informer's residence at Janny, he had seen many opulent traders arrive from Ismaelia (Mauritania), from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Those from the north and east came by the way, either of Mobaruka, Woled Gormah, Woled Mohata, or Jekky. It was usual with these traders to arrive in Soudan about the close of the rains, and return homewards at all seasons; but more frequently when the river began to swell and the rains were far advanced. The natives of the Niger, according to this authority, were as black as most of the Wangara tribes; and the Arabs, called Woled Moghata, were few, if any, shades lighter. Between Safany and Ghimbala, the houses are all flat roofed, and built of clay, the same as the mosques; but where lime is to be procured the natives use a thick wash, which looks much brighter than the white or grey clay of Ashantee. In some countries, however, they build with stone and mortar, and the houses of the rich are generally of two stories; i. e. the ground floor, as it may be called, raised two or three feet, and another floor above it; upon this principle the palaces of Calamby, Sago, Baâ, Taslima, and Janny, are all constructed.

Couries are the current coin of the Niger, and of most or of all the interior parts of the continent, excepting the westernmost countries of Wangara, Ashantee, Gaman, and some of their dependencies, where gold also is found. Large payments, however, are usually made in Upper Soudan in coin, in manufactured trinket gold, or by bartering one commodity for another, and

paying the balance in couries, salt, or grain; but in the countries before named (as the gold mines exist no where else) the people use the crude metal in lump or dust for the same purpose. In Salgha, Zogho, Nikky, Bargho, Youry, and the eastern countries, the people either use a substantial or a nominal coin, of the same name and value, and this is called mitskal, a thin gold coin, varying in its value in proportion to the weight. It is the same, in fact, which is the national coin of Mauritania, and of most of the Arabian and Turkish governments. This piece of money is esteemed of high antiquity, having been introduced into Soudan beyond the Niger, as it is related, as early as the second or third hejyran centuries, and many, it is added, are still current which were fabricated at Damascus, Baghdad, Mehedia, and Morocco, during the reigns of the houses or dynasties of Abbas and Ismaelouni. The mitskal has a general circulation, even in countries where it is not a national coin; nor do the Ashantees refuse them in payment; but such of them as are esteemed by the Moslems for antiquity and the epoch of a celebrated prince are highly prized by the heathens, who, when they are to be procured, give a great price for them, for the purpose of dedicating to their patron gods, and wearing on days appropriated to religious ceremony. In fact, some of these mitskals are the fetische of the sovereign and nobles.*

In Entaa, Tonouma, Ghobagho, Zogho, and many neighbouring countries the mitskal which is employed as the medium of exchange, is considered nevertheless a nominal coin, for they are not manufactured in those countries; they are only partially current from the influx of specie brought by the northern traders. Nikky, the capital of Bargho or Killinga, is the great

* According to the weight and rate of currency given to the mitskal in Morocco, Fez, and other parts of the Gharb, the average value of what passes for a full weight coin, does not exceed 10s. 9d. sterling. It is true, however, that a few of the old coin, of that denomination, are worth something more, but I think I may venture to say, they rarely ever exceed 11s. or 11s. 3d. in sterling value.

mint of Soudan, south of the Niger, as Bornou is that of the north; such was the similitude used by my informers, who shewed me two pieces of money of that description, which were stamped, as clearly as I could discern, with characters similar to the mitskal of Morocco, although the impression, from the purity of the metal, was too much defaced to enable me to trace the year, or the whole of the writing. I was told they were the coin of Killinga, and that they were current not only in Wangara, but also in Bambara, Marroa, Fillany, Haoussa, some parts of the Desert, and even in Egypt. Thirteen of these mitskals (metsakol in the plural) were considered in Ashantee equivalent to the Benda,* or two ounces of pure gold. Thus supposing 11*s.* 2*d.* to be an average value for the mitskal, it would shew the true value of pure gold in Ashantee, 3*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* sterling, the ounce weight of that country, which may be about sixteen grains heavier than our ounce troy; reducing it therefore, in sterling money, to 3*l.* 10*s.* or thereabouts.

The minkali of Park is evidently no other than the true mitskal, and the value in sterling money, at which his editor has estimated it, *i. e.* 12*s.* 6*d.* is, as it would seem, overrated 2*s.* a trifle more or less. This mistake cannot indeed be satisfactorily accounted for, as it rests entirely with that unfortunate traveller, who describes the weight of the minkali about eighty grains, and its value in

* The names given by the Arabs to several denominations of coin carry their importance in the meaning, which is metaphorical or otherwise. These people, indeed, are pretty well known even in Europe, as professors of acute sayings. When a Mauritanian is disappointed in a scheme that requires the assistance of friends or money, it is usual for him to retort acrimoniously, "God rest the souls of the old Arabs, who first gave the name of countenance (or face) to money: enigmatically implying a curse upon the obduracy of the rich, whose arrogance is kindled by the wealth they possess. This word of the Arabs is *وجه*, *Wajoh* or *Oujoh*, and in strictness it has many appropriate meanings besides countenance or visage, such as honour, purity, respect, reason, primitive prince, &c. but its common signification is as I have stated. The small copper coins, something less in value than our farthings, are by the same people called *فلس* (*Falas*) which means poverty, indigence, want, &c. and to a stranger it is a scene of comic novelty to hear the Arabs dispute together, as they frequently do in money matters, exchanging, with animated gesture, the words *wajoh*, *oujine*, *tiltounjou*, *arbaa*, *falas*, &c.—One two, three, four countenances and poverty.

British currency, as before quoted ; whereas I seldom have had possession of one of those coins that would turn the scale at seventy four grains, and they were not to be rejected at sixty-eight or sixty-seven. It is probable that circumstanced as Park was at Sansanding, the sales he effected are what, commercially speaking, would deserve the name of sacrifices ; for his object was to disencumber himself of those bulky packages which could not conveniently be stowed in the canoe, and of such articles as could be dispensed with, for the more portable coin in gold and cowries, hence the profits calculated upon his account of sales, must not be considered by any means equivalent to what a Barbary merchant would realize for the same articles.

The mitskal is, according to a tradition in the north, even of older standing than the first emigrations of the Arabian tribes ; but the Guinea Moslems trace their circulation, in Soudan, to the conquests effected by those tribes in Marroa, Fillany, Killinga, &c. before and after the celebrated dynasty of Mohahidouni, or Mahadi.

The following, shewing the relative value of the mitskal in cowries, as furnished by the Bashaw, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

		COWRIES.
In Dahomy and Benin it is equivalent to	-	4500.
In Salgha, Bouromy, and Banna to	- -	4300.
In Yandy	- - - -	4200.
In Zogho	- - - -	4000.
In Nikky	- - - -	3800.
On the Niger at Haoussa between	- -	3500 and 3400.

The mitskal of Nikky, I was informed, never varied from the standard that passed for currency in all parts of the continent ; and it was not the usual practice to weigh them as the Ashantees do gold dust. The same mitskal was the coin of Janny and Sago, as well as Youry, Kassina, Wawa, Boussa, &c. They are also circulated in Kambah, Magho, and Manding ; but where they did not abound, the value in cowries, rock or dust gold, and mer-

chandize to that amount, was established in most countries and served as a standard medium of currency, by which the natives computed large sums.

Besides the coin of the Arabians, many or most of the African tribes beyond the Volta, make use of the same weights and measures. Thus the Khroba is a corn measure, containing about two pecks; the Kantar, is one hundred pounds (the same probably as the Mauritanian, which is equivalent to one hundred weight and six pounds English, or one hundred and eighteen pounds). The ratal is a single pound; the kama is a fathom: and the kaâla the cubit measure of twenty-two inches, which they subdivide into three spans.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHOR, AS CONSUL AT COOMASSY.

In the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

(Signed)

GEORGE P. R.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting;

We, being desirous to maintain the peace and establish a good correspondence between us, our subjects and the Kingdom of Ashantee in Africa, and to advance and encourage the trade and commerce that has been made and now is between our dominions and the said Kingdom, have thought fit to appoint some person well qualified to discharge the office of Consul there; and whereas we are well assured of the ability of our trusty and well-beloved Joseph Dupuis, Esq. and of his loyalty, experience, diligence, and fidelity; We, therefore, for the purposes abovementioned, and for the greater benefit, and the good, and more orderly government of our English merchants and other our subjects trading thither, or residing at Coomassy, the capital city of the said Kingdom of Ashantee, or within any of the dominions of the said kingdom, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint him, the said Joseph Dupuis, to be our Agent and Consul at Coomassy aforesaid, hereby giving and granting unto him the said

Joseph Dupuis, full power and authority by all lawful ways and means, to aid and protect as well our said merchants and other our subjects trading, or that shall trade, or have any commerce with the said Kingdom of Ashantee, or that do, or shall reside at Coomassy aforesaid, or within the dominions of the said Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid, as also all and every of their goods, wares, and merchandises there, and their ships and vessels and trade aforesaid; and also, as our said Agent and Consul, to use his utmost endeavours to preserve and keep all our said merchants and subjects in their rights and freedoms there, and also to examine and hear, and as much as in him lies to compose and determine all and all manner of differences, contentions, suits, and variances that shall or may happen or arise, or that are now depending at Coomassy aforesaid, or within any of the dominions of the Kingdom of Ashantee as aforesaid, between our said merchants and subjects, or any of them, and to do and execute, from time to time, all and every other act or acts, thing or things, that may advance and encrease, and be for the benefit of trade and mutual commerce between our said kingdoms and the ports in the Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid: To have, hold and exercise the said trust and employment of our Agent and Consul at Coomassy as aforesaid, during our pleasure, together with all privileges, immunities, allowances, rewards, profits, and advantages to our Agent and Consul there, anyways belonging or appertaining. Wherefore we will, and by these presents, do strictly charge and command all and every our said merchants and other our subjects coming into, trading or residing in the Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid, or any of the dominions thereof, to own and acknowledge the said Joseph Dupuis as our Agent and Consul there, in and by all due respects and regards to the said trust belonging or appertaining, for and during the continuance of this our commission and authority to him in that behalf hereby granted as aforesaid, and also to permit and suffer him the said Joseph Dupuis to have, receive and enjoy all such and the like privileges, immunities, and allowances, rewards, profits, benefits, and advantages whatsoever, as do or ought to belong to our Agent or Consul, by reason of the said trust and employment; and we do also, in a friendly manner, pray and desire the King of Ashantee aforesaid, and all others in public authority there, whom it may any way concern, that they receive and admit him, the said Joseph Dupuis, for our Agent and Consul in the said city and dominions thereunto belonging, and upon all his reasonable requests to do him that justice, and afford him that assistance which may testify their friendship to us, and which we shall upon all occasions be ready to acknowledge.

Given at our Court, at Carlton House, the twenty-sixth day of January,
1818, in the fifty-eighth year of our reign.

By command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in
the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

(Signed)

BATHURST.

No. II.

TREATY MADE WITH THE KING OF ASHANTEE, BY MR. BOWDICH, IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, &c.*

TREATY made and entered into by Thomas Edward Bowdich, Esquire, in the name of the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and on behalf of the British Government, and Zey Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee, and its Dependencies.

1st. There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects in this country, and the subjects of the King of Ashantee.

2d. The same shall exist between the subjects of the King of Ashantee, and all nations of Africa residing under the protection of the company's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast; and it is hereby agreed that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

3d. The King of Ashantee guarantees the people of Cape Coast from the hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina.

4th. In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the king shall complain thereof to the governor-in-chief, to obtain redress; and that he will in no instance resort to hostilities without endeavouring, as much as possible, to effect an amicable arrangement.

5th. The King of Ashantee agrees to permit a British officer to reside constantly at his capital, for the purpose of instituting and preserving a regular communication with the governor-in-chief at Cape Coast Castle.

6th. The King of Ashantee pledges himself to countenance, promote, and encourage the trade of his subjects with Cape Coast Castle and its dependencies, to the extent of his power.

7th. The governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee, who may resort to the water side.

8th. The governor-in-chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any Ashantee guilty of secondary offences, but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the king, to be dealt with according to the laws of his country.

9th. The king agrees to commit children to the care of the governor-in-chief for education at Cape Coast Castle, in the full confidence of the good intentions of the British government, and the benefits to be derived therefrom.

* See Note, p. 139.

10th. The king promises to make diligent inquiries respecting the officers attached to the Mission of Major John Peddie and Captain Thomas Campbell, and to influence and oblige the neighbouring kingdoms and his tributaries, to befriend them as the subjects of the British government.

The mark of ZEY ✕ TOOTO QUAMINA.

(Signed) THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH.

In the presence of

(Signed) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON.
HENRY TEDLIE.

No. III.

TREATY MADE WITH THE KING OF ASHANTEE, BY THE AUTHOR, ON BEHALF OF HIS MAJESTY.

TREATY made and entered into by Joseph Dupuis, Esquire, his Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Kingdom of Ashantee in Africa, in the name and on behalf of the British Government, with Sai Totoo Quamina, King of Ashantee and its dependencies.

1st. The King of Ashantee agrees to receive and acknowledge Joseph Dupuis, Esquire, as his Majesty's Consul at Coomassy, to the full intent and meaning of his commission, and if at any time ill health should oblige the said Joseph Dupuis to leave this country, the king will receive and acknowledge any gentleman that he may appoint to succeed him.

2d. The King of Ashantee having taken *his sacred* oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain, in the person of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, makes known to all to whom these presents shall come, that he will with all his power and influence, support, aid, and protect the British interests, in this country, and that he will, if necessary, on all occasions, march his armies to any part of the country, where the interests of Great Britain may require their aid and assistance.

3d. The claim recently made by the King of Ashantee, on the governor of Cape Coast Castle, amounting to one thousand six hundred ounces of gold, or £6,400 is hereby acknowledged to be relinquished; and it is agreed that there are now no differences or palavers existing between the King of Ashantee and the Governor, or between the king and any other of His Britannic Majesty's subjects, collectively or individually.

4th. The King of Ashantee agrees and binds himself to support and encourage the commerce of this country with Cape Coast and its dependencies, by all the means in his power; and pledges himself not to allow any differences that may occur to interrupt the trade with the English merchants on the Coast.

5th. The King of Ashantee claims the Fantee territory as his dominions, which the consul, on the part of the British government, accedes to, in consideration and on the express condition that the king agrees to acknowledge the natives, residing under British protection, entitled to the benefit of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part.

6th. After the final adjustment of the present claims upon the natives of Cape Coast, the King binds himself to submit all future complaints to the Consul only, and on no account whatever to make war with the natives, at any of the English settlements, without first allowing the consul an opportunity of settling such differences.

7th. The consul, on the part of the British government, guarantees all the protection in his power to the subjects of the king of Ashantee, who may have any commerce with the British Settlements on the Coast.

8th. The consul binds himself on the part of the British government and the governor and council, to keep half the path that is at present made between Cape Coast and Ashantee well cleared, and the king of Ashantee agrees to keep the other half of the path constantly in good order, so that there shall always be a free and easy communication with the Ashantee dominions.

9th. It is expressly agreed and understood that the consul shall at all times be at liberty to visit the capital of Ashantee, and to take his departure therefrom, whenever he may think fit, without being subject to any interruption or detention, and that the consul's residence may either be at Coomassy, or at Cape Coast, as he may, from time to time, deem expedient for the public good; but if at any time during the consul's absence from Coomassy, the king of Ashantee has any complaint or palaver against the natives of the British Settlements the same is to be submitted to the consul at Cape Coast, and if it cannot be settled without his presence at Coomassy, it is agreed that the consul shall immediately proceed to the capital on all such occasions.

10th. The king of Ashantee having publicly and repeatedly complained of the exorbitant prices charged on the notes he holds from the forts, for the goods he receives in payment of those notes; and in consequence of the manifest dissatisfaction expressed by the king on this subject in particular, the consul, in order to obviate any objections to the ratification of the present treaty, concedes this point to the king, agreeing in future to take upon himself the payment of those notes: and the king declares he will not from henceforth receive any payment of those notes, except through the medium of the consul.

11th. The king on the part of his principal captains and counsellors hereby acknowledges to their having also taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

12th. In virtue of this treaty, it is mutually agreed and expressly understood, that all former treaties between the king of Ashantee and the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, on the behalf of his Majesty's government, particularly the treaty of 1817, are from henceforth to become null and void, and are hereby declared so accordingly.

Given under our Hands and Seals, at the King's Palace, at the capital Coomassy, this

23d Day of March, in the Year of our Lord, 1820, and in the Fifty-ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty George III. &c.

The mark of ✕ SAII TOOTOO QUAMINA.

In the presence of

BENJAMIN SALMON.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID MILL GRAVES.

JOSEPH DUPUIS.

Supplementary articles annexed to the General Treaty entered into this day between Sai Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee, on the one part, and Consul Dupuis on behalf of His British Majesty's Government on the other part, which articles are hereby considered to be equally binding to the said contracting parties as if they were inserted in the primary or general treaty itself.

1st. The King of Ashantee having, by force of arms, subdued the kingdom of Gaman or Buntooko, which he now governs in full and undisputed sovereignty; and whereas, from political motives, it has been deemed prudent to station troops in Amanaha, on the banks of the Assinee River, and other parts of the said kingdom, to prevent the inhabitants from trading or holding any communication with the sea coast; the king now pledges himself, in virtue of this article, to remove the before-mentioned obstacles to the commerce of the kingdom of Buntooko or Gaman; and he guarantees the same privileges of trade to the natives of that country, which the Ashantees themselves enjoy, provided their intercourse with the sea coast is confined to Cape Coast Castle, or any other of the British forts and settlements on the Gold Coast. In promotion of this object the king has already nearly completed a road forming a direct communication to the heart of the said country of Gaman, and he hereby binds himself to support, aid, and encourage the trade of that country.

2d. The King of Ashantee being decidedly averse to relinquishing his claim on the natives of Cape Coast Town, and in consequence of certain private negotiations which are now pending through the medium of Mr. Smith, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the parties concerned; (and whereas, the consul possesses no authority to guarantee payment to the king of any sum of money on behalf of the natives of Cape Coast beyond the limit of one hundred ounces of gold, which has only tended to excite the king's anger and indignation) as well as for other reasons unnecessary to introduce in this treaty, it is hereby stipulated that the natives of Cape Coast Town, being subjects of the King of Ashantee, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the king is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination; nevertheless, in consideration of the friendship existing between him and the

King of England, and as the King of Ashantee is particularly anxious to convince the world of the sincerity of his regard for the honour and dignity, as well as the interests of the British Government and people, he will endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid giving offence either to the consul or to the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, directly or indirectly, and, therefore, whatever plans the King of Ashantee may think advisable to adopt, in order to bring his people under due subjection, he binds himself not to destroy the town of Cape Coast, nor will he allow a gun to be fired in the town, or suffer his troops to commit any act of hostility or depredation therein on the inhabitants or on their property; and in particular as regards the white part of the population, to say all the free merchants and traders, he guarantees to them not only full security of person and property, but also full protection in case of need. Moreover, the king will not suffer his difference with the Cape Coast people to interfere with his plans for the promotion and extension of the commerce between the interior and the British settlements on the sea coast, which he promises shall be immediately restored.*

3d. (Not granted.) The King of Ashantee agrees to permit and promises to encourage the establishment of schools at Doonqua, for the religious instruction of his people, and the king, moreover, guarantees perfect security and protection there to any English merchant or others of his Britannic Majesty's subjects in person and effects.

4th. The King of Ashantee pledges himself for the security and protection in person and property, to missionaries or others, being subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who may wish to establish themselves in any part of his territory for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion; and the king hereby cordially invites to his country such well-disposed men.

Given under our hands and seals at the King's Palace at the capital of Ashantee, this twenty-third day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of His Majesty George III. &c. &c. &c.

The mark of ✕ SAI TOOTO QUAMINA.

In the presence of

(Signed) BENJAMIN SALMON.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID MILL GRAVES.

JOSEPH DUPUIS.

* The Articles No. 1 and 2 of the Supplementary Treaty, were inserted at the particular request of the King of Ashantee, to shew, as he said, without disguise, his friendship for white men, and, at the same time, his determined policy as regarded the people of Cape Coast. Originally this monarch intended to have written a letter to the King of England, containing sentiments to this effect; but changing his intention after the general treaty had been signed, he desired his ambassadors to explain his sentiments at the British court as they are here recorded. The propriety of writing them down in a treaty, he affirmed, was manifest, as the Governor and white men would know his immutable policy and the public sentiments of his captains.

GEOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS.

For the convenience of investigation, it has been deemed requisite to separate from the body of the work the materials which give authority to the geography as depicted in the maps, and described more fully in the sections of Wangara and Soudan. The most essential among a voluminous packet of MSS. are submitted in their native character (the Arabic) affording thereby all the facility the author can give to the more acute researches of the learned in oriental literature. These, together with some others, which are too bulky, or too vaguely written, and tortured with repetitions to admit of an insertion in their native garb, were composed chiefly by those Moslems, whose names are mentioned in the work, and who corroborated many or most of their statements by the authority of a variety of travelling guides and directions, such as are commonly used by the caravans of the north, and by these people also in their journies to and from the kingdoms of the Niger.

The description they gave of the courses of the rivers, of the positions of lakes and other natural objects, of their bearing, distance, &c. from Coomassy, or other inland city, was equally supported by the testimony of the African road books and manuscripts, although the names of some places, which may be found in the maps, are not to be traced in those MSS. which I have considered of importance to submit in their foreign characters.

No. 4.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِیْ جَعَلَ الْقَلَمَ لَنَا كَلَامًا مُّتَكَلِّمًا وَجَعَلَ قَرطَاسًا لَنَا رَسولًا مَّرسِلًا بِلَدِّ
الِی بِلَدِّ مَكَانٍ الِی مَكَانٍ وَطَرِیْقًا لِنَعْرِفَ طَرِیْقَ عَنَّا سَلَخَ اسْمَ الْبِلَدِّ یَوْمَ الْخُرُوجِ سَلَخَ دَنْغَ یَنْوَمُ
یَوْمَ خَرَجَ دَنْغَ كَنْیَاشِیْ اِیْوَمَ خَرَجَ كَنْیَاشِیْ اِ كَدَنْقِیْ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَدَنْقِیْ كَبَاوَتَ : یَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَبَاوَتَ كَنْجَسِ
: یَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَنْجَسِ الِی خَالِ لَیْسَ بِلَدِّ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ خَلِجَ تَوْنُومَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ فِیْهِ بَحْرٌ بَیْنَهُمَا وَیَجُوزُ الِی زَنْكَمَا
: یَوْمَ خَرَجَ زَنْكَمَا جَبْدَنْغَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ بِلَدِّ جَبْدَنْغَ اِیْ لَیْسَ بِلَدِّ خَلِجَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ فِیْ بِلَدِّ كَنْوَاذَهَ خَرَجَ كَنْوَا
لَیْسَ بِلَدِّ حَتّٰی ثَلَاثَ اِیَّامٍ وَهُوَ مَوْضِعُ جَبَلٍ كَثِیْرٍ ثَمَّ خَرَجَ الِی بِلَدِّ عَقْلَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ عَقْلَ الِی بِلَدِّ اِرْجُو یَوْمَ
خَرَجَ اِرْجُو الِی بِلَدِّ مَتَمَّ اِیْ اَسْحَ بِلَدِّ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ مَتَمَّ یِرَاكُو یَوْمَ خَرَجَ یِرَاكُو الِی بِلَدِّ دَنْغَ وَهُوَ قَرْبَةُ الْكَبِیْرِ یَوْمَ
خَرَجَ دَنْغَ الِی بِلَدِّ دَنْكَنَ یَدْخُلُ فِیْهِ خَلِجَ لَیْسَ بِلَدِّ حَتّٰی ثَلَاثَ اِیَّامٍ ثَمَّ دَخَلَ الِی بِلَدِّ یَسْمِیْ سَلَمُو اِیْوَمَ
خَرَجَ سَلَمُو جَبْدَنْغَ اِیْوَمَ خَرَجَ جَبْدَنْغَ الِی صَسُو اِیْ بَحْرٌ صَغِیْرٌ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ صَسُو كَرِرَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَرِرَ الِی بِلَدِّ
كَوَتَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَوَتَ مَكْرَارِیْ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ مَكْرَارِیْ الِی بِلَدِّ نَكَّ وَهُوَ قَرْبَةُ عَظِیْمَةٍ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ نَكَّ رَغَ
یَوْمَ خَرَجَ رَغَ قَطَعَ الْعَلْبِیَّ الِی بِلَدِّ مَكْبَرَا یَوْمَ خَرَجَ مَكْبَرَا سَابِنَا سَارَا یَوْمَ خَرَجَ سَابِنَا سَارَا وَرِیْوَمَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ
وَرِیْ شَابَنْدِیَا یَوْمَ خَرَجَ شَابَنْدِیَا رَعَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ رَعَ غَاذَ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ غَاذَ دَوْشِ یَوْمَ خَرَجَ دَوْشِ

كَنَفَ يَوْمَ خَرَجَ كَنَفَ وَأَدَّ يَوْمَ خَرَجَ وَأَدَّ بَتَكُوا لَيْسَ بِلْدٍ وَمِنْ بَتَكُوا كَدْرَكَ لَيْسَ بِلْدٍ وَمِنْ
 كَدْرَكَ شَلَّ يَوْمَ خَرَجَ شَلَّ إِلَى غَسَّسَ وَأَمَّا بَحْرٌ كَبِيرٌ لَيْسَ مِثْلَهُ فِي بِلْدِنَا الْمَسْمَا كَوْرًا
 يَوْمَ خَرَجَ غَسَّسَ بِدَخَلَ فِي قَرْبَةِ يَأُورِي قَرْبَةِ عَظِيمَةٍ وَمِنْ يَأُورِي إِلَى كَنْبَاشَ سِتَّةَ أَيَّامٍ وَمِنْ كَنْبَاشَ إِلَى
 بِلْدِ غَرْنَتِ خَمْسَةَ أَيَّامٍ وَمِنْ غَرْنَتِ إِلَى بِلْدِ يَنْدَوْتِ خَمْسَةَ أَيَّامٍ وَمِنْ يَنْدَوْتِ إِلَى بِلْدِ كَثْبَيْنِ سَبْعَةَ أَيَّامٍ هَذَا بِلْدٌ
 كَثْبَيْنِ قَرْبَةِ عَظِيمَةٍ وَهُوَ رَاسُ حَوْسٍ : وَمِنْ حَوْسِ إِلَى فِرْزَانَ أَرْبَعِينَ أَيَّامًا وَمِنْ بِلْدِ فِرْزَانَ إِلَى بِلْدِ مِصْرَ أَرْبَعِينَ أَيَّامًا
 وَمِنْ بِلْدِ مِصْرَ إِلَى طُونَسِي ثَلَاثِينَ أَيَّامًا مِنْ بِلْدِ طُونَسِ إِلَى مَكَّةَ اثْنَا عَشَرَ أَيَّامًا وَمِنْ مَكَّةَ إِلَى بَيْتِ اللَّهِ أَرْبَعِينَ أَيَّامًا
 لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ وَهُوَ وَسَطُ الدُّنْيَا وَمِنْ بِلْدِ مَدِينَةِ إِلَى شَامَ عَشْرُونَ يَوْمًا لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ وَمِنْ شَامَ إِلَى بَيْتِ الْمَقْدَسِ
 عَشْرُونَ أَيَّامًا هُنَا جَبَلٌ فِيهِ اسْمُهُ طُورِ سَيْنَا وَعَلَى هَذِهِ جَبَلٌ كَلَّمَ اللَّهُ النَّبِيَّ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ قَبْرُ
 النَّبِيِّ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ سَمِعْنَا آخِرِي عَلِيَّ جَبَلٌ طُورِ سَيْنَا وَهُوَ قَبْرُ النَّبِيِّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَمَّا جَبَلٌ
 خَمْسَةَ أَهْجَاتٍ سَيْنَا عَزُوجِلَ وَأَمَّا أَوَّلُ هُنَّ جَبَلٌ طُورِ سَيْنَا وَجَبَلٌ مَكَّةَ وَجَبَلٌ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدَسِ وَجَبَلٌ
 الْمَدِينَةِ وَجَبَلٌ شَامَ وَهَذَا رُويَ عَنْ أَبِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي سَيِّدِنَا نَصْرَانِي أَنَّهَا يَعْلَمُ شَيْ
 وَأَمَّا هَذِهِ الْوَرَقَةُ إِلَى صَوْمِ حَبِيبِ شَيْ وَصَلِيَ اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ نَبِيٍّ بَعْدَهُ آمِينَ

TRANSLATION OF No. 4.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, &c. &c. This is a direction from country to country, &c. taking the departure from Salgha, the chief city of Ghunja.

From Salgha in one day to Dangho, from Dangho, through Yanomo, to Kanyasha one day ; from Kanyasha in one day to Kadanki, and from Kadanki to Cabouto in one day ; from Cabouto one day to Konjasi. After leaving Konjasi, you enter a small wilderness leading through Tonouma. One journey more leads to a little river, beyond which is Zonkoma.* From Zonkoma to Jadogho one day, and then a wilderness over which you proceed to Keno one day. From Keno you must travel three days over a great range of mountains, which will convey you to Ghofil. From Ghofil in one day to Arjo, from Arjo (over the little river Komba) in one day to Motom. From Motom (over mountains) three days to Yarako. From Yarako to Zogho, it is one journey: Zogho is a great city. From Dagho to Dankon, one day, and the road then leads through a forest of three journies, to a country called Salamo. From Salamo proceed on to Jambodo (a long journey) and from Jambodo to Sooso, one journey, where there is a small river بحرصغير

* This river is by some called the Komashar, and is said to fall into the great river of Dahomy—the Lagos.

From Sooso it is one long journey to Corery, and from Corery travel on to Kooka (on the Ghulby.) From Kooka to Makrara (one day.) From Makrara, in one day, you will arrive at Nikky, which is a very large city, and from Nikky in one day to Rougha, and from thence (over the Ghulby) to Makaba. From Makaba to Sabonsara, one day, and from Sabonsara to Wory, one day. From Wory through Snabendia to Roa, and from Roa to Ghado. From Ghado in one day to Doshi, from Doshi to Confi and from thence to Wado. After leaving Wado you enter the country of Batako, which is a district so named (very mountainous.) From thence to Sholo it is one day, and from Sholo to Ghasaghasa one day more, where there is a great sea or river, the like of which is no where to be found: it is called Koara كوراء. From Ghasaghasa (cross over the Koara) and in one day you will reach the city of Youry, which is a very great city.

From Youry to the country of Konbash, it is seven days' journey. From Konbash to the country of Gharanti, it is five days more; from thence to Yandoso it is also five days, and from Yandoto to Kassina is seven journies. Kassina is a mighty city, the metropolis (head) of Haoussa.

In travelling from Haoussa (in the high northern road to Egypt and the Holyland) proceed to Ferjan Fezzan, which is a journey of forty days; from Ferjan to Masser (perhaps the confines of Egypt) it is forty days more; and to Toonasa thirty days. From Toonassa to Mecca is twelve* days. From Mecca to the Holy City Shamor (Syria) it is forty hard journies: this country stands in the centre of the world. From Medina to Syria it is twenty full journies, and from Syria to Jerusalem is twenty more.

In this land is the mountain Tor, of Sinai, on the summit of which God conversed with the Prophet Moses,† upon whom be peace, &c. and he was entombed therein. The peace of God, &c.‡

* The author of this MS. seems to have made a slip of the pen in the description of the distance between Tunis and Mecca; or, which is very probable, he intended to have written the name of some other city bearing a relation in sound to that of Tunis. The words, however, are من بلد تونس الي مكة اثنا عشر ايام as they are translated.

† There exists a current tradition resting upon the authority of the chapter of the Koran, intituled Al Araf, that when the Almighty divested himself of the awful attributes of his omnipotence, which none of mortal race could look upon and live, he appointed his servant Moses to meet him near a certain mountain called Al Zabbar. But the Prophet doubtful if he was in the presence of his Creator, cried out, "O Lord! shew me thy glory that I may behold thee." To which the Almighty answered, thou shalt not in any wise behold me; but look at the mountain, and if it is still rooted in its place, then, indeed, thou shalt see my glory. Moses turned his head in that direction, as the attributes of Divine Majesty blazed on the mountain, and reduced it to dust, throwing the Prophet also into a deep swoon.

‡ The concluding parts of the MSS. which are chiefly of a religious character, coupled, moreover, with a description of mountains known to my informers, I have not deemed it necessary to translate, as the neighbourhoods of Egypt and Syria may be better known to the European than the tropical African in the west.

And this is a direction to the country of the Prophet of God, on whom be peace, &c. for the service of our friend (master) the Christian, &c. written by his loving friend Souma, and now pray to God, &c.—Amen.* This is termed the main eastern road.

No. 5.

This relates to the direct route from Ashantee (Coomassy) to Salgha, a journey of fifteen days. Its writer was a native of Ghunjah, whose sovereign had granted him permission to visit the Court of Ashantee. He had been several times to Haoussa, &c. as also to Dahomy and Benin in the east.

الحمد لله الذي جعل النظم لنا لسانا وجعل قرطاس لنا رسولا مكان الي مكان البلد الي البلد وطرا الي وطرنم
 خرج من بلد كَمَاسِي الي بلد سلخ من يوم خرج كَمَاسِي الي جمقسي : انتو : دمكاي : اكرفرم : اكياسم
 جبل فيه البلد : منين : دنكني : ادجاني : اجورا : اميني : اكوا : بتودا : اتابورا : يدعتي وفيه الماء
 الكبير اسم الماء بوروا : كلاء : سكتم : ياجي : وفيه البحر كثير اسود البحر : بابصوا اسم البر الماء
 : خرج كَمَاسِي الي سلخ ايام انتمن :

TRANSLATION OF No. 5.

Glory be unto God, for the use of speech, the knowledge of writing, &c. This is a direction for travelling, &c.† by the route from Coomassy to Salgha. Leaving Coomassy, you arrive the first day at Jamakasi, the second at Antoa, the third at Damoka, the fourth at Akoroforum, the fifth you enter Akeyah, which is the name of a mountainous country; then to Manbon, and from Manbon to Dinkeney; then to Adijani, and Ajora, Amatini, and Akokoa (each one day.) From Akokoa to Batoda, and from thence to Yobati, in which there is a large water or lake (وفيه الماء الكبير) and the name of the lake is Bourou. Then to Coulan and Sakenim and Yaji. In the last named country is a large

* There existed a feeling of emulation among the followers of Mohammed, to anticipate any conjecture I might form that they were deficient in a knowledge of their scriptures, and of the land sacred to the memory of the Prophets Shouma, who never travelled to the northward of the kingdom of Haoussa; but as he did not wish to be thought inferior to others who were more intimately acquainted with the countries he attempted to describe, beyond the Koara, he probably wrote the supplementary part from his gleanings among the Haoussa Moslems, established in Coomassy.

† The preliminary and some superfluous parts of the MS. it is conceived may be generally omitted.

river *sea* (بحر كثير) the name of which is Aswada (the black river) and the name of the land on the banks of the river is Babosoo. This is the end of the journey to Salgha (for that city is on the opposite bank of the river.)”

The subsequent part of the manuscript falls next under consideration. It runs as follows:—

No. 6.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هَذَا اسْمُ الْبَلَدِ سَلْخُ وَمِنْ سَاخٍ إِلَى كَاكْشِي : دَف : تَوْر : يَنْسَلَا : بَتْرِي : يَشِيلِي : دَغْنِي :
 : وَيِيَا : قِرْسَاغَ جَاكَلِيشِي سَاكُوبَا : كَالْتِغَ : بُوغَرِ : بَتْلِي غَلْبِي اسْمُ الْمَاءِ كَوْتِي : دَدْرَةَ كَنْغَبَ :
 : مَآغَ : الْبَلَدِ كَبِيرِ سُلْطَانَ فِيهِ اسْمُ سُلْطَانِ مَرِبَاشَاتِي اسْمُ قَرْيَةٍ غَرْمَا : قَيْنَاغَ : تَادِي : بَاغَ عَنَظَرِ :
 اسْمُ الْمَاءِ غَلْبِي : دَبِغَ : دَتَكْرُوي : بَلَسَ اسْمُ الْبَلَدِ كَبِيرِ اسْمُ سُلْطَانِ الْبَلَدِ دَفَرِ : دَبْقِي غَلْبِي كَنْدُغَ
 الْمَاءِ كَبِيرِ : يَانَعْدِي : مَاجُورِ : كَابِغَ : سَبَاوِ بِنَقْتِي : يَنْنَا : كَسْتِ : قَبْقِيدِي : تَنْتَسْتِ : تِيدَنْيَمَا : دَقِ
 : جَتَاوِ : دَغَرْتَرِ : نَاتَاغَ : مَآكْرَا اسْمُ لَمَاءٍ فِيهِ الْبَلَدِ : كَنْفِينِ دَغَ كَنْبَارِ : غُورَا الْمَاءِ كَثِيرِ : غَاتَاغَ : فُوغَ : تَوَكَايِ
 : بَاتُوقِ : فَاغَ اسْمُ جَبَلٍ فِيهِ الْبَلَدِ كُونَا : مَوْرِ : بَرْنِي كَبِ اسْمُ سُلْطَانِ مُحَمَّدِ : غَلْبِي كَنْبَاغَ كَاعَادُوا :
 رَغَا : فَكَارَ غَاشِيِي فُوي : رَقِينَا : كَنْتَرِ : مَرْنَا : كَانْدُوشِ اسْمُ الْبَلَدِ أَتْنِي اسْمُ سَوُوكَبِيرِ : كَاسُوي تَلَاتِ
 اسْمُ سَوُوفِيهِ الْمَاءِ كَثِيرِ يَوْمَ مَآغِ اسْمُ سُلْطَانِ بَاوِي جِرْمِ : كَمِي : مَرْمِي الْبِ : بَرْنِي كَسِينَا بَرْنِي الْبَلَدِ كَثِيرِ
 الْبَلَدِ هُوسِي : يَوْمَ أَخْرَجَ كَسِينَا إِلَى الْبَلَدِ أَذْبَنِ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا وَمِنْ بَلَدِ أَذْبَنِ إِلَى بَلَدِ فَرَجْنِ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا يَوْمَ خَرَجَ فَرَجْنِ
 إِلَى بَلَدِ مَصْرَ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا يَوْمَ خَرَجَ مَصْرَ إِلَى بَلَدِ مَكَّةَ عَشْرِينَ يَوْمًا لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ مِنْ مَكَّةَ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَشْرَةَ يَوْمًا لَيْلًا وَنَهَارًا يَوْمَ خَرَجَ الْمَدِينَةَ إِلَى عَرَاوِ عَشْرَةَ يَوْمًا لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ مِنْ يَوْمَ خَرَجَ عَرَاوِ إِلَى بَيْتِ
 الْمَقْدَسِ عَشْرَةَ أَيَّامًا لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ مِنْ يَوْمَ خَرَجَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدَسِ إِلَى شَامَ عَشْرَةَ أَيَّامًا لَيْلًا وَالنَّهَارَ : شَامَ كَارِبَا السَّمَاءِ
 فِي الشَّامِ أَنْتَهَى كَلَامَ اسْمِ الْبَلَدِ أَيَّ أَنْتَهَى اسْمَ الْمَكَاتِبِ مُحَمَّدَ كَامَعْتِي الْمَقْلَبَ كَنْتُومَا وَمَا صَاحِبَهُ أَبُو بَكْرٍ تَوْرِي أ

TRANSLATION OF No. 6. (TO THE GHULBY AT MAGHO.)

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. This is a direction (by the route NNE.) &c. from Salgha to the interior countries. Salgha to Kakashi then Dafo, Touro, Yansala, Betareby, Yashely, Deghony, Wabeya, Keresago, Jakolishi, Sakoya, Coultegha, Boughori, Batili to the river Ghulbi at Coky, (or which is the name of the water of Kook)

(Proceed on) to Dedery, Conghobo, and then Magho, which is a large kingdom or country governed by a Sultan whose name is Mariba Sheky; the name of his capital city is Ghoroma, (on the other side the river.) Kenagha (is next, and then) Tady, Balogho, Andari, where the name of the water is still the Ghulby; Zabogho, Datokoro, Baman,—which is the name of a large country, governed by a sultan called Zafory Detaki. The river Ghulby next, and then to a very large water (a lake) called Konzagha; Yangodi, Majori, and Kobogho, (are all on the road which leads on to the mountains called Fagh) in the kingdom of Wawa.

(The towns in succession) from the Konzagha lake are Sabawa, Batikati, Etana, Kati, Kikidi, Tentati, Tedadema, Dako, Jata, Zaghore Touri, Natagho, and Makoro:—this is the name of a lake or great water standing in the country; Confi, Digho, Cabar, Ghoro; where the water is very broad: Ghatagha, Fougha, Tokani, Bakoridi, and Fagh, which is the name of the mountains in this country. Then through Conka, to the kingdom of Maury; from Maury to Berini, Cabi. The name of the sultan (of Maury) is Mohammed. Then (over the) Ghulbi, Kanbaja, (called also Shaderbah,) to Kadoa. Then (by land) to Rago, Fakaro, Ghoshi, Fawa, Rekena, Kototori, Marina. Kandashi is the name of this country—and great Souy is the name of the next. There is also another place called Souy, where the water is very large, and bears the name of Bouromi Maghami. The name of the sultan is Bawa Jouromi. Then Komi, Moromalabo, Barni, (and lastly) Kassina. This is a very large country, for it is Haoussa.

Leaving Kassina (for the north) you will travel on to Azban (Azben) in forty days, and from Azban to Ferjan (Fezzan) it is forty journies more. Leaving Ferjan you will arrive in forty days at Egypt; and from Egypt to Mecca it is twenty journies, hard travelling (literally night and day). From Mecca (back) to Medina, the city of the Apostle, with peace, prayer, &c. &c. it is ten days hard travelling. Leaving Medina you will arrive at Arou in ten days more, at the same pace; from Arou to Jerusalem, it is ten journies, and from Jerusalem to Shem it is also ten journies. This land is nigh unto Heaven, and here is the finish.

The name of the writer is Mohammed Camati, alias* (i. e. as he is called by the Pagans) Cantoma, in company with his friend Aboubecr Touria, (or Ben Touri.)

* This manuscript is the copy from another original document, which the author preserved with great care to serve him as a travelling guide by the least fatiguing route to Arabia, where he intended to go on a pilgrimage as soon as the king granted him permission, or that he could arrange his affairs satisfactorily.

Another manuscript, written by a Mohammedan chief, who had been many years established (as a courtier and trader) at Ashantee, will be perused with interest, as its supplement is a route to the Joliba at Sego and Jinnie. The author was a native of Ghomba, in Dagombah; he was the celebrated Bashaw, commonly called Sheikh or Alkaid Baba—a name which he derived from his advanced age. During his youthful days he had travelled through many kingdoms in the East; yet he had never been either at Timbuctoo or Jinnie.

The author had resided some time at the courts of Zogho, Bargho, Magho, and Kambah. The Joliba he

No. 7.

الحمد لله وحده ذلك باب الي المكرم حبيبه هو يقول لنا سعلتني بحبر مسير اشنتي الي بلد سلخ
 خمسة عشر يوما وسلخ الي بلد دغمب ياندي سنة ايام ومن ياندي الي بلدظع ومن ظع الي كلغ
 ثمانية ايام وعشرة ايام يقول القرية ملكه نك ومن نك الي كورا ثلاثة عسرايام ومن كورا الي ياور
 يوم واحد ومن ياور ثلاثين يوما ومن غباغ الي موسي سبع ايام ومن موسي الي كسغ اربع ايام ومن كسغ الي
 سقن ثمان ايام ومن سقن الي جندي ثمانية ايام *

TRANSLATION OF No. 7.

Glory be unto God in unity. This chapter (of knowledge) is directed to the esteemed and beloved friend who solicited us to furnish him with information for travelling, (through this country,) &c.

From Ashantee first to the country of Salgha, which is fifteen journies. From Salgha to the country of Dagomba, i. e. Yandi, (the capital city) which is six days. From Yandi to the country of Zogho, and from Zogho to that of Killinga, which (together) make a journey of eighteen days. The capital city (of Killinga) belonging to the king, is called Nikky. From Nikky to the river Koara it is thirteen journies more, and from the Koara to Youry it is but a single day. From Youry (back) to Ghobagho it is thirty days; from Ghobagho to Mousee it is seven days; from Mousee to Kasogho it is four days. From Kasogho to Safany it is eight days, and from Safany to Jany (or Jinnie) it is eight days more.

always spoke of as a river distinct from the Koara, being separated by a sea or lake, which he sometimes called Bahar Ghim-bala, and at others Bahar Deby, or Zeby. The Joliba he conceived to be inferior, by far, in dimensions, as well as in the multitude of lakes and large populous islands the Koara abounds with.

* Contrary to what Mr. Bowdich has insinuated, I did not meet with the slightest interruption, neither was I annoyed by suspicious glances during my geographical researches in the society of the north eastern Moslems. The king and his ministers were early apprised of the intimacy that existed, and of our daily occupation; but so far was he from resenting the familiarity, that it gave him great pleasure, and which he evinced by making it, from time to time, a topic of conversation, in which he would frequently talk of neighbouring kingdoms; of Dahomy, Saren, Dagomba, &c. At the same time it must be admitted, that the king or his ministers were tacitly averse to an intimacy with the Kong, Ghofan, and Manding Moslems, who were taken in arms against him during the last Bontoko war: yet the king, himself, never even hinted at the jealousy which it was but natural for him to feel on the occasion.

This, which is the preliminary part of the manuscript, exhibits the lines of communication between Lower Guinea and the districts of Haoussa, Fillany, &c. The supplementary part is as follows :

No. 8.

ومن هناكماس الي جمكاس ومن جمكاس الي تترم ومن تترم الي ككور الي ينس الي سكد ماس
اسم البلد الي ذنكر كنتي الي قرنسح الي بوي الي كرحم الي كنتنو الي كاك الي كوند الي دو الي
صحرا اقلا بلا بيت بحرفيه الي تري الي غفن بلدمسلمون ومن غفن الي ولد سلطان بلدة الي
لنكنتر الي كتر الي بتنلس الي فرغ دبي الي صولب الي غبيغ الي دنكير الي بنغ الي بعس الي
كبر الي يعب الي ينجح الي بدم الي كنجح الي بغي الي صيلي الي كبر الي كاي الي فر الي
صمب الي برم جزاير البحر الي كو الي قلمب الي كيني الي البلد بفر الي شيوغ الي سفن بلد
كبير فيه الجامع الي نذو الي كر الي برد الي در الي كزي الي بحر الي قدي الي سون الي فير
الي سيدنكرا الي فلنك الي بلد باء بلد مسلم ومن باء الي كنبير الي تسليم الفقيه صاحب
الحرمه ولو الله الي نم دغ الي طم يعما الي جني بلد كبير المسلمون الي البحر في السغبنة خمسة
عشر ايام وفي سفر في البر ثلاثين يوم الي طغبوط الي حنخ بلد ملح كالجزر ومن الجزر طاح في
الطريق الي مصر والي البحر كبير الي مصر

TRANSLATION OF No. 8.

Moreover, from hence—Coomassy, to Jamacasi, from Jamacasi to Tataroom, and from Tataroom to Kikiwhari. From Kikiwhari to Enaso, and to Sakado, which is the (chief city of) the country called Massy. (From Sakado) to Donkori, to Conta, and from thence to Coransah. From Coransah to Boubin, to Kerahem, to Kantano to Kaka, to Caranda to Dawa, and the Desert—where there is no resting place, and through which the river runs* بحرفيه. When you get through it (the Desert, which is two days journey from N. to S.) you will arrive at Ghofan, a country of the Moslems. And from Ghofan to the country of the King's Son, and to Lankantera. From thence through Katari to Botintasi, and Daboya. From Daboya proceed to Solaba, and (or through) Ghobagho. From Ghobagho to Dankairy,

* This is the Bahar Aswada, as it is called by the Moslems: the other name by which it is distinguished by the Idolators is Adirrai.

to Bonough to Bouasa, to Cabari to Yaába, Ejagho to Baddim, to Kanjakhá to Baghí, to Sela to Kobar, to Kaii—or Karey—to Fourá, to Soumbo and Bourma, which is an island in the river (جزائر البحر). From Bourma to Kou, to Calambi to Couini, to Baforo to Shougho (Sego) in Safani. This (last named place) is a large country, with churches (mosques) in it. From Safani to Nouno, to Karou to Bouradi, to Dorra to Kerba, to the river (again) to Kooda to Soonore, to Fee to Feer, to Sadankera to Felanki, to Baâ, a country of Moslems. And from Baâ, and Conbori, to Taslima,* the country of holy (religion) resignation and learning (which is governed by a chief (of the family) sacred to God's service, &c. From Taslima to Noumodogho, to Toumayama to Jennie, which is a large country of Moslems.

From Jennie to the sea, whereon ships sail (it is a journey of) fifteen days by water, and then by land thirty days more until you get afterwards to Jekhy, a salinous, rocky, or stony country: and from these rocks you will fall in the direct track for Egypt, whose sea is the great sea, &c. †

The following MS. is a route by the same author, from Jennie to Bornou:

* Whatever may be the prevailing opinion concerning the tribes and nations of interior Ethiopia, it is not to be doubted that many powerful states and principalities are exclusively Mohammedan; indeed, from such accounts as are deserving of credit, it appears that the proportion of Moslems is nearly upon a par with the idolatrous population, between the Aswada and the Koara Rivers, on the Haoussa road. In Ghunja, beyond the Aswada or Volta, excluding Dahomy and its tributary states, the Moslems are supposed to exceed in numbers the idolaters. In Dagomba, Ghomba, Zogho, Kambah, and Kook, they are very numerous: In Bargho and Killinga they enjoy independent governments, reaching even to the banks of the Koara.

† The author candidly admitted his incompetence to give any intimate description of the countries eastward of Bornou, as his geographical knowledge was limited to the capital of that empire; but he professed capacity to describe with accuracy the interior features of the continent as far as the Koara, both geographically and politically. In the north and west he maintained that the creed of the Prophet had not made as much progress as in central Africa, and the states eastward of Dagomba and Killinga: and this he accounted for in a manner by no means unsatisfactory. The former regions, he said, beyond Ghobagho, were for the most part either mountainous or hilly, and were beside clothed in impenetrable forests and thickets, from whence the natives (who, in certain districts were more barbarous than the Ashantees,) were able to oppose the Moslem arms successfully, where cavalry, besides being scarce, could not act: whereas the latter districts being champaign land, and the Arabian horse and camel (from having been early introduced there) being abundant, the Moslem princes, tributaries of Bornou on the south of Koara, reduced nation after nation, compelling some the most assailable, to renounce idolatry, and all to pay tribute; which, like the Arabs, they collect by flying camps, and large squadrons of horse and camel. The King of Ashantee, it was added, owed his safety to the same causes, added to a maritime intercourse by which he obtained those scarce articles, powder and guns.

No. 9.

بلد الغابن الى نكري الغابن الي تاركص دوسو الي سكم ومن سكم الي ابوغي فوم وممر بوغي فوم الي
 اءتي كئيرة الماء ومن اءتي قطع البحر الي البحر كيبرومن البحر الي كئونس ومن كئونس الي
 الي اءهنكنت ومن هنكنت الي اءدنكص قطع البحر لك اليوم الي دد ومن دد الي كمن ومن
 كمن الي حنوكي ان الجبل الكبير الي الصحراء الي اكوم بلد سل طن سلطان الكبير ومن ذلك اليوم
 صكري الي صحرا الي فون ومن فون الي تمى الي تغوا ومن تغوا الي وص صرخ الي بيط فيه برني

TRANSLATION OF No. 9.

First, the country of Alfine; and from Alfine to Casou Dousou, and then to Sakam, and from Sakam to Boghifom, from Boghifom to Aty or Aowati, where the water (of the river) is very great. From Aowati, cross the river, (the Koara) and land at the large rocks; from whence proceed on to Kankawansa, and from Kankawansa to Henkonta. From Henkonta to Dankasado (again) cross a river, (sea) and rest the day at Dody. From Dody to Kamana, and from Kamana to Honafokon; and then to a great range of mountains, on the other side of which is the Desert. The next place is Akom, the country of the king of kings بلد سلطان الكبير (meaning the sultan of Bornou.) Then Sokori, then the Desert, and Foony. And from Foony to Tama, Tegho, Woso or Wodo, and Bornou.

The following MS. describing the journey to Kassina, was written by a native of that country, but recently arrived at Coomassy on a trading speculation from the former city: like the MS. No. 3, it leads to Magho on the Ghulby, and from thence eastward along its shores.

No. 10.

الحمد لله السلام عليكم &c. : جماكسي : ماجوكوسي : اءجن : اماني : اتابوبو : بنايي : ياجي
 : سلاغي : بوكوكي دافوا : دوروا ينسلا : كوبي : لاجا : بندي : كدس ساكوغا باكي غلوبي داج
 : تودو : كوكوجو : مانغو : تاده : بانغو : فضلي : ذابغا : ينقا : يرمس : كوديني : يندوتي
 : طغو : غوغي : فادسك دنسركي : كيا : دغابو : عئقالي : علوماغو : داوا : لاغاس : كمسي
 : داباغو : سامي : غلبي : معار : روغا : تودو : باكين كوراء : ردا : بلدي : دوس روغا : داوا : فوغا
 : كوتوبو : دهبي داج كوك كابي غلبي : كلايين : سلا : ساغار : دوروا : بوكور : كمسي : غدو داماج
 : سار : نونوا : دورع : ماركي روما : ميوا برن كاسين

TRANSLATION OF No. 10.

Glory be unto God, and peace unto you, &c. (The places) are Jamakasi, Majokoasi, Adijani, Amateny, Ataboba, Banaa. Then Yajy and Salgha. From Salgha to Bokoky, Zafo, Dorowa, Yansala, Coobeya, Laja, and then Yandi. From Yandi to Cardosi, Sakogho, Baki, and (the next journey is to) the river Ghulbi. From the Ghulbi (go to) Dajy, Todoge, Kokojo to Magho; and from thence to Tady, Balagho, Fadaly, Dahegha, Yanka, Yarmesy, Kodeba, Yanboti, Tagho, Ghogha, Fadeseka, Dansareka, Caya, Daghabo Atkali, Alomagho, Dawa, Lagamana, Komosy, Dabakou, Sameya, Alomoan, Maury, Rougha, Todo, and then (you are on the banks of the) Koara (the Koara Rafa.) Then Redaba, Beledy, Dosyrouga, Doua, Fougha, Kotobo, Deby, Dajy, Kooka, Cabi, and then the river Ghulbi again. From thence to Kalabaina, Sala, Saghara, Droo, Bokory, Komsî, Ghado, Damaji, Sara, Nofawa (the country of Niffy) Darâa, Mariki, Rouma, Mayo, Berini, (and lastly) Kassina.

The following is a sketch from a native chart, describing distance, &c. It was taken from an original in the possession of a man named Mohammed Shallum, al Marouy, a native of Maroa, who travelled in company with the Sheriffe Brahim, and was left in Ghunja when that prince departed.*

No. 11.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مسهلة سفر من بلد حوسا يوري الي قرية برنو يقاله برني علي البحر كورا ومن
برنو الي البحر شادي والبحر نيل : ومن يوري الي كسينا خمسة وعسر يوما ومن كسين الي قرية كن
تسع يوما ومن قرية كن الي قرية برنوا شهر واما سلطان برنوهو سلطان دنيا كلهم لامثله في الدنيا ومن
برنو الي البحر يقاله شرتلثين يوما ومن شر الي البحر يقال له شدي اربعة ايام واما كبير بحر شاد انه كورا يدخل
فيه ومن شاد الي فرسعة ايام ومن فرالي وداي خمس ايام ومن وداي الي قرية مصر خمسين يوم
وثلاث يوما ومن مصر الي قرية المدينة ومكة اربعين يوما ليلا والنهار وفيه بيت الله وهو وسط دنيا ومن
مكة الي قرية مدينة عشر يوما ليلا والنهر ومن قرية المدينة الي قرية شام عشرين يوما ومن شام الي بيت
المقدس عشر يوما وفيه جبل اسمه طورسيني وعلي راس هذا جبل كلام الله لموس وتحت جبل
طورسيني قنبر موسي

* The author, who called himself El Hadge ben Saido, was the only man amongst my associates who had performed the pilgrimage; and consequently the only one of the party who enjoyed the title of Hadge. His

TRANSLATION OF No. 11.

In the name of God, the merciful, &c. This is a direction for travelling from Haoussa (the kingdom of) Youry to the city of Bornou, called Berini, by water upon the Koara, and from Bornou to the sea Shady and the sea Nile.

From Youry to Kassina, it is fifteen days. From Kassina to the city of Kano, nine days. From Kano to the city of Bornou it is one month;—and the sultan of this country, whose equal exists nowhere else, governs all the land. Then from Bornou to the sea called Shary, it is thirty days; and from Shary to the sea called Shady it is four days. The Shady is a large sea because the Koara runs into it. From the Shady to Foor it is seven days, and from Foor to Wady five days more. Then from Wady to the city of Egypt, (Masser or Cairo) it is fifty-three days; from Cairo to Medina and Mecca it is forty days hard travelling. The Temple of God stands in it, (the Caaba) and the city itself stands in the middle of the world. From Mecca to the city of Medina it is ten days hard travelling; and from Medina to the capital of Syria (Damascus) it is twenty days, from whence (the city of Shem) to the city of Jerusalem it is ten days, and the mountain called Tor of Sinai* is in it, upon the top of which God conversed with the Prophet Moses, and the mountain Tor of Sinai fell and buried Moses.

Another chart or manuscript in the possession of this man was called مسهلة سفر من بلد عنجا الي حوسا ومن خرج من قرية سلطان حنا يبيت علي البحر كوار بحر نيس منته
 “A travelling guide from the country of Ghunja to that of Haoussa, from the time you leave the city of the king (Coomassy) until you alight upon the banks of the sea called Koara:—a sea (river) whose equal no where exists.” It will be unnecessary, however, to insert this document as it deviates but little from MS. No. 1, than which, in regard to time, and distance, it is less precise.

education, however, was but an imperfect one, and his writing, like that of some others, betrays the fact. This man was particularly communicative, and anxious, as he affirmed, that I should know his country, (Houssa) which was of more importance in every shape than Ghunja and Dagombah put together.

* The author is evidently under a mistake in placing the mountain Tor, or Sinai, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, from which it is distant ten journies south. Another circumstance worthy of notice is, that he places Wady to the eastward, or northward and eastward of Foor: i. e. in the journey to Egypt from Ghunja, the traveller, as he describes, must necessarily traverse Foor, or Dar Foor, before he enters Wady, called also Dar Wady.

The author of this work, who is also the editor and translator of the Arabic it contains, deems it right to announce to the oriental scholar, that some trifling errors have intruded themselves amongst the characters of that language which precede the Appendix:—an elucidation however may be briefly given. There is a distinction between the formations of oriental and occidental Arabic; and notwithstanding the characters of both are nearly the same, the difference trifling as it is in other respects—**د** is material as regards the letters **ف** and **ق** which the African Arabs, and the natives of that Continent universally write with single dots; the former at bottom, the latter at top. The author consequently, to whom, from custom, the occidental style is most familiar had already commenced the work of publication, and had proceeded in his corrections nearly to the extent described before he discovered that no such type as an occidental one could be procured. For **ف** therefore it will be necessary in the part foregoing the Appendix to read **ق**

ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

- Page xix. lines 10 and 11, for "report of the king's death did lose ground," read, did not lose ground.
— xxiv. line 1, for "ong," read long.
— xxv. lines 25 and 26, for "as if sensible last," read, as if sensible at last.
— xxxvii. line 19, omitted direction;—To the Governor and Council.

JOURNAL.

- Page 18. lines 17 and 18, for "Mimosa Scandriensis," read Bauhinea Scandens.
— 64. line 15, for "Benjamin," read Benzoin.
— 73. in the note, for "العلمير," read العلمين
— 77. line 4, for "lions," read loins.
— 123. line 24, the asterisk at line 24, following "told me," should fall at line 25, following Annamaboc.
— 177. line 4, for "جورج" read جورج

WANGARA.

- Page xxiv. line 6, for "Kambah," read Komba.
— xxxiii. — The marks of reference to the notes at the bottom of the page should be reversed thus, No. 1, the *, No. 2, the †.
— xxxvii. line 13, for "the capital," read their capital.
— LVII. note, line 6, for "in the neighbourhood of Jaccoray," read, and in the neighbourhood of Taccoray.

SOUDAN.

- Page LXXX. line 28, for "Soudan Dakhla," read Soudan Dakhla.
— LXXXIX. line 6, for "Holagul," read Holagu.
— XCI. line 29, for "east of the Formosa," read wset, &c.
— XCIV. line 12, for "Joelimani," read Soolimani.
— XCV. line 17, for "Tastima," read Taslima.
— XCVII. line 19, for "Takolshi," read Jakolshi.
— XCVIII. line 11, for "Kouzagha," read Konzagha.
— — line 24, for "Koubory," read Konbory.
— XCIX. line 18, for "Callio Makaro," read Makaro.
— — note, for "Vahar Kanbaja," read Bahar, &c.
— c. line 1, for "Hanbaja," read Kanbaja.
— CI. line 13, for "Kassima," read Kassina.
— CII. line 13, for "south of the desert," read south of the Niger.
— CIV. line 28, latitude and longitude of Yandy redundant, having been recorded in Wangara.
— CX. line 2, in the note, for, "Kakbara," read Rakbara.

APPENDIX.

- Page CXXIV. line 7, of the Arabic, for "اسم" read اسم
— CXXV. line 4, ditto for "ومرشدوت" read &c. ومن
— — line 7, ditto for "ومرشم" read &c. ومن

The author, in apologising to the public for such a list of errata as the foregoing, begs to observe, that he was seized with a dangerous illness during the progress of the publication, which consequently deprived him of the advantage of correcting *some* of the proofs, daily, as they came from press. That by the great professional skill of his medical attendant, (Dr. Herbert of Grafton Street,) he was able, after the lapse of a fortnight, to attend to the task of correction; but too late to remedy the evil, particularly as regards the section "Soudan."

