NARRATIVE

OF THE

NIGER, TSHADDA, & BINUË EXPLORATION:

INCLUDING

A REPORT ON THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF TRADE UP THOSE RIVERS,

WITH

REMARKS ON THE MALARIA AND FEVERS OF WESTERN AFRICA.

BY T. J. HUTCHINSON, ESQ.,

HER BRITISH MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR THE BIGHT OF BIAFRA.

Philosophorum Medicorumque industria non modo vias notas excoluit et ampliavit; verum etiam tramites novos ostendit feliciterque patefecit.—CELSUS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1855.

TO

MACGREGOR LAIRD, ESQ.,

MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICAN STEAM-SHIP COMPANY;

The Pioneer of the Niger Exploration;

AND

EVER STEADFAST FRIEND OF AFRICA AND HER PEOPLE;

This Work

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER X.

PREFACE.

In the prospectus of the "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilisation of Africa," the following passage occurs:—"To render Africa a salubrious residence for European constitutions may be a hopeless task; but to diminish the danger, to point out the means whereby persons proceeding thither may most effectually guard against its perils, may perhaps be effected; nor must it be forgotten, that, in however humble a degree this advantage can be obtained, its value cannot be too highly appreciated."

Hopeful as I am, that the time is rapidly approaching when Africa shall become as salubrious a residence for European constitutions as any intertropical country, I know sufficiently well that it is not so now. "To diminish the danger," by pointing out the means of keeping comparatively clear of malarious influence, is an aspiration of my ambition. To suggest a plan for the

civilisation of Central and Western Africa, and to describe localities hitherto untrodden by European feet, have also stimulated me to the compilation of the following pages. How this triple task has been performed, I leave a discerning public to judge.

I do not deem myself presumptuous in anticipating, that the success which attended our late expedition up the continuous stream of the Niger, the Tshadda, and the Binuë, will be considered a sufficient justification for the remarks I have to make on the fevers of the climate. Since my first visit to Africa in 1850, I have felt firmly convinced—and that conviction urges me to impress my faith on all who read this work—that the climate would not be so fatal as it has hitherto proved to Europeans, if a different mode of daily living, a proper method of prophylactic hygiene, and another line of therapeutic practice in the treatment of fevers, were adopted. Before, and beyond all others, is the preventive influence of quinine as it was used in the "Pleiad," in the mode here described;—and I hold it to be the duty of every man interested in the civilisation of the great continent, to give attention to any suggestions, having for their aim to nullify or neutralise the influence of malaria on the human system.

There were two facts that impressed themselves very

vividly on my mind during my residence in Africa —one, the knowledge which many members of the Negro race entertain of the immense industrial resources of their country, with the consciousness of their incapacity to turn these to account;—the other, a readiness for labour, and an aptitude of imitation among the people, that are the most hopeful signs of material for intellectual development, if properly trained, and such as we are not accustomed to give the Ethiopians a credit for possessing. These were more plainly evident in many districts of the glorious country along the banks of the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë—a country that seemed as if it were fresh from the hands of God, and only waiting the energies of man for the cultivation of its prolific soil.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

NIGER, TSHADDA, AND BINUË EXPLORATION.

CHAPTER I.

POSITION OF THE RIVER NIGER, AND NOTICE OF FORMER VOYAGES UP ITS STREAM—CAUSE OF THE PLEIAD'S EXPEDITION BY DR. BARTH'S DISCOVERY OF THE BINUE AND FARO—DESCRIPTION OF THE PLEIAD—ATLANTIC SEA-SICKNESS—MADEIRA AND FUNCHAL—LEGEND OF THE DISCOVERY OF MADEIRA—FUNCHAL AS VIEWED FROM THE ROADSTEAD—BEAUTY OF ITS SCENERY IN A RIDE UP TO NOSSA SENHORA DEL MONTE CHAPEL—A LANDSCAPE FROM THE SMALL CURRAL—THE CANARIES AND TENERIFFE—SKETCH OF SANTA CRUZ—WONDERS AND BEAUTIES OF THE TROPICAL SEA—THE FLYING FISH, AND NIGHTLY PHOSPHORESCENCE.

THE river Niger, whose name is associated with such appalling stories of African diseases, debouches into the sea to the eastward of Lagos by several mouths—the Rio des Forcados, the Rio des Esclavos, the Dodo, the Nun, the Bento (or Brass), the St. Nicholas, the St. Barbara, the St. Bartholomew, and the Sombrero. Its Delta also inosculates with the rivers Benin, New Calabar, and Bonny, over a large extent of coast,

containing little more than mud and mangroves, with their concomitant abominations of musquitoes and malaria.

After traversing the country from Badagry to Boussa—where, twenty years before, Mungo Park was killed—Richard Lander, with his brother, made a descent of the Niger in canoes, and came out at the Nun mouth, in November 1830. This was the first discovery of these rivers being the outlets of the Kwarra or Joliba, which has been mentioned in African history from the days of Herodotus and Ptolemy to the present time. By the Nun, which flows into the Gulf of Guinea, on the western side of Brass and the eastern of Terra Formosa, Messrs. Laird and Oldfield ascended this river on an exploring expedition, to try its trade resources, in 1832. Their outfit consisted of the Kwarra and Alburkah steamers, with forty-nine Europeans, of whom only nine lived to return. The expedition extended into the years 1833–34; and one of the vessels ascended as high as Rabba up the Kwarra, and Dagbo up the Tshadda. Richard Lander accompanied them, and, during the trading operations, was shot when returning from the mouth of the river in a canoe with cowries, by some people of the Angiammah district of Oru country. He lived long enough to reach Clarence, in the island of Fernando Po, in whose necropolis he lies buried, with-

out a tree or a stone to mark the place of his sepulture.

In 1840, the late Governor Beecroft went up the Niger in the Æthiope steamer to within a few miles of Lever (which is only thirty miles at this side of Boussa), and where the rapidity of the current, caused by jutting rocks, intercepted the further progress of his vessel. He entered the Niger, a little above Truro island, from Benin river, having passed up Youngtown creek, through the Rio des Forcados, which flows across the Warree country. His first attempt was to get up Gatto creek, about forty miles from the Benin bar, but he found this impassable for a steamer.

The Albert, the Wilberforce, and the Soudan steamers, were sent out by government in 1841, under the auspices of his royal highness Prince Albert, and the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. The object of this expedition was to make treaties with the African kings on the banks of the Niger for the suppression of the slave trade. To teach them the industrial art of agriculture, a model farm was established under Mount Stirling, near the confluence of the Kwarra and Tshadda. Yet fitted out and guided, though it was by eminent scientific men, it proved a complete failure. The highest point reached was Egga, and the only steamer that arrived there was the Albert. From this she was

obliged to return, in consequence of the mortality amongst her crew from the river fever. The European officers, marines, seamen, engineers, and stokers, amounted in the three vessels to a hundred and forty-five men, of whom forty-eight died. The Albert was only sixty-four days from the time of crossing the bar till she returned, and yet in that time lost nineteen from river fever, of whom twelve were sailors, and seven officers, besides five taken by death previously from casualties;—the Wilberforce was up forty-five days, and lost seven from river fever, six sailors and one officer, with three from ordinary causes beforehand;—and the Soudan, in her forty days' voyage, was minus five officers and eight sailors.

Such a history of African adventure up the Niger was not very promising for future explorers; and at first thought our late expedition seemed to all, who knew no more about African shores than its recorded facts of mortality indicate, as very like a "forlorn hope" to undertake; yet it has succeeded in a sanitary point of view beyond any expedition of which African history gives us record, and I may here explain the chief object for which the "Pleiad" was commissioned.

At the end of the year 1849, Mr. Richardson, an Englishman, who had been previously known by his exploration of part of the Northern Sahara from Tripoli

to Ghadamis, Ghat, and Murzuk, was joined by two Germans, Drs. Barth and Overweg, in a political and commercial expedition he was about to undertake to Central Africa, under the sanction of her majesty's government. Their route was made from Tripoli, through the Sahara to Damergu, on the borders of Sudan, and a frontier country of Bornu; whence they travelled in different directions; Mr. Richardson proceeding to Ungurutua in Bornu; Dr. Barth travelling by Katshna and Kano; and Dr. Overweg by a circuitous westerly route through Guber and Mariadi—making arrangements to have Kuka, the capital of Bornu, the place of their final rendezvous. All three never met again; for Mr. Richardson died at Ungurutua on the 4th of March, 1851, and twenty days before the melancholy news of his demise reached Dr. Barth. Dr. Overweg arrived at Kuka, there to meet his surviving colleague; and they both went in company to Kanem, to the north of Lake Tshad, after Dr. Overweg had circumnavigated the lake, and launched a boat entitled the "Lord Palmerston" at Maduari, east of Kuka—the very place where he expired on the 17th of September, 1852.

To enumerate the peculiarities of the countries visited by these enterprising travellers—many of them territories hitherto untrodden by European feet—is not my purpose. And it is only as connected with our late

voyage, that I make the following extract from Dr. Barth's journal, written on his route from Kuka to Yola, between May and July, 1851:—"The most important day, however, in all my African journeys, was the 18th of June, when we reached the river Binuë, at a point called Taëpe, where it is joined by the river Faro.* Since leaving Europe, I had not seen so large and imposing a river. The Binuë, or 'mother of waters,' which is by far the larger one of the two, is half a mile broad, and nine and a quarter feet deep in the channel where we crossed it. On our return, eleven days later, it had risen a foot and a half. The Faro is five-twelfths of a mile broad, and three feet deep, which increased to seven and a quarter by our return. Both rivers have a very strong current, and run to the west into the Kwarra. We crossed the Binuë in boats, made out of single trees, —twenty-five to thirty-five feet long, and one to one and a half foot broad; and forded the Faro, which latter was not accomplished without difficulty on account of the strong current. The Binuë is said to rise nine days' journey from Yola, in a south-easterly direction, and the Faro seven days' journey distant, in a rock called Labul. During the rainy season the country is inundated to a

* In lat. 9° 2′ N. and long. 14° E; 235 geographical miles to the south of Kuka, and 415 geographical miles in a direct line, east by north, from the confluence of the Tshadda with the Kwarra.

great extent by the two rivers, which rise to their highest level towards the end of July, and remain at that level for forty days, namely, till the first days of September, when the waters begin to fall. Both rivers are full of crocodiles, and the Binuë is said to carry gold. After having crossed the rivers with some difficulty to the camels, we passed at first through some swampy ground, then through a very fine country, thickly inhabited, and reached Yola, the capital of Adamawa, on the 22nd of June."

Dr. Barth remained at Yola only four days, in consequence of discourteous treatment he received from the sultan, Mahommed Lawal; but he stayed long enough to be informed that Adamawa is one of the richest kingdoms in Central Africa for ivory—that the neighbouring and more southern kingdom of Kororoofa yields various mineral productions—that both are fertile and thickly populated, and governed by monarchs who are subject to the great Filatah sultan at Sakatu. He mentions the inhabitants of Wukari, the capital of Kororoofa, to be clothed; but as he did not visit the place, he can only take this from information received at Kuka.

This discovery—if the Binuë and Tshadda are proved to be one stream—had demonstrated that the latter river has no connexion with Lake Tshad, the only rivers com-

municating with that lake being the Shary and the Yeou, or Komadagu, that flow into it, instead of having it for their source. It was to verify as much as could be ascertained of the identity of the Tshadda with the Binuë, and of the navigability of these rivers, that the "Pleiad" was fitted out according to a contract between the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and Mr. M'Gregor Laird. She was built at the yard of Mr. John Laird in Birkenhead; was a screw steamer, measuring a hundred and five feet in length and twenty-four in beam, with an engine of forty horse power, and a register of seventy-one tons. Her after and fore cabins contained, each, five state rooms for the officers, with a steward's pantry, and a bath. From each of the officer's rooms into the adjoining one, there was ventilation by means of moveable jalousies; and above the doors were passages to admit a current of air from the corridor that ran from the ladder to the saloon. The after cabin was elegantly fitted up with mahogany tables—green morocco leather sofa—a bronzed chandelier—marble sideboards—and mirrors on either side of the entrance. An ample library also formed part of her furniture. Parallel with the cabin ceiling on either side ranged a dozen sabres; and between the bulls' eyes a number of pistols were suspended. On deck she had two two-pound swivels in her bows—two four-pound carronades

on the quarter-deck—and a long Tom twelve-pounder between the fore-hold and fore-cabin.

She was the first exploring vessel ever fitted with the screw propeller; and having been built on the model of the famous yacht, America, displacement was procured by breadth not length, as may be known by her measurement. With the propeller lifted, she was a fast sailing schooner; and hence the peculiarity of her build enabled her to make the voyage out to the scene of operations without the necessity of taking in fuel of green wood on the coast, which is sure to engender fever. Her shortness rendered her also more manageable up the river; and at sea, she was able to steam ten knots an hour.

The contract between the Lords of the Admiralty and Mr. Laird was to the effect, that he should build this steamer and pay all the expenses of the voyage for a sum of £5000. With this he was also to carry out as passengers such officers as the government might appoint. The natives up the banks of the Niger and Tshadda, being incapable of appreciating an expedition of a purely scientific character, Mr. Laird saw that the amicable reception of the ships and Admiralty officers would in a great measure depend on the ostensible motive of their voyage. She was therefore fitted up with a cargo for trading in ivory, shea butter, and palm oil. Dr. Baikie, R.N.,

D. J. May, Esq. R.N., and an assistant of Dr. Baikie's, constituted the Admiralty gentlemen on board. The late Governor Beecroft, Spanish governor of Fernando Po, and H.B.M.'s consul for the Bight of Biaffra, volunteered for the command of the expedition; and, as he was a veteran in Niger exploration, his services were at once accepted by the government. Unfortunately he died during the "Pleiad's" passage out to Fernando Po, and his place was taken by Dr. Baikie, who was the senior government officer.

The "Pleiad" steamed from Liverpool on the 17th of May on a trial trip to Kingstown, from which she made her final departure on the 20th of the month, under sail. Although in the middle of summer, the winds being contrary, our passage across the Atlantic was, according to my notions, a very rough and unpleasant one. If the reader have never made this voyage, let him not imagine he knows any thing of a malady called sea-sickness. The form of that disease suffered in small boats, or in steamers travelling coastwise, bears no more resemblance to the Bay of Biscay sea-sickness, than an ordinary cold in the head does to cholera morbus. I have laughed very heartily, and no doubt many have done the same, at the inimitable description of it given by Dickens in his "American Notes;" but one could hardly believe the vast difference between a written por-

trayal and its actual endurance. If any person doubt what I write on the subject, let him try it for once, say, during the equinoctial gales, and I promise him that he will be satisfied to coincide with my experience.

As time was valuable to us, steam was got up in consequence of unfavourable winds, and in about ten days after leaving Kingstown land was in view. With it came a change in the temperature of the atmosphere that was very agreeable. It was the cluster of the Madeiras, the main island being the first of the group that was visible, like a huge cinder looming out of the sea, as all islands appear whose outlines are first perceptible at a single *coup d'œil*. On a nearer approach to it, we had evidences of vegetable life and human habitations, pictured in the thick brushwood, and neat white cottages, that afforded a pleasing contrast to the dark, craggy, and beetling masses of rocks, which formed a rugged ridge over the extent of the island, and were overtopped by the Pico Ruivo. Away to the east was the island of Porto Santo, a very chaotic mass of basalt, presenting varied hues, that had quite a picturesque combination in the glowing sunshine. On the eastern side of Madeira some small villages were observed, on the sea side, near the outlets of ravines, and having a convent or chapel in each. One of these was Machico,

called after the man whose memory is hallowed here for his being the first discoverer of Madeira, according to the following romantic story. Robert Machin with Anna d'Arfet sailed from some place unnamed, to escape the wrath of the lady's friends, and with the intention of landing on the coast of France. But as the course of true love has never run smooth, so it was with this hapless pair, who, being driven by a storm far away to sea, at length landed on this unknown and uninhabited island. The period of this occurrence is given as the year 1344, and their landing-place at the village now called Machico, where there is a chapel built to their memory, and a cross shewn that has the reputation of having been placed over their graves, by the crew of the ship that brought them out, and who remained long enough to see them buried.

Rounding the sharp rocks of Punto San Lorenzo, relieved by occasional patches of verdure on the loftier places about, and by the white sails of a few fishing-boats coming out from Funchal, we stood in for the harbour. The Loo rock with its citadel, the Custom-house, governor's mansion, with the Church of Nossa Senhora del Monte on the hill, are the chief attractive features of Funchal seen from the roadstead. We were landed on shore by one of the native boats, that are turned stern in by the rowers, and with the assistance of a

surging wave, joined to a rope pulled by some hands on the beach, are hauled up high and dry on the pebbles. Hard by was a lofty column of blowsy-looking bricks, which was used as a lighthouse at some remote age. In a few moments a number of men and boys was around us, some with sticks and some with baskets to sell, more wanting us to engage horses, which are not used for draught at Funchal, but are kept to be let out on hire for riding. A walk up a street between the governor's and the Custom-house, brings us to the Parvis, used for a lounging and fashionable promenade in the evening, where the gigantic *Datura* and the splendid *Magnolia* plants give a grateful shade and a pleasing bloom. Of the latter I saw one in the corner near the cathedral, with a cream-white blossom on it as large as the crown of a man's hat. From the Parvis, the Terreiro del Se leads to one of the fruit-markets, protected by walls and iron railings, with two parallel sheds at either end, and a number of wooden houses in the centre; the whole surrounded inside the walls by lofty chestnut-trees.

Funchal contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, or nearly one-fourth of the population of the island. The houses in the town are very high, and the streets, which are paved with basalt, are narrow; so narrow, indeed, that there is no room for side pathways for

pedestrians. The character of Madeira for salubrity, particularly for those affected with pulmonary complaints, is too well known for me to refer to it any further. The thermometer is never below 53° Fah., its mean annual temperature being 66°. Sometimes, but rarely, there is snow on the tops of Pico Ruivo and Pico Grande; but it is never seen lower than two-thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The beauty of the scenery surrounding Funchal is nearly indescribable: hills, peaks, cliffs, and ravines, interspersed with vegetation of every shade, contrasted here and there with the white faces of country houses. On horseback! and away up to the church of Nossa Senhora del Monte, up a hill so steep that the wonder was how the horses never missed a step as they clattered on the basaltic pavement! Over one of many bridges, that cross a bed for a river, running the whole length of the town from the curral to the sea, and which is flanked by two strong and lofty walls of the same material as the street pavement! At either side of this river bed, as far up and down as one can see, there is a row of *Justicia elegans* and maple-trees, whose branches intermingle in the centre, and form an arch aloft. Portuguese sign-boards are every where in the streets, and the language is screamed into our ears by a man walking in advance of two bullocks, fastened to a sleigh,

who is bellowing furiously to the animals; whilst the cogency of his arguments is impressed upon their buttocks by another individual, who goads them with a spike remorselessly. 'Past high walls, overtopped with hedges of spartium, lavender, roses, geraniums, heliotrope and eglantine, filling the air around with their fragrance! The gardens inside are teeming with cherries, peaches, apricots, oranges, limes, bananas, and all kinds of Polar as well as Intertropical fruits. Here and there a large heath with a few cypress-trees vary the natural scenery, with woodbine flowers of a purple hue, laurels and myrtles as we get up higher. On the top of nearly every wall is a little black Cerberus, that salutes us with a gruff bark, until we pass by the limits of his territory, when the burden is taken up by the next dog in rotation.

'I was very much disappointed with the appearance of the church. Seen from the harbour, it has an air of smartness and an attractive exterior; viewed at its threshold and within its walls, it has quite a chilly and withered aspect of faded gentility. In spite of a very lofty ascent of steps, and a towering turret on either side, it impressed me with a melancholy feeling. When inside, and gazing round at the many altars, decorations, and pictures, our guides seemed only intent on impressing us with the facts that the chandeliers and

lamps were of solid silver, and other ornaments of solid gold.

The view of the town from the church steps is shut out by some lofty trees growing underneath at the residence of the British consul; but it is seen to advantage from a bend in the road over the Paliero, by which we returned. A little lower down on this route, and across the small curral, there is a landscape of picturesque beauty which I rested for many minutes to admire. Neat cottages, gardens teeming with vegetable life, trellis-work here and there for the vines, flowers sending heavenly odours about, wild canaries warbling in the tree tops, and little purling streams whose presence is only known by their rippling music. The peasantry whom we saw hereabout are observed cultivating the soil, or driving mules along the roads with panniers on their backs; the former and more onerous work being imposed on the women, the latter and lighter being taken in charge by the men. The working portion of the male sex whom we met in the streets of Funchal, as well as in the country, wear blue jackets, loose white linen breeches, bluff-coloured buskins, and "capucas," or little caps, that are only large enough to cover a few hairs of their heads, and seem like funnels turned upside down, with a peak that is ever waddling like a water-wag's tail. Besides a visit to the market-place, where

the din of Portuguese clatter would deafen the most obdurate, I went, as strangers are permitted to go, into the convent, to have transactions with the nuns for the purchase of artificial flowers, which they have fabricated from feathers very neatly. The ladies hold converse with the applicant or his interpreter through a double grating, with six or eight inches between the bars of each; the flowers being moved out and the money taken in by a revolving wooden cylinder at one end. Sleighs drawn by bullocks, and sedan chairs carried by men, are the only locomotives of the town. It possesses excellent hotels, as well as libraries and reading-rooms.

About three hundred miles south of Madeira lie the Canary Islands, which belong to Spain, and are thirteen in number. Only seven of them, however, are of importance. Palma, Teneriffe, Grand Canary, Fuerteventura, Lancerota, Gomera, and Ferro, of which Teneriffe is the most important, from the facts of its inhabitants amounting to a population of seventy thousand; of its remarkable peak being supposed to have been the Atlas of the ancient poets, Virgil and Homer; and of the superiority of its wine over that of the other islands. The vale of Orotava, which is at its south-western side, is said to have an average of five degrees warmer temperature than Madeira, and being much drier, is therefore considered a more salubrious residence for invalids.

who have bronchial affections, with expectoration. The peak, called by the inhabitants the peak of Teyde, is 12,176 feet from the level of the sea; and on the mountain side, down to the margin of the ocean, are beds in streamy form of now solid lava, emitted from the crater when the volcano was in action. Captain Alexander states that, there is still a vapour issuing from it, and portions of finely crystallized sulphur deposited on its sides. Its last eruption is recorded to have taken place in 1798; but Baron Von Humboldt states, that "the volcano has not been active at the summit for thousands of years, its eruptions having been from the sides; the depth of the crater being only 120 feet."

The island is said to abound in pitch lakes, and Santa Cruz, its capital, is situated on the north-east side. Viewed from the sea it presents a very curious appearance. To the north of the town lies what seems a group of Lilliputian peaks, ranged as symmetrically as so many colossal loaves of sugar on a giant grocer's counter; whilst to the south are half a dozen windmills, houses with yellow, red, and white fronts, without any semblance of roofs, and with jalousied windows—houses with bird-cage verandas, and the gables of some having circular apertures as if for clocks, or observatories for the nursery inhabitants. Black spires of churches peep up here and there, and the whole town seems crowded

against the largest of the small peaks. Many cypress-trees raise their tapering tops over the summits of the houses, and keep up the churchyard appearance of the place. A black rocky beach, and a dark towering buttress of earth behind, do not hold out much inducement to visit the shore, for vegetation seems to be struggling for life, through the sulphury and basaltic clinkers of which it was composed.

Speeding along and entering the Northern Tropic, each evening brings an increase of the soothing sensations communicated by the balmy atmosphere, with admiration at the many wonders and beauties of the tropical sea. "It is in the tropical seas, towards the heart of the torrid zone," writes Millner,* "that several remarkable phenomena are witnessed in perfection. The phosphorescence of the ocean—the flying fish chased by the dolphin—successive regions of steady breezes and calms, interrupted by sharp and sudden squalls, and enormous deluges of rain, which generally descend in equatorial districts in a perfectly still state of the atmosphere. No spectacle is more imposing and magnificent than the luminous appearance of the sea at night in these latitudes. The path of a vessel seems like a long line of fire, and the water thrown up in her progress, or dashed by the waves upon deck, flashes like

* Gallery of Nature, p. 333.

vivid and lambent flames. Sometimes myriads of luminous stars and spots float and dance upon the surface, assuming the most varied and fantastic aspects. This phosphorescent or shining appearance of the ocean is by no means uncommon, but is most frequent in the equatorial seas, and is usually ascribed to animalculæ which exist there in inconceivable numbers, and to the semi-putrescent matter of plants and fishes developing electricity." A few hundred miles south of the Canaries we have all the beauties of it, without the disagreeables of "sharp and sudden squalls, with deluges of rain," not having yet arrived in the latitude of African tornadoes. Standing on the deck at night, and watching the glowing meteors in the sea, where, to use the words of Baron Von Humboldt, "every scintillation is the vital manifestation of an invisible world," I gaze with admiration at the long path of lambent flame in the ship's trackway—down in the ocean, where the tropical fish are following the vessel's course—and far away to the horizon's boundary, to which the breeze is causing the water to sparkle in vitalized fire, as

> "Soft, brilliant, tender, through the waves they glow,
> And make the moonbeam brighter as they flow."

The calm stillness around, save from the rippling caused by our vessel's progress, turns my thoughts and eyes to the infinite canopy above, where I recognise many new

constellations; and Campbell's beautiful apostrophe to the sea at once springs up in my memory:—

——"Earth has not a plain
So boundless or so beautiful as thine.
The eagle's vision cannot take it in;
The lightning's glance too weak to sweep its space,
Sinks half way o'er it like a wearied bird.
It is the mirror of the stars, where all
Their hosts within the concave firmament,
Gay marching to the music of the spheres,
Can see themselves at once."

CHAPTER II.

APPROACH TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT—SIERRA LEONE AND FREETOWN—FIRST VIEW OF FREETOWN—APPEARANCE OF ITS STREETS AND BUILDINGS—KISSY AND THE ROAD TO FOURABAH—THE MANDINGOES—PHYSICAL ENDURANCE OF THE NEGRO WOMEN—INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY—AMOUNT OF POPULATION—ITS ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT—CESSION FROM THE AFRICAN COMPANY TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN—ITS GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS—ITS NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—THE HARMATTAN, OPINIONS OF DR. DORSON AND PROFESSOR EHRENBERG ABOUT IT—THE KRU COAST—SUPERIORITY OF KRUMEN—THEIR MODE OF APPRENTICESHIP—DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES—PECULIARITY OF NOMENCLATURE—NEWS OF GOVERNOR BEECROFT'S DEATH.

WHEN approaching the African continent, the sensations communicated by the atmosphere are not very agreeable to any one who has voyaged here for the first time. We were obliged to put into Sierra Leone to get our stock of coals renewed. As we approached the colony, the sun was not only intensely hot, but was arid and desiccating in its influence; and the clouds at night assumed a surly and lowering appearance. Towards the land, thunder was heard constantly murmuring and grumbling after the sun had gone down; and we were frequently saluted by tornadoes—a mingled com-

bination of wind, rain, lightning, and thunder. Rude though this clash of elements be at all times, it generally gives due notice of its coming; and during the whole of my Intertropical residence a tornado was always a welcome visiter, as the thermometer falls many degrees after it has passed away—the intense and overpowering heat which precedes it giving way to a more cool and refreshing temperature.

Sierra Leone, according to Mr. Oldfield,* was named by its inhabitants Romarong, and entitled by its first discoverers, the Portuguese, Sirra Leoa, from supposing its mountains to abound in lions; but Harduin, in his notes on Pliny, derives the name from the noise of the surf on the shore. The bay of Sierra Leone was named by early geographers Tagrin or Metomba. It was believed that Pedro de Cintra was the first of the Portuguese who visited it about the year 1480; but they had previously taken possession of part of the Gold Coast, and commenced the erection of the Dutch fort at Elmina, in 1481. With all the grand geographical discoveries of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, it must ever remain a blot upon their nation and their name, that the slave trade was first originated by Alonzo Gonzalves, a Portuguese, in 1434. In 1562 a Captain Hawkins made the first English venture for a cargo of

* *Vide* Sierra Leone Almanac for 1854.

the living commodity, which he trafficked off at Hispaniola for produce of that island.

The colony of Sierra Leone has long possessed the reputation of being the "white man's grave," strengthened by the allegory of its possessing always two governors—one going out living and the other coming home dying. Yet the appearance of the locality, as we approached it, completely banished from my mind all the accounts I had heard of its insalubrity. Our ship made a détour by the lighthouse to the south of the harbour, in order to get up the proper channel, and so we had a full view of its capital, Freetown. From the lofty lighthouse on a low point of land, with a few palm-trees between it and the sea, to the Wesleyan mission-house between Krutown and the shore—to the many men-of-war and merchant vessels in the harbour—to the Fourabah grammar school, which is quite an attractive object northward of the town—to the cathedral, the governor's house, the hospital, the barracks—to the lion mountain overtopping all, and clothed in varying tints of verdure, my gaze was turned alternately with wonder and admiration. An ascent of forty or fifty steps of granite flag from a pier on the beach, soon brings us to the level surface of the town, the cathedral on the right hand further over than the commissariat office, which is hard by. The streets of Freetown are laid out

with mathematical precision; a carriage way being in the centre; and a greensward of Bahama grass* between this and the side path, over which the walk is delightfully cool and agreeable. A road northward leads out to Fourabah grammar-school (which is about two miles distant from the pier), passing through Kissy town, by the Hon. Chief-Justice Carr's residence, and past the race-course, which is opposite the grammar-school. Kissy, on the outskirts of Freetown, is in a perpetual bustle of negro venders and purchasers at the many shops with which it abounds. The road along here is a perfect *rus in urbe*, consisting of houses, instead of being placed in juxtaposition, having gardens intervening, teeming with limes, oranges, guavas, sweet-sop, mangoes, pine-apples, and every intertropical fruit. The Fourabah grammar-school is a Church-missionary-society institution, whose principal, Rev. Mr. Jones, has made an Elysian garden of the place, by cultivating vines, and intermingling British fruits and flora with those of the tropics.

The Aku Mahommedans have a mosque near Judge Carr's house; but in its architecture it is undistinguishable from the thatched houses in the suburbs. Races are held here every Christmas for two or three days; and the horses are ridden by amateur jockeys.

* The health of the town is reported to have materially improved since the sowing of this grass in its streets.

To the south side of the cathedral, this the larger part of Freetown contains the market-place, the custom-house, and the post-office. In the market, as well as in other parts of the town, I saw many nobly formed men of the Mandingo race, who are Mahommedans, and distinguished from other negroes by the sweeping tobes they wear, many of them too having a white or red cap. A piece of leather, in which is sewed up a written passage from the Koran, is usually suspended round their necks to preserve them from evil influence. This practice obtains along the coast in Pagan as well as Mahommedan countries; the only difference being that the former wear tigers' tusks and poison-nuts as their guardian fetishes, whereas the latter place faith in extracts from the Koran. Bridles beautifully ornamented; riding whips; carved calabashes; baskets; bows and arrows; cartouche boxes; telescope cases; all manufactured by themselves in excellent style, are sold in the market by the Mandingoes. Every European merchant residing in Sierra Leone is obliged to have a Mandingo interpreter, to enable him to carry on the traffic with the people of the interior countries for gold, which is brought to the town in solid rings of various sizes. From the post-office a street leads up to a road passing by the governor's house; thence towards the right by the hospital to the barracks,

containing two or three hundred native soldiers, commanded by European officers.

The cries of the women in the town at early morning parading the streets and selling foo-foo (or mashed yams), Mandingo bread, Agiddy, Khola nuts, and peppers, brought me back in fancy to the bye-streets of Liverpool or London. It gave me a better idea than what I had been accustomed to entertain of the capacity for physical endurance of the negro women, when I learned that they often bring a basket with these articles on their heads, with a child on the back, the whole weighing upwards of 100 pounds, from Hastings, a distance of fourteen miles from Freetown, arriving in the market at six in the morning, and returning the same journey at night.

This colony extends twenty-six miles from east to west, and thirty-four from north to south. Its chief inhabitants, independent of Europeans, are of the Aku, Mandingo, Timney, Soosoo, Yoruba, and Kru tribes, all participating in the privileges of its government. It is situated in the country of the Timneys, who worship flint and thunder as the original elements which rule the world. When they take an oath, the affirmation is sealed by their striking a flint and steel over their heads. They worship the bug-a-bug* insect also, and build hives over them in the rainy season. Freetown, the

* The *Termes fatale* of Cuvier.

capital, has nearly thirty thousand inhabitants, and covers an area of about six miles. It is built on the hillside, in a bight of the sea, forming the harbour of Sierra Leone, into which its river falls, after being formed by the junction of the Waterloo, Rokelle, and Port Loco streams, about nine miles above the town. The colony has a population of about 56,000 negroes, and 120 Europeans.

The distance from St. George's Bay on the west, to Gambia Island on the east, twenty-six miles, with between twenty and thirty miles inland, was marked out as the settlement, in August, 1787. A treaty for the cession of this land was at that time made with king Faranah of Queah; and the first colonisers were about 400 negroes, who were discharged from the army and navy after the American war, and who were accompanied by about sixty white men. For many years afterwards, constant wars with the surrounding tribes kept the colony in perpetual disturbance; and even in 1809, the new treaties which were made with the kings and chiefs of their respective districts, threw no oil on the troubled waters. Up to this period the government had been in the hands of the African Company, when it was ceded by them to the crown. It was not, however, constituted an accredited and established British colony until 1822. Three years before this time, new covenants

had been entered into with the surrounding chiefs, which contained all the elements conducive to the civilisation of the colony; namely, a complete suppression of the slave trade, or of the exportation of slaves to foreign countries; an unrestricted right of passage through their dominions to all British subjects; a free and full permission for the native traders to bring to market the natural produce of the country; and not only a tolerance but a protection to Christian missionaries. As a consideration for the yearly revenue lost to the kings and chieftains by the abolition of the slave trade, and on their faithfully adhering to this treaty, our government guaranteed to pay them a yearly stipend. The administrative power of Sierra Leone consists of a captain-general and governor in chief, who is also vice-admiral of the British waters in the Gulf of Guinea, and who is assisted by a legislative council of three, the chief justice, the queen's advocate, and the colonial secretary, with five others as specified in the charter of 1822. The Council vote supplies, and make colonial laws, with the governor's suggestions, but the executive power is entirely centred in him.

The colony is rich in the production of teak-wood; palm oil, coffee, gum copal, red pepper, arrow-root, and ginger, form important articles of cultivation. Ivory and gold are also brought to it from the interior. As

the teak-wood is too heavy to float, and as the age of locomotives has not yet come to Western Africa, this is brought down the rivers on floats of cork-wood towed by canoes. There were five hundred tons of ginger produced from the colony in 1851; and in 1852, from eight to nine thousand pounds of cotton have been sent to England by the African Improvement Society. On the other hand, the amount of imports in 1852 was £120,000. I have been informed by a gentleman in Freetown, that, if the customs duties were not so oppressive, this amount would be much increased. But a very unjust regulation exists on this point. Until recently, the merchants of the colony could not put imported goods into bond; and even now there is no drawback upon duty-paid merchandise re-exported to other parts of the coast, which, if again returned to Sierra Leone, are regarded by the Customs authorities as a new importation, and subjected to new fees.

For many years, Mr. Oldfield, a merchant of the colony, has carried on an extensive manufacture of ground-nut oil in Freetown; and this establishment constitutes the only manufacturing power in the place. It is prepared by a screw-press, and owns the double advantage of affording employment to a large number of people throughout the year, and of affording the inhabitants on this part of the coast a very superior burning

oil. It also supplies the steamers of the African squadron a pure oil, free from smell, for their machinery.

The Harmattan is one of the most remarkable features of Sierra Leone to an European, if he should happen to be there during its occurrence. Of its physical effects, of its extreme dryness, of no dew falling during its continuance, of its destroying vegetable life, and of its being conducive to human convalescence after disease, accounts have been given by Dr. Dobson* and Mr. Millner.† My first visit to the colony was made in the centre of the Harmattan season, and its peculiarities were disagreeably sensible on shore—a thick vapour like a London November fog, a mingled odour of lime and sulphur, with a sensation of barely palpable particles of sand deposited on my face, accompanied by no breeze, and imparting quite a depressing and dried up feeling to the whole system. At times during the season, the sand deposited can be gathered from the table or the floor with a spoon. Scientific authorities are not agreed as to the region whence this sand comes. Some say it is the dust blown over from the Sahara, and is identical in its nature with L'Este of Madeira, and the sirocco of the Mediterranean. This, however, has been doubted, from the fact of a quantity of dust

* *Vide* Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LXXI.

† Gallery of Nature, p. 448.

falling in the latter being collected on board the ship "Revenge," at Malta, and submitted to microscopical examination. It was found to be of a brown colour (while the Sahara dust is dazzling white sand); and to contain in its composition a species of *infusoria* belonging to Chili. Something similar has been gathered by Mr. Darwin when on board the "Beagle" at St Jago, one of the Cape Verde islands. This, when scrutinized by the microscope of the celebrated Ehrenberg at Berlin, was proved to contain numerous specimens of flint-shelled animalcules, or infusoria, known to naturalists as polygastrica, and minute portions of terrestrial plants. Such facts go very much against the probability of this dust being wafted from the Sahara.

Having sent home our European sailors from this, and replaced them with negroes, we proceeded onward towards the Kru coast, in order to get some Krumen, without whose assistance men of war and merchant vessels up African rivers would find it impossible to carry on their shore operations. Between Sierra Leone and our next place of calling, is the Negro republic of Liberia, established by the American Colonization Society in 1816, for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the liberated slaves of returning to the altar fireside of their fathers. Its capital is Monrovia, and the river which flows by it is called the Mesurado.

Unfortunately this river is so shallow that a vessel of very small tonnage can scarcely cross its bar; hence it appears a very ill-chosen spot for what the Yankees would call a successful trading "location." Mrs. Stowe has made it the Eden to which one of her heroes, in Uncle Tom's Cabin, retired to spend the evening of his days, and this has made it poetical in America. But it is a republic in which I have very little faith, for reasons I shall mention at some future time.

The chief settlements of the Krumen are Grand Sestros and Cape Palmas, to which King William Town, Garraway, Fishtown, Rocktown, and Cavally are subordinate. From the three last-named places we hired forty-nine Krumen; sixteen of whom we handed over for employment to a gentleman in Clarence, and brought the remainder up the Niger. Were they specially chosen for the work they could not have acted better, or worked harder than they did during our voyage; and, being Cape Palmas men, I mention this to testify to their good conduct.

As soon as a vessel is visible on this part of the coast tending shorewards, numbers of Krumen come off in their little canoes, at first appearing in the distance like black spots on the water; but as they approach the ship, becoming recognised as three or four black men in each canoe, sitting on the calves of their legs, which are bent

under them, and paddling as if for their very lives, in order to be early for competition in the engagement of their services. Each man is furnished with a character either for himself or his apprentices, which he calls "a book"—a generic term given to all writings by the Africans—to which he adds as much self-laudation and wheedling as he can. Writing only of their physical qualifications, I believe them to be the bone and sinew of the negro race in Western Africa—the only members of the Ethiopian family who will bear any amount of hard work without complaining. By their system of apprenticeship, a number of young men will attach themselves for a certain period to a headman, called so from his being considered the representative head of the young men. This headman has made a few voyages to leeward to the oil rivers before he can obtain a name, and be allowed to build a house, or to trade; and it is a duty of this headman to ship the boys off for the rivers, which he can more effectually do from his knowledge of the trading masters, and from his facility in talking the extraordinary jabber of Anglo-African language in which their conversation is carried on. For this service the headman is entitled to the one month's advance of wages, always paid by the supercargo of the ship at the time of engagement, and to a portion of the boy's wages on his return. When the

boy has made two or three voyages, and can speak English with the fluency of other headmen, he becomes a headman himself, buys wives amongst the females of other nations around him, whom he obliges to work for him in his declining years; and a Kruman is considered a very independent gentleman, when he can cease from hiring himself out, and has twenty or thirty wives at his command.

One beautiful trait in the character of the Kru people is recorded by M'Queen—"They never enslave one another." They have the same silly superstitions, a belief in jujus and fetishes, as all the negro races who are uncivilized and unchristianized; but nothing of the bloodthirsty practices that are engrafted in the idolatry of those found in the Bight of Biaffra. Their language is principally a combination of vowels, and, from the peculiar nasal pronunciation, can rarely be acquired by an Englishman. Various tribes of them speak varying dialects; and Captain Adams has justly remarked, that the Tower of Babel might have been built on the western shores of Africa, as a different language is spoken at every ten or twelve miles, though these languages are generally understood by one another, as well as by the natives along the coast.

The patronymics which are bestowed upon them by

European supercargoes are amusing enough to be enumerated. "Lilywhite," "Snowball," "Pannican," "Frying-pan," "Bottle of Beer," "Pea-soup," and "Biscuit," are names frequently conferred. And this is necessary, though not to such an amount of absurdity, as their native nomenclature of Paphruo, Blaino, Barrakuo, Maio, would tax any one's memory where there are twenty or thirty of them on board a ship. A supercargo had four Kru boys to row his boat, one of whom was entitled "Nix," another "My dolly," the third "Pals," and the last "Fake away," so that "Nix, my dolly, pals, fake away—man the boat!" was immediately responded to by the four boys getting over the ship's side in an instant. They are also often dubbed after the days of the week; but Friday is the most common of these amongst them.

As we were approaching Cape Three Points on the 22nd of June, a screw steamer hove in sight, which we ascertained to be the Bacchante mail, bound homewards; and she conveyed to us the sad intelligence of the death of Governor Beecroft of Fernando Po, who was appointed by the Admiralty to be the guiding head of our expedition, and to accompany the "Pleiad" on her exploration. Dr. Baikie, being the senior Admiralty officer took Governor Beecroft's place, and with his

secretary, Mr. Dalton, Mr. May, second master of her Majesty's ship Crane, and Rev. Mr. Crowther, was at Clarence waiting for us, when we arrived there at 8 p.m. on the evening of the 29th of June.

CHAPTER III.

LEAVING CLARENCE—CROSSING THE BAR OF THE NUN—ALBURKAH AND SUNDAY ISLANDS—THE COUNTRY THENCE TO ABOH—VISIT TO THE TOWN, AND CONFERENCE WITH MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY—THE PRINCESS SNUFF-CHEWER—FROM ABOH TO IDDAH—CAUSE OF WAR PALAVER AT THE LATTER PLACE—ABUKKO'S BROTHER—OUR INTERVIEW WITH THE ATTAH OF EGARRAH—LEGEND ABOUT THE FIRST ATTAH—THE KIRREE MARKET AND THE KAKUNDA MOUNTAINS—MOUNTS PATTEH AND STIRLING—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE KWARRA AND TSHADDA—THE TOWN OF IGBEGBE AND ITS NATIVE CHESTERFIELD—THE DYE-WORKS OF THE TOWN, AND A SCENE IN THE MARKET-PLACE—RUMOURS OF FILATAH MARAUDINGS.

Our crew, when leaving Fernando Po for the Niger, consisted of three Admiralty gentlemen and Rev. Mr. Crowther; nine European officers sent out by Mr. Laird; twenty-one Africans as sailors, firemen, and interpreters, with thirty-three Krumen—making an aggregate of sixty-six in our little ship. The "Pleiad" had two large iron canoes in tow, each full of coal, and having a pair of two-pound swivels in their bows. Cumbersome as these canoes were, and much as they retarded the ship's progress across the Bight, as well as against the river's current, they were found very useful for stowing

wood in; and they served as hospitals for our sick Krumen. Indeed, without them we should have been very much hampered, owing to the large number of persons we had on board a ship of the "Pleiad's" small tonnage.

We steamed from Clarence on the evening of the 8th of July, and at 2 p.m. on the 12th entered the mouth of the Nun, one of our canoes breaking adrift in the angry surf that rolled over the bar. This had occurred twice before on our passage; and these canoes were the cause of our last four days' protracted voyage. The sea being very rough, they went scudding with their noses pointed from the ship, till, being checked with the tow-ropes, they came round with a surly thud against her sides, like two naughty boys rebelling against their mother. Below Alburkah island, and midway between Barracoon Point and Point Trotter, the "Pleiad" lay at anchor from the evening of her crossing the bar till the morning of the 15th, in consequence of some repairs required for the safety valve of our engine. Having started early we got up through Louis' Creek, and were just congratulating ourselves on getting safely out of it, when the ship struck with a bump on the ground at this side of Sunday island, where she remained for a day and a half, despite of exertions with a warp fastened to a tree, and rove to the capstan; with a kedge; and by the removal of our cowrie casks from

one side of the deck to the other. On Monday morning, the 17th, we were away at seven o'clock. From this to Aboh, there is little variety to be noticed on the banks of the river. No elevation of ground—thickets of palm-trees, guinea-grass, and bombax—odd plantations of yams and India corn—some houses so low in their roofs that a man of ordinary stature could not enter them upright—others perched aloft on scaffolding—no doubt to preserve their inhabitants from being submerged when the water rises. So serpentine is the stream here, that for miles up there has been no reach in the river more than five or six hundred yards before and behind the ship. By King Barrow's town—past the Angiammah villages, the towns of Sabrogego, Hippotiamo, Agbari, Kalibal, Oluba, and other places with equally ridiculous names, all of which had the same appearance,—a number of dirty huts stretching along the river's side, backed by dense brushwood, and fronted by half a dozen canoes in the river, the visible population consisting of women who fled in terror (at the sound of the engine's whistle), in company with the dogs and goats that were about. No mangrove grows above Sunday island; and, as we ascended, we passed many creeks leading off in the Bonny and Benin directions—the stream getting gradually wider. At some of these places we got dashes of fowls and goats, for which more than an equivalent was always

expected. Owing to our having grounded again near Truro Island, we did not reach Aboh until 5 p.m. on the evening of the 21st. Between Truro island and Aboh, the Rio des Forcados opens out of the Niger into the Warree country, and passes, one branch of it to Benin and another to the sea; whilst higher up are two villages, Eppatanih on the left bank, and Eggaboo or Utok on the right.

Soon after the "Pleiad" had been anchored here, a man named Ali Hare* Lander, who had been at Fernando Po with Richard Lander, up at Lever with Governor Beecroft, and who could speak English very well, came off to the ship. He informed us that King Obi was dead, that his eldest son Tshukuma—who is the Okuribo of Aboh (a title synonymous with our Prince of Wales), was not considered by the people competent to hold the sovereignty, and that Aja, Obi's second son, was the monarch regnant. Aja was not at home, having gone up to Iddah on some palaver, from which he was not expected to return for seven days.

Next morning we paid a visit to the city, bringing the gig and pinnace, each manned by six Krumen in scarlet caps and jackets, and having a union jack at

* Mr. Oldfield tells me the title of Hare was given to Ali in consequence of his agility. Even now he is a remarkably nimble fellow; shrewd, and intelligent.

the stern. Through a creek so narrow, with a high crop of guinea-grass at either side, that our Krumen had to lay aside their paddles, and tug at the grass to propel the boats along—we got into a wider sheet of water, opposite the town. Down to the beach, whither there are passages or ruts of roads from the houses, crowds of the inhabitants came, the women clapping their hands, and the children screaming with delight at the novelty of the sight. Another dense morass of guinea-grass was forced through, before we got at the king's landing-place. In Aja's absence, we were conducted to Okuribo's hut, a miserable place, with a court-yard only about a dozen feet in diameter, and which, in a few minutes after our entrance, was crammed to suffocation by the negro rabble that followed us. At one side of the yard was a veranda, beneath which was suspended a piece of white drapery against the wall, with a dish of indescribables on the ground as a protecting juju. In a few minutes his royal highness came in and presented himself—a man of very expressionless countenance, clothed in trousers of flowered gauze; a waistcoat of white serge with brass buttons; a red worsted cap; a brass chain wound round his ankles; and a string of coral beads for a necklace. Ojaibo, the head of ten wives, accompanied him; and with her came Adem, a daughter of the late King Obi. Ojaibo wore enormous anklets of ivory, each

weighing at least six pounds, and for which I was told the value of three slaves had been given to purchase. From time to time she used to put fearful gobs of snuff into her mouth, between the lower lip and the teeth, with a very apparent gusto to herself, but with a sensation to me that made me thankful kissing was not one of the ceremonials of the country.

In the course of our conversation, Adem asked why white men sent ships to and built houses at Calabar and Bonny, and would not do the like at Aboh? Rev. Mr. Crowther answered her very appropriately by saying, that the kings of Bonny and Calabar had given up the slave trade to turn their attention to palm-oil trade, and that when Aboh men would do the same, white men would come to the country.

From Okuribo's we went to see the royal residence, where the king's head wife Honé received us. Aja's mud palace contains a number of bare, confined courts, and the entrances to them are so low that a man of ordinary stature is almost obliged to go on his knees to get in or out.

I could have no idea of the size of Aboh, or the amount of its population; for such enormous trees are growing all through it, that it is impossible to see more than half a dozen houses at a time. At the period of Mr. Laird's visit, he calculated the town on a rough

estimate to contain from eight hundred to a thousand houses, and allowed six inhabitants to each house, two-thirds of whom may be considered as under fourteen years of age. There was no sign of old age amongst any of the inhabitants we saw here, and no prototype of Mr. Laird's female "fat friend," whom he describes "as not less than twenty-five stone weight, and who could not be got into the Kwarra steamer, because the fore-yard was not strong enough to hoist her in." The few women that came on board were capital huxters and bargainers for the fowls, eggs, calabashes, small pieces of camwood, strips of native cloth, and fashions of brass rings, preposterous enough in shape to be manufactured by human chimpanzees, which they had for sale. The brutal practice of burying twins alive exists here; and all children who cut the upper teeth first are sacrificed also.

I think the country about Aboh, and not the town itself, is a very great help to the palm-oil trading of Brass and Benin. There is no direct trading communication between these places, for the traffic is carried on at intermediate markets; and I have no doubt that a trading station at Aboh would command the produce of the surrounding country, for nearly one half the price which the oil brings in Benin and Brass markets. With Bonny, communication has ceased in consequence of war between the Eboe nations interior to it. Aboh is

130 miles from the sea, and in lat. 5° 39′ N.; long. 6° 19′ 42″ E. Current off Aboh Creek, 3½ knots.

We left Aboh on the morning of the 24th, taking Ali Hare Lander with us as a general attendant and interpreter; and his services subsequently proved to us invaluable. From this to Iddah we did not go ashore on our ascent; and, as I wish to present my narrative in the order in which it is written in my note-book, I must defer accounts of Assabaa and Adamuggoo until our return. These, with the Akkra Ogiddy country, and the Akkra Attani islands, the towns of Ossamaree, Utch, Oko, Ara, Onitsha, and Ommodemo, were the chief localities passed. Five islands (on one of which is Lander's Lake, Bullock island, Long island, Walker island, and Lander's island) intervene between Aboh and Iddah. There is no such island in the river as that described in Lieut. Allen's chart as Brockeden island.

At this side of Assabaa there were some very curious fishing establishments, which displayed great ingenuity in their architecture. Four posts of about eight feet high are fixed in the bank—ten or twelve feet above the water's surface. These are overtopped by a small caboose, roofed with bamboo matting, and closed in at three sides with the same material. From the side which shews to the river, and which is left open, a long rope or cord extends, fastened at the other end to

a wicker-work creel, about eight feet by four, which is allowed to sink into the water as a trap, and from which the fish are taken by its being elevated above the water as soon as they get in. This creel is also fastened laterally to stems of trees by ropes of the same material, which prevent the water carrying it away.

At Onitsha, on the left side of the river, the Aboh territory terminates, and the Egarrah country commences, extending up the Tshadda to Abasha, a distance of at least one hundred miles. On the opposite side Assabaa terminates the Aboh kingdom, which stretches from the Benin Creek, coming out of the Waree country, to this place, a distance of about sixty miles. The Aboh dominion cannot exist very far inland; as the king of Benin claims sway from his town to within forty or fifty miles of the confluence. The Egarrah country on this side commences at Assabaa, and extends to Buddu, up the Niger, where the Nufi country begins; but the distance I am unacquainted with. Though I mention Abasha as being the limit of the Egarrah kingdom on the Iddah side, yet I believe the Apotto people, over whom the Attah holds sway, are spread many miles farther up.

Near Adamuggoo we saw many hippopotami swimming about, and several small brown monkeys with very long tails disporting in the trees. The banks of

the river here appear like upright clay walls, bare of vegetation, and rising about ten feet from the water. As we advance, the clay seems stained with a brown ferruginous colour, indicating our approach to a rocky country. The white blossoms on many of the trees, and the cawing of crows aloft, brought to my mind recollections of the hawthorn and rookeries of England.

The appearance of the lofty cliffs and high land at Iddah, with the summits of some of the Kakunda mountains peering up behind, pleased every one on board. Roofs of houses, like colossal beehives, were visible to us through the foliage of trees on the hill-top; and, after our ship had been anchored below the town, we landed on the beach at Iddah, in the same state and order as we did at Aboh. There were only about forty or fifty people at the landing-place, to the south side of the cliffs, whose base is of rock, evidently the result of volcanic action. The road through the town was of the same formation—a granitic sand, mingled here and there with small rocks. The walls of the houses are built of a like material, nearly all circular with conical roofs. By a man who met us as we came out of the boats we were conducted to the house of Ehemodino, brother of the late Abukko, who was the Attah's prime minister, and head adviser in all affairs. The town of Iddah must be of immense extent. Along pathways, some of which were

bordered by guinea-grass upwards of twelve feet in height—through market-places, where the venders and purchasers gazed at us in amazement—by clumps of houses, overshadowed by enormous specimens of the baobab tree*—and past dyeing works, from which women were issuing with calabashes on their heads, containing blue cloths rolled up spirally, as they usually appear after the process of ringing, about a mile's walking brought us to Ehemodino's house. His main court-yard consisted of eight circular houses, erected apart; and the entrance to the chief residence, which was of the usual shape of houses at home, was fitted up with a veranda, the front of which was ornamented by a number of pilasters, fashioned of clay and bamboo, resembling the turned legs of a mahogany table or piano. The doors were constructed of sliced bamboo stems, fastened together by twine, the roofs covered with leaves of the same material, and, as usual in African houses, no windows nor chimneys. We found him sitting on his hunkers in the door of an unfinished house. Standing up to salute us, he seemed a tall, intelligent-looking man, with grey whiskers, rings of brass and silver on the thumb and fingers of his left hand—blue and coral beads in circlets round his neck—a pair of Houssa sandals—a robe of native cloth—and a quantity of gri-

* The monkey bread-fruit tree, or *Adansonia digitata*.

gris,* sewed up in leather, suspended from his waist. He received us most courteously, had mats spread for us to be seated on, and ordered one of his attendants to bring us in palm-wine† and Goora nuts. On our interpreter, Ali Hare, explaining to him our congratulations at seeing him—our sorrow at the news of his brother's death—and our desire to have a conference with the Attah,‡ he informed us, in reply to the last, that we should get permission from Abukko's people to visit the Attah; and as they, in consequence of some war palaver then pending, were encamped at English island, opposite Iddah, it would be necessary for us to proceed thither, and get some of them to convey our request to the Attah.

Although we suspected that this was a piece of humbugging formality, such as we have always heard of enshrouding the Attah, still we thought it better to comply with it; and meanwhile, during Ehemodino's preparation to accompany us to the beach, the war palaver was explained to us in this wise. Some time ago, a party whose headman is named Addabidoko, and whose location is at a place called Imbokim, near Adamuggoo, attacked Abukko's people at the Assabaa or

* Gri-gris consist of passages written from the Koran, and sewed up in leather. They are used as protection against evil influence.

† This is called Tombo in Bonny, and Mimbo, or Minnifik, in Old Calabar.

‡ "Attah," in the Egarrah language, means "father," and is considered a higher title than "Saraki," the Houssa word for "King."

Ebum-Egarrah market, and killed some of them. In revenge for this, a party of the Abbukians captured the wife of a headman belonging to the Imbokim people; and, being afraid to kill her, kept her in *durance vile* at Iddah, where she now remains. It was about this business that King Aja came up here from Aboh; as the Addabidokians are of his territory. The Attah, however, refused to see him, and since his visit the first assailants have taken away five canoes from Iddah, in an attack made at night. Hence the necessity for the encampment at English island, commanding the main stream; and hence also a nightly watch is kept at Iddah beach, which was about to repel Ali Hare and another of our interpreters when landing there last night.

Ehemodino made no delicacy about retiring to a dressing-chamber to assume his riding equipage: an additional gri-gri round his neck, a Houssa trousers like a petticoat, only tight at the ankles; a blue tobe of poncho-shape over the whole; a greasy cap, with a blue tassel at top; and a pair of buskins such as might have been worn by one of O. Smith's ancestors, playing the character of a brigand in the middle ages. To these were added a fan for himself, and a brush to keep the flies from the horse. My ideas, generated by a piece of poetry about "a steed, a rushing steed, and a blazing scimitar," of an Arab charger pawing the ground,

and champing his bit in impatience to run away (for I had seen no horse here before), were completely staggered, when I proceeded outside the gate, and saw the miserable skeleton of a grey Rosinante saddled for the service. Grey or white horses are not to be used by the commonalty at Iddah. The foundation of the saddle was no doubt of leather; but it was covered outside with ornamental cloth-work; had two buttresses on the seat, one before and the other behind, so as to render it impossible for a rider to be spilled; and was supplied with two brass stirrups of Moorish manufacture, convex on the upper surface, and concave below, extending the whole length of the foot. The people prostrated themselves on their knees before Ehemodino as he rode through the streets, and threw up sand on their foreheads. He sent an interpreter with us to the encampment on English island, where the object of our visit was explained to Oking, eldest son of the late Abukko; and he very promptly despatched a messenger to conduct us to the palace of the Attah. On relanding at Iddah, we were met by a band of three drummers and a fifer, who accompanied us through the town as far back as Ehemodino's house. Their performance really surprised and delighted me. Drums made in the pattern of an hour-glass, contracted in the centre, and having bracing cords their whole length, were beaten on

by a stick approaching in shape to a hook, and with a precision of time that Jullien could not object to. We had thence a walk of two miles before getting to the Attah's residence, having to call on his chief "gentleman at large" before venturing within the royal precincts.

There is no difference between the houses of the inhabitants of the town, and the bundle of buildings constituting the palace, save that here, there are a few lofty towers whose use we could not learn, and that the entrance is by a series of low doors, winding one after another in a perfect labyrinth. We were requested to be seated for some time in a small court-yard adjacent to one of the towers, where Goora nuts and Tombo were handed about, and where for more than three mortal hours we were kept waiting his majesty's convenience to see us. Conducted at length to his private apartments, through a passage, on the door of which were carved representations of snakes and daggers, with the figure of an apocryphal quadruped in the centre having quite a frenzied tail, we found the Attah seated in state on a sofa, under a veranda, with two flowered velvet pillows on either side of him, and half a dozen men energetically fanning him. Before I could distinguish his dress, the fanners jumped up before him, and, with a fearful howl, held up their tobes in front of his face, so as to intercept him from our view. After a few seconds they retired,

and his hand was extended to each of us in turn, muffled in the tobe of scarlet-coloured velvet which he wore. Each shake was given with a heartiness indicative of good-will, and was accompanied by an ejaculation of "Tshua!" thrice repeated by all his attendants present, and followed by a cheer. He wore a helmet garnished with white beads and fringed with ostrich feathers, terminated on the sides by two ivory platters that covered his ears, having a number of crucial and circular apertures in them, and in front by gri-gris sewed up in leather, which nearly covered his face. Several pounds of coral and white beads were suspended round his neck; in his lap was placed one of those brassy visages such as are seen nailed up over the offices of Insurance Companies at home; and a pair of purple buskins resting on a velvet footstool, with the scarlet velvet tobe, completed his attire. He is the same man who was Attah at the time of the government expedition under Captain Trotter; and his name is Ochejih. The usual greetings and salutations being offered to him, the triple object of our expedition was explained; the Government part of it, to go in search of Dr. Barth, and ascertain if the Tshadda and Binue were the same stream; Mr. Laird's portion, in the trading department; and Rev. Mr. Crowther's, to inquire if missionary settlements could be made up the river. He expressed himself very much

pleased with all three, and is very anxious to have a trading establishment settled at Iddah. Ali Hare explained our objects to the king's interpreter, in the Aboh language, which were again translated to him in Egarrah. Whilst his replies were being conveyed to us, the fans were held up before his face, and at the end of each there was a cheer from those around him. He expressed a wish for us to remain a few days; but the reasons for our departure, when explained, satisfied him. For her Majesty's dash* presented by Dr. Baikie, he returned his thanks: and for Mr. Laird's by me, he sent us next morning an elephant's tusk forty pounds in weight.

The town of Iddah reaches over a circumference of several miles; but of its population I could not form the remotest speculation. Many healthy-looking old men and women whom I met, shewed me that it must be a salubrious place; did not its position, and the cool breeze blowing over the cliffs, already convince me of the fact. There is a mode of arrangement in the houses which must conduce to their healthfulness. They are not huddled together in one continuous and uninterrupted mass, but are placed in groups of twenty to thirty—corn-fields and yam plantations, with baobab and bombax trees, intervening. The inhabitants originally came from a large celebrated town named Adoh—in the direction of Benin or Yoruba—celebrated for being the

* "Dash" is the Anglo-African expression for a present or gift.

supposed residence of the gods. Egarrah was the name of the king who was regnant over the Apotto people (the aborigines of this country) before their subjugation to the first Attah. The latter was an elephant-hunter; and used to give portions of the animals killed as a tribute to Egarrah, for permission to reside in the district. But impelled perhaps by ambition, or urged by some imaginary insult, and strengthened by the accession of more of the natives of Adoh, he attacked the Apotto people under Egarrah, drove them into a country higher up the river, and constituted himself the Attah or "father" of Egarrah. From him twenty Attahs have descended; and the present king has been monarch regnant for twenty years. So the legend runs at Iddah.

Next day, we had a visit on board the ship from two of the princesses, Okoo and Ofong—who are very modest and retiring ladies, and still in the rank of "single blessedness." As soon as they had gone, our ship was off, and the view of Iddah, as seen from the upper end of English island, with its forest of conical roofs stretching along the whole extent of cliff, and then making a circular turn at the other side of a deep ravine, was a very pleasing sight from our deck. These cliffs are about a hundred feet above the level of the water, and are so perpendicular that a few cannon planted on

them would make the place impregnable. The Kakunda mountains are becoming more distinct as we ascend —larger patches of land in process of cultivation are visible—the towns of Agbadanmo, Oko-adogbo, and Attakoliko are passed—Mount Purdy is on our right hand as we ascend—and we find ourselves abreast of the former site of Kirree market, memorable as being the place where the brothers Lander lost their pocket compass, the only geographical appurtenance they had with them, and whose absence obliged them to trust to the sun for their guidance afterwards! With this was also lost a considerable part of their journals in an attack made upon them by the frequenters of the market. Bird Rock is before us, and, viewed from the distance of about a mile and a half, it looks like a statuary group of wild animals in a conglomeration of wrestling. Mount Jervis, Mount Erskine, Mount Soracte, Mount Deacon, and Mount St. Michael—all presenting a variety of picturesque beauty, and seeming as if they were the abodes of Zephyrs, that breathed an atmosphere of superior purity and freshness around us—were successively passed. Then the towns of Oroko and Banapa, with Mount Franklin. High up on a hill, interior and to the south of Mount St. Michael, is a mass of rocky pilasters, looking at first sight, save that it was of a more sombre colour, like the church of Nossa

Senhora del Monte at Madeira, or like a segment of the Giant's Causeway. At the top of Mount Soracte, is another mass of rock having the appearance of an ancient ruin. The villages on the left bank of the river —the only side inhabited—are formed of houses in the Iddah style of architecture, arranged in circular groups. Nearly opposite Beaufort island, and the hills called Little Terrys, below Banapa, is a large town, erected, Rev. Mr. Crowther says, since his visit here in the government expedition of 1841, and possibly composed of the Kakunda people, with some refugees from Odokodo,* driven from their native town by the Filatahs. Not a vestige of the town of Odokodo is to be seen Mount Patteh and Mount Stirling are looming into view—the former, according to Governor Beecroft, "twelve hundred feet above the river, and a mile to half a mile in width, with three to four miles in length over the tableland on top of it." The confluence of the Tshadda and Kwarra is here before us, and at five p.m., on the 4th of August, anchor was dropped opposite Sacrifice Rock, and a little below Duck island.

A younger son of the late Abukko of Iddah is chief over Banapa, and an elder son is king of Igbegbe—the

* Derived from the Yoruba words "Odo" water, "Ku" meets "Odo" —literally the "meeting of the waters" as the confluence first comes into view from the site of this town.

principal town at the confluence, and where the market formerly held at Kirree is now carried on. Before going ashore this morning, I went, in company with Rev. Mr. Crowther, our two Admiralty gentlemen, Dr. Baikie and Mr. May, to attempt an ascent of Mount Patteh. We landed at two different places between the site of the model-farm and the river, but found the brushwood so impenetrable, and no pathway visible, that we were obliged to retrace our steps to the boat. No traces of cultivation or human habitation are perceptible on the ground where the model-farm once stood. Having ordered our Kruboys to pull a little higher up the main stream of the Kwarra, smoke was observed coming from the back of a peak about three hundred feet above the river's surface, and in a few moments the tops of some houses. We soon spied out a narrow pathway, at the end of which a canoe was lying, and, following this, we scrambled up the road to the little village, from which, when turning round, a view burst upon us that it is in vain for me to attempt describing as I felt its beauty. Far away behind Igbegbe stretches an immense extent of inhabited country, bounded below by the uppermost of the Kong mountains, and above by a range that extends up the Tshadda to nearly opposite Dagbo—the meeting of the waters is beneath our feet —many little islands dotted about—Mounts Patteh and

Stirling behind us—those of Franklin, Soracte, and St. Michael's down the river—the Adelaide range between the Kwarra and Tshadda—and the magnificent stream rolling down in such tranquil solemn grandeur, that I could gaze upon the whole scene for hours. The atmosphere was delightfully cool, and though the little village contained only about a dozen houses, there was a small brewery in one of them, a pit of about three feet in circumference for dyeing cloths, and many rolls of indigo about the size of cricket balls, in a calabash outside the door of one house.

On our return to the ship at ten o'clock, we found his majesty Amęe Abukko on board. We had been apprised of his presence there by the firing of a gun, and hoisting the Union Jack an hour before. His garments, cap, trousers, and tobe were all composed of velvet of different colours; and a few gri-gris hung round his neck, with a half black, half grey whisker, of about four inches long, pendant from his chin, were the only remarkable things about him. His band consisted of a solitary drummer, with a single hook-shaped drumstick such as we saw at Iddah. All his attendants were dressed in the same style as himself as regarded the whiskers, but with a considerable velvety difference. Two of his daughters were on board, who bartered about fowls and yams they had to sell with all the

acuteness of the sharpest Billingsgate huxters. Yet their head-dresses were put on in a style that was creditable to the *haut ton* of Igbegbe—a blue cloth wound in graceful folds, and in the shape of a cone to several inches above the crown of the head, from which the ends of it were gracefully pendant over the shoulders.

Soon after landing at the beach to-day (the 5th) to visit the town, and proceeding up a pathway that lay under an immense pile of granite, I was very agreeably surprised to hear a voice shouting out to me, "How do you do?" Looking upwards, I saw a black face smiling in a doorway, and emphatically nodding as if its owner wished to repeat the question silently, and was waiting for an answer. Astonished as well as pleased to hear any one speak English here, in less time than I have taken to write it, I had formed ideas of the pleasure to be derived from having a person who could speak my native tongue, to show me the lions of the town. I of course promptly answered, "Very well, I thank you, how are you?" and was proceeding to the doorway with outstretched hand to greet him, when his reply of, "Go to the devil!" brought me to a full stop, and made me gaze at him more intently. A countenance expressive of conceit and arrant stupidity—conceit at his knowledge of English, and stupidity in not being aware of its limits—at once convinced me of what I learned on

questioning him, that this was the whole amount of the Saxon tongue he could repeat, and that of its meaning he was as ignorant as any jabbering parrot. I asked him what was his name? where he had learned his politeness? and who was his schoolmaster? but to all my questions he only replied by a simpering laugh. He subsequently put the same greeting, and gave the same response, to our engineer and steward; and, on inquiry, I learned that he had once paid a visit to a palm-oil river, where no doubt he had imbibed his Chesterfieldianism.

Turning round the granite rock, I found seated beneath the shade of a baobab tree, but with the additional state of a small bamboo summer-house, scarlet cloth being spread under, and a group of people seated around him, an old man named Ogbe, who was head eunuch with the last Attah of Egarrah, and enjoyed much of his master's confidence. This, descending to the present Attah, *he* had sent him here to try and settle some little palaver that interfered with the legitimate trading of the country. We ascended to the rock to pay our respects to him, and then proceeded to walk through the town. By the external palisading of a dozen houses, we came to the chief market-place, which is bounded by the king's mud palace; by a dye-work; by his sister's house; and by the residence of his head

trading man. Beads of all kinds, country fruits, dried meat and fish, flock cotton, cloth of native manufacture, yams and calabashes, were for sale; some, under long sheds that ran parallel to each other in the middle of the place; others, open and unprotected. From this we proceeded to the king's domicile, which is a series or entangled knot of circular houses, with doorways that lead nowhere, and a stable in the centre of the group. Outside the front entrance is a huge wild cotton-tree, in the stem of which are inserted a few hundred arrows, fired by the king for amusement at the tree, and kept there as a protecting juju. It is hard to know where to go to when one comes out of the king's palace; for half an hour's walking showed us the whole town as a perfect labyrinth, and designed after the fashion of that of Tyre. There are no streets; as the houses, though made of mud walls, are surrounded with an external lattice work, that seems to have no termination unless in a cul-de-sac, out of which we retraced our steps to find ourselves in a few minutes in another. The dye-work, which is between the king's and his sister Ajammee Abukko's house, is worth stopping a few moments to inspect. The tops of the dye pits were elevated about ten or twelve feet from the ground on which we walked. They were about forty in number, say three or four feet in circumference, and about the depth of the elevation

of their summits. Some were empty, some had dye-stuffs only in them, and others had the latter with cloth. A number of balls of potash, procured by burning wood, and many rolls of indigo, were about. This indigo is in a very crude state, being only the leaf mashed in a wooden mortar, and by its gluten forming large pellets made into globes with the hand. Palings were around, on which clothes were suspended in the process of drying; and by the dyeing laboratory was a low-roofed house, with two pieces of wood about twenty feet long fastened in the ground, and running parallel, on which two women with wooden pestles were pounding cloth vigorously.

After endeavouring to swallow some of that detestable beverage called native beer, which is manufactured out of Dower corn, and smells exactly like the wort which greets one's nose when passing by a brewery at home, I walked toward the river's side, where, on a high granite rock, a quantity of corn was strewed for drying. Turning into the town at random, I passed by several trees, in which palm-birds were chattering overhead inside their nests, many of which were suspended from the branches, like so many penny rolls of bread. Then by a yard, in which four or five women were weaving cloth in strips of three inches wide, from thread spun out of native cotton. Then by a blacksmith's shop, whose forging apparatus might have been after the original model of

Tubal Cain's implement from its primitive rudeness; and then in and out, round about, getting entangled in the blind alleys, until, becoming quite "used up," I turned towards the boat.

Passing through the market-place, I was witness to a scene that would have done honour to—where, the reader may guess if he like. Two women fighting with the usual feminine weapons of the tongue; not satisfied with this, laid down their calabashes, and commenced a palm to palm combat. Slap!—whack!—crack!—went their hands on one another's cheeks and ears, as rapidly and vigorously as though they were worked by a steam-engine; but, their fury increasing, they turned to clawing one another with their nails, and in a short time the combatants were obliged to draw spontaneously, from the blood trickling into their eyes, and intercepting their sight of one another. What surprised me most was the passiveness of spectators during the fight. Not a man or woman in the place seemed to take the slightest notice of the affray; and the scene detracted very much from the pleasing appearance of some lady pedlars in the market-place, from whom I tried to buy a few natural productions of the country, and whose graceful head-dresses, with their mode of folding drapery round their waist and loins, would have otherwise attracted my admiration.

From what I have seen of the district about the confluence, on the occasion of my short walks along the pathways leading to the towns of Ibata and Itshu, as well as in the view from the hill near Mount Patteh, I could not imagine the country to be "low and marshy," as it is described in a note appended to Captain Trotter's Parliamentary Report, and written by Rev. Mr. Schon. As far as the eye can reach, the country seems dry and cultivated; but our short stay prevented my exploring it inland. No one here recognised the names of the Cross or Calabar rivers, or of the Omun, Akoono-Koono, Ekrikok, Egbo Shary or Boson districts. On the opposite side, where the town of Odokodo once stood, there is not a stick or stone to point out its former location; and this has been the work of the remorseless Filatahs. Only three months past they had murdered the King of Pandah, burned many towns up the Tshadda; and even here were passively holding a fearful influence over the people of the locality. The king, Amee Abukko, supplied us with four men to act as our guides to the unknown countries whither we were bound; one—the headman, named Zuri—was a native of a place called Abitshi, higher up the river, and knew all about the shortest road to Wukari.

CHAPTER IV.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE FILATAHS—MINGLED ARABIAN AND NEGRO DESCENT—RESEMBLANCE TO THE BERBERS OF SYRIA, DESCRIBED BY LIEUT. BURCKHARDT—MR. HODGSON'S ACCOUNT OF THEIR EXTENT OF TERRITORIAL SWAY—DR. BARTH'S MORE MINUTE INFORMATION—DISPUTE ABOUT THE MARGHI KINGDOM—CAUSES OF THEIR LATE BLOODSHED IN THE IGBARRA AND BASSA COUNTRIES—NO SUPERSTITION AGAINST CROSSING WATER—REPUTED ORIGIN OF THEIR SETTLEMENT AT ZHIBU—NO FREEMASONRY OF BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN THEM—THEIR MALLAMS AND KUMBOLOIOS—ANALOGY BETWEEN THE FILATAHS AND OUR ANGLO-SAXON FOREFATHERS—APPEARANCE OF THE TSHADDA TO ORUKO—ENTRANCE INTO THE UNEXPLORED TERRITORY—THE DOMA HILLS AND APOKKO—OJOGO, AND NEWS OF TWO WHITE MEN, SUPPOSED TO BE DRS. BARTH AND VOGEL—MESSENGERS DESPATCHED IN SEARCH OF THEM—PECULIARITIES OF OUR PLACE OF WAITING RETURN—THE CHIEF'S MAIDEN SISTER AND HER LOCUST CAKES—OROBO'S TERROR AT MEASUREMENT OF THE RIVER'S BREADTH, AND OF ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS—HILARIOUS SPIRIT OF OUR KRUMEN.

THE Filatahs, as they are called by the Bornuese; the Felanas, as they are entitled by the Houssa people; and the Foulahs, or Poulahs, as they are familiarly described by one another—are supposed to be of Carthaginian or Asiatic origin, with a mixture of negro blood. That they are descended from the Arabs who invaded Eastern Africa in the seventh century, crossed the

desert, and commingled in generation with the many kingdoms of negroes over the continent, is the more probable. And this may be presumed from the compound of Paganism and Mahommedanism in their social condition, as well as from the mixture of Arabian and negro features in their physical characteristics.

From the description given by that enterprising Oriental traveller, Lieut. Burckhardt, in his "Travels in Syria," of the peculiar attributes of the natives of Berber, applying to those of the whole country as far as Sennaar, and Deefour, I think I can recognise an ethnological relationship between them and the Filatahs, whom I saw at our highest place of ascent up the Binuë. "Their features are not at all those of the negro; the face being oval; the nose often perfectly Grecian; and the cheek-bones not prominent. The upper lip is, however, generally thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the negro lip. Their legs and feet are well formed, which is seldom the case with the negroes. They have a short beard below their chin, but seldom any hair upon their cheeks. Their hair is bushy and strong, but not woolly." These were the precise characters of the majority of Filatahs at Hamarrua.

Those of the pure negro tribe, into whom the nomenclature of Filatahs, with the profession of Mahommedanism has been hammered *bon-gré mal-gré*, only keep

both from compulsory subserviency. And that this condition is not relished generally by the negro race, is evident from the fact of a nickname of "Bai-bai" being given at Anyashi, in Kororoofa, to such of the Juku people (a negro nation) as have been subdued and forced into allegiance to the Filatahs. Yet even amongst many tribes of these is visible a superiority over the negroes of the coasts, as thus surmised at by Dr. Latham.* "If, however, the current notions respecting the geographical structure of Central Africa be correct, and if the views here exhibited, respecting the coincidences between the negro type, in the way of physical conformation and the geographical conditions of a fluviatile low land, be well founded, the tribes of the interior should depart materially from the tribes already described, a probability which has been indicated in the notices of the Mandarra and Mobba Africans."† This opinion has been corroborated on our late ascent by the facts of the interior people having a large extent of their ground cultivated for the growth of Indian and Dower corn, pumpkins, ochroes, and beans; from their taking care of a quantity of excellent horses of the Arabian breed; from their having large herds of cattle; from their working brass, copper, tin, and lead into fanciful

* Natural History of the Varieties of Man, p. 485.

† Both territories are S.E. of Lake Tshad.

ornaments; from their ingenuity in fabricating arrows, javelins, and swords; from their wearing more clothes than the natives on the coast; and from their streets and houses being cleaner. From the confluence up to Hamarrua, amongst the negro nations owning subserviency to the great Filatah sultan at Sakatu, I recognised a superiority of physical development amongst both sexes—some of the females particularly being colossal models.

"Throughout the whole extent of Nigritia or Negroland," writes Mr. Hodgson,* "the Foulahs undoubtedly occupy pre-eminence. They are found spread over a vast geographic region of 28 to 30 degrees of longitude [1500 miles], and of 7 to 10 degrees of latitude [500 miles]. They extend from the Atlantic Ocean, from the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia rivers on the west, to the kingdoms of Bornu and Mandara on the east, from the desert of Sahara on the north to the mountains of Kong on the south. This wide superficies contains more than 700,000 square miles, which is equal to the fourth part of Europe, and the tenth part of the immense continent of Africa." In Mr. Hodgson's time nothing was known, save by rumour, of the mighty kingdoms of Adamawa, Kororoofa, Bautshi, and Hamarrua,

* Notes of Northern Africa, by W. B. Hodgson. Wiley and Putnam, New York.

by whose banks the "Pleiad" lately passed on her exploring voyage. The only work I am aware of having been published about these people, is a volume which I saw since my return from Africa in the library of the Royal Geographical Society in London, entitled *Histoire et Origine des Foulahs ou Fellans, par Monsieur Gustave D'Eichthal,* and which is issued from the *Libraire Orientale,* 8, *Rue des Pyramides, Paris.* I regretted very much that my limited time did not allow me to avail myself of its perusal.

Emir El Munemin Ali Ben Bello was, at the time of our voyage up the Tshadda, the head Filatah sultan, and resided at Sakatu. Within the limits of his own kingdom he was able to collect a force of 10,000 horse. He had twelve governors over different parts of his dominion, or different provinces, who adopt the title of sultan as well as himself, and who, receiving their orders from Sakatu, must necessarily, with a force of 24,000 horse, their aggregate strength, and a large number of archers, hold sway over a considerable portion of the African continent. This statement is made from Dr. Barth's account, published under the editorship of Mr. Petermann; and yet, amongst them, he does not enumerate the sultans of Hamarrua, of Bautshi, and of Kororoofa, all of whom acknowledge allegiance and pay tribute to the great man at Sakatu. Under all these,

too, there are subordinate chiefs of villages and districts, who are kept in subservience by the strong arm of power, and by that alone. The importance of Kano, so celebrated for its metallic and cloth manufactures, may be judged from the fact of its governor, Osman ben Ibrahim Dabo, sending 10,000 cowries *per diem* for the sultan's household at Sakatu, as revenues derived from its market customs.

That the Bornu kingdom once belonged to the Filatahs, is evident from a fact recorded by Major Denham, that a Bornu negro, of humble birth and powerful talents, had aroused his countrymen and driven out the Filatahs, still permitting their sovereign to hold the dignity of sultan, whilst he himself was contented with that of "sheikh," a title which has descended to the present day, descriptive of the reigning chief at Bornu. Between Bornu and Adamawa, and to the west of Mandara, lies a Pagan country called Marghi, which is a bone of contention between Mahommed Lawal, the sultan of Adamawa, and the present sheikh of Bornu. It was an allusion to this, in the letter of introduction from the latter to the former, that was supposed to have kindled Lawal's wrath in urging him to treat Dr. Barth so discourteously at Yola. But there was another reason which seems to me equally likely for his having ordered Dr. Barth to leave Yola directly, namely, Dr. B.'s being

introduced as a "Christian not without his holy book, who visited Adamawa, in order to explore there, and admire the works of the Almighty God"—the same spirit that was exhibited by the chief of Benown on the borders of the Sahara to Mungo Park in 1796; and which induced me to believe that the main inspiriting cause for Filatah truculence was a fanaticism for the propagation of the Mahommedan creed. Yet the blood-thirstiness exhibited on the banks of the Tshadda last year, would indicate more of the natural ferocity of savage life than any impulse of Moslem bigotry. It occurred thus:—

Some people living at Ousha, in the direction of Doma, but in the Bassa kingdom, refused to pay tribute to Adamo, King of Bassa. To punish them, Adamo invited or employed some Filatahs from Zaria, which is the capital of Zeg-Zeg, and over which Mohammed Sani is ruler, to come and subdue the obstinacy of the people of Ousha. The Filatahs, ever ready for fight, accepted the invitation, and punished the Ousha gentry to their heart's content. But this being only sufficient to whet their appetite, they managed to pick up a quarrel with Senani, the brother of Adamo, who was governor of a place called Apata, in the Bassa country. In spite of Adamo's influence and remonstrance, they destroyed Apata, and dethroned Senani from the government of

his own kingdom. Thirst for blood increased as food for it sprung in their way; so they turned to a complete subjugation of the Bassa kingdom—drove Adamo from his own capital of Ikeriko—burned the town—took many of his people slaves—sent a detachment to burn and pillage the town of Oruko, from which the chief, Zabuta, had to fly to the opposite village of Abashaw for his life, and in the extremity of their truculence, went on to Pandah, which they destroyed, killing its monarch.

Now as Zeg-Zeg is one of the nearest Filatah provinces to Sakatu—(the territory of Doma being tributary to it)—this butchery could not have been carried on without the great Filatah sultan, Ali ben Bello, being accessory to or cognisant of it. Mahommed Sani, sultan of Zeg-Zeg, pays yearly tribute to Bello, and has a force of 2000 horse, with an indefinite number of archers, at the command of the head sultan when called upon; so that it is next to impossible his having employed them in any extraneous works without its coming to the ears of Bello, whose governmental influence will hence need to be explained and modified before any successful trading can be opened with the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë.

The supposition that the Filatahs have a superstition against crossing the water, has been proved to be absurd by their work at Odokodo, which is on the other side of the Niger from Sakatu, as well as by what the local

legends inform us of the foundation of the colony of Zhibu, which is on the opposite side of the Tshadda. In some time gone by, but at a period whereof chronology here gives us no record, a band of Filatahs made a descent upon Wukari from Sakatu, with a design to depose the then regnant monarch of Kororoofa. He, however, repulsed them, and they, being ashamed to return to Sakatu with the stigma of defeat upon them, settled at Zhibu, where they pay a tribute to the King of Kororoofa to this day. If this be true, it is also evidence of their being no mutually protective freemasonry between them.

The Filatahs up here, though nominally Mahommedans, must be different from those of the same sect in Nubia, Barbary, and Egypt. They have no mosques; but they pray to the prophet with their faces turned towards the east—make use of kumboloios or Turkish rosaries in their devotions—(one of these having three segments, with thirty-three beads in each, forming a total of ninety-nine on one string)—and reverence the Koran, at least by wearing written paragraphs from it, sewed up in leather, and denominated jujus, to hang round their necks. Their mallams or priests wear a black or white bandage round the head, which sometimes covers the face from below the eyes to the neck, unless when business requires them to take it off. There

is no difference of rank or grade amongst the mallams signified by peculiarity of dress. This is only understood by the extent of their knowledge of secular literature apart from the study of the Koran; and the majority of them have a peculiar expression of countenance—long, thoughtful, and melancholy—but no physiognomical evidence of mental superiority over their lay brethren.

At Zhibu and Gandiko I have recognised more agricultural industry than I have ever seen in a Pagan nation; and as their religion seemed to me to be a compound of Paganism and Mahommedanism—not a definite Kakodoxy of either—I believe that the doctrines of Christianity, combined with instruction of our superior knowledge of art, would make a readier impression on these people, than on the brutalized, undeveloped mental organization of the West Coast slave-traders.

I do not pretend to enter into the ethnology of African races, as Drs. Latham and Pritchard, with Monsieur Froberville, have done; but I cannot avoid pointing out a strange fact of analogy between the Filatahs of Central Africa in their present condition, and the Anglo-Saxons, who inhabited our country before the Christian era.

A paper was read at the *soirée* of the Historic Society, at the close of last year's meeting of the British Association, in Liverpool, by Mr. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., upon the Faussett antiquities—a collection made by the Rev.

Bryan Faussett of Heppington, near Canterbury, and which had been gathered from the graves of our forefathers, who existed in this country in a pre-christian period. Mr. Wright observes—"In the case of a man we almost always find above the right shoulder the iron head of a spear; and in general we may trace, by the colour of the earth, the decayed wood of the shaft, until near the foot of the skeleton lies the iron-spiked ferule which terminated it at the other end. We sometimes meet with one or more smaller heads of javelins or arrows. Closer to the side of the skeleton lies usually a long iron broadsword, not much unlike the claymore of the Scottish Highlanders, of which it is probably the type"—the very weapons of warfare that are at this day used by all the Filatah nations with whom we came in contact on our voyage—the spear with its iron-spiked ferule, the javelins and arrows of different patterns in their blades, and the double-edged Houssa sword, manufactured by themselves, amongst tribes who never until our recent visit looked on the face of an European, and could not have received instructions in armoury fabrication from any so-called civilized nation.

Mr. Wright goes on:—"Another article peculiarly characteristic of the Saxon interments is the knife, the length of which is generally about five or six inches, although at times it extends from ten to eleven inches,

and from its shape it must have been a very formidable weapon, independent of its utility for other purposes."

The Filatahs have two-edged knives of various lengths, used as weapons of self-defence as well as for cutting instruments. Some are carried openly in the hand; some protected by a sheath which passes under the left arm, and is fastened to the hand by a cincture of strong leather that envelops the wrist. The string of beads that is often found round the neck of a man in the Anglo-Saxon graves; the articles of pottery dug up from them; and even the cowrie shells (articles which are found only on the shores of the Pacific), have all their prototypes in our day amongst the Filatahs!

On the 7th of August we were away at 7 a.m., and passed the little towns of Gandah, Obujunga, Atipo, and Ogbo—the latter situated on cliffs as high over the water as those of Iddah. From this up to Lander's seat, opposite which we moored for the night, the country appears to be superior in fertility to any I have seen since we came into the Nun. The land is not thickly covered with bush as it is low down—larger spaces of it seemed cleared, and there are none of the evidences of some great volcanic period such as the whole range of the Kong * mountains shewed on our passage up. Op-

* The title Kong or Kakunda is given to the range of mountains near the confluence.

posite Yimmaha an island was covered with refugees from the town—no doubt in terror of the Filatahs, who had been so near to them as at Pandah, that on some of our officers going ashore there, evidences of a Filatah horseman having been in the town the day before were pointed out to him on the ground by the few inhabitants that remained. Pandah is only about thirty miles from Yimmaha, and so it was no wonder that the people of the latter place were terrified. All the islands as we went up, and many small villages on the opposite side of the river, were tenanted by people who had to fly from Opotinkiah, Oketto, and Oruko—from the vengeance of these merciless marauders. At the small town of Kende, opposite which we were detained for three days for engine repairings, was a man named Oberekeh, a son of the late chief of Opotinkiah, who remembered the time Mr. Laird had been in his country; and from Abashaw a woman named Assatoo came off, who had been an assistant trader to Governor Beecroft at Odokodo; so that we found ourselves unexpectedly amongst old friends. Two sons of the late king of Pandah were here also. The town of Amaran was passed on the left bank before we reached the Sisters' Islands; and whence we were informed that an overland journey is performed to Iddah in a walk of six days. The distance may be about a hundred and twenty miles; so

this for an African cannot be said to be a *festina lente* style of travelling.

The country here presents a very pleasing, and the river a very fantastic, appearance. Sloping land rising on the left side, with trees dotted there on the verdant plain, give it all the appearance of a gentleman's demesne at home; whilst before us islands of sand, and patches of shrubbery in the river, are grouped in so many diversified directions, that for a moment all idea of the course of the stream is lost.

From the confluence to a small Bassa village, named Abatu, opposite Bay island, and near which we were anchored last night (15th), the kingdom of Igbara extended, whereof Pandah was a constituent portion, until laid waste by the Filatahs. From this the kingdom of Bassa reaches to Doma territory, which commences at the lower side of Dagbo; but how far inland is not known. Above Abashaw, the Egarrah people go by the old name of Apottos.

After leaving the confluence, the first part of *terra firma* which I touched was at the town of Oruko—the river port of Ikeriko—the capital of the Bassa kingdom as already mentioned, and where we had palpable evidence of the work of destruction that had been carried on. The town is entirely shut in from the river by a thick belt of trees; and a triple cincture of arborescence

runs around its inside. It has been a place of considerable size; but the number of houses or inhabitants in an African town, is a thing scarcely possible for a casual observer to guess. The best houses in the town have evidently been destroyed by the Filatahs; nothing but blackened walls remaining after their deflagration. In some of these houses there was evidence of a neatness and comfort that surprised me—some of them having three doorways each six feet high, with as many apertures of a triangular shape for windows—more of them having carved and painted figures outside—and many possessing large brewing-pans in the centre, of the same material as the circular walls. The granaries throughout the town for holding corn, had all palisaded enclosures underneath them for fowls or pigeons. Through an aperture in the girdle of trees that surrounded the town, we walked across a cornfield to where the chief Zabuta formerly lived; and found this place protected by an equally dense plantation in triple file—ranged so closely together, that even a supple lizard could not get through unless by the gate. There was no sign of life or animation amongst the few people who were in the place; and after admiring about a dozen ant pyramids outside the town, whose castellated, turreted, and pinnacled forms exceeded in beauty any thing of the kind I ever saw, we were off to Dagbo. One of these spires

exceeded twenty feet in height from the ground where I stood.*

Dagbò, the first village in the Doma province, which is a tributary to Zeg-Zeg, is a miserable little village, and interesting to us only as being the limit of former exploration up this river, which now will bear an additional interest at every mile of progress. I felt an excitement as we passed it, going into a country where the African sun never before shone on the face of an European, impossible to be understood, unless by those who had a like position before them. The Doma hills, rising majestically in our front, seem to assure us

* From what I can learn of the natives here, as well as by my own observations since we passed Aboh, I believe that we are in the centre or dry period of the rainy season. The epochs of the year are divided in Western Africa into the "smoke season," the "tornado season," and the "rainy season." There is no "dry season proper," except those splicings of it which intervene in the others. Of the rainy season—the most important to Europeans—both as regards its superior salubrity, and its affording facility for the ascent of rivers at other times unnavigable—there may be said to be two periods: the first commencing in May, and continuing till early in July; the second commencing at the end of August, and beginning gradually to decrease towards the end of October. Of course the intermediate time is not perfectly dry; but these are the months during which the heaviest fall of rain may be expected. Dr. Barth says the "rainy season" exists for seven months in Adamawa; and it is only during that time that the river Yeou, or Komadagu, which flows through Bornu into Lake Tshad, is navigable. I believe the first part of the wet season to be the heavier and more continued on the coast; the second part, the heavier and more continued in the interior.

that every blade of grass—every tree—each human being—and every town seen after we have passed them, will bear a novelty of interest that the plodders on the flags of London and Liverpool cannot appreciate. The Admiralty Islands* are passed, with a number of small fishing huts on the left beach, about the size of haycocks; and the villages of Eggerree and Aggatoo, from which the inhabitants look out as on a demon ship, going through the water without any visible propelling power. The hills, the river, the islands, the bluff at the uppermost point of the left bank visible, with the clear and cloudless sky, and the varying shades of verdure all around, form a picture such as only can be seen within the tropics. Small island after island is passed, making the navigation of the river most intricate; and at 4 p.m., on the evening of the 19th, anchor was dropped opposite the town of Apokko, situated in a ravine at the uppermost end of the Doma hills. Immediately anchor was down, Rev. Mr. Crowther, Dr. Baikie, and I, went in the gig to visit it. Our boat was paddled up a creek so narrow that its aperture could not be discerned from the ship. But Zuri knew all about it; and so we were soon pulled up to a landing-place, between two huge specimens of wild cotton-trees. A few women at the

* All future English names of places will be understood as conferred on the localities by the Admiralty gentlemen on board.

beach, who clapped their hands, and ran away shouting with surprise, were the only evidences of life we saw, until we had walked up a few hundred yards, and crossed a moveable bridge over a deep fosse, getting into the town, through a house gate in the walls—the neatest little African village I had ever put my foot into. And though placed in a natural amphitheatre, almost entirely surrounded by hills, some on the river side, where the deep fosse with several feet of water serves as a guard, it is protected in its whole circumference by walls. A few minutes' walk brought us to the entrance of the chief's house, opposite which a number of tree stems are placed horizontally in juxtaposition, and raised a few feet from the ground, in order to form a seat for the inhabitants. This may be the bourse or exchange of Apokko; and quite a delightful place it is to rest on of an evening; for overhead is a towering bombax, in whose branches a number of palm birds are chattering. The chief, whose name is Madashi, quickly came out, and, shaking hands with all of us, led the way into his court-yard. The people about, nearly all of whom knew Zuri, embraced him in a most hearty, affectionate manner; and the mildness of grace and modesty with which his female acquaintances complied with their country fashion, pleased me beyond any thing I can convey the expression of. Madashi had the usual appendage of

grey whisker to his chin; was dressed in a tobe of triangular pieces of white and black cloth, trimmed with red; and wore a purple hussar-pattern cap, having a blue tassel. Zuri having some message from Amee Abukko to Madashi, the latter requested that we would allow him to go into it before entering into conversation with us—a piece of natural politeness that certainly surprised us all. The people who came in to be present at our conference, knelt on the ground before him, uttering a salutation which I could not catch; and, throwing up dust on their forehead with both hands, then seated themselves on the bare ground. He expressed his delight at seeing white men for the first time—was glad of our coming for trade, and, addressing one of his women in the place, a fine goat was brought into us as a dash in a few minutes, with five scrivelloes, which were subsequently bought on board the ship. When our conference was over, he most courteously walked down to the beach with us—an instance of civility I have never witnessed before in an African chief, and which, with the delight of the inhabitants in seeing us, the absence of all rudeness and familiarity, impressed me very agreeably with the people of Apokko.

Madashi did not like to recognize the authority of Mahommed Sani, (although Apokko, being part of Doma, must be tributary to Zeg-Zeg;) but allows that

of Bello at Sakatu, to whom he says, having to pay tribute, he acknowledges allegiance.

Soon after being away this morning (the 20th), we passed two islands, named the Ogle* islands, and then came once more into the main stream, as wide as the Mersey opposite Liverpool. Here there were soundings from one and a half to three fathoms. Three more islands were soon passed, forming a group on the right side of the river, and styled the Richardson† islands; at a considerable distance inland appears an extensive range of mountains. So much time has been lost with our slow progress coming up, that we are obliged to steam away on Sunday now; and we are to-day letting the anchor down at ten o'clock for service performed, and a homily on prayer read, by Rev. Mr. Crowther—doubly interesting to us as being the first time the gospel light was kindled in this dark locality. That the period may come when it will burst forth into a steady flame, illumining the whole country—desert and waste, as well as inhabited soil—is my fervent prayer!

After service, anchor was up again. Palm-trees abound on the right bank of the river; but for many miles up, no sign of humanity on either side, save here

* In honour of Sir Charles Ogle.

† After Sir John Richardson, the celebrated Arctic explorer.

and there a few individuals gazing at us from the beach or through the bush, with a solitary paddler in a canoe. From the village of Aiti, on the right bank of the river, the inhabitants fled in terror, leaving a few goats, and cocks and hens, as guardians of the town. In front and around these houses, the bank was cleared of all arborescence save a few score of palm-trees. A group of islands ahead seem to block up the stream; but we passed them, and they were entitled the Burnett* islands; then by Isabella island, the village of Guyas, and Darwen† island.

From this up to our next place of stay, the village of Ojogo on Crane‡ island, there was nothing of interest to be noticed, save that the river becomes more expansive, and the soundings consequently shallow. Frequent groundings were the effect. A change is coming in the weather. To-day (the 22nd) we have had the first rain since the 28th of last month, which falling during a sharp tornado, and continuing for a few hours, made the atmosphere very cool and refreshing. The current from Dagbo to this has been only one and three quarters knot.

* Called so in honour of Sir Wm. Burnett, the Director-General to the Navy Medical Department.

† After Mr. Darwen, the author of a "Voyage round the World."

‡ One of our Admiralty officers, Mr. May, had been second master of H. M. S. Crane; hence this island was dubbed in honour to his former ship.

It was three and three and a half knots about the Committee Islands on our entrance to the Tshadda; but the average rate since entering the river has been only two knots.

Whilst the "Pleiad" was aground about half a mile below Ojogo, and exertions were being used to get her off, some of the inhabitants came down in their canoes with news that made every man in the ship elate. The chief sent a messenger with his compliments and inquiries after our health—to express his delight at our arrival—to pilot our vessel up to his town—to inform us that he had sent messengers up the river to announce our coming—and, better than all, that he had heard of two white men being at Keana, about two days' journey inland from Ojogo. This was translated to Ali Hare through the medium of Zuri; and therefore our anxiety to get up to the place was increased by it. The men who came off had the finest brachial muscular development I ever saw—stood upright in their canoes as they sculled them with paddles nearly six feet long, and wore bows and quivers of arrows suspended round their necks.

The topographical and geological features of the country from the Doma hills to Ojogo, a distance of about forty miles, are all similar: trees thinly interspersed through a bright prairie of tall guinea-grass, with no rocky intermixture, and a rich loamy soil, evidently

capable of nurturing into maturity any species of inter-tropical produce.

As I came on deck this morning (the 23rd), several of the Ojogo people were on board, and their wonder and delight at every thing they saw, from the sweeping brush to the compass, was really amusing. When they observed the water tossed up by the action of the fan, without seeing its motive power, they believed the vessel to be an enchanted being, and that it was crawling along by means of legs underneath it! At noon the "Pleiad" was anchored opposite the village which is situated at the upper end of the island. Of course we went at once on shore to pay our respects to the chief, and to inquire after the white men. We found him seated beneath a huge bombax tree, which overshadowed his mud palace, evidently dressed for our reception. His name we learned to be Orobo Ametshi; and he was invested in an Arab tobe of British manufactured cloth, with a purple cap, having a blue tassel at top, similar to that worn at Apokko by Madashi. These, with a stick in his hand, to which a small bell was fastened in the centre, an under garment of a Houssa tobe, and a pair of Mandingo slippers, constituted his attire. He informed us of his having heard of two white men at Keana, and brought into our presence a man, who reported to having seen them there

only eight days past. This person on being taken aboard the "Pleiad," and the portraits of the four African travellers in Mr. Petermann's chart being shown to him, immediately pointed out those of Drs. Barth and Vogel as being like the men he saw, save that the former had a long whisker, which does not appear in the published portrait. This of course seemed to remove any doubts we might have had of our informant's veracity; and, as these gentlemen were most likely to be here at this time, Dr. Baikie at once decided on sending Zuri and Mamo, two of his men, who came with us from the confluence, accompanied by a guide from the chief, with a letter for Dr. Barth to Keana. They told us at first that it would take eight days to go and return; but Zuri assured Dr. Baikie, that he would be in Keana the night after his departure; so little reliance is to be placed on the word of a native of this country.

However, we made up our minds for a stay of a week at least in this place. One of our canoes was hauled up on the beach to have a few holes repaired in her; but what to do, or where to go, *pour passer le temps*, during our stay, appeared a mystery. There are not more than thirty houses in the town; and there is no pathway to walk outside it. The chief's premises are entirely surrounded by a palisading of bamboo matting, and appear

remarkably clean inside. Opposite his house is the residence of his sister Onusè, a harridan of an old maid, who is nothing more than skin and bone. Spread on a mat, outside of her door, toasting in the sun, and being browsed upon by a million of flies, were a number of dark-brown cakes, about the size of Bath buns, each composed of a quantity of little black spots. These I was told were the boiled bodies of locusts; and the odour from them was so abominable, that I made up my mind to decline taking tea with the princess, if honoured with an invitation to that effect. The women all, and many of the men, fled from the town on our walking through it at first; and the old chief, during our second chat with him, begged us to wait a few days before we would talk over common matters, he was so over-joyed at our presence; his grandfather or grand-mother, father or mother, had never seen a white man or a white man's ship, and when he met them in the world of spirits, to which all mortals were bound, he would acquaint them of his superiority over them, and claim it accordingly! To these sentiments the native auditors around applauded, by slapping their hands on the thighs. On the opposite side of the river, the inhabitants of the Mitshi country, whose capital is named Wum, are reputed here to be cannibals; and we are warned against having any association with them.

Despite, however of this advice, we tried to land at a place called Wontali, where a market was being held, and where we were told bullocks and yams could be had. Of the latter we had seen none since leaving the confluence. On our arrival at the landing a terrible hubbub saluted our ears, and we recognised some of the Ojogo women in tears in their canoes. About a hundred men were on the bank, headed by an old grey-headed individual, named Akpawo, the chief of the market municipality, who warned us most energetically not to come on shore. There had been a little local bickering between the natives of the opposite sides of the river, and the Ojogo traders represented to us, that they had been plundered of their commodities brought to the market for sale. Not wishing to interfere in their petty quarrels, we returned to the ship.

During one day of our stay here, I was very much amused, when on shore, by seeing a man hurrying up to the chief's house, and directly after Orobo himself issuing therefrom, with an enormous javelin in his hand, and accompanied by half a dozen of his head men. When he came within sight of Mr. May, who was making calculations with flag and line to ascertain the breadth of the river, he actually quivered with passion, and, turning to me, demanded through the interpreter to have him stopped at once from measuring *his* land. No

doubt he was under the impression that we were about to take it from him. To pacify him, I explained that Mr. May was not measuring the land but the water; that he might have seen our ship stick on the ground the day before we arrived here; and that the present calculations were only taken to ascertain a proper channel in the river for a ship to come up next year for trading. This at once appeased him. A few nights after, the women and children went screaming into the bush, on seeing a small lamp with an artificial horizon, for taking astronomical observations, used on shore by Mr. May. The king demanded next day to know what it was for; but on being told we wanted to ascertain by the moon and stars how far we were from our own country, it appeared beyond his comprehension.

Cowries are of no use for the little traffic to be done here. Cloth is the only thing we have that they will take. Salt must be of considerable value. A very coarse kind, which is excavated from a salt-pit in the neighbourhood of Keana, is sold here in bags of about one pound each, for a value equivalent to three hundred cowries.

Our crew up to this have been all in good health and spirits; and our Krumen, who are the best workers of their race I have ever seen, have their nightly dance to the music of a drum and their own singing, except

during the short illness of two of our officers. They are away in the morning in the canoe to cut wood, and return in the evening as light-hearted as when they went away. I have given our head Kruman, Friday, one of the tin flutes on board; and he summons his men to their several duties with all the ceremonial majesty of a man-of-war's boatswain. Going to and fro on their wood-cutting expeditions—one of them stands at the bow of the canoe, having a piece of wood fastened to the end of a cord, under pretence of heaving the lead, crying out, "By de mark two," or "a quorter less tree;" whilst the fellow at the rudder shouts out, "Go aheed" —"half peed," until he comes to their landing-place or to the ship, when he bellows out, "Top her," as if he were directing an engine all the while. This office is usually superintended by Yellow Will, who is the Joe Miller of our Krumen, and may seem a very trivial matter to notice here. But I believe that the insurance of their good health, and with it the effectual progress of our ship, can best be guaranteed by encouraging them to exercise the exuberance of their spirits in their own country fashion.

A poor fellow came on board, whose leg had been bitten off a few years past by a crocodile; and in consequence he was obliged to trudge along with the aid of a stick. It was cut just in the middle of the calf;

and so, at my suggestion, our engineer fabricated a crutch, with a cushion for the knee, and straps for the body, which has given the man infinite delight, and will I hope be a source of use and comfort to him likewise.

On our going ashore to-day (Sept. 1st), to express to the chief our dissatisfaction at the long stay of Zuri, and to convey a request that he would send a messenger after him—we were informed that a woman had arrived from Keana the night before, who brought intelligence of her having seen Zuri and his companions; but they had not had an audience of the king at her time of leaving. She had heard of the white men there having made a present to the king; but had not seen them. Orobo also told us that he had consulted his gri-gri man yesterday, who told him that Zuri would be back in three days. A few moments' conversation with the Keana messenger soon shewed us how we had been deceived. It appeared that Ali-Hare, in translating for us, had interpreted this man to say that he had seen the white men eight days before our arrival, whereas now it came out that he had seen them eight days before his leaving Keana, which was two months back. This of course makes our position in a very different light; for it does not at all seem probable that Dr. Barth would remain two months at Keana; but most likely had called there on his way back from Sakatu to Wukari or Yola. In his journal

he had stated his intention after leaving Yola to proceed to Sakatu and Timbuktu, thence returning by Yola, after visiting Yakoba, the capital of the Bautshi kingdom; (which is on the same side of the river as Keana,) touching at Wukari, and trying to penetrate across to the Indian ocean. Therefore stopping here longer is a waste of time; and so we are to be off on Monday morning (the 4th inst.)

Ojogo is situated in lat 7° 45′ 8″ N, and long. 8° 29′ 33″ E.; the width of the river opposite it is an English mile. The water is evidently rising rapidly; it is now five and a half feet higher on the beach than it was on our arrival here on the 23rd ultimo, although very little rain has fallen in our neighbourhood.

CHAPTER V.

UP THE RIVER, PAST ROGAN-KOTO—KONDUKU AND ABITSHI—MOUNTS BEECROFT AND ETHIOPE—THE ELLESMERE RANGE—DESCRIPTION OF A SUNSET UP THE LIHU—MOUNT HERBERT AND ANYASHI—MOUNTS ADAMS AND TRAILL—ARRIVAL AT GANDIKO—THE RIVER FIRST CALLED BINUE HERE—INFORMATION ABOUT KORORÓFA—LADIES OF THE BEAU-MONDE AT GANDIKO, BRASS NAILS IN THEIR NOSES—IBI AND ZHIBU—DESCRIPTION OF THE LATTER TOWN—THE DANDY FILATAHS—THE KING SARÁKI TUMBADEE AND HIS PALACE—LABYRINTHINE DISPOSITION OF THE ZHIBU HOUSES—PECULIARITIES OF THE MUSQUITOES—THE HUMBOLDT AND ALBEMARLE RANGE OF MOUNTAINS—ZHIRU AND BOMANDA—PROLIFIC STATE OF THE INSECT WORLD—THE MURI AND MUNEMIN HILLS—THE FUMBINA MOUNTAINS—ARRIVAL AT GUROWA.

As we were starting this morning, the 4th September, the "Tshadda" canoe, with Mr. Crawford, a number of Krumen and a quantity of goods, dropped down to the confluence to wait our return, and try his luck in trading. The river becomes more contracted, and the water deepens as we ascend. A little above Ojogo it is not more than three or four hundred yards in breadth, and we have seven fathoms of water in the course of our passage here. As we were passing a small town called Ajama, I observed some wide pathways leading up from

the river, and conjectured this might be the way that Zuri proceeded to Keana, for all our inquiries at Ojogo as to the *locus in quo* of the route completely failed. A man came off in a canoe, who informed Ali Hare that this was the road to Keana, and the way by which Zuri went—that Zuri had sent down a messenger last night to say that he would return in three days, and that we were to wait for him. As we had heard the same from the Delphic oracle at Ojogo on the first of the month, we did not place much faith in it, and so proceeded. A group, to which the name of Bruce's * islands was given, was passed by, while some rising ground on the right side of the river came in view ahead; and people, peering through the bushes at us, shewed the locality of the village of Amowo. Anchor was soon dropped opposite Rogan-Koto, a town of very considerable size, inhabited by a colony of natives of Pandah, who pay tribute to the king of Keana for permission to reside, trade, and cultivate the soil here. Opposite to Rogan-Koto is the town of Konduku, the conical roofs of whose houses seemed like animate things peeping at us over the lattice wall, which fronts it on the river side. A number of inhabitants stood on the banks of the latter place, armed with spears. Our

* After the respected admiral of the African squadron, Rear-Admiral Bruce.

stay was short at Rogan-Koto, but long enough to shew us a very perceptible difference between its inhabitants and those of Ojogo; though the sites of both are not twelve miles asunder. The first locality we saw yams up the Tshadda, was at Rogan-Koto. Several weaving establishments, at which beautiful cloth is fabricated, were in the town—and a manufactory of brass work likewise. The old chief, whose name is Zuda, had his head shaved, and a long whisker from his chin. The country all round seemed to be cleared of heavy trees; and there is a wall encircling the town, composed of stones and mud, through many parts of which breaches have been made in an attack lately made on it by some Beri-Beri people. It is built on the side of a hill, and the soil about it appears rocky. The river is here called Lihu.

Ascending, a number of black fishing-huts lined the beach on the left side, from which the occupants, men and boys, issued, and marched along the sand in single file, armed with bows and arrows. Opposite these huts is a creek, where the Akpa country commences—on the right side of the river, and from which three canoes issued as we passed by. The banks on this side of the stream have the appearance of an upright wall, extending about six feet above the water. By the Rowland Hill islands and past the town of Abitshi,

situated on Clarendon island.* Abitshi is of considerable size, circular in the arrangement of its houses, and entirely surrounded by a stockade. The inhabitants, as those of Rogan-Koto, are colonists from Pandah, with this difference, that they pay tribute to the king at Wukari, as the others do to the king at Keana. Rogan-Koto and Abitshi are on opposite sides of the river. Two hills were seen on the north side of the river; one of them with a cleft on its summit. This was called Mount Beecroft; the other Mount Æthiope. After anchoring for the night opposite Washington island, we went ashore to a little village at the upper end of Clarendon island, where we were informed that the river port of Wukari, named Ofia, was only two days' journey from this—that Wukari was thence three days' journey inland.

As we were passing out of sight of Mount Beecroft—which, with Mount Æthiope, was looming away in the shadow of the coming evening—I witnessed a sight such as I have never seen during my intertropical residence, and on whose glory I could have gazed with rapture for several hours. It was caused by the setting sun. Every one who has dwelt any time within the tropics, knows how rapidly the day closes. But the twilight, though short

* Styled so, it is needless to say, in honour of the postmaster-general and of Lord Clarendon.

in its duration, is, on such an evening as this, resplendent with celestial influences, to any man who has a spark of divinity within him. Large cumuli of white flock, based by a mass of sombre brown, and overtopped by a stratum that seemed like heavenly fire, as it gleamed away in the east from the radiation of the sun's rays, going down on the opposite side! Clouds of diversified and beautifully commingling hues, melted into one another, and assumed new shapes and colours after he had descended below the horizon. With these came long patches of cerulean blue, of orange, and of gold, relieved by broad streaks, combining all the prismatic colours, diverging in width from their origin at where the sun had visibly descended, until they became blended into the extremest firmament; whilst the moon, peeping out with its pale face, shewed quite "an ineffectual fire" after the brilliant departure of the setting orb of day.

On the right bank of the river, after starting this morning (the 5th), we passed a town whose name we did not stay to learn; behind which a lofty hill arose, cultivated to its summit, and whereon many people were engaged in agricultural labour. Then past a range of mountains, entitled the Ellesmere range, to which were given the specific names of Mount Egerton, Mount Latham, Mount Christison, and the smallest, next the

river, Mount Ellen. For the last two days a delicious fragrance from the bush on the left side of the river is wafted over us at intervals. As we steam on by the Ellesmere range, the river appears to expand, and yet the soundings are here from three to five fathoms. Opposite a small hamlet, on the left bank, anchor was dropped for about ten minutes, in consequence of a man bellowing out "Saraki* Wukari! Saraki Wukari!" from the shore. Ali Hare could not understand what he meant by this; but ascertained that the name of the next town, not far up, was Anyashi, and that the Kororoofa name of the river here was Nu.

It was past midday when we steamed by a very pretty hill, arising from the mainland by a gentle slope, and terminating in a bluff point, several hundred feet over the river. It was entitled Mount Herbert; and before reaching it, we discerned, about half a mile at the south side, the town of Anyashi, the new roofs of whose houses gleamed at a distance like so many sails in the glowing sunshine. In a ravine between the town and Mount Herbert is the most luxuriant vegetation. All the trees were covered with mantillas of creeping plants, that wove a complete veil over their tops, and then

* Saraki is the Houssa word for "king;" hence the anchor was dropped, as we expected to get some information about the king of Wukari.

hanging in graceful festoons, ornamented here and there with blue and yellow blossoms, gave the whole an appearance of gorgeous arborescence. Being pressed for time to get on, we did not stay to visit the town; and soon after came in view of a noble reach of river, wider than it is at Ojogo. The apparently interminable line of grass and trees on both sides presented no features worth noticing, save a hill to which the name of Mount Adams * was given, soon after a group were passed which were entitled Smyth's † islands, and an isolated peak called Mount Traill.‡ Multitudes of monkeys are seen wherever there are trees passed by; but no parrots since we left Sunday island, or parroquets after passing the confluence. A drove of elephants has been seen away on the right side of the river by Dr. Baikie and our second mate from the mast-head, who reported that the country is flat on both sides as far as the eye can penetrate. A group of islands we passed here was dubbed, in honour of the herd seen from the top-mast, "Elephant islands;" and the banks, for a considerable distance along, are bordered by trees having a fruit resembling an enormous potato, one of which measured twenty inches from top to bottom, and

* In respect to the present commodore of the African squadron.

† After Admiral Smyth.

‡ In compliment to Professor Traill, the author of a work on "Medical Jurisprudence."

eighteen in circumference, weighing twelve pounds. When this was cut, it was hard and solid, containing a number of small pippins in the central substance. Rev. Mr. Crowther tells me that kpandro is the Yoruba name for it, and that it is reputed to be food for elephants and monkeys. I pulled many specimens, intending to bring them home; but they were all devoured by insects before reaching Fernando Po.

On the right bank of the river the country is beautifully undulating, with large spaces of greensward between the trees. Two black men started up from between the tall reeds of grass, on a small island by which we were passing, and hallooed to us furiously. The engine paid them no attention, but went on her way uncontrolled by their "sweet voices," stopping only when anchor was cast, at half-past four on the evening of the 6th, opposite the town of Gandiko.

On going ashore after dinner, the only persons we saw at the beach were four women, who stood as calm and as cool at our appearance as if we had been their daily visiters; and as if "bleached visages" were no novelty to them. Happening to land at a wrong place, we were obliged to resort to Kruboys' aid to carry us over some filthy pools that intervened between the bank and the town, which is about five hundred yards from the beach. One man met us as we got on shore,

whom we requested to be our guide to the Saraki of the town, and who screamed so with delight at seeing us, that in a few moments he was as hoarse as if he were labouring for years under a chronic cynanche. Walking upwards after our guide, we passed through fields of rice, Indian corn, and ground nuts; and by places where spearmint grew in abundance, giving out a most agreeable perfume. Before we had arrived at the city gate, the inhabitants bowled out in hundreds to meet us, every man and boy armed to the teeth with lances, bows, and arrows. Turning back to accompany us, some played on fifes, some danced and screamed, now turning the handles of their spears towards us, now crouching in the mint or the corn, and then jumping up with a fearful yell. Gandiko is surrounded by a deep fosse containing water, and fortified by a stout and lofty palisading inside the fosse, which at the gate is six or eight feet in depth from inside to out. On the other side of the town is a similar gate; and these are barricaded every night. Going on to the king's house by a wide and level street, the women joined in the acclamation, saluting us with a howling, accompanied by putting their hands to their mouths, and resembling very much the noise made by a whipper-in after a pack of beagles at home. The king, whose name is Amee, was at his door to receive us, and, although very much

pockmarked, has an expression of *bonhommie* on his countenance that was very pleasing to behold.

In the course of our conversation with the king, we ascertained the very gratifying intelligence that Dr. Barth was right in his conjecture, inasmuch as the river is here called the Binue. But the variety of stories that is told us of the place we are at, of those we have passed, and of the localities we are bound to, is ridiculously perplexing. One man tells us that we can get from this to Wukari in one day, another that we passed the Wukari port at Anyashi, and a third that Wukari is Kororoofa, and Kororoofa Wukari. The Faro, (or, as they call it here, the Paro,) in Adamawa, is reported ten days' journey from this in a canoe, and Yola fifteen days' journey by land. This town is in the Zhibu country, which is tributary to Kororoofa, and whereof the city of Zhibu is the capital, and Saraki Tumbadee the king. Zhibu they report to be half a day's journey hence by land, and a day's by water.

Whilst digesting this information, let us take a glance at the ladies and gentlemen around us. Some of the former have their hair dressed in a very peculiar fashion; and a few of the king's wives had theirs most elaborately ornamented. One of them in particular was done up in a manner sufficiently excruciating to send any Parisian *friseur* demanding admission at the Salpetrière

lunatic asylum before to-morrow morning. A piece of scarlet ribbon fastened with a brass button was placed above the centre of the forehead, and thence was brought backwards to the nape of the neck, over the hair of the head, which was woven into a towering arch. From each temple descended a plaited festoon, which was confined with brass cylinders, and made to fasten under her chin by a continuation of beads. On one side of the arch was a huge brass pin of native manufacture, and on the other was an ivory one, both tastefully carved. Through the cartilages of her ears were bored enormous holes of the circumference of a shilling, in which ornaments of ivory, beads, brass, or antimony were used to be stuck, as the ordinances of the fashionable world wavered at Gandiko. Some of the ladies had leaden or brass earrings about the size of the rings that are usually put in pigs' nostrils at home. Many gentlemen, too, had enormous perforations in the same organ; and, with this personal adornment, had only for clothing the rags of what might have been Houssa tunics before the flood.

The soft sex here, also, had a species of ornamentation which was quite novel to me, and not at all captivating; though perhaps, amongst men of artistic taste in their country, it might be styled "delectable," if there were such a word in the Gandiko language. It

consisted of brass nails in the noses! At about a quarter of an inch above the edge of the nostril outside, the bright brass head glistened on the dark skin. Its stem perforated the outer wall of the nose to the inside, and was then brought out with a curve towards the ear. The heads of the nails were flatter than our trunk brass nails, the stems longer, squarer, and more obtuse; they were evidently of native fabrication. As soon as dealings were completed with a lady for a pair of these articles, which she exchanged for a small looking-glass, there was a regular dissolution of partnership between many noses and brass nails, in the prospect of a traffic on the part of the owners. For a time I could not decide whether the rapidity of this movement was caused by the novelty of seeing their black faces in a looking-glass, for they had never viewed a mirror before, or whether it spoke favourably for their commercial enterprise. But, in either case, the gods of fashion all over Nigritia might be put in convulsions by this outrage on their ordinances, and so I declined further encouragement to the nasal revolution!

Yet with all their warlike appearance, and with all this devotion to fashion, there is an immense tract of land here devoted to agricultural purposes. Between Gandiko and Gankera, a neighbouring town, over which Amee's brother Gorakee presides—not a single inch of

ground is uncultivated for a walk of nearly a mile in length. The latter town is larger than Gandiko, and is a paragon of neatness in all its streets—its ovoid and quadrangular places—in the centre of which many trees are nurtured, and spaces paled in for mats to be laid upon. French beans are growing as luxuriantly against the palisading outside the houses, as though they were under the fostering hand of the head gardener at the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris. Three of the finest Arab horses I have ever seen were in stables at Gankera; and in one of the stables was a large shield to protect horse and rider from the arrows of an enemy.

The town of Ibi, which is about half, or a mile above Gandiko, and which we passed on our way to Zhibu, is larger than either of the two last we visited. It is situated also on loftier ground, and is farther in from the river. Soon after a small island in the centre of the stream was left behind us; and a glorious breeze springing up made us regret the absence of our sails. Indeed the wind for the last week has been so strong and so favourable, that had we the "Pleiad's" sails with us, a considerable quantity of fuel could have been saved. Half a dozen people in two canoes were at a small island on the Bautshi side of the river. The town of Wazhiri, between Ibi and Zhibu, was soon passed; and at noon we steamed by a farmstead, from which many people

ran along the banks, keeping up with the steamer. In about an hour afterwards anchor was cast, within view of the city of Zhibu, and about a mile from it. It is beautifully situated on very high ground in a plain of several miles' extent, perfectly cleared, and much of it in process of cultivation.

We were not long at our place of anchorage till some of the king's men came off in our boat, and we sent them up to apprise his Majesty of our arrival. They soon returned with the intelligence that he was ready to receive us. A large crowd of people was soon gathered on the banks; some armed with poisoned javelins, whose barbs were protected by a sheath. Through a field glowing in the purple blossoms of an esculent herb —across a fearful slough of water, over which we had to be carried on the backs of Kruboys—along a pathway, through a field of ground nuts, we found ourselves at the town gate—similar in its formation, and in the fosse that surrounded the city ramparts, to those we had seen at Gandiko. The houses are all perfectly shut in from the gaze of passers-by in the streets, by a lofty lattice work of bamboo matting. The passage by which we walked to the king's house has so many curves in it, that in no place could we see more than ten or twelve feet before us, until we came to the house of a head mallam, opposite which we were requested to wait a

few minutes, and which is in view of the king's residence. Although it was a neat residence, and the door was wide open, we were not invited in; therefore I had a little time for observation on the crowds that stood by. The Filatahs of Zhibu are a mixture of Akpa and Houssa tribes, and are pure negroes, though speaking the Foulah language; but whether this mixture had taken place before their descent hither from Sakatu, or subsequently, the chronicles do not inform us. Opposite the mallam's door was standing the most Herculean specimen of a negro woman I ever saw; indeed all the soft sex here are of colossal proportions and of towering stature. They were dressed and ornamented in the same fashion as the ladies at Gandiko. Observing some young men whose hair was furbished after a similar pattern, I inquired if they were any of the king's household, or traders, or gentlemen of consequence; but Ali Hare failing to understand my question, I was quickly answered by our Kruman, Friday, who, with that peculiar *naïveté* which his countrymen have for expressing themselves in our language, replied, "Dem be man, sir, dat come up throng for dandy side!" which explained the matter at once and fully.

Looking towards the king's residence, I saw that the entrance was through a pagoda-like building, on the top of whose roof was a spire surmounted by an ostrich egg-

shell. A large space was in front, and we were soon conducted inside, through a series of winding passages and circular houses, remarkable only for the neatness which prevailed in all. His majesty was seated on a stool covered with a goat-skin, and cow-hides with mats were placed on the ground for us. He was past middle age, and had the most sullen and unhappy expression of countenance. His dress consisted of a Houssa tunic, and he carried a Houssa sword in his hand. Our conversation was on subjects similar to those with other African monarchs—relating to the objects of our expedition. During our conference he retired into a private room once or twice, and at its close brought Ali Hare with him to the same apartment, who returned with the intelligence that the Saraki had some slaves to sell, which of course we declined to buy. He then presented us with a ram, and a pot of shea butter—ordering one of his attendants at the same time to invest me with a new Houssa tobe, which I tried to receive with as much solemnity as if it were a *toga academica*. Dr. Baikie had already made him a present of a velvet tobe, and a brass-sheathed sword.

A ride through the town on an Arab horse lent me by a mallam, could give no idea of its extent, or of the number of its inhabitants. It is more perplexing and entangling than at Igbegbe. Through a maze of lattice-

work palisading—by houses having pumpkins and calabashes growing over the roofs—by others having ostrich eggshells on their pinnacles—past plantations of blooming ochroes overtopping the house enclosures, and down to a *cul de sac*, out of which my horse retraced his steps only to be hopelessly entangled in another. All the routes are constructed on the principle of the true-lover's knot:—

> "This way—that way—turning in and out,
> Never ceasing—ever twining round and round about."

Many of the women at Zhibu are fearfully marked with tattooing cicatrices on their breasts; and I saw a few cases of horrible elephantiasis amongst them.

The king rode down to the beach this morning (the 9th), attended by a large crowd of people, amongst whom were two drummers, and a man blowing a horn most vigorously. Saraki Tumbadee came on board, and was saluted with three guns,—conducted through the ship, and sent back to shore, in order that his people might come off for trade. In the course of the day I bought nearly seven hundred pounds' weight of ivory, and the article chiefly demanded for it was white cloth, which is used to make turbans by the mallams. With the king, two of his daughters came off, who had their teeth stained with the red juice of some species of tobacco leaf, which gave them a very carnivorous appearance. On my leading

one of them to contemplate herself in the mirror in the saloon, she at first was puzzled when she looked in; and I observed clearly that she had never seen a looking-glass before. I touched her shoulder, and made signs to her to open her mouth and gaze again, which she did; and the moment she saw the red teeth revealed, she jumped back with a scream of horror, and fled from the cabin in terror!

For the benefit of those who come after me, I must notice some peculiarities about the musquitoes of Zhibu, that may be interesting to students of natural history. They are unlike the musquitoes which generally lull you to sleep with their music if you are well protected by a net. For at Zhibu they congregated in the ship in thousands at night, without making any noise. I went to bed this night, rather fatigued; and, just after lying down, was sensible of something falling on my face like a shower of dust or of light snow, that was disagreeably palpable. It did not keep me from slumber; but when I arose in the morning, my face, and skin, and sheets were covered over with small patches of blood, giving any thing but an agreeable reminiscence of the past night, or a pleasing anticipation of that which is to come, if I fail to buckle on my anti-musquito armour.

Stock and fire wood are plenty at Zhibu.

We were away this morning (the 10th) at 6 a.m., and yet, early as it was, there were a few traders down at the beach with tusks, whom we requested through Ali Hare to keep them till our return. The king had volunteered yesterday to send a messenger to pilot us the way up to Hamarrua; but the Mercury had not arrived at the time of our starting, and so we went without him. The reason his majesty assigned for this generous offer was, because some distance higher up there were six mouths of streams flowing into the Binuë, and we should not know which one to ascend without a guide. No doubt, Saraki Tumbadee, voyaging up in a canoe, mistook the course of the river passing by islands for so many mouths of others. A small island on the Bautshi side of the river was the first thing that attracted our attention (about an hour after starting), three vacant canoes lying alongside it. Lofty mountains appeared on the same side, to which the name of the Humboldt range was given. Three remarkable sugar-loaf tops surmount a like number of them; and on another is a turret-like pillar. An isolated peak, dome-like in shape, situated in the midst of a broad plain, has been entitled Mount Daubany. Droves of hippopotami and many crocodiles, as well as birds of brilliant and vari-coloured plumage, are about us to-day, and give animation to our progress. A long distance away on the left side of the river, is a group of

high mountains, called the Albemarle range. They are four in number, and are styled respectively, Mount Biot, Mount Herschel, Mount Keppel, and Mount St. Jean d'Acre. A number of low sedgy islands are passed which made the navigation very intricate, yet the river still continues wide and deep as usual. The current is of course increasing as we ascend and as the water rises. Soon after passing the mouth of a river which falls into the Binuë about fifty miles above Zhibu, and which is called the Akam or Bankundi, the stream, which has hitherto been a noble expanse, contracts into a width of about two hundred yards, where there is a current of at least five knots, if not six. We managed to push through it in about an hour afterwards. In a place where the river was six or eight hundred yards wide, the anchor was let down that we might get firewood cut, and the current was found to be four and a half knots. There are no evidences of human habitation from Zhibu to this, which is a distance of at least sixty miles, and the country has the same rich and attractive, though monotonous, appearance throughout. On the north side of the Binuë here, opposite to where we are moored, is an extensive beach of sand, on which I recognized the tracks of crocodiles, hippopotami, and deer. To the promontory of this beach the name of

Point Lynslager* was given. To the north of this again is a thickly wooded country, no doubt an extensive roaming ground for the deer whose traces I recognized on the sand. Our second mate shot one of that curious species of bird, the rhyncops, to-day.

Since our leaving Zhibu (on the 10th), during which time the "Pleiad" has been battling against the current, or our Kruboys have been engaged in getting fuel material for the engine, we have not seen a house or inhabitant on any of the banks we have passed by. To-day (the 15th), however, five men came on board out of canoes, which were bound to some place up the Akam river. The chief points of information we got from them were, that Nak and Zhiru were the towns we should pass on the left side of the river ascending; with Siminim, the river port of Bomonda, Gurowa, and Shomo on the right. These are all in the Hamarrua kingdom, which is governed by Saraki Mohammed, who is directly tributary to the sultan at Sakatu, receiving his authority as well as appointment from him. The mountains away on the left side of the river were pointed out to us as the Fumbina† mountains. Hamarrua they described as a separate kingdom between

* In compliment to a respected merchant of that name at Fernando Po.

† Fumbina is given by Dr. Barth as another name for Adamawa.

Adamawa and Kororoofa—including districts on both sides of the river. All these three kingdoms are Filatah dominions. One of our informants, who comes from Bomonda, assured us that he had ivory and gold dust at his residence, for which he would trade with us on his return in a few days.

A square table elevation of ground some miles inland, on the right side of the river, has been dubbed Mount Murchison.* A large grove of Palmyra or cabbage palm was seen on the left bank, passing by which we did not recognise the town of Nak, as it is some distance from the water's edge; but (on the 18th) anchor was let go below the village of Zhiru, behind which is a range of mountains, called in the native dialect the Munemin. From our anchorage the town of Bomonda can be seen, some miles inland on the opposite side of the river, and over which a towering series of hills, the Muri mountains, extend up past Hamarrua. From this creek opposite Zhiru, which leads up to Bomonda, it is an equal distance to Hamarrua as from Gurowa, higher up.

Our gig brought us by a swampy ground, which gave out fetid exhalations to the town of Zhiru, where we landed beneath the shade of a huge baobab-tree. Evidences of artistic industry in the carving of canoes, and a peculiar mode of splicing them when broken, were

* After Sir Roderick Murchison.

visible on the beach; and behind a large tree was seated the Stultz of Zhiru, engaged with his shears over a Houssa tobe. A grave-looking mallam, whose name we learned to be the euphonious one of Abbukuka, met us at the landing-place. Subsequently we were informed that this priest had been sent here by the sultan of Hamarrua to supersede the chief of the town, under guise of looking after the people's interests. We saw the old man who had been deposed, at his mud palace, as he sat on a mat by his ju-ju house. His name was Fadon, and a more abject, forlorn, depressed-looking being I never beheld. The town was a most miserably poor and filthy little place; and so we soon turned our backs upon it.

Steaming up by the creek leading to Bomonda, the city of Hamarrua was seen from the topmast, apparently twelve or fifteen miles away in the country. Several columns of smoke intervening between the Muri hills and the river, pointed out to us the sites of towns, and gave the locality quite a picturesque aspect, added to the immense tract of apparently cleared land, with undulating hill and vale, for many miles in the interior. The Hamarrua kingdom comprises only a small space of territory on both sides of the river, compared to the extent of Adamawa and Kororoofa on the left, and Bautshi on the right. Loggenë, a tributary state to Bornu, to the south and east of Lake Tshad, north

and east of Mandara, is reputed here to be a greater ivory country than Adamawa.

To-day (20th) we are in a very unpleasant predicament, our wood being nearly all burnt, and no prospect of any to cut on either side. To the left, there is nothing visible but a sedgy swamp; and opposite this the few trees are all green. One of our second mates was sent up about four miles this morning in the gig, and brought back word that the appearance of the banks was the same as he ascended. Most fortunately, during his absence, several large trees were picked up as they floated down, which will answer for half a day's fuel. The water is evidently near its *acmé* now—the bodies of three ground-pigs* were observed being wafted down on the stream, together with a few conical roofs of houses—evidences doubtless of some fishing colony having been submerged by the river's rising. Dr. Baikie fished up hosts of beetles, scorpions, snakes, grasshoppers, and chameleons, from the grass as they were borne down. If any one with the graphic power of the late Sydney Smith were to visit this part of Africa, he would have ample scope for a new chapter on intertropical delights. Myriads of insects of all kinds are about us day and night—on land or in the ship. Into our candles—around our beds—in our tea—buzzing, and chirruping,

* A species of large rat.

and fluttering about—crashing under our feet, and flying into our eyes—so that we are in a perfect Pandemonium of an insect world from sundown to sunrise.

Our mallam friend from Zhiru came after us to-day, with a present of the hind quarter of a buffalo, that was killed a few days back. He asked Rev. Mr. Crowther to give him a charm to ensure conception to his wife, the absurdity of which, vainly I fear, the reverend gentleman endeavoured to prove to him. Rev. Mr. C. was also asked for a charm, when at Zhiru, to enable its possessor to catch slaves easily and in plenty at the next raid or foray for that purpose. The mallam gave us the distance hence to the Faro, the very same length as it was given to us at Gandiko—ten days' journey by canoe, although this place is nearly a hundred miles above Gandiko. Yola he makes out as only five days' journey by land, when the walking was done rapidly; or ten days when pursued more slowly. He informed us, also, that the river remains at its maximum point, when the water is done rising, during a heavy wet season, for twenty days; during a light one, such as this has been, for only ten. It may not have reached its highest yet; but it must be very near it, as on the Gurowa side, which is grassy and swampy, huge trees appear as if growing out of the water.

We spent the whole of this day (the 21st) having

wood chopped—of the trees fished up—and getting up steam to proceed a few miles to opposite Gurowa. Nevertheless, we did not reach it until noon (on the 22nd). Having passed the villages of Muri and Little Shomo, and as we were proceeding upwards, some men came on board from Gurowa, in company with a brother of Mahommed, king of Hamarrua, and two of his sons. These men must be of the true Filatah race, for they have highly intelligent features of a Caucasian form. The king's brother told us he had heard of a white man (Dr. Barth, no doubt) being at Sakatu—that the king was very glad to hear of our coming up, and purposed paying us a visit—and that, if the ship were to stay here for a short time, plenty of people would come down from the Adamawa kingdom to sell us ivory. Moreover, he informed us that ivory, shea-butter, milk and honey, were to be had at Hamarrua. He pointed out to us Mount Chebchi from the ship's deck. One of the two sons had the most perfect set of teeth I ever saw; and there was a cast of amiability about every feature of his countenance. He made me a present of a Kumboloio, one of the Turkish rosaries already noticed. A short time before anchor was dropped, Rev. Mr. Crowther and Richards went off in the gig to visit the king, and invite him on board; so, as they will not be back till to-morrow, I have only

to go on shore, and see the peculiarities of the little town of Gurowa.

It appears as isolated a village as though it were in the centre of the Sahara; and is situated on an island, like Ojogo. Outside the bamboo palisading which forms the town walls, there is no walk leading to any place for the length of an inch. The island on which it is situated has no features worthy of notice, save a dense grassy sedge, and a few monkey bread-fruit trees, towering up behind the town. In one of the court-yards there were three ladies pounding Indian corn in a large wooden mortar, each keeping a remarkable rhythmical accuracy of time in bruising with her pestle, so as to chime in, and not be at variance, with the stroke of her companions. One of them was dressed to death in the getting-up of her hair, and the painting of her face with indigo. The chief was recumbent on a mat outside his house, his nose and mouth covered by a mallam bandage. Gurowa does not contain more than thirty or forty houses; so that a walk on deck of the ship would be nearly as ample as a promenade on shore. From the back of the town, there is an extensive view of twelve or fifteen miles over to the Muri mountains. The hills on both sides of the river here, give a pleasing aspect to the country.

CHAPTER VI.

VISIT TO HAMARRUA—DESCRIPTION OF THE ROAD BY WHICH WE TRAVELLED—OUR RECEPTION AT THE CITY—THE SULTAN'S HOSPITALITY—"BULLOCK'S MILK" AMONGST OUR DISHES—SUPERIOR ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE LADIES AT HAMARRUA—OUR CONFERENCE WITH THE SULTAN—HOW WE GOT BACK TO GUROWA—OBSTACLES AGAINST OUR SHIP'S ASCENDING THE RIVER HIGHER—THE ADMIRALTY GENTLEMEN PROCEEDING UPWARDS IN THE GIG—THE HIGHEST POINTS REACHED, "PLEIAD'S" ISLAND AND MOUNT LAIRD—OUR DESCENT—RETURN TO ZHIBU—EFFORTS MADE TO GET THENCE TO WUKARI, COUNTERACTED BY THE OPPOSITION OF SARAKI TUMBADEE—CREATING A FIELD-MARSHAL AT ZHIBU—VISIT TO ANYASHI AND ANOOFO—AT ROGAN KOTO AGAIN—PICKING UP OUR ENVOYS SENT AFTER THE WHITE MEN—THEIR STORY—DAGBO AND ITS MUSICAL MUSQUITOES—THE TOWNS OF ABASHAW, AMARAN—YIMMAHA AND OGBO—REACH THE CONFLUENCE.

Rev. Mr. Crowther and Richards did not return till this morning (the 24th), when they gave us an account of their embassy to Hamarrua.

The sultan had declined coming such a distance—twelve or fourteen miles Rev. Mr. C. reports it, but had given them a most friendly reception, and was anxious to see the white men of our expedition. He brought down with him a supply of milk and honey, which was as great a treat to us as the manna of old was to the

Israelites in the desert; and reports the town to be about the size of Zhibu, but the road to it an abominable, almost impassable, one. *N'importe* about the road, my reverend friend! Here is a land flowing with milk and honey, within less than a score of miles of us —the sultan anxious to see us—information about the country to be inquired into—and horses perhaps to be had at the town of Usu, where you passed all night! So at 1 p.m., Dr. Baikie, Mr. Guthrie (our engineer), and I, set off in the gig to pay a visit to Hamarrua, undaunted by the horrors of the middle passage described to us. Ali Hare, Dr. Baikie's boy, and six Krumen, accompanied us. We soon got into a creek, where the Kruboys had to lay their paddles aside, as at Aboh, and tug the boat along by the grass, through which we had to force our way for about a quarter of a mile. Then into open water about forty yards wide, where the current favoured our descent; and down which we observed many nests of palm-birds in the trees—water melons floating on the surface—two farms belonging to the chief of Usu—and the mountains of Wurkoni and Zungalee, part of the Muri range, rising up on our right. We landed at the town of Usu, having our boat hauled up on the beach; and left in charge of the chief, with its paddles and awning, until our return the next day. Usu consists of three or four sections, each hav-

ing forty to fifty houses in it. There was only one horse to be had in the town; so, as the day was fine, we proceeded on, each agreeing to take a ride in his turn on the journey. Our road lay through a country, the richest in loamy soil I have ever travelled over, where fields of rice and Indian corn varied the aspect with herbs and shrubs of the richest bloom and foliage—set off by the flying about of birds of the most gorgeous plumage —through plains where the grass grew so high and so luxuriantly, that at times it met over our heads when on horseback. From the late rains, the pathway—for it was no more than a pathway—was all miry and sloughy, and in a few places each of us had to ride the horse in turn, through water pits, from which salt is dug in the dry season. This was the aspect of the country all through; and we found the city to be on the top of a hill, the front of which was all garnished in the granite rocks, and up whose rough road would have been no easy access, but that we were met about a mile outside Hamarrua by a reinforcement of two horses, which clambered across the rocky roadway with agility and security. We fired a few pistol-shots before getting inside the walls, to announce our coming, and were conducted through the streets by a single file of javelin-armed men—some before, and some behind our horses —past the king's palace to the residence of his head

trading man, Saraki Houssa, who had accompanied us from the ship, having come down with Rev. Mr. Crowther and Richards this morning. It was nearly dark when we reached his house; and, as we were all tired with our fifteen miles' journey, very little observation could be taken of the city, save to see that it was a most extensive place—more so than Zhibu; the houses more substantial, gardens attached to each of them, and huge baobab-trees rearing their lofty branches in the many spaces that existed throughout. Directly we had been seated in the apartment assigned to us for the night, the sultan sent his compliments and salutations, with the expression of his pleasure at our visit to his town. With this an extensive supper was brought, very welcome to us after our journey.

"Take a drink, Dotta," said Ali Hare to me, handing over a calabash, in which was a white liquid whose fragrant smell at once revealed to me what it was.

"What—milk! Ali Hare?" I said, inquiringly.

"Yes!" he replied; "he be bullock's milk for thrue!" and the comical simplicity of his answer for a moment put us all into such a fit of laughing that I was obliged to delay my indulgence in the grateful beverage.

Shaking hands with the many gentlemen who came to see us, and returning the salutation of "Alla sa alburka!" or, "God give you blessing!" occupied us for an

hour at least before lying down to sleep; and we stretched ourselves on our mats for repose, very glad that the sultan did not wish to see us that night, as we were so grilled with the burning sun, he would doubtless have taken us for Red Indians, instead of respectable members of European families.

The morning of the 25th broke dark and lowering; and at half past six o'clock the rain came down in torrents. It continued so until near midday. His majesty sent us up a luxurious breakfast of several African dishes, and a large calabash of fresh milk, the greatest treat of all. During our confinement to the house, in consequence of the rain, we had many visiters, some wanting to sell straw-plaited doyleys, beautifully dyed, spears, swords, brass and copper rings. The heavy wet was a great obstacle in the way of my seeing the town as I desired; and, as our time was limited, we had to send many messages to the sultan, requesting that he would give us audience, as we purposed returning to the ship this night. It was considerably after noon when we proceeded to the palace. Passing through the streets, we saw many of the softer sex in small groups, here and there, gazing at us—not with looks of impertinent curiosity, but with a simple expression of wonderment, which gave to their faces an indescribable charm. If any one will allow beauty to exist amongst African

women, I shall maintain against all comers, that it does exist amongst the ladies at Hamarrua. Half Arab and half Negro, their countenances of a bronze hue, have a classical outline of such charming features as we are in the habit of associating with Greek models. And with this there was something of a beaming expression of kindliness that pleased me very much—a suavity of trusting gentleness, combined with a slight tint of joyfulness, that brought to my mind the beautiful thought of L. E. L., of "half smiles, born of no cause but the very buoyancy of inward gladness." Dressed in their blue country cloths, and their hair ornamented in a very pleasing style, without any attempt at belleishness, they gave me a very superior idea above what I had hitherto considered African ladies to be.

The passages between the houses are not like the outways we have travelled through in other towns. All are clean and wide enough for two or three horsemen to ride abreast. An air of general comfort seems to pervade all around—there is no sign of filth or of poverty in the town; and the space in front, remarkable for its spotless cleanliness, surrounding the sultan's palace, was of several acres in extent. The entrance to it was through a round house, flanked on both sides by a bamboo latticework of at least twelve feet high, that enclosed all his

ground—constituting the royal residence. Thence we were conducted through a court-yard into another circular house, the floor of which was covered with a rich Turkey carpet, and three velvet Houssa tobes for us to be seated on. This was the audience chamber. Across the centre of the room was suspended, half-way up to the roof, a satin drapery, having yellow, scarlet, and white lines parallel with one another in perpendicular stripes. Behind this screen, which was not transparent, the Sultan Mahommed, Saraki Hamarrua, sat—no doubt enthroned in great state; the only indications of existence being his voice, and the rustling of silks in which he was enrobed. From the former I would judge him to be a middle-aged man. As soon as we were seated, Dr. Baikie asked if we were not to look at the sultan's face when talking to him; and the answer "No!" being given, we were obliged to imagine his reality from the sound of his voice and the rustling of his dress. We were then invested with Houssa tobes by Saraki Houssa, which were given to us as a present by the sultan. Grave-looking and grey-headed mallams sat around us; and, as we had a journey of fourteen miles over a not very pleasant road, our conference was not a prolonged one. Dr. Baikie explained to him that the queen had sent him out here to ascertain if the river was navigable—to search for Dr. Barth—and to

make friends for the queen with all the African kings whom he came in contact with. He replied that he was very glad to see white men coming to his country—that he did not hear of the gentleman Dr. Baikie inquired for, except he was the one whom he had heard of as being at Sakatu—and that he would like to make friends with our queen, by sending her home two female slaves, if Dr. Baikie would take them! To this of course it was replied, that our queen did not approve of slavery; and that the females could not be taken as slaves even if we had accommodation for them on board our ship. On my introducing the subject of trade to him, he said he would send word to all his people who had ivory to sell to bring it to the ship. Expressing his anxiety to see specimens of what cloth we had, I was very glad that I had taken the precaution of cutting some patterns before coming away, which were handed to him, and on which he made no comment, merely referring me to two men who were then in the audience room, and from whom I would get some information about trade. I was very much rejoiced at this; but found, on conversing with these gentlemen, that the organ of caution was remarkably developed in them. One of them was the agent of a man named Alhagi, an extensive gold and copper smith in Kano, who was then staying in Hamarrua. He informed me that

all the gold and copper* used in Kano were bought from the Arabs, and of the locality from which either was obtained he professed himself utterly ignorant. Knowing, as I do, the insincerity of the African character, I am very much inclined to doubt his lack of information on this point, and give him credit rather for a desire to keep his knowledge to himself. The other was the son of an Arab trader, who sends all the ivory he can obtain here to Katshna—to the north of Kano—the uppermost extent of the Filatah dominion. Hence I believe a great deal of it to be conveyed either to Benin or across the Yoruba country to Lagos. He told me that cowries were his articles of exchange for it; but of this I have great doubt.

The sultan then made us a further present of five poisoned javelins, promised to let us have three horses, and to send us down two bullocks as a present the next day. As the day was waning, I had no spare time to go through any more of the town than what intervened between the palace and Saraki Houssa's, to which we returned after leaving the sultan's, in order to get ready for our departure. But I saw enough of it to give me a conviction of its superiority over any city we had

* Of this a few rings assayed by Johnson and Matthey have turned out 98¾ per cent. of pure copper. A small block of tin given to us at Gandiko, as having been dug in that shape out of the ground, has been found to contain 99¼ per cent. of pure tin.

entered up the Niger, Tshadda, or Binuë. It must be several miles in circumference; and the houses are so constructed, with relation to room, that the inhabitants of every domicile can live uncontrolled or uninfluenced by the observations of their next door neighbour. The dwellings are formed of mud and stone, but remarkably neat in all their appointments. From near the stem of a huge baobab-tree, outside the town-gate, a commanding view may be had of the whole range of the Muri mountains, of the river gliding down between them, and of the Munemin range on the other side.

Our engineer having ridden on before us with the horse we brought yesterday from Usu, in company with all our Kruboys; Dr. Baikie and I walked down the pathway together till I stopped to gaze at a herd of cows, several hundred in number, at the bottom of the hill. From this I turned to chip off a few geological specimens to bring home with me, expecting Ali Hare every minute, who had stayed behind to secure the horses for us. Dr. Baikie had walked on through mud and mire, being in a botanizing humour. I began to grow impatient for the promised steeds; particularly as I was standing near a huge pool of water in the road about twenty feet in length, which gave me a promise of what the pathway would be after the morning's rain. This was about a mile outside the town. Soon Ali

Hare came up in company with Saraki Houssa, and another man, but no horse! Here was a pickle: Dr. Baikie, Mr. Guthrie, and the Kruboys gone off, and a walk of fourteen miles before me, through such a slough as lay under my eyes. Hard work, or hard walking, I have no objection to; but an Augean stable business of this kind is a little too much for a relish, especially between the tropics. I at once insisted on Saraki Houssa sending his man back with me, determined to get a horse, or stop all night at Hamarrua. A little blustering at the palace—though they did not understand a word I spoke—soon procured me one, and I returned with Saraki Houssa's man as my guide, accompanied by another individual who was coming to Usu with him. Fortunate it was for me that I did insist on getting mounted, for my horse was up to his ankles in mud nearly the whole road—in many places up to his knees in mud and water; and my pilots, though the best African walkers I have ever seen, slipped very often. The rain had beaten the grass, so that it lay quite over the pathway, and I could not help admiring the sagacity which these men evinced in careering along the right road, even after the night had set in. With no one to talk to, and little to occupy my mind, after it had grown dark, I had ample time and opportunity for cogitation. Where was Dr. Baikie now? Was it possible that

he could be trudging through such a slop as this? No; he must have overtaken Mr. Guthrie, and was at this time—eight o'clock and dark—no doubt at Usu. But it was getting late, and would he wait for my arrival, trusting to the night to go through the sedgy swamp of the creek near Gurowa? It was night before I was half-way to Usu; but, as "the longest journey must have an end," I arrived there about nine o'clock, to find Mr. Guthrie, Ali Hare, Saraki Houssa, and the Kruboys, none of whom had seen Dr. Baikie. What was to be done, or what had become of him? I concluded that he had found the road impassable, and, returning to Hamarrua, was to stop there for the night; but I determined not to proceed to the ship until I could settle satisfactorily to myself what had happened. Therefore, advising Mr. Guthrie to take the Kruboys and proceed to the "Pleiad," I settled myself to remain all night at Usu—keeping Cocoa, Dr. Baikie's servant, and Ali Hare with me, resolved to send the former back to Hamarrua at dawn of morning, to inquire after his master. A house was given to me to sleep in by Saraki Wakenta, king of Usu; with the very agreeable alternative of lying inside to be suffocated with the smoke from a wood fire, or of stretching myself outside on a mat to be devoured by musquitoes. I chose the latter; and disposing my umbrella so

as to keep the dew off my head, rested there till morning.

At daybreak I despatched Cocoa to Hamarrua, with instructions to call at the three villages which intervened, and sent another messenger by another road, enjoining both to return if they were made sure that no intelligence of Dr. Baikie could be ascertained. About an hour after Cocoa had gone, our steward arrived from the ship with chocolate and other condiments that were very grateful to me; and, just as I had done discussing them, Dr. Baikie with Cocoa arrived! Jaded as he was, in his bare feet, his legs covered with mud, and his trousers wet up to his hips, I was delighted to see him unharmed or unhurt. Of course, from the condition his habiliments were in, I at once inferred that he had not passed the night at Hamarrua, and my surprise may be guessed, when he informed me how he had spent the time since he lost me yesterday evening outside the city. He had wandered on botanizing, and so wrapped up in the enthusiasm of the science, of which he is an ardent devotee, that he soon found himself on the wrong road. Turning out of this, he only got into another equally astray from the right one, and darkness coming on, he climbed up into a baobab-tree, where, with his arm pinioned to one of the branches with a piece of cord he chanced to have in his pocket, he passed the

night, serenaded by wolves and leopards, who were prowling beneath him! Since yesterday morning at Hamarrua, he had not eaten a bit or tasted a drop of any thing. Well! the music of musquitoes is not so bad, after all, compared to the howling of wolves and leopards; and a stretch on a mat, even though upon the hard ground, is preferable to spending a night in a tree, with one's arms pinioned to the branch. This last night's adventure convinced me, in my grumbling about the musquitoes, that "one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives;" and that we should not lament so much our own petty mishaps, if we reflected for a moment on the greater amount of suffering and danger, that the world around us is daily and nightly undergoing.

After getting to the ship, some ivory was brought, which was sent down from Hamarrua, and two brass armlets, weighing five pounds, that were manufactured at Hamarrua, by Alhagi, agent from Kano. As no wood can be had for fuel here, the steamer's ascent of the river cannot be effected any further, and so Dr. Baikie and Mr. May took away six Kruboys in the gig to go up as high as they can attempt for a few days. Evidence of the water slackening is already perceptible on the beach at Gurowa. Our steward went off to day (27th) to the beach at Usu, with a pinnace and six

Kruboys, to kill two cows sent down to us by the sultan, and brought them back to the ship, despatched into summary beef.

It is very grievous to be obliged to turn back, when we know ourselves to be so near the main object of our voyage—the confluence of the Binuë and Faro. But it cannot be avoided, and so submission to our ordinance is no virtue.

At half past eight o'clock on the morning of the 28th we fired two guns, and anchor being hové up, commenced our descent. During the vessel's stay opposite Gurowa, a few trees had been picked up, and so we had steam for some distance down—past Bomonda, Zhiru, and Nak. From the geographical bearing of Bomonda towards Hamarrua, I think it would be a more direct route to the latter place than by Gurowa. The next three days of our voyage are any thing but agreeable to record. Being obliged to let the vessel drift down the river, and a strong breeze blowing against her, she went broadside on to the top of a small island, where a double current—one passing her stem and the other her stern—kept her impacted for that time. To make the matter worse, several of our Kruboys had for some time been affected with an anasarcous condition of the body and extremities; and a furious tornado coming on the night after she stuck, impacted her firmly. We were about

twenty miles above Zhibu—no sign of habitations about —stuck on an island where hippopotami were snuffing and snorting around us every night—and the water falling. But our Kruboys worked most energetically with kedge, anchor, and Sampson post, and at length succeeded in hauling her off. There is no firewood to be had between our present position and Zhibu; so we have twenty miles more of a drift before us.

Dr. Baikie and Mr. May returned on the 1st of October, and overtook us while we were stuck in the mud at this island. They gave us an account of their having progressed to Dolti—a town, as they could guess, about fifty or sixty miles below the confluence of the Binuë and Faro. They passed by the towns of Shomo, Leu, Bandawa, and Gin, before reaching Dolti. They are all on the Gurowa, or right side of the river, except Gin, which has another town named Dempse above it. As they progressed, the natives appeared more savage; and from Dolti they were chased by half a dozen canoes full of occupants. At Gin, they were told that Faro was only four days' canoe journey from that town. The whole country here was covered with water; and at Dolti, men and women walked about up to their hips in the element. The last island seen was named "Pleiad" island, on the right side of which was the town of Bandawa, and opposite on the other side a range of

undulating hills, to which the title of Mount Laird was given. The distance from the Nun mouth to Dolti is four hundred and forty-eight miles as the crow flies.

The morning after we got released, our perilous descent was commenced again in the same fashion; but we arrived safely at Zhibu, going within sight of the large town of Sharo, which we did not notice on going up. Here we saw, that the fields over which we walked in our journey to the town on our ascent, and which were then at least six feet over the river's surface, were now completely overflown, so that our mate must have been mistaken in his observation of the subsidence of the water at Gurowa.

A most opportune condition of affairs existed on this stay at Zhibu, for our contemplated visit to Wukari, had it not been for the disagreeable conduct of Saraki Tumbadee. Mr. May's chronometers having been allowed to stop during his absence up the river, he was obliged to remain here five days for their rectification by astronomical observation; and our Kruboys had also as many days' work before them, in cutting and preparing firewood for the engine. Dr. Baikie had been promised a letter of introduction from the sultan at Hamarrua to the king of Kororoofa, who was subject to him; but it had not been sent down before we departed. On going ashore to pay our respects to his majesty, we found him as

surly-looking as ever; and we had not been two minutes in conversation, when he commenced the African regal systems of complaint and begging:—he had not got enough in the dash given to him before; he wanted another velvet tobe, and another brass-sheathed sword; then he would send messengers up to a town where plenty of ivory was to be had, and which would be down with us in four days. On our turning the conversation, and asking him how far hence it was to Wukari, he told us it was only one day's journey from Zhibu, and that between the two towns there was a communication kept up by the inhabitants at a market-place called Zar. Anxious of course to get the means of proceeding thither, we expressed our wishes to have horses; when he answered us in his usual growling way of talking, that we could not have them, that the roads were wet, and that horses would be killed by travelling along them in such weather, unless magani (medicine) were previously given to them to prevent it. Pressing him still further, he at length agreed to let us have horses as far as Zar, from which we were to send our messengers to the king at Kororoofa for horses to effect the remainder of the journey. We saw that this was only a *ruse;* as there is no abiding-place at Zar: it being only an open piece of ground for a market. Again he commenced begging

for a sword, stating that the former one given to him was broken; and, on our asking to see it, he presented only the scabbard, informing us that the broken blade had been sent to the blacksmith's, from which the messenger despatched to procure it had not returned on our departure. Disgusted with his beggary and with his inhospitality, for he never offered us a drink of water, we proceeded to the house of the Galadimo (his prime minister), who is as noble a looking fellow in his bearings as I believe him to be in his actions. He had a country beverage, a mixture of milk, pepper, and meal, handed round to us, and promised to use his influence with the king to get horses for our contemplated journey to Wukari. Therefore, on going ashore next day, we went first to the Galadimo, who accompanied us to the king, with the object of making final arrangements for our journey next day. After a thousand and one objections, it was finally agreed to let us have three horses in the morning, with as many guides, who were to act as caretakers of the horses, and two men in town, who are messengers from the king at Wukari.

I went on shore this morning, the 6th, in company with Dr. Baikie, Rev. Mr. Crowther, Richards, and three Kruboys, impregnated with an idea that the philosophy of Dean Swift's "Blessed are those that expect nothing; they shall never be disappointed,"—is a very wholesome

doctrine for a man to nurture in this country. For I had very little hopes of our getting the promised animals, and the result proved what slender reliance there is to be placed on the word of an African potentate. Saraki Tumbadee would neither let us have horses, nor guides, nor even the two men belonging to Wukari to show us the route, when we proposed to walk. He wanted payment for the horses beforehand; and Dr. Baikie, consenting to gratify him in some degree, I went back to the ship for twenty thousand cowries, and a brass-sheathed sword; the cowries he did not want, but the horses could not be given, unless cloth of sufficient quantity and of good quality were paid to him. To solve his majesty's ideas of "sufficiency" and "goodness," from what we knew of his character, appeared too difficult a task for us to undertake, and so we returned to the ship, determined to wait the termination of Mr. May's chronometer rectification, and attempt a journey to Wukari from Anyashi next week, if the decline of the water meantime be not too rapid.

There was a high festival to-day at Zhibu, the appointment of a gentleman to be master of horse, or field-marshal general, to preside over and conduct the cavalry in warfare. Drums were beating, fifes blowing, and women shouting with a noise midway between a scream and a howl, I suppose expressive of gratulation.

Men were dancing before and behind the horse on which the officer was riding during installation—now poising their javelins in the air, and now rushing with a war-whoop to attack an imaginary enemy. Every one of the population, save Galadimo, and the rider, was in a ridiculous state of filth. Perhaps it was an essential part of the ceremonial; but I have observed a great difference between the inhabitants of Gandiko and Zhibu, from those of Hamarrua, in cleanliness of person or attire. Soap appears to be an article unknown in the former towns; hence I am led to infer they are not true Moslemites.

The inhabitants, under the idea that we would not trade with them in consequence of the king's ill treatment of us, have ceased coming off to the ship. Consequently, being in want of stock, we had to send on shore to purchase it. One of the natives, who had a small tusk to sell, asked if our life-buoys, pointing to them, for he did not know their name, were made of ivory! There is not much ivory here now, as we bought the greater part of it on going up. They are enlarging the barricades of the town; as the increasing population demands more space in consequence of its growth.

By Ibi, Gandiko, Mount Trenebi, Mount Traill, and Mount Adams, we steamed downwards, and came to anchor on the 10th, at 2 p.m., opposite Anyashi. Here

there were seven fathoms of water, and the current was five knots. About an hour past dinner I went on shore, and after a scramble up a pathway, which, though rough, steep, and toilsome, was quite a relief for its variety from the monotonous level of the last few months, we got into the town of Anyashi, which is situated on the top of a hill, a few hundred feet above the water's surface, and from which there is a most extensive and pleasing view—Mount Herbert close by; Mount Adams a little higher up; the Ellesmere range lower down on the other side, bounded by Mount Beecroft and Mount Æthiope; immense plains around and between, with the noble stream above and below, on which the evening sun cast a glare as if of liquid silver. The houses are of the same beehive formation as those already described; but there is a little evidence of art in the fashioning of the walls, so as to make them look like coils of mud rope placed one over the other. The king, Agbo, was dressed in a plain blue Houssa tobe, recumbent on a leopard's skin, and with a bright iron staff stuck in the ground beside him, atop of which was placed a red cap of native manufacture. Three days' journey he reported it hence to Wukari, and, as the water is falling, a delay of a week, under which the journey could not be accomplished, cannot be spared. He complained to us very much of his crops of corn being destroyed by monkeys.

There is no sign of trade or of activity in the town. The inhabitants have been settled here for only two years; and are refugees from Sundubé in Kororoofa, whence they have been driven by the Beriberi people.

The next day was reserved for a walk inland to the town of Anoofo, which is about a mile behind Mount Herbert. We passed through some rich corn-fields, interior to the ravine that divides the latter from Anyashi; and soon came to an eminence, from which there was a beautiful prospect of waving grass and trees, rising hills and sinking valleys, for many miles up the river. Then down through more corn-fields, past some of which flowed rivulets of pellucid water; and the non-cultivated parts of our walk were teeming with luxuriant shrubs and brilliant flowers. Anoofo has a deep fosse around it, and is further protected by a mud wall inside the fosse, only about two inches thick, which a shower of musketry would demolish in a few minutes; but which is strong enough to resist the only weapons of offence in this country, namely, javelins and arrows. The town is much larger than that of Anyashi; the houses are similar in their architecture; and many gardens of corn, ochroe, and binnie seed are within the walls. We had a considerable time to wait to see the chief, who is a young man, named Abidi, and whom we were introduced to, as he sat on a leopard's over a large

lion's skin, beneath the shadow of a tree festooned with cobwebs. One of the gentlemen sitting by was gallant enough to inquire if our wives were in the ship with us, and were quite surprised, perhaps horrified, on being answered in the negative! There was a good-sized broken tusk brought out for us to purchase, with a request that we would bring up goods from the ship for that purpose, which of course was declined. Some of the females here wear brass wire wound round the arm, in the same cylindrical form as it is worn in Old Calabar, and I have no doubt of this wire being brought up from the oil rivers. Cloth was shewn to me here, which was reported to be manufactured at Iddah; so that there must be extensive intercommunication between all the towns up this river.

Camwood is said to be in abundance in the neighbourhood of Anyashi and Anoofo. At a place called Afooro, on the road hence to Wukari, lead* ore is dug out of the ground, and forms a considerable article of traffic in the countries about. As these towns are directly tributary to Wukari, indeed forming an integral part of the Kororoofa kingdom, I suspect they will be found the best and safest route to the capital. At the time of

* This, on being assayed by Johnson and Matthey, at Hatton Garden, London, has been reported as follows:—"Galena or lead ore sixteen cwt. of lead (equal to 80 per cent.) and 3 oz. of fine silver to the ton of twenty cwt."

our visit there were ten horses in the town of Anoofo.

The "Pleiad" was away at ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th, amidst a torrent of rain, and soon after passed Mount Ellen, the nearest to the river of the Ellesmere range, then by a cluster of houses on an island, many of whose inhabitants were perched aloft on scaffolding erected to keep them out of water. About midday we steamed by Abitshi, on Clarendon island; but as great part of it was overflown with water, and nothing but greenwood visible in the neighbourhood, we did not waste fuel by stopping. At 2 p.m., anchor was dropped opposite Rogan-Koto. We soon went ashore in the gig, where we found the old chief and all the people delighted at our return, expressing the anxiety they had felt at something having happened to us being the cause of our long delay. Amongst our friends here was the Ojogo spinster, Onuse, looking as ancient and fish-like as ever, together with the man for whom the wooden leg had been made on our ascent, and who made me a present of an ostrich egg-shell, as expressive of his gratitude for his new limb. Many people came on board with yams, Indian corn, eggs, fowls, goats, and some few scrivelloes; and into every one's business Onuse put her nose, though having very little of that organ to spare for such intrusion. The yams were most acceptable to

all on board; and particularly grateful to our sick Krumen. The town of Kondoku opposite, is so nearly overflown with water, that the inhabitants are obliged to take refuge at this side of the river, and have located themselves in a small village outside and below Rogan-Koto. The chief informed us that the journey hence to Keana occupies only two days, stopping one night at a town called Tapi; and that Zuri is waiting for us at Ojogo, whence we despatched him, about ten miles lower down.

I purchased to-day a few pieces of triangular flat iron,* with a handle at the base of the triangle, which are like the rudiments of parlour shovels, and which are a legitimate currency through the Doma country: They are used for making knives as well as other utensils; and are an established medium for the purchase of slaves, three dozen of them being the cost of one slave. There is a great contrast between the people of Ojogo and Rogan-Koto, though only such a short distance apart. We have had more traffic here in one day than during the whole time we lay at anchor opposite the former place—particularly in that which is now most valuable to us, in consequence of the continued indisposition of our Kruboys—I mean wood for the engine's fuel. Our

* These are styled "Akika" in the Doma and Juku tongues; "Ibia" in the Mitshi; and "Agalemma" in the Houssa language.

large canoe, the ship's bunkers, and the whole deck, were filled in one day with a capital hard red dry species of wood, well adapted for burning. Manufacture of fringe and cloth, with brass works, in this town, shew evidences of the people's industry; and were they not in daily dread of another attack from the Beriberi Filatahs, a marauding segment of the Houssa nation, I have very little doubt that their town would soon present an aspect of thriving industry.

On passing by Ojogo anchor was let down, that we might pick up Zuri and his companions. He came off with a look of grim savagery on his countenance, trying to seem angry with us for leaving him behind; and in five minutes told us many lies—amongst them, that he had been back at Ojogo when the ship was going round the corner—that the two white men had left Keana, having gone over to the other river (the Niger) in the Rabba country, and that he had sent his wife after them. It may be remembered that Zuri was the interpreter who first translated the information for us about the white men being at Keana. From a few scrivelloes, some country cloths and rice, a Houssa sword, a few pipes, and two slaves he had with him, it appeared most likely that he had spent his whole time in trading; and that the story from beginning to end was concocted for that purpose. One of the slaves, a woman, he left

behind him at Ojogo, and the other, a fine little boy, he brought with him—unconscious that the moment a slave puts his foot on the deck of a British ship he becomes emancipated. The boy was at once taken in charge by Dr. Baikie, who gave him the name of William Carlin, and brought him away in the steamer, to leave him at Sierra Leone on his passage home.

We arrived the same evening, the 14th, opposite Apokko, and went on shore soon after the ship was anchored. The river water was up almost to the drawbridge over the fosse, which had also an additional quantity of the same liquid in it. Between our landing-place and the bridge was the figure of a man, made of straw, and vari-coloured cloth, no doubt placed there as a juju, to act as tutelary guardian to the town against the further encroaches of the river. The old chief was delighted to see us back again, and expressed his joy by screaming, laughing, and shaking hands with every one most extravagantly. His pleasure was increased he said by seeing us so soon; for he had sent a messenger up the country after ivory, who had not yet returned, as we were not expected back till next year. A perfect model of Ethiopian polish is this old Madashi. He came on board our ship, and was shewn through it to his great delight. Some ivory was bought during his visit.

Next morning, after a sharp tornado, which was very refreshing, we left the Doma hills behind *en voyage* to Dagbo, where we found the water nearly twelve feet higher than it was on our ascent. And this locality, during our sojourn of two days, has proved itself to be a land of musical musquitoes, whose memory I have no ambition to keep "green in my soul," with reference to our descent of the Tshadda. The whole night of our stay here was passed by me in walking up and down the deck, smoking; as once or twice, on trying to turn into bed, the aggravated buzzing was renewed with increased energy. Many of the Dagbo people have settled at the opposite side at Agatoo, with some of the natives of Abobee, both of whom have been driven thither by the Bassa gentry. There is a considerable tract of land under cultivation here—chiefly with rice; and, as the town is nearly overflown with water, the inhabitants have emigrated to some inland territory. I was very glad when the "Pleiad" was drifted down to opposite Oruko to-day (the 16th), at 3 p.m., when the thermometer, being 97° in the saloon, gave me shuddering anticipations of the coming night.

Rev. Mr. Crowther, Mr. May, and I, set off this morning, the 17th, on what we expected would have been a walk to Ikeriko, the capital of the Bassa kingdom; but we had not proceeded more than two miles on a

very pleasant pathway when we were stopped at a small village, being informed that Adamo, the late king of Bassa, was located here, in consequence of his capital being burnt by the Filatahs. This collection of miserable huts was called Ikeriko likewise. We found him seated in a circular house, having three doors and six triangular apertures for windows, barely large enough to be blocked up each by a black man's face. He was dressed in a furniture chintz tobe, and had a very downcast, sorrowful expression of countenance. He presented us with a dash of a small goat, regretting that he had nothing better to give, as the Filatahs had robbed him of his slaves, his ivory, and every thing. I have already explained how this man and his brother Senani were the chief victims of this year's Filatah pirating. The majority of the people about him were clothed barely in skins encircling the loins; and the village did not consist of more than fifteen or twenty houses.

After our return to the ship steam was got up, and before midday we had reached the town of Abashaw, on the other side of the river. The original village to which the name is given, is a small town close to the water's edge; but about half a mile inside is a larger one, chiefly consisting of refugees from Pandah, governed over by a son of the late king of that place. They have been here only eight months; and yet the country be-

tween both towns, and far away down by the river's bank, is cultivated, and in process of cultivation, to an immense extent. Yams and Indian corn are growing where the soil is clear; and a large quantity of trees, extending over several acres, are singed so as to arrest the process of growth in them. These trees, if cut down, would afford us firewood enough to proceed to Clarence. A very strange kind of hoe-shaped shovel, which is manufactured at Ekpe, near Toto, is used here for preparing the land for tilling. These are made out of iron bars brought up from the markets of the palm oil rivers. There was an evidence of industry in the people at Abashaw rarely to be met with on the coast-towns. Instead of lazy fellows congregated about, smoking long pipes, the men were engaged in making mats or weaving; and the women, some cleaning cotton, others spinning thread, and many delving amongst the Dower and Gera corn in the fields. Masses of native soap, resembling soft soap in appearance—lumps of chalk prepared from burnt bones—and balls of prepared camwood, testified to their industry more strongly. After returning to the ship, we had a visit from Assatoo, Governor Beecroft's old trader, previously mentioned, who brought us a dash of yams.

Our next place of touching was at the town of Amaran, on the same side of the river, a place of considerable size,

and containing, at a rough estimate, from two to three thousand inhabitants. The residents are for the most part natives of Pandah, as those of Abashaw; and equal evidences of industry, from the many species of cloth, and bags of native manufacture, with thread woven by the women, appeared amongst them. Arabic manuscripts, in some specimens written on wood, were offered for sale by the mallams. There was a canoe here, belonging to king Amee Abukko, from the confluence, whose occupants informed us that they had left there only five days back, and that all in the canoe were in good health. In a short time, two pinnace loads of wood were purchased at the beach, and we were away again; stopping for a few minutes opposite Oketta, on the right bank, which consists of three small villages, "perfect towns of desolation," with roofs and lattice walls strewed about the beach, and hanging into the river.

A sister of the late king of Pandah was here at the time of our visit, which was only delayed a few minutes. Since we left Apokko, there has been nothing in the way of trade to keep us at any place. With all the appearance of destitution at Oketta, there were two looms at work making cloth, and some fanciful mats undergoing the process of manufacture. By the villages of Opotinkiah, Kende, Bagalugu, and Oherehu, as well as Irigee and Eyampe, all insignificant groups of hovels

we steamed away, dropping anchor opposite Yimmaha, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

We went on shore to see the king, whose name is Mahoma, and who is now, as he told us, Saraki of all Pandah. It was a long walk to his palace, through narrow roads, where the houses were knocked up cheek by jowl against one another, without any attempt at arrangement, or any intervening space between each domicile. In two of the market-places there was a curious collection of Indian corn, yams, cassava, a dry herb like tea; a snuff of the leaves of the monkey bread-fruit tree, for making soups more pungent; cotton, trona, ground nuts, peppers and ochroes. The king's palace is very profusely ornamented on the walls with carved hieroglyphics; but of the inside economy we are ignorant, our conference being held in an external court. There was nothing about his palaver worth recording. He sent two large tusks on board, which could not be purchased, as there was a scarlet umbrella required as a necessary contingent for the purchase of each. Outside the town there is a very deep and broad fosse, with a wall of defence at least twenty feet high. It is some miles in circumference, and contains at least from five to seven thousand inhabitants.

On my return from the king's to the ship, I passed by two extensive dye-works, which were in full opera-

tion—by many houses in which weaving was going on—and past a blacksmith's shop, into which I entered to see the *modus operandi* of this African Vulcan. It was primitive enough, at all events. The bellows was composed of two bags made of goat-skin, each of which had a hole in the uppermost side, as well as one in that attached to an iron tube that went into the fire; and these were worked by the bellows-blower in the following manner. The bag, being drawn up with the hand off the hole after the air had been pumped into the fire, becomes filled with air again in consequence of its vacuum, and the hole being immediately closed by the manual dexterity of the operator, the air within was again pressed into the fire. As the bags were worked alternately—one being pressed whilst the other was being filled—there was thus a constant current of air kept in the fire, the generation of which shewed a good deal of ingenuity. The anvil was a piece of granite imbedded in the ground; and the hammer a log of iron about twelve inches long, being about three or four in circumference at the malleting end. One or two pincers, and a calabash full of pieces of old iron, constituted the implements of his workshop.

The village of Bokum, Lander's seat, and the Harriet islands, were passed on our way down next day, the 19th; and a little after noon, we paid a visit to the town of

Ogbo, that I have mentioned on our ascent as being placed on a cliff as high as that of Iddah. The scramble up a rocky pathway against the face of the hill, is worthy to be endured for the enchanting view of country that stretches over to the Adelaide range of mountains. A very large cactus tree in the centre of a ruined house, with a square-built human residence—the first we saw since leaving Aboh—were the only attractive things in the town. It is not large, and generally consists of red mud circular houses. Whilst enjoying the breeze on the top of the cliff, we despatched Ali Hare to search for the chief. He soon returned in company with a woman, whom, taking by the hand, he introduced to us in his own peculiar Anglo-Aboh dialect. "Dis be king's sissa; and when king no live, him sissa be biggest man for town!" * a compliment which the king's sister took with as much equanimity as if Ali Hare had been chanting praises of her, and that it was all intelligible!

We passed Otipo at 5 p.m., which is on the right

* "Live" is a word of general use amongst the Africans who attempt English phraseology, and is applied by them to inanimate as well as animate things, to express the presence of any thing. "Your hat no live," "Your tick no live, where you put him," are familiar instances. The error, too, of sexual nomenclature, in styling the king's sister the "biggest man" in the town, prevails in other parts of the country as well as Ogbo. "Dat be my son," said the chief of Henshaw town in Old Calabar to me one day that I was sitting in his court-yard, pointing to a strapping girl who passed out of the house.

bank, as Ogbo is, and a little below Imakogee on the opposite side of the river. Mounts Stirling and Patteh came into view; and it may have been the strength of imagination or it may not, but I fancied I sniffed a briny odour as we neared the confluence, and dropped anchor a little above Duck island, in consequence of darkness coming on before we could reach the town of Igbegbe.

CHAPTER VII.

AN INCIDENT CONNECTED WITH DOMESTIC SLAVERY AT THE CONFLUENCE—SUPERIOR BEAUTY OF THE KONG MOUNTAIN SCENERY ON OUR DESCENT—THE TOWN OF BANAPA—THE MARKET AT OTOTOURO—RETURN TO IDDAH—THE ATTAH'S APOCRYPHAL TUSK—CEREMONIES AFTER A WARRIOR'S DEATH—ADAMUGGOO AND ITS INHABITANTS—BELIEF OF ITS NON-COMMUNICATION BY WATER WITH CROSS RIVER—ASSABAA AND THE COUNTRY ABOUT IT—ONITSHA AND OSSAMAREE—REVISIT ABOH—KING AJA AND HIS ATTRIBUTES—ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE AT THIS TOWN—AGBARI AND 'ANGIAMMAH—FIRST VIEW OF THE SEA—ARRIVAL AT FERNANDO PO—NOTICE OF THE ISLAND—VISIT TO PRINCE'S ISLAND—PASSAGE HOME.

AMONGST our visiters from the town this morning (the 20th), after we had steamed down, and come to our anchorage, were two remarkably ugly fellows beating drums, and a harlequin, who, after dancing and singing on deck, sat down; first covering his head with the top of a Houssa tobe he had on, as if to commune with a spirit inside—and drawing out a puppet, similar to our English Punch in all save the nose, made it squeel by the working of some internal machinery, in the same shrill pipe as the helpmate of Judy screeches at home.

Mr. Crawford related to me to-day a very affecting incident which occurred during his stay at this place, and which paints that diabolical traffic—the domestic slave trade—in the most disgusting colours. A woman and her child purchased at the Egga market were destined to be separated here, the child having been disposed of at Igbegbe, and the mother at some locality lower down: so little do the ordinary feelings of even brute affection find a home in the breasts of those mercenary fiends, the slave traffickers. The child, being taken out of the mother's arms with the same roughness as if it were a log of wood, the mother screamed, and, jumping into the water, followed in an agony of terror to reclaim it. She was seized hold of, dragged back into the canoe, fastened to the bottom of it with chains, and kept lamenting there, in as acute anguish as could be felt by a denizen of St. James's, the loss of her tender offspring.

Our stay of five days at the confluence had very little interest on my return, save for the perpetual jabber of Igbarra, Nufi, and Houssa languages, chiefly carried on by the softer sex, that rang in my ears from morning till night. The market formerly held at Kirree or Ikkory is now divided between this and Ototouro—the new colony of Abukko's people, about ten miles at the upper side of Iddah. The chief part of the market held here

is a provision one, the ivory going down the river, as they can get a good price for it at Aboh, and procure the articles of salt and crockery-ware, which come up from the oil rivers, and which are the currency most prized by the natives up here. One of the most remarkable characteristics of an African is his lack of appreciation of the value of time; and, therefore, they would rather sacrifice a week or a fortnight by going to a distant market, to obtain the articles they are in want of.

Mr. May ascended to the highest summit of Mount Patteh this morning, the 24th, and reports the prospect from it to be enchanting in the extreme, our ship looking like a midge upon the waters. He brought back with him flowers of varied brilliancy, and some bunches of wild grapes. A monkey bread-fruit tree, measured to-day by Dr. Baikie, outside the town, shewed a circumference in its stem of eighty feet!

The water has fallen six feet during our stay here.

After our engineer had painted the name of our ship, and the date at which we left, on the face of the granite rock opposite our place of mooring, two guns were fired, the anchor was hove up, and we steamed away from Igbegbe at 3 p.m., on the 25th. No "longing, lingering, look" was cast behind at Mounts Patteh and Stirling, as their summits faded from our view, for the expecta-

tion of being at Fernando Po in a fortnight's time, the anticipation of letters and papers from friends at home, and the gratification of returning with an unimpaired crew, occupied my thoughts to the exclusion of all other matters. Perhaps it was the combination of these feelings that gave a *couleur de rose* to the beautiful country on both sides of the Kong mountains, with its fanciful groups of rocks, resembling so many ruined castles and monasteries, and made it possess superior attractions to what it did on our ascent. The town of Banapa, situated at the base of Mount Franklin, seemed, as we approached it, like a collection of an immense number of cocks of hay, or like a gathering of so many mammoth beehives, congregated there for "a monster meeting" of the race. Boulders of rocks, about the size of the houses, lying about, added much to the graceful savagery of its appearance, which was rendered still more picturesque by large trees isolated here and there in the surrounding landscape. The grandeur and wild aspect of these rocks must be seen to be appreciated. Three small towns on the same side were subsequently passed; then the mountains, whose names I have enumerated on our ascent; by the place where Kirree market was formerly held; to the south of which Mount Purdy, with its barefaced cliff, was towering. A much smaller portion of Bird Rock was visible than when we passed it last

August; and anchor was dropped for the night midway between Agbadamma and Ototouro, the new settlement of Abukko's people, who have emigrated hither from English island.

Next morning I went on shore to the town of Agbadamma, to inquire if there were any chance of doing trade here. After walking about half a mile outside the town under the guidance of a pilot, who was conducting me to see the head man of the place, I was very much gratified to find the head man to be Ehemodino, the late Abukko's brother, who was so courteous to us at Iddah. He expressed himself very glad to see me, to hear of the good health of all on board, and accompanied me to the ship, that he might send messengers over to the people at Ototouro to tell them to bring their ivory for sale. The country behind Agbadamma is one of the best I have seen up the Niger for a settlement. The town itself is as high over the water as the cliffs, and interior to it there is an extent of hill and valley, and level plain for many miles, not covered with wood, but ready for cultivation. I was occupied till two o'clock purchasing ivory; and amongst the holders of it was a man named Tshigalla, who had been sent by the Attah of Egarrah, to guide and protect Mr. Lander as far as Aboh. He had the most benevolent and good-natured expression I ever saw on a human face in this country.

As our ship in starting turned round opposite Ototouro, a dozen banners were hoisted up on flagstaffs, one of which, the British ensign—was saluted by two guns from the "Pleiad." The cliffs of Iddah, under which we moored at 4 p.m., are certainly not more than eighty feet above the water now. This town is evidently going to decay; and Abukko's people are gaining influence in districts higher up the river. It is no wonder it should shew symptoms of wreck, from the absence of any thing like activity in its governing head, the Attah. He never comes into the town; cannot be seen by any one without a formality that is disgusting; and passes his life luxuriating in imagination on the extent of his widespread territory.

We had a visit from three gentlemen this morning wearing Houssa tobes and scarlet caps; and one of them, who rode down to the beach on a richly caparisoned white horse, was a real negro Daniel Lambert, perhaps, too, "the finest gentleman" (not "in Europe," but) in Iddah. There is no ivory here, save an apocryphal tusk which has been handed down through the Attah's family for many generations, and which is reported to have required ten men to carry it on account of its ponderosity. The story further goes, that it crawled into the then Attah's presence, when it was laid down at his door by the porters. No evidences of native industry, no yams,

or fowls, or wood, which we told them on our ascent we would require coming down. Our coal, most fortunately, is all perfect as when we left it here. During a walk on shore in the evening, after we had sent our Kruboys in the pursuit of a bull promised to us by the Attah (but which I suspect was a kindred of the large tusk just mentioned), we met a mob of fellows in the upper market-place, some armed with muskets, some with javelins, others with Houssa swords, and many with bows and arrows. They were careering about like madmen, screaming in accompaniment to the music of a melancholy drum, celebrating funeral orgies for a warrior who had died the day before. The wild aspect of some of them, with white bandages wrapped round their face, and with the action of flinging their swords up in the air, catching them again with the dexterity of jugglers, was very remarkable.

The same band, of a flute and three drums, that played before us through the town on our last visit, was down on the beach this morning, the 28th, before breakfast-time, performing a farewell. Very matter-of-fact musicians they appeared to me, too, from their having suppressed their harmony as soon as Dr. Baikie sent some cowries on shore to reward them for their sweet sounds. We were off at eight and a half a.m., and soon passed "Lander's" island, the river stretching out into a noble

expanse as we steamed down. Then by the Oriah river, which communicates with the Adoh or Iduo country, and by which no doubt the first Attah made his descent to Iddah. There is a market held at the mouth of this river for the sale only of mats and country cloths. We passed the small towns of Amadoko, Onuja, and Amokani, dropping anchor at 2 p.m. opposite Adamuggoo.

Our gig soon brought us ashore over water which flowed across the bank that intervenes between the town and the river at a low state of the stream. Part of the village was not accessible to us, in consequence of a slough of mud and water dividing it; but what we saw of it and the natives did not give us an urgent desire to see any more. They are the most ruffianly looking savages I have seen any where in Africa. The king has lately died; and his son, having murdered some one in the town, has been obliged to fly for protection elsewhere. Indeed the general aspect of the people, and the furious gestures they used in talking, made me look upon every individual as considering it necesary to whet his appetite for breakfast by cutting the throat of one of his neighbours. Many of them had no more covering than the Boobies at Fernando Po.

No one was here who could or would shew us the locality where the Europeans of Mr. Laird's expedition

were buried; although one man confessed his being then resident in the place, but away at a market at the time of its occurrence. Anxious to ascertain if there was an accredited communication between this and Cross River, I asked him could he remember the name of the market; if it were Omun, Akoono-koono, Ekrikok, or Bosun; but these names were not recognised by him or any one in the town. On further questioning, I was informed that trading is carried on at stations and rivers in the interior by means of the Eboes, who travel up by a small stream called the Inam, which debouches into the Niger, or runs out of it near Adamuggoo. The communication, however, is stopped now, in consequence of some domestic war between the Eboe people; a common practice, I believe, amongst that gentry. So that, in spite of Mr. Colthurst's communication to the Geographical Society, and of Mr. M'Queen's placing on his chart of the Niger a creek connecting Cross River and Adamuggoo, I have great doubts of any such existing.

It occurs to me as a very curious coincidence, that Mr. Laird should have buried thirteen of the Kwarra's crew at Adamuggoo on going up the river; and that the same vessel should be stuck on a bank at the same place for a like number of days (thirteen) on coming down. The country behind Adamuggoo is called Ibogee. Two canoes passed us yesterday on their way to Assabaa,

which we expect to reach early to-day, the 30th. After starting, just as breakfast was over, we passed the village of Amadamino, presided over by a chief of that name, who is married to a daughter of the present Attah of Egarrah. Then by the town of Eboke, belonging to some of Addabidoko's people; and soon after by the mouth of Inam river, already mentioned. There must be a creek, as well as a river flowing in here; as the Soudan steamer in the government expedition of 1841-42, went up this creek, and came out above Adamuggoo. At 10 a.m. we passed Long island, near which we were aground when going up, and, in about an hour after, anchor was dropped opposite Assabaa.

On going ashore, we were met at intervals by an increasing crowd of people, who accompanied us along a walk to the town, through the most delightful piece of country I have ever seen. There must be an immense population here, as there was such a crowd at our heels, and so few houses discernible in our way, or in the village, when we arrived there. But cross-roads and pathways, leading into vistas of unimaginable length, abutted constantly from our route. Plantations of yams, and wide road-ways, with the commodious square houses, gave evidences of comfort such as I was not prepared to witness. Down a road lined with lofty cotton and palm-trees, and broad enough to allow a

couple of carriages to drive abreast, followed by a number of both sexes, some of whom were hallooing, some blowing horns, and all apparently elate with joy, we came to a collection of houses, each one of which was surrounded by a palisading of living vegetation, towering to a height of at least forty feet. Inside of a few of these enclosures were fetish houses, painted outside in exactly the same colours as our ship, white and light buff. Ivory anklets, with white cloths tastefully wrapped round the body, formed the chief points of dress in the females; whilst many of the men had scarlet caps and blue tassels, and carried fans or horse-tails in their hands. One man, invested in a white tobe studded with cowries, a girdle of leopard's skin, a huge fan in one hand, and four long feathers stuck foolwise beneath his cap, was making a most excruciating noise by blowing through a pipe made out of an elephant's tusk. We went, of course, to pay our respects to the chief, whose name is Ezebogo, who was dressed like the other scarlet-capped gentry, with the appurtenance of a fan, besides having two circlets of white paint round his eyes, and a string of coral beads about his neck. After a little discourse with him beneath a veranda, one of four that comprised the quadrangle of the court, he led us into an inner apartment, where he regaled us with palm-wine—the most delicious beverage I have ever tasted, and which

I believe to have been sufficiently sweet to rival the metheglin of Mount Hymettus.

The people of Assabaa must live by marketing and agriculture; for there was no evidence of trade in the town. Some thousands of the natives, who gabbled to the "top o' their bent," were on the beach at our return. By the river's side, as we descended, were many of the curious fishing-nets described on our ascent; and, looking through the vegetation on the river's banks, we got glimpses of fine open country, cultivated around for many miles. The Akkra-Attani hill, which is now looming into view on the left bank of the river, is the last high land we shall see until we come within sight of Clarence Peak. Several fanciful little houses, erected on scaffolding, were hard by the beach after we passed Usubi creek, and before we reached Onitsha market, near which anchor was let down in about half an hour after leaving Assabaa. We landed here for a few minutes; but the women fled in terror from the market-place. They had, however, nothing saleable, save a few calabashes full of green peppers. From some of the men, who were coaxed into having a few moments' chat with us, we learned that the town of Onitsha is some miles inland, and that the king's name is Obi Akazua. Alongside the beach there was a canoe, having two empty palm-oil puncheons in it. Soon after

we passed the town of Oko on the Aboh side, which is the first tributary to Aboh we meet on our passage down, and near which is a large quantity of wood, dry enough for fuel. However, the recent illness of our Kruboys, the necessity of hastening down as the water is falling, combined with the inefficient means we have on board for chopping wood for our engine, render it impossible for us to procure it any other way than by buying.

Passing by Bullock island, our next place of stoppage was at the town of Ossamaree. Strange-looking little canoes came off in dozens from the shore, the tenant of each having barely room to sit straddlegs across one, with his feet and lower limbs hanging over the sides as a steerage power, and by whose action he could twirl round his little barque in any direction he wished. So small are they, that the owner puts his canoe on his shoulder, and walks home with it; and I have very strong hopes that, when the civilisation of great-coats reaches Ossamaree, the canoe proprietor may be walking about with one in each pocket. Zenebu was the old king's name, and a ridiculous place his mud palace is;—the court-yard full of slush after the late rain (for we had a sharp tornado in the middle of the night, with a continuous fall of wet till morning), ornamented with juju and fetish houses, fishing-huts, and stems of cut-down trees. He was

dressed in the style of the Assabaa monarch, excepting that he had no white circlets round his eyes, and was masticating "chew-stick" * most vigorously.

The town, after the morning's heavy rain, presented an appearance very unlike what characterises the Boulevards in Paris in the month of June. Large pools of mud and water here and there, through which the naked-leg inhabitants splashed without hesitation—quadrangular houses, some of mere wattle, some of wattle and dab; cows and ducks about the streets; most of the women wearing ivory anklets, as at Aboh; and many of them having cinctures of brass wire round their legs and arms, as at Old Calabar. Ossamaree must be an extensive place from the number of inhabitants at the beach; but the condition of the passages offered no attraction for pedestrians, and so we returned to the ship.

There was no ivory or palm-oil to be had at Ossamaree. It is the dry season for palm-oil, though the wet season of the year. All the ivory bought here is brought from the market at Ototouro; and the palm-oil purchased in the surrounding country is either sold to traders who come up to Aboh for it, or brought down to Aboh for sale. Proceeding downwards, we passed the landing-

* The branches of a tree with whose botanical family I am unacquainted; and which is chewed by negroes to serve as a tooth-brush.

place of the town of Assah, by the island on which is Lander's Lake; and anchor was cast at 3 p.m. on the 31st, opposite Aboh creek, in nine fathoms of water.

Our progress through the creek to the town was very different from that of the time of our ascent, the greater part of the long grass being now overflown with water. Canoes, with large puncheons in them, were lying alongside the ends of the various passages leading from the houses to the water's edge; and our boat was propelled up to nearly opposite Aja's house. We found him at home, the same man that is described by Mr. Laird as being "a remarkably handsome, intelligent lad of sixteen."* He appeared to me to be about thirty years of age; had an open, intelligent, good-natured expression of countenance, and spoke very rapidly. A study of this man's character for the few days we were at Aboh, has puzzled me very much. I would have given him credit for generosity, connected with an incident that occurred during our visit, had I not convincing evidence of his deserving no credit for it, from an observation of his other actions. He had had two men for twenty days in chains as a punishment for some trivial offence, and requested of us to intercede for their liberation in their presence. We did so, and of course they were released; as much, I believe, to the credit of his being

* Laird and Oldfield's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 271.

tired of the expense of keeping them as to his philanthropy. Nevertheless, he has the appearance of being a very superior man to his brother Okuribo, and has an air of business about him which in the other is entirely absent. On my inquiring after palm-oil, he replied that he had some; but immediately contradicted himself by saying, that his brother had told him we were not certain of returning this way. Guessing this to be a pretext to induce us to express more anxiety about it, and seeing I had him caught, I asked him, did he think we were making "changey for changey,"* by leaving Simon Jonas as we did at Aboh, and taking away Ali Hare? Finding himself fathomed, he tried to put it off with a boisterous laugh, promising to let us have in the morning plenty of oil, two bullocks, five or six thousand yams, and as much firewood as would drive the engine round the world.

After leaving Aja, we paid a visit to Okuribo, whose lady snuff-chewer looked as attractive as ever. In the place where the white curtain hung against the wall on our former visit, were suspended, in envelopes of blue country cloth, half a dozen swords and a large umbrella; which were family heirlooms, as they were presented to his father by Capt. Trotter and the late Governor Beecroft. We did not remain long here, as Okuribo seemed only intent on admiring what he considered his

* An Anglo-African style of expressing one thing changed for another.

handsome dress; and thence proceeded to the house of the youngest brother Okè, who bears a considerable resemblance to Aja, but has not the same physiognomical or lingual evidences of intelligent activity. The town was in a most filthy condition of water and mud; the greater part of our journeyings through it being made on Kruboys' backs.

The stir of activity amongst the people of Aboh was evident at an early hour this morning (the 1st of November), as from ten to twenty canoes came out of the creek before breakfast; some bound up the river; some down; many heavily laden; and all propelled by men who seemed to have business on their hands, whereon they were intent. Opposite to our mooring, and near the other side of the river, is the island of Avgav, and behind it, Richards has told me, there is a creek or small stream, called Dony, by which a communication may be effected with the Cross river. This I believe to be a perfect African fable, because the water passage to Bonny is many miles higher up, near Bullock island; and the Bonny river intervenes between the Niger and old Calabar streams, into the latter of which the Cross river debouches. The island of Avgav appears to me a capital station for a palm-oil depot, as the town of Aboh cannot be a healthy residence for Africans or Europeans.

After breakfast, King Aja came to the ship in his canoe in great state; the gig had been sent for him, but he preferred coming in his own barge, leaving our boat for the conveyance of his brother, Okuribo. Large scarlet and yellow umbrellas, with many banners flying, proclaimed the approach of the canoe. The beating of drums and the chanting of the paddlers were really harmonious. Aja was dressed most elaborately; and one who has not seen it, can scarcely have a sense of the ultra-ridiculous figure which an African king cuts, when coming on board a ship with such finery as this—in his bare feet! A scarlet cloth coat, extensively braided in the arms, collar, and tails; and a scarlet velvet breeches, with purple velvet stripes down the sides of the legs; a pink hat with a gold band; a sword with a bright brass scabbard in his hand; and a coral necklace that hung to his waist. His thumbs and fingers were covered to repletion with brass rings; and, if there had been a shoemaker in the city of Aboh, he might be said to come out "every inch a king!" His brothers, Okuribo in the gig, and Okè in the canoe, came soon after him. A segment of Aja's wives, amounting to about twenty, all of whom wore ivory anklets, bore him company.

When Dr. Baikie and Rev. Mr. Crowther had finished their conference with him, I was about commencing a

little conversation on palm-oil, when Aja spoke a few words to our interpreter, Simon Jonas, which were immediately translated to me as expressive of the king's desire that I should adjourn my trading intentions until "the business for Queen's side was settled." This I took to be a gentle hint, that Dr. Baikie's dash was necessary to open the perceptive faculties of King Obi's descendant to the consideration of such a vulgar thing as palm-oil. As soon as a large present had been given to him, with which, large as it was, he expressed his dissatisfaction, I found access to his attention, and he pointed to a canoe in which were two or three hundred calabashes of hard palm-oil; another having two bulls, and one with several hundred yams. As much of the oil was dirty, and as we had neither time nor convenience for cleaning it, a bargain about that was out of the question; and we spent half the day trying to settle about the bulls and yams. He is the most screwing trader I have ever met with; and further states to-day there is no firewood in Aboh, although yesterday his promises were so magnificent.

Anxious to test this last piece of information, I took one of the interpreters with me this morning (2nd November), and in a few hours obtained three pinnace-loads of wood. What this man's object could have been in trying to prevent our getting material for fuel, is a

mystery to me; but another fact which came to my ears to-day, has enlightened me more about him. He yesterday borrowed a lot of country bags from Richards, for which the latter had paid three thousand cowries when up the river, and, on repeated messages being sent for them to-day, they were not to be found. I cannot avoid considering it a very fortunate thing for the interests of his native town, that Mr. Laird did not take him home for an English education; which, with the vices and mannerisms of its present condition, would most likely have turned him out a negro Jonathan Wild.

The water has fallen three feet during the time we have been here. Steam being up at six this morning (the 3rd), our Kruboys weighed the anchor more cheerily than I have ever heard them do before. We soon steamed by a few little villages on the Aboh side—then past a town on the opposite bank, over a creek, contiguous to which was what I first took to be a suspension bridge; but which, on closer examination, turned out to be a fishing apparatus. Then by the commencement of the branch which flows through the Warree country into Benin, and after that, past Truro island. At ten o'clock anchor was let down opposite the town of Agbari, the commencement of the Oru country, where we stayed some time to purchase wood. An extensive palm-oil manufacture is carried on at this town; and we were

told by the people of the village that much of the firewood, which we saw heaped about in profusion, was required as fuel for the process of extracting oil from the palm nut. Between our departure at noon and time of anchoring at 7. p.m., we passed the many towns enumerated on my ascent; but did not stop at any of them, as we are in the most unhealthy part of the river, and it is the most unhealthy season of the year to be passing through it—when the water is falling. Despite our two hours' delay at Agbari, we made the best day's voyage the "Pleiad" has accomplished since coming into the river, having achieved a distance of nearly seventy miles. Our night was passed a few miles above Angiammah where we wish to complete our wooding in the morning; and this we hope to be our last resting-place between us and the sea. A sharp breeze, which had sprung up during the day, subsided before we came to anchor. During the night there was a very sickening and unpleasant odour from the marshy swamps in the neighbourhood.

Our engineer having been called up by mistake at 4 a.m., had the engine whistle at play long before we had light to see our way down the river; but when day dawned we proceeded as far as Angiammah. Whether it was the natives of this town that shot Mr. Lander we cannot ascertain; for there are three large towns in the

Angiammah or Hyammah district. The one opposite which anchor was dropped, is a very dirty, ill-fashioned place—like all the villages between Aboh and the sea, stretching parallel with the river over a long strip of bank—for the clearing behind cannot be effected without trouble; and "trouble" is a word as yet unknown in the African vocabulary. The Hyammah district extends to the other side of the river. A few hours' delay procured us as much wood as will bring us to the mouth of the river, and with what we have on board—some of it being kept from Rogan-Koto—will carry us over to Fernando Po. We did not stop at King Barrow's town or any other locality; and an hour after noon steamed by Sunday island, where we spent such a miserable Sunday on going up. It was with fear and trembling I watched the "Pleiad's" progress through Louis' creek; for the water was near the lowest condition of ebb tide—and the soundings, as we approached the upper end of Alburkah island, being one and a quarter, and a quarter less two fathoms, indicated the possibility of our being stuck in the mud for a while, and affording a browse to the remorseless musquitoes of Louis' creek. But the vessel has not stuck—we are rounding the corner, and see the broad sheet of the river before us—and, rounding it still, are in view of the broader expanse of——

The sea! the sea! once more! All hail to thee,

Father Neptune! though I feel an instinctive foreboding of suffering the indescribable and ridiculous horrors of sea-sickness, as soon as we get upon the bosom of thy dominions. But thoughts of this nonsensical kind are immediately banished from *my* mind, and ought to be with every one on board, by the consciousness of our debt of gratitude to God, who has mercifully granted us such a dispensation—for our being all here to-day, the same number and the same hands we had when leaving Clarence, without a single mishap by disease or accident.

At 3 p.m. anchor was let down a little above Barracoon point, and within sight of an ugly surf that was beating over the bar. Our Kruboys at once set with alacrity about emptying the canoes of coals, yams, and all articles of heavy bulk, preparatory to our proceeding to sea, which we do not purpose to attempt till the day after to-morrow, Monday. Nearly all the coal which was left behind at Iddah, has been kept for the most serious part of our voyage between this and Fernando Po—crossing the bar.

Mr. May and Richards went this morning (the 5th) to Brass river, by the creek opposite our mooring, and we expect, on their return this evening, to hear something of the state of affairs in the world at large—if not news from Clarence or from home. For we have been, socially

speaking, out of the civilized portion of the globe for the last four months, and existing in quite another hemisphere. But the delightful influence of the sea breeze, coming up as refreshing as zephyrs from Helicon, and wafting over my brow, inspires me with thoughts of home and of Old England! Three guns were fired this morning in a westerly direction from our ship, and we answered them by firing two; but no response to ours was given. Our voyagers to Brass returned in the evening without bringing us a word of news or a single newspaper.

Every man on board was out of bed on the morning of the 6th, at the time known in this part of the world as "cockerapeak,"* and steam was up, as the engine's whistle signified, at half-past four o'clock. We did not start, however, till daybreak at six a.m., and soon, passing by Cape Nun and Palm Point, got over the bar in safety, not a single breaker being visible on its surface to ruffle our passage. At breakfast time next morning, the land of Fernando Po was visible, and at 5 p.m., anchor was dropped in Clarence Cove, to the music of a salute of five guns from our ship, responded to by a volley of seven from the cannon at Longfield, and by the cheers of hundreds of the inhabitants, gathered together on the top of the hill near Mr. Lynslager's house.

* The dawn of day, or when the cock crows, is thus described by the Anglo-African jabber.

Owing to my time being so much occupied in the trading part of our expedition, as well as in seeing proper hygienic and prophylactic measures to avert fever carried out, I had not leisure for any meteorological observations. This has been efficiently done by Dr. Baikie, both with thermometer and barometer, and appears in his report to the Admiralty. Very little rain fell during our stay up the river, though from Ojogo to Hamarrua the rising of the water was noticeable every day. As it had commenced falling before our return, we could not ascertain the maximum point of elevation at any place; but at Oruko on our coming back, as well as at Dagbo, it was nearly twelve feet higher than on our ascent. An interval of fifty-eight days intervened between both periods. The river at Oruko is said to be fordable in the dry season. Of course the current increased on our ascent—with the rising of the water, and with the narrowing of the bed of the stream. Up to Aboh its average was about two knots; then as the river widened it became less; but opposite Anyashi on our return, and about forty miles above Zhibu on our ascent, the current was six knots per hour. In the upper parts of the river a glorious breeze prevailed frequently, that made the atmosphere cool and agreeable, and we had thus an opportunity of verifying an observation of M'Queen's, in his "Geographical Survey of Africa." He writes,

"The prevailing trade winds blow right up the streams of the African rivers. This is the case with the Niger, and in a particular manner the time it is in flood. For ten months in the year, but particularly from May till November, the prevailing wind in the Bights of Benin and Biaffra is from south-west—thus blowing right up all the outlets of the Niger." In the "Pleiad's" expedition, she had a breeze that would have been more than sufficient to stem the current, had her canvass been brought as far up as Hamarrua. So strong was it when we were drifting down towards Zhibu, it offered quite an obstacle to her progress, and made her rock as though she were on the ocean.

Fernando Po realizes all the anticipations generated from the name, given to it by its first discoverer, of "Ilha Formosa" (the Beautiful Island). It was found out, during some period of the Portuguese geographical explorations in the fifteenth century, by a navigator, whose name it now bears. Dr. Hensman has styled it the "Madeira of the Gulf of Guinea," and I believe that, were it fully peopled, cleared, and tilled, it would be one of the finest islands in the world in point of beautiful scenery, abundant produce, and inexhaustible resources. As a location for a governmental establishment to neutralize the slave trade in the Bights of Benin and Biaffra, it is far preferable to Sierra Leone, as its

position commands the mouths of all the rivers debouching into the Gulf of Guinea; whereas Sierra Leone is at the distance of some thousands of miles from them. Unfortunately it belongs to the Spanish government, who are acting like the dog in the manger with it; unable or unwilling to develop its resources themselves, and equally unwilling to dispose of it to the British government.

It is about thirty-six miles in length, and eighteen in breadth; the former being from north to south, and the latter from east to west. The aborigines are called Adeeyahs, or Boobies, and no ethnological affinity can be recognised between them and the natives of the continent. The island contains several thousands of them. Their bodies are all smeared over with a red clay mixed with oil; their dress consists of little more than a monkey skin before and behind, fastened by a mutual circumference of string. The majority of them who go bareheaded, have their hair clotted with this raddle pomatum, and twisted into long spiral curls; whilst such as wear a hat, have it fastened through the hair by a skewer, that passes from one side of the head to the other. Some of the chief men have enormous feathers in their hats, and on their arms and legs are girdles of sea-shells. Huge cicatrices on their faces, caused by incisions made when they are young, give them quite a

horrific appearance. Yet withal they seem a very timid, inoffensive people, of whose placid temper the Krumen located on the island (at the time of a British settlement made at Clarence by Captain Owen in 1827) were accustomed to take advantage, and make marauding expeditions into their territory.

Clarence, which is the chief town of the island, contains a population of about a thousand negroes, chiefly liberated Africans, and is the residence of H. B. M. Consul for the Bight of Biaffra. The inhabitants dress in the European style, and are very courteous in their bearing when met with in the streets. The peak of Clarence is more than twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, and no doubt has been in former times a volcano. For on walking from the beach up to the town, basaltic scoriæ may be seen imbedded in strata of soft clay, through which the road is cut. These are of such a size that they could have been placed there by no human power available in this part of the world, and are essentially different in their geological formation from the earth in which they are impacted.

Points Adelaide and William form the extreme boundaries of Clarence Cove, which is situated in Maidstone Bay. Near the end of Point William is a plaster monument, fabricated by one of the terra-cotta artists of New Road, London, having on it the following inscrip-

tion:—"Sacred to the memory of the officers and men, who died whilst serving in the expedition to the river Niger, under the British government, in the years 1841 and 1842. This monument is erected by their shipmates and relatives." Between this monument and the new prison is a huge wild cotton-tree, near which Governor Beecroft, lately her British Majesty's consul for the Bight of Biaffra, lies buried, and whose name is associated with all West African enterprise for the last twenty-five years. He knew every creek up every river in the Gulf of Guinea, and made the highest ascent of the Kwarra achieved by any of its explorers. Opposite the prison is placed a range of guns to defend the harbour; and at Longfield, on the other side of the cove, is another row of these implements of warfare, but they are seldom used except in firing salutes. The chief houses, constituting the foreground of the town visible from the sea, are the establishment of a Liverpool merchant, the chapel and residence pertaining to the Baptist mission, a new house erected by the late Governor Beecroft, but now in possession of a long-resident merchant, Mr. Lynslager, whose own residence is the nearest of all to the sea-road, and whose open-hearted hospitality is proverbial.

The grave-yard of Clarence is situated at the end of Waterfall Street, where the murmur of a slight cascade

in the river hard by, gives a very musical lull to one's feelings on entering. Here many of the heroes of African exploration are buried—officers of men-of-war; a Baptist missionary clergyman; Dr. Vogel, the botanist, Capt. Bird Allen, R.N., and Richard Lander, who, though his grave be here unmarked, has built up for himself a *monumentum ære perennius* by his great discovery of the Niger's termination. The brushwood is remarkably dense, as if vegetation assumed new life from the many dead bodies underneath.

African oak grows at Fernando Po; yellow camwood, lignum-vitæ, satinwood, ebony, and mahogany, with the palm-tree. Cloves grow up on the hill; cinnamon, tamarinds, and all kinds of intertropical fruits, flourish in the neighbourhood of Clarence. On the beach are a number of coal sheds for supplying steamers of the African squadron, and a line of stores belonging to the traders of the town. To its west side is a collection of huts styled Krutown, where a number of Krumen are generally located, the majority of them being *en route* from the oil rivers to their own country.

STEAMING HOMEWARD ON THE FOURTH OF DECEMBER.

Our voyage from Fernando Po to England had nothing in it worth recording. Unfortunately, as we were rounding Cape Badgely, coming out of Maidstone

Bay, part of the "Pleiad's" engine broke; and the damage being irreparable then and there, we were obliged to put into Prince's Island for an additional stock of provisions. This island is situated about 140 miles to the S. W. of Fernando Po, in lat. 1° 25′ N., and long. 7° 20′ E. It was discovered in 1471 by one of the Portuguese navigators, Santarem or Escobar, and is an appanage to the Portuguese crown. It is about seven leagues in circumference, and contains a population of from four to five thousand, whereof St. Antonio, the only town in the island, contains more than two thousand.

This capital presents a perfect aspect of desolation; and the majority of the houses have a chilly, filthy air of poverty about them, seeming only fit residences for lizards, reptiles, and crawling things. The harbour is a very fine one; but, on entering it, the ruined condition of Fort St. Anna on the one side, and of Fort da Point de Mina on the opposite, prepared us for the state of the town. All the shops appear as if a ray of blessed sunshine never crossed their doorways, to dazzle the moths and spiders in their dark retreats. There are six chapels in St. Antonio, and six more at different stations of the island.

Its chief products are coffee, cocoa, mandioca, and cassava, from which farina is extensively manufactured.

Palm-trees grow in profusion, but the oil is manufactured only for domestic use, not for exportation. Some cotton is also grown. The zoological productions of the island I had quite an opportunity of being acquainted with, as, before starting, our deck was crowded with geese, turkeys, ducks, fowls, goats, and a few pigs, which must have been descendants of that family written of by Carleton as formerly existing in Ireland, with "sharp backs and long noses, that were used through the country in the hunting season, when dogs were scarce!"

We sighted St. Thomas's two days after leaving Prince's, and sailed between St. Michael's and Terceira, two of the Azores, or Western Islands, nearly six weeks after our leaving Fernando Po. Contrary winds prevailing, and no steam available, our little ship could not battle against the easterly breeze, and get into either Cork or Plymouth, to which she was ordered. But after skimming across the Atlantic, baffled and beaten about, our provisions nearly run short, we got up the river Shannon in the middle of February, and came to anchor off Tarbert. Repairs to her engine having enabled her to proceed from Limerick to London, she accomplished this voyage, as she did the whole from Liverpool out, without her progress being marked by a single death. How this was effected my next chapter will explain.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON MALARIA—DECEPTIVE APPEARANCE OF AFRICAN RIVERS—PROFESSOR DANIEL'S THEORY OF MALARIA—ENUMERATION AND SPECIFICATION OF OBJECTIONS TO IT—ANALYSIS OF CALABAR RIVER WATER—OPINIONS OF DRS. FERGUSSON, WATSON, AND MADDEN—DR. BRYSON'S SUGGESTIONS—NECESSITY OF A RAPID PASSAGE THROUGH THE DELTA—CLOTHING—DIET—MORAL INFLUENCES—PREVENTION OF FEVER—ADMINISTRATION OF QUININE—CAUSES TO WHICH MAY BE ATTRIBUTED THE SAFETY OF THE PLEIAD'S CREW—NECESSITY OF ATTENTION TO THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SKIN IN INTERTROPICAL CLIMATES.

AT the first view of an African river, the voyager who has been a reader of Liebig may remember that he has written,* "the oxygen which is produced from green vegetable substances is an enemy and opponent of all contagion and miasma." In my first and superficial glance, I was puzzled to understand how malaria could be generated, where so great a quantity of oxygen must be constantly in process of development, amongst trees and shrubs of such perpetual verdure as those which gird the embouchures into the sea of all the West African rivers.

* Chemistry and Physics in Relation to Physiology and Pathology, p. 66.

Yet that malaria and fever are cause and effect in Western Africa, as they are all the world over, there can be no doubt to any one who has once penetrated that region. At certain seasons of the year, as soon as we come within sphere of the germination of malaria, our olfactory nerves frequently make us sensible of its presence. Walking along pathways through the brush-wood, and far away from what we are apt to consider as the indispensables of decomposition, we occasionally become conscious of a "steamy vapour," which flies up with intensity sufficient to bring on an attack of ague (with persons predisposed to it) in the course of a few hours. Voyaging in a boat up the creeks that abound in the rivers of the Bight of Biaffra, an odour of a more disagreeable flavour, but not so suddenly oppressive, often greets us. Endemic fever attacks a large proportion of the crews of nearly every ship sent out for the purpose of trading; and the ultimate chances of recovery depend, perhaps, as much, if not more, on the diminution of the main exciting cause, by removal of the invalid from its influence, as on the idiosyncrasy of the patient, or the efficiency of therapeutic means for the removal of the disease.

Whence, then, comes this malaria, that has so long given a deadly name to these rivers and shores? The late Professor Daniel thus answered:—"It appears to

me, that there are only two sources to which it can, with any probability, be referred; namely, submarine volcanic action, in which case its evolution might be considered direct or primary, and the reaction of the vegetable matter upon the saline contents of the water, in which case it would be secondary. The probability of a volcanic origin is, I think, small, from the absence, I believe, of any other indications of volcanic action, and from the great extent of the coast along which it has been traced. What is known of the action of vegetable matter upon the sulphates, and the immense quantities of vegetable matter which must be brought by the rivers within the influence of the saline matter of the sea, renders, on the contrary, the second origin extremely probable. Decaying vegetable matter abstracts the oxygen from the sulphate of soda contained in sea water, and a sulphuret of sodium is formed. This again, acting upon the water, decomposes it, and sulphuretted hydrogen gas is one of the products of the decomposition."

This distinguished chemist therefore inferred, that sulphuretted hydrogen gas, produced as thus explained, was the basis of malaria. Eight bottles of water taken up from different parts of the coast were forwarded to him for analysis; and in one specimen, that of water taken from the Bay of Lopez, the gas amounted to the same proportion as it exists in the waters of Harrogate—

I believe sixteen cubic inches to a gallon. Yet, although it has been stated that this gas impregnates the seas and rivers along shore in enormous quantities, through an extent of more than 16° of latitude, as well as that the $\frac{1}{1600}$th part of sulphuretted hydrogen gas in the atmosphere acts as a direct poison upon small animals, I have objections to this theory, from a distrust of its correctness, for the following reasons:—

Firstly.—Because the unhealthiness of Western Africa is not confined to the coast, nor to the localities where sulphuretted hydrogen gas can be generated by the action of decomposing vegetable matter on salt water; but seems—at least it has done so in former expeditions—to increase with the ascent of the rivers, and not to be absent from countries very distant from the seashore. In Mungo Park's second expedition, of 44 Europeans who accompanied him from the Gambia, 39 died between Shrouda and Sansanding, several hundred miles from the mangrove swamps, through which they passed without loss. In Laird and Oldfield's Niger expedition of 1833, out of 40 Europeans 9 only returned—the majority dying near Adamuggoo, more than 150 miles from the river's bar; and in the Government expedition of 41-42, there was a mortality of 48 out of 145—only 15 escaping the river fever, which did not make its appearance until the ships were at Iddah, nearly 200 miles from the sea!

The mortality increased as they ascended to Egga, about 80 miles above the confluence. In Captain Tuckey's expedition up the Congo in 1816, 56 men died —the greatest number at the highest point of progress, 280 miles from the coast. Sulphuretted hydrogen gas, begotten of mangrove and salt water, could have had nothing to do with these facts of mortality; and the cause of them is undecided.

Secondly.—If this theory of Professor Daniel's were correct, malaria should be generated in every part of the tropics where the elements for its manufacture existed. On the opposite coast of Brazil, and up the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, vegetation is as profuse and as luxuriant as in Western Africa, and yet malaria is not developed in like proportion. The Maranham river, on the northern coast of Brazil, in lat. 4°. S., long. 44°. W. —only two degrees north of the deadly Congo, the scene of Captain Tuckey's luckless expedition—rises from sixty to seventy feet in height during the rainy season, extending from June to August. During the following three months it falls a like amount, leaving behind it a quantity of earthy detritus, decomposing vegetable matter, and so forth, on which the salt water must act, as the tide ascends to 60 miles from the river's mouth. "It is very strange," observes Dr M'Cormack,* "that

* Methodus Medendi, p. 29.

according to writers in the Naval Medical Statistics, extensive districts in South America, abounding with the usual sources, so esteemed, of malaria, should yet display little or no periodical disease, while regions in the same parallel in Africa, neither hotter perhaps, nor abounding with more exuberant vegetation, are proverbial for its frequency and severity."

Thirdly.—Professor Daniel seems to have lost sight of the fact, that waters brought from African rivers, and requiring a few months for their conveyance, cannot be expected to possess the same chemical properties in a laboratory in London as in their parent streams in Western Africa. The laws of chemistry are so uncertain, that these waters must be constantly undergoing changes not cognisable to subsequent analytical tests—if from no other, from meteorological causes. Professor Bischof of Bonn states, that "the sea-water in Africa will contain far less sulphuretted hydrogen than that analysed by Professor Daniel; and that this gas has for the most part been produced during the carriage of the waters to England."

Fourthly.—Fevers occur at Elmina, Cape Coast, and Akkra, although no mangrove swamps are there, as adynamic in their character as any that take place in the Bay of Lopez, where sulphuretted hydrogen gas is reported to be equal in quantity to that contained in the waters of Harrogate.

Fifthly.—Because my own experience does not justify my placing faith in Professor Daniel's experiments. When I was stationed in the Old Calabar river on board the "Magistrate," in 1851, and on board the "Loodianah," in 1853, I tested the water of that river, taken up at six different localities, ten miles from each other, but not higher than Duketown, above which the mangrove grows, and whose locality is about sixty miles from the bar, in lat. 4° 57′ 30″ N., long. 8° 9′ 15″ E. Now, as Baron Von Humboldt says,* that "salt water is necessary for the growth of mangrove," there must have been in all these specimens the elements necessary for the production of sulphuretted hydrogen gas. Some of the water was tested at the time of taking it up, and some of it kept for a month afterwards, before being submitted to analysis. It was preserved in a bottle with a ground glass stopper—in a bottle corked and sealed—in a bottle corked alone—and in an open jug. My reason for keeping it in a bottle with a ground glass stopper was, because Dr. M'William, in his register of experiments upon the waters of the river Niger, states that he had discovered sulphuretted hydrogen gas therein, but adds that he could not tell whether the gas was generated by the action of the tannin of the cork upon the water, or of the components of the water, one upon another. My

* Personal Narrative, vol. p. 374.

specimens were tested with solutions of sulphate of copper, of acetate of lead, and of nitrate of silver—all made in distilled water; yet in no instance was there evidence of sulphuretted hydrogen gas—a milkiness in the water produced by the nitrate of silver solution, and a bluish tinge by that of the sulphate of copper, being the only changes evident.

Pursuing the subject a little further, the experiments of Professor Daniel do not coincide in their conclusions with the practical experience of Dr. William Fergusson, corroborated by Dr. Watson, in his "Principles and Practice of Physic." He says,* that "vegetation is not necessary for the production of malaria, and that the peculiar poison may abound where there is no decaying vegetable matter, and no vegetable matter to decay." Dr. Watson, after giving some facts from a paper of Dr. Fergusson's, as of the encampment of the British army at Rosendaal and Oosterhout in Holland, in 1794, where remittent and intermittent fever appeared among the troops, bivouacking on a dry sandy soil without any vegetation—of the army, after the battle of Talavera, retreating into the plains of Estremadura, where all the country and the streams were dry from want of water, and remittent fever of destructive malignity almost extirpated our troops—of the river

* Dr. Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic, p 733.

Tagus at Lisbon dividing the healthy town from the Alentejo, which, though flat and sandy, is most pestiferous—thus continues,* "Now these facts, and facts like these, seem to prove that the malaria and the product of vegetable decomposition are two different things. They are often in company with each other; but they have no necessary connection. For producing malaria, it appears to be requisite that there should be a surface capable of absorbing moisture, and that this surface should be flooded and soaked with water, and then dried; and the higher the temperature, and the quicker the drying process, the more plentiful and the more virulent (more virulent probably because more plentiful) is the poison that is evolved."

Out of a mass of medical testimony compressed into one of the Blue Books of the House of Commons by Dr. Madden, and all relating to Western Africa, the only spark of light that is thrown on the subject of malaria, is the opinion given by Dr. Madden himself of the causes of mortality that occurred in the expeditions up the African rivers. "These perils are, in my opinion, occasioned by atmospherical conditions and circumstances connected with vegetation, and not by peculiarities in the waters of these countries. Wherever there is a hot and humid atmosphere, and an unculti-

* Op. cit. p. 735.

vated country, with a rich soil and rank rapid vegetation, the elements of African disease are to be found, and there also its perils avoided."

It will be observed, that each of the authorities quoted is of a different opinion about the *fons et origo mali* in malaria. One attributes it to "decomposing vegetable matter in its action on salt water;" another makes as a *sine quâ non* for its production, "a surface capable of absorbing moisture; this surface flooded and soaked with water, and then dried;" and the third will allow it to be "dependent on atmospherical conditions and circumstances connected with vegetation." With Dr. Madden I am more inclined to agree than with the others, particularly in his first sentence—Because, from the "steamy vapour" which is so abundant in Fernando Po, as well as through the countries up the rivers, I am induced to believe that the African malaria is an earthly emanation, caused by chemical changes that can only be produced from uncultivated land, or in a lesser degree from land undergoing the process of cultivation. All agricultural industry in Africa has proved that the cultivation of the soil is the most effectual way of doing away with the demon malaria; and this also makes me believe it to be a virus peculiarly *sui generis*, for the reasons advanced in my second objection to Professor Daniel's theory, did no others exist. In writing this, I am aware that I

advocate an opinion contrary to some of my medical brethren for whom I entertain a profound respect; but my conviction on this subject is further corroborated by the following extract from Captain Trotter's report of the expedition of 1842-43:—"The sickness of the coloured men on this occasion, shews, in some measure, that the constitution of the negro, whether of African or American birth, requires an habitual residence in Africa to be entirely exempt from the fever of the country. This is found to be the case in Liberia with the emigrants from North America; they all, with few exceptions, have fever on their first arrival, and many die; but those that recover are said to stand the climate afterwards." * If it can be proved to me that members of the Caucasian race, emigrating from one nation to another in Europe, require to be acclimatized before settling in foreign countries for their residence; or, if it can be demonstrated, that the peculiar narcotic "steamy vapour" written of, is generated in any intertropical country save Western Africa, then I shall give up my faith in the virus of fever here being a specific one; but not till then.

Leaving its organic composition an uncertainty, however, enough has been ascertained of it to verify that sulphate of quinine is the best prophylactic to its

* Parliam. Rep., p. 88.

influence on the human economy; and that cultivation of the soil, where it is generated, is the most effectual antagonist to its future formation. As the medical is the only portion of these positions that at present claims my attention, I will preface my account of our late successful voyage in the "Pleiad," and of the means that were taken to guarantee that success, by inserting some suggestions of Dr. Bryson's, written for our ship, confining myself at present to those which come under the heads of Hygienic and Prophylactic:—

SUGGESTIONS.

"There is not perhaps any region or place within the tropics of moderate elevation, that is not more or less injurious to the health of the natives of Northern Europe. As a general rule, high lands are more healthy than low lands; islands than continents; and dry localities than such as are wet or damp. The greatest amount of sickness occurs generally along the estuaries of large rivers, or on a level with the tide; though there is no doubt, that this is in some measure due to the congregation of a greater number of persons in these localities, than in others equally unhealthy though less suitable for the purpose of trade. We also know, that within the tropics there are regions in which particular kinds of disease prevail to a much greater

extent than in other regions placed in the same parallels of latitude; this cannot be explained, though it is generally assumed, that the disease in the one instance depends on the presence of some endemic product of the soil or atmosphere, which is absent in the other. In the West Indian islands, and along the east and west coasts of America, remitting and yellow fevers are the maladies more particularly destructive to Europeans; but dysentery is rare, and cholera a recent importation. Throughout the great Polynesian archipelago endemics of a fatal nature are unknown. On the coast of China both dysentery and periodic fevers rage with virulence; but yellow fever has not yet shown itself. Dysentery, remitting fever, and cholera infest the tropical regions of India, and the two former the shores of the Red Sea, and the eastern coast of Africa; but there is no reason to believe that they have ever suffered from the true yellow pestilence of the west. On the western coast of Africa, however, remitting fevers prevail at all seasons, and yellow fever has sometimes broken out, and spread with desolating force amongst the white residents in the northern settlements. It once reached Fernando Po; but there is no proof, either written or oral, that it ever made its appearance on the banks of any of the large rivers which empty themselves into the bights of Benin or Biaffra. It is thus satisfactory to know, that the

Europeans of the expedition have no more reason to fear the eruption of any of the more destructive maladies peculiar to other quarters of the globe. Remitting fever, the common endemic of all hot countries, may break out; but by judicious arrangements, a rapid passage through the swamps of the Delta, and by the continuous use of quinine as a prophylactic, the risk of contracting even that form of fever may be greatly lessened.

CLOTHING.

"To preserve the healthy action of the skin, and prevent the body from being suddenly chilled, a thin light flannel jacket or a waistcoat should be worn next the skin. A duck frock or linen shirt, when wet either with rain or perspiration, imparts a cold, comfortless sensation to the whole system; but flannel, even though wet, retains the warmth of the body sufficiently to prevent any feeling of cold; while in dry, hot weather, it permits the perspiration to escape by evaporation much more freely than either cotton or linen. They should be made to hang loosely round the body, so that the air may be permitted to circulate freely between the skin and the flannel. A Guernsey frock, however light, is a bad substitute; it soon becomes saturated with perspiration, clings to the surface, irritates the skin, and produces

prickly heat in an aggravated form; its elasticity may be an advantage in a cold climate, but it is the contrary in one that is warm.

"Waistcoats made of thin white flannel have this advantage, that they are easily scoured with soap and warm water; they dry quickly when exposed to the sun's rays, or to a dry current of air. Moreover, they require no dressing or ironing. They should be made of white flannel, and large enough to cover the body from the neck to the thighs; and the arms, if not to the wrists, to the elbows. It is hardly necessary to state, that wet clothes should be changed for dry ones as soon as convenient.

"During the night-time blanket or flannel dresses should be worn by the night watches, as well as by every other person who has occasion to be exposed on the upper deck even for a quarter of an hour. They should also be worn in wet weather, should the temperature at any time feel so low as to enable the men to bear them with comfort. The native Africans or Krumen do not require bedding; but if the white men prefer sleeping on a mat spread on the deck, they will do well to wear their flannel dresses; and those who have a hair paillasse will find one cotton sheet under and another over them all that is required in the shape of bed-clothes.

"On the west coast of Africa, it is more safe to wear cotton than linen, and flannel than cotton next the skin; but to sleep on a bed between woollen sheets or blankets will hardly be possible, in consequence of the accumulation of heat and perspiration in the bed, and on the under surface of the body. The white men should invariably sleep below, if possible, while in the river; but should the torments inflicted by swarms of hungry musquitoes, or the excessive heat and closeness of the air between decks, compel them to seek for repose on the upper deck, then an awning with curtains ought invariably to be spread to protect them from dew, and to break the force of the wind, as it comes laden with poisonous exhalations from the swamps; for it is a well authenticated fact, that Europeans who sleep in the open air, without any screen or covering between them and the sky, or who sleep exposed to a current of air, are much more liable to contract fever than those who sleep under cover, and with some screen or defence between them and the wind.

DIET.

"It is an opinion very generally entertained, that on entering the tropics, Europeans ought to make some alteration in their mode of living; that they ought to eat less animal food, and more of a vegetable or a farinaceous

nature; diminishing, however, on the whole, the quantity taken daily. Whether this opinion be founded on any accurate knowledge of the requirements of the system under its altered circumstances, may be doubted. Those who have spent many years on the western coast of Africa, do not generally subscribe to the rule. They consider that the constitution will be best preserved by a generous diet, and further, that a sound state of health does not predispose to fever, or render the latter more intractable when it does occur. Those, therefore, who have led a temperate life, and eaten moderately of any or of every kind of food, while in this country, will do well not to change their mode of living, unless the necessity for a change be indicated by impaired digestion, or by some other circumstances affecting the general health; and in that case, common prudence will suggest to most people the propriety of abstaining from articles of food and drink which disagree with them, and of adhering only to those that do not disagree.

"Temperance, as regards eating or drinking, but more especially the latter, cannot be too strongly enjoined. A man may drink to excess in this country, and afterwards sleep in the open air with impunity; but were he to do the same on the coast of Africa, it is ten to one that he will contract a fever which will imperil his life;

for fevers, so contracted, are infinitely more dangerous than those which occur from simple exposure to the endemic cause, when free from the disturbing influence of intoxicating liquors.

MORAL INFLUENCES.

"As cheerfulness and contentment are conducive both to mental and bodily health in every situation of life, subjects of a gloomy or of a depressing nature should be most religiously avoided. The hope of success, the constant change of scene, the innumerable objects of interest, which must necessarily strike the eye at every bend of the river, will surely be sufficient to keep the mind in activity during the day, and prevent it from lapsing into that state of sullen moroseness, or apathetic resignation, which destroys sleep, and renders even life itself a burden to the possessor. For two or three hours after dark, both the white and coloured men should be encouraged to engage in healthful recreation under the awning: dancing, singing, story-telling, and even smoking in moderation, are all conducive to health. It cannot, in fact, be too strongly recommended, that the system which has so long been observed in every well-regulated man-of-war, should be as closely imitated as possible; for there is none more likely to remove from

the heated imagination those gloomy forebodings which occasionally prostrate both mind and body; thus rendering the system not only more susceptible of fever, but causing the medical treatment of the latter to become much more difficult and embarrassing.

PREVENTION OF FEVER.

"It is seldom that Europeans are attacked with fever on the west coast of Africa, unless they approach within about a mile of the land; but even within that distance attacks are rare, compared with their frequency on the shore itself; besides, the attacks which occur at sea, with few exceptions, are less severe than those contracted on land. Exposure by night is much more likely to induce an attack than exposure by day; and damp wooded localities, and swamps, are more dangerous than those that are dry, elevated, and free from bush. As fatigue either of mind or body renders the system more vulnerable to the exciting cause, they ought to be avoided. Violent exercise (and the longer it is continued it is the more dangerous) in the sun's rays, but more especially on shore, or in boats near the shore, predisposes to the attack.

"Exposure to rain, wet clothing, sleeping or even lying for a short time on cold damp ground, or on a damp

deck, should be carefully avoided. There is reason to believe that a very large proportion of the seamen who suffer from fever at Sierra Leone, and on other parts of the coast, contract the disease by sleeping on the ground; but this is more especially to be avoided after drinking or violent exertion, with exposure to the rays of the sun.

"The less frequently the people visit the shore, the greater will be the immunity from fever; but as it must be visited, the safest time in the day will be from four to eight o'clock in the evening, or from seven to nine in the morning; it may also be visited during the day with comparative impunity, provided the men do not expose themselves too freely to the sun's rays. The shorter the visit, the more likely they are to escape. It is worth mentioning, however, that less than two hours' exposure on shore has brought on an attack of fever, though there is no reason to suppose that a shorter period may not suffice. From an hour or two before midnight, until six or seven o'clock in the morning, is the most dangerous time for Europeans to be exposed on shore. If it be necessary to land early, breakfast should invariably be taken before leaving the vessel.

"As it is of the greatest importance that the swamps of the Delta should be passed with as little delay as possible, it would be well that the vessel took in as

much water, wood, coals, and other necessaries, either at Fernando Po or Prince's Island, as will enable her to reach the Tshadda, without communicating with either side of the river; and in taking these articles on board, the Africans alone should be sent on shore, as none of the white men ought to incur the risk of contracting fever by landing at either of these islands, or indeed on the banks of the Niger. Should it be necessary to stop for additional supplies, or for any other purpose, on the way up, the black men should hold communication with the localities. There is the most abundant proof that the nearer a vessel approaches the land the greater is the risk of her crew contracting fever. Whether this holds good within the river is not known; but in a prudential point of view, it might be as well to keep as nearly amid channel as possible, whether steaming or at anchor, until at all events a point is gained high up in the Tshadda, where the country being, it is hoped, more free from mangrove thickets, will unquestionably be more healthy.

"Supposing that none of the white men have been within half a mile of the land, or any part of the coast, as soon as the expedition crosses the bar of the river, they should commence taking quinine, in the proportion of from six to eight grains per diem, one half in the morning and the other in the evening. It is immaterial

whether it be taken before or after meals, in solution or in pills. This valuable medicine has now been in use in the African squadron for several years as a preventive of fever, when any of the men were exposed to malaria on shore, or in boats near the shore; and when given according to the instructions, that is, during the whole time that the men were exposed to malaria from the land, and for fourteen days afterwards, it has not only lessened the liability to contract fever, but it has also lessened the virulence of the disease when it was contracted. The crews of the vessels employed on the African station being now well acquainted with its effects, take it without a scruple; and there is no reason to anticipate that those of the "Pleiad" will not do the same when its uses are explained to them. Dissolved in sherry (as in the naval service), it forms a bitter but not a nauseous draught; it tends to improve the appetite, and gives tone to the system; but as, amongst all classes of men, there are a few whose constitutions differ from the many, it will be incumbent on the medical officer to watch its effects on the different individuals under his care, and so to regulate its administration, that all may be brought under its protective influence. Should it produce much headache, deafness, buzzing in the ears, or any other unpleasant sensation, it ought not on that account to be discontinued, but the quantity given should

be reduced, until it can be borne without producing great discomfort. If the solution be disliked, or be taken with reluctance, it should be tried in the form of pills, or in whatever form it may be most readily taken.

"Whether or not the influence of quinine on the system, like that of other medicines, becomes lessened by long-continued use, we have no knowledge; possibly the question may be determined during the present expedition. It will, however, be advisable to continue its administration daily, until the vessel has fairly passed beyond the swamps, and for at least fourteen days afterwards, so that its antagonistic action may be kept up beyond the usual incubative period of the fever. And on the return of the vessel, or on her entering any other newly-discovered swampy region, it will be necessary to commence its use, and to continue as before, for fourteen days after she has left the swamps, or crossed the bar of the river into the open waters of the ocean."

Although I had made arrangements for the sanitary regulations of the ship and crew before these suggestions came into my hands; yet in these, as well as in the remainder of them which follow, there is such an unanimity between the respected author's opinions and my own, that I give them here in his words, for the benefit of any future expedition.

With reference to his advice about an awning with curtains for those who were to sleep on deck, there was an awning permanently over the "Pleiad" from stem to stern; and a curtain to hang down by the side of the quarterdeck at night, or during rain. Some of our officers slept in cots on deck invariably; and others were occasionally compelled to pass the greater part of the night there, owing to the abominable serenading of the bloodthirsty musquitoes. I consider a fixed awning to be indispensable on board any ship intended for exploration of a West African river.

Five years' experience in Africa have impressed me with the necessity of attending to clothing; of taking care to avoid wetting, and, if this be inevitable, of changing clothes as soon as possible. Equally important is making it an invariable rule never to go ashore in the morning without breakfast, or an equivalent to it, in the shape of a cup of coffee.

Dr. Bryson's opinion of the prophylactic influence of quinine,* demonstrated by reports from the medical officers of the African squadron, first turned my attention seriously to consider it in the light wherein I believe it to be the most valuable—before fever, striking a blow at the virulence of malaria; after fever,

* *Vide* Article on "Prophylactic Influence of Quinine," in Medical Times and Gazette, January 7, 1854, by A. Bryson, M.D.

screwing the debilitated system out of the abyss of adynamia. Hitherto I had only known it to be used promiscuously in the treatment of fever and ague, in the pyrexial as well as the powerless condition. From the day before we crossed the bar, I commenced giving quinine solution to all the Europeans on board. Not having sufficient quantity of the medicated wine, I dissolved the sulphate in like proportions in water, and added two glasses of wine to each pint of my solution. Some of the officers at first grumbled in taking it, and drank it with a very sour face; but soon all, with one exception, came to be so anxious for it, that had I not made a rule to put the bottle and glass over the engine-room every morning at daybreak, they would be down at my bedside for the dose. The man whom I could not train in to take it was one of our second mates, who in the course of our voyage had a few severe attacks of remitting fever, accompanied with delirium, for which I was obliged to shave his head, and administer sedatives and sudorifics. After some time our negro men craved for it; and the Krumen even commenced to steal it.

I think a fact, which I am about to state here, will answer the following paragraph in Dr. Bryson's suggestions:—"Whether or not the influence of quinine on the system, like that of other medicines, becomes lessened

by long-continued use, we have no knowledge; possibly the question may be determined during the present expedition." I had it dispensed daily for the Europeans under my charge, from the day before we crossed the bar to three weeks after our return to Fernando Po, a period of a hundred and forty days. In no single case could I recognise its failure. When some of our officers, who, from not taking it punctually, got slight attacks of remittent, the accession always yielded to an active purge of calomel, colocynth, and taraxacum, with doses of quinine increased to ten grains. The symptoms subdued, I returned to the original dose of quinine, observing after each occurrence the precaution to lecture them on their irregularity in taking it; pointing out its benefits, and impressing them with the fact, that our return through the Delta would be in the most unhealthy season of the year. Despite of these attacks, and of our prolonged stay up the river, we had the same number and the same men, twelve Europeans and fifty-four Africans, on our return to Fernando Po, that we had on board when leaving it, the 8th of July. The preservation of their health I attribute to the following causes:—

First.—To our having entered the river at the least unhealthy season of the year, when the water is rising.

Second.—To my having induced the Europeans to

take quinine solution daily, without making any fuss for its palpable necessity.

Third.—To our not being required to stow green wood in the bunkers, in consequence of having the iron canoes for its conveyance.

Fourth.—By attending to the health of the ship and crew, in having all the water used on board passed through the engine's boiler before it was filtered; having the deck dry scraped instead of washed; and looking after some of Sir William Burnett's zinc solution being passed down the bath floor twice a week, taking care to have the bilge-water pumped out daily.

Last,—Though not the least in consequence, keeping up the hilarity of all on board by the Krumen's nightly dance to the music of a drum, kindly lent to us by Mr. Lynslager of Fernando Po.

There is one thing not alluded to in the previous suggestions, which I think it would be culpable in me to pass over unnoticed. I mean the utility of daily ablution, with a shower bath, if it can be procured. We had one on board the "Pleiad," and found its use most refreshing and invigorating. Attention to the functions of the skin in any part of the world, but especially in a tropical climate, is as necessary as any rule about the preservation of health. Dr. James Johnson, in his work on "Intertropical Diseases," writes earnestly of the

sympathy between the liver and skin. Knowing such a sympathy to exist, then, and aware of the important functions which the liver carries on in the torrid Zone, this ought to be, of all hygienic rules, the most assiduously cared for. Whether E. Wilson's statement in the Philosophical Transactions for 1844, of a German physician, named Dr. Simon, having discovered *Entozoa folliculorum* in the perspiratory tubes, be correct or not, is a matter of little worth for practical men to inquire into. Enough for us to know, that Lavoisier and Seguin have estimated eight grains of perspiration to be exhaled by the skin in the course of a minute, a quantity equal to thirty-three ounces in twenty-four hours; that two thousand five hundred are the number of square inches over the body of a man of ordinary height and dimensions; two thousand eight hundred the average number of pores in a square inch, constituting a length of seven hundred inches; that these multiplied shew seven million of pores, and seven million seven hundred and fifty thousand perspiratory tubes—that is, a hundred and forty-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-three feet, or forty-eight thousand six hundred yards, or nearly twenty-eight miles! and enough to teach us the necessity of keeping the skin in a healthy condition. Its natural function is an exhalant not an absorbent one; and if this position be reversed by ne-

glect, the consequences in Africa are sure to be worse than they could be at home. Should the healthy exhalation of the skin be suppressed or arrested, its power to absorb is increased; and then not only what has been eliminated through the perspiratory tubes is again taken in, but with it the deadly poison of paludal malaria finds an entrance into the human economy.

What I have mentioned as the third cause of the "Pleiad's" being so healthy, is one that must not be lost sight of in any future expedition; for I believe it was stowing green wood in the bunkers that more than any thing else contributed to the disastrous results of former voyages, particularly to that of the government expedition in 1842.

The article on the prophylactic influence of quinine, to which allusion has been made (at page 214), contains the annexed paragraphs, which I deem this a very appropriate place for introducing to the notice of my readers—to the palm-oil merchants of England more especially:—"I have been reminded by an obliging communication, which I received only two days ago from Mr. Hickmann, secretary to the commander-in-chief (Rear-Admiral Bruce), of the necessity there is for adopting some measures different from those which now exist, for the preservation of the health of the seamen employed in merchant vessels on the coast of Africa.

Vast numbers of these men, in the very prime of life, die every year of fevers contracted on the coast, and yet no one seems to know any thing about them. As these vessels generally carry (for the prevention of scorbutic disease) a supply of lime-juice, which, in consequence of the great abundance of yams and fruit, is nearly if not entirely useless, I would venture to submit, that instead of the lime-juice, they ought to carry a sufficiency of quinine wine for the use of the crew, which should be administered in the same manner as in the men-of-war on the station." The suggestion of using medicated wine for lime-juice is one that only requires a twelve-month's trial to prove its superiority. Were such a regulation as this carried out, Western Africa would cease to have the vile character it receives over the civilized world. But in merchant vessels it cannot be served as in men-of-war. From the former, boats are not sent on detached service; but the ships are moored, some for six, others for twelve, and many for eighteen months, in the very hotbeds of malaria. The endemic fever generally breaks out amongst the crew, at periods varying from four to eight weeks, after the vessel's arrival at her station. I would therefore suggest that the medicated wine should be given daily for two months after the ship has crossed the bar—that it should be administered again for a month at the end of

the wet season—and always kept on board for use in an accession of fever amongst the officers or crew. If the merchants and supercargoes do not take these suggestions in their hands, the attention of medical men to them will be unavailing. Messrs. Howard and Kent, the quinine manufacturers of Stratford, near London, prepare a solution of this drug, containing three ounces of it in a pint of the solution. Of this, a fluid drachm (or a teaspoonful) contains twelve grains, which will suffice for three ordinary doses in a glass and a half of sherry wine.

I am of opinion, that daily washing the decks of a ship moored in an African river, is any thing but conducive to the health of those on board; being covered from stem to stern with bamboo roofs, these must necessarily prevent the perfect evaporation from the water impregnated with the germs of malaria, and hence it will be inspired by the crew. Dry-scraping the decks every day, and washing them only once a week, I would strongly recommend as a substitute.

CHAPTER IX.

ON FEVER—ITS DIVISION INTO SPECIES—NO BELIEF IN THAT OF ACCLIMATIZATION—DR. BRYSON'S SUGGESTIONS CONTINUED—EMETICS—ABSTRACTION OF BLOOD—SALIVATION—OBJECTIONS TO ALL THREE PRACTICES—GASTRIC IRRITABILITY—THE ABYSS OF ADYNAMIA—PARALYSIS AND DYSENTERY SUPERVENING ON FEVER—THERAPEUTIC MANAGEMENT—ADVANTAGE OF CHANGE OF CLIMATE.

HAVING disposed of the Hygienic and Prophylactic part of our subject, I turn now to the Therapeutic treatment of fever.

African fever may be divided into the Continued, the Remittent, and the Intermittent—the first being the rarest, and the two last the most frequent. Continued and Remittent have sometimes degenerated into Typhus Icterodes, and as naval records tell us, into Epidemic Yellow fever, or "the true yellow pestilence of the west coast," of which I am thankful I have had no experience.

Ever entertaining a belief that there is no acclimatizing fever in Western Africa, the following extract from Dr. Bryson's work* strengthens my opinion:—"In the report

* Report on the Climate and Principal Diseases of the African Station, by A. Bryson, M.D, p. 83.

of the Atholl in 1829, which had been stationed in the Bights, it is remarked that the cases of fever have recovered much more slowly of late than formerly (a twelvemonth ago), so that, instead of its being an advantage to be acclimatized, it is apprehended it will be found quite the reverse; for the system becomes relaxed and debilitated by the enervating influences of the climate, and consequently it is more difficult to restore it to a state of health and vigour." The faith of Fordyce, with reference to persons becoming hardened to the effects of the malarious or contagious principle, is only true in Africa of cases where the malaria has not become developed into any form of the fever. When the human constitution is acclimatized, it is most effectually accomplished without fever; but, very frequently, the idiosyncrasy of the patient, or a combination of powerful predisposing causes, will tend to the conversion of miasma into a continued, remittent, or intermittent attack. "In proportion as the body is weakened or exhausted, it yields more readily to the pernicious influence of contagion or malaria; but by obviating all causes of debility, and fortifying the system, we walk with comparative security amid surrounding pestilence."* A good constitution may become acclimatized by abstinence from ardent spirits, unless used medicinally—by attention to

* Dr. Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic, p. 77.

food and clothing, and to the functions of the skin—by healthy exercise, and a cheerful confidence in the performance of the means recommended—the best that can be adopted to obviate the "enervating influence of climate." Every phase of African fever that I have seen was adynamic; and therefore the system, after each attack, is rendered more impressible to the recurrence of another, by its being subjected to any of the causes of this disease. The causes may be divided into Exciting and Predisposing. The *Exciting* is malaria; the *Predisposing* are—constant exposure to the main exciting cause—intemperance—fear and anxiety—want of attention to cleanliness of person—sudden change of temperature without attention to clothing—heavy wetting without changing clothing—over fatigue—constipation.

And these causes being allowed to produce their effect, either singularly or in combination, by inattention to the rules prescribed in the preceding pages, we have to consider the fact of fever before us. The suggestions of Dr. Bryson on this subject, written for our late expedition, and continuous with those previously inserted, so perfectly coincide in my own views and established practice, that I cannot do better than give them here:—

"Though the medical officer of the expedition must

necessarily be left to follow out his own views with respect to the treatment of disease, it is nevertheless assumed that the following observations will not be considered as any infringement of the rules of professional decorum, or as an attempt to dictate on the grounds of superior knowledge; for it may be safely affirmed, that we are still nearly as much in the dark, with respect to the real cause and nature of fever, as we are with respect to the unexplored course of the Tshadda itself. We may relieve the more violent symptoms, and thus guide the patient over the dangers of the passage; but we cannot, when it is once established, arrest the onward course of the malady.

"Like the generality of febrile diseases, the endemic of Africa commences with a sensation of cold, creeping as it were over the surface, dull aching pains in the back, limbs, and head, loss of appetite and lassitude. These symptoms may continue from one to three or four days before a distinct rigor take place, or the fever set in. Should the above symptoms present themselves in a man who has been on shore, or otherwise exposed within range of its swampy emanations, an attack is to be apprehended, though it does not always follow; the exciting cause failing through its own weakness, the strength of the constitution, or the resisting power of the quinine previously taken, to establish pyrexial

action. In former times it used to be the practice to attempt to arrest the evolution of the disease by giving an emetic, by bleeding, or by causing in some other way a sudden shock to the system. Amongst uneducated men it was not unusual even to attempt to drive the fever off by drinking largely of brandy and water. It is hardly necessary to say, that all these measures were worse than useless, and that they have now been abandoned for others of a less violent kind.

"When it is ascertained or suspected, that a man is labouring under the premonitory symptoms just described, if the constitutional effect of quinine (cinchonism) has not already been established, the dose should be increased, or it might be given more frequently, until the quantity taken amounts to twenty or thirty grains in the day, or until its specific action is felt in the head. If able and willing, he may be permitted to continue at his duties, avoiding those, however, which require much exertion, and he should not be permitted to go into boats or to land. His inclination for food should be the guide as to diet, whether as regards quantity or quality, unless he crave for articles likely to prove injurious should the fever supervene. If he seem at all alarmed, an attempt should be made to quiet his mind by cheerful conversation, casually directed to subjects unconnected with his own state of health. These are the kind of

measures which may be most safely taken to arrest the development of the fever; when they fail, and there is no longer any question as to the manifestation of febrile symptoms, then others of a remedial nature will require to be adopted.

"If the patient complain of sickness and an inclination to vomit, an emetic of ipecacuanha and tartarized antimony will often afford relief by ridding the stomach of food it is unable to digest. The bowels will next require to be opened. Calomel or jalap, or the compound powder of the latter, are both useful purgatives; but should they be rejected, which is not unlikely, twenty grains of calomel given with white sugar will often have the desired effect, especially if assisted by a solution of Seidlitz or Epsom salts.

"The abstraction of blood by venesection is a dangerous remedy; for though it may for the moment relieve headache, and lower the force of the pulse, it will not cut short the fever, or permanently lessen the intensity of its action; on the contrary, it may in the end produce so much debility, as seriously to endanger the patient's life. It is, therefore, recommended that it be employed with great caution, and only in cases which are complicated, with positive inflammation of some one of the vital organs. The idea that a general inflammatory state of the whole system may exist in fever, and that the latter

may be lessened by the abstraction of part of the vital fluid, is a delusion; dissection has amply proved, that local inflammation, or even congestions which endanger life, are comparatively rare complications; when they do occur, they are so self-evident that they cannot escape detection; the fever then loses its individuality, and becomes of secondary consideration only as regards the treatment. When the headache, which is generally intense in the first and second paroxysms, becomes alarming from the apparent congestion of the brain, and the force with which the blood is driven upwards through the carotid arteries, a few leeches (eight or a dozen) applied to the temples, or a cupping-glass to the nape of the neck, may afford relief; cold lotions frequently applied to the head are also useful. But the temporal artery, in consequence of its liability to reopen, when the plastic properties of the blood are much impaired, should never be cut. The effects of sponging the body with cold water or spirituous lotions; the tepid bath and cold drinks given *ad libitum* when the fever runs high, are so well known that it is hardly necessary to mention them; though the assiduous administration of even these seemingly unimportant remedies, changed and removed according to the feelings of the patient, may greatly lessen the weight of his sufferings. And it should never be forgotten that the kind of instinctive desire that the patient expresses for

particular kinds of medicine is not an unimportant guide in the treatment of these maladies.

"The writer of these remarks has no hesitation in expressing a decided opinion with respect to the use or rather abuse of calomel as a remedy in the endemic fevers of Africa. Given as a purgative in the early stages, or when the stomach is irritable, it is often useful, but given frequently, and in large doses during the fever, with a view of producing ptyalism, it is positively injurious. Formerly it was supposed, that when ptyalism was produced, the fever ceased in consequence, and that it would not again recur. The patient was in fact considered to be safe; but the experience of recent years has led to a different mode of viewing the question; and it is now generally admitted that the fever does not cease in consequence of the ptyalism, but that the latter occurs in consequence of the cessation of fever; the cause was mistaken for the effect, and the effect for the cause. Ptyalism in fact cannot be produced under any circumstances or in any disease while fever exists; and that the presence of mercurial preparations in the system has no influence in retarding or removing pyrexial action, is evident from the fact, that patients frequently relapse after its specific action has been fully established, and sometimes die with their teeth loose in the sockets from its constitutional effects.

"Blisters to the occiput and nape of the neck have been employed to relieve the oppressed brain, and to the epigastrium to remove irritability of the stomach; and though it may be difficult to imagine in what way they affect either organ, still their usefulness at times cannot be doubted; but when large, or when allowed to remain too long in contact with the skin, they on the other hand may cause the patient considerable suffering, from the extent of raw surface which they leave.

"When the bowels have been sufficiently opened, and such of the preceding measures adopted as may have been thought necessary, if the fever continue, there comes a time when the medical attendant, if he act with prudence, can do little more than relieve the urgent symptoms as they arise. If the patient be inclined to sleep, he should on no account be disturbed. Diaphoretics are unnecessary if the skin be moist, and under any circumstances inadmissible if the stomach be not retentive. For the sake of change, the patient will require a variety of cooling drinks; but there is none more grateful, or more useful for allaying thirst, than cold water. *If not rejected,* it may be drank at will. Arrowroot, sago, chicken broth, beef tea, and other light kinds of nourishment, may be required to support the strength. When a remission takes place, the exhibition of quinine, in four, six, or eight grain doses, every second

or third hour, should at once be commenced, without any regard to the state of the tongue; leaving it off, however, should another paroxysm occur, but recommencing again as soon as it has passed off. If there be no reason to apprehend a return of fever, then the interval between the doses may be longer when the fever ceases, or even during the apyrectic intervals; the patient's strength will require to be renovated by stimulants, nutritious diet, and if he have remained all the while in a close cabin, or on the lower deck, an early removal into the open air will afford him a much better chance of recovery.

"The endemic fevers of Africa are frequently followed by irregular intermittents, for the removal of which, blood-letting, or any other depletory mode of practice, should never be adopted; and when they refuse to yield to quinine or arsenic, a trial may be made of strychnine, in doses of from one-twelfth to one-tenth, or even to one-eighth of a grain, three or four times a day.

(Signed) "A. BRYSON, M.D."

From the first case of fever, which I treated in the Old Calabar river in the beginning of 1851, to the present time, I have entertained similar ideas to the preceding, and followed out this line of practice invariably—discarding the abuse of calomel as a ptyalist, and setting

my face against bleeding an European in Africa, unless for inflammation of a serous membrane—a case very rarely to be met with. The practice which has been recommended by Johnson, Boyle, M'Cullagh, M'William, and other intertropical writers, and which has obtained for the last thirty or forty years, is contrary to all our present knowledge of human physiology and pathology, and would seem calculated only "to reduce the force of the vital energies without moderating the violence of the fever." The very facts that "ptyalism cannot be produced under any circumstances, or in any disease while fever exists," and that calomel (being a mineral preparation, insoluble in the blood unless it is converted into muriate of mercury by the action of gastric juice upon it) cannot be eliminated through the perspiratory functions of the skin, whence it must come acting as an alterative, ought to teach any one of its nocuity. All that can be done when fever sets in, is "to guide the patient over the dangers of the passage," remembering that "we cannot, when it is once established, arrest the onward course of the malady."

In our late expedition, there was no case in which extraordinary treatment of any kind was required; and were the principle of "prevention being better than cure" adopted more generally by medical men on the coast of Africa, the fever of that country would very

shortly lose its appalling bugbear character. Its therapeutic management may be summed up in a very few words. Meet symptoms as they present themselves. If the bowels be confined, open them with a purgative of calomel, extract of colocynth, and taraxacum, with a little oil of peppermint—if the head be painful or delirium present, cut or shave off the hair, and apply cooling lotions—the tongue foul, and nausea existing, give an emetic of tartarized antimony and ipecacuanha, followed up after some time by effervescent draughts, with five or six minims of dilute hydrocyanic acid, administered in water with the chill off. If there be pain in the epigastrium, apply camphor and oil of turpentine to the pit of the stomach—skin hot and dry, give a diaphoretic of nitre, calomel, and James's powder after the bowels are opened. This was the practice I have pursued in sixty cases whereof I have written records, and which shew a mortality of four out of the sixty—about 6 per cent.

My recommendation of calomel as an accessory sudorific and purgative, will not be taken as an approval of the drug for salivation. I believe the medicine to be a useful one when properly applied; it is only against its abuse that I contend.

To emetics frequently used I have a decided objection; and I would recommend them only to be employed when the accession of a febrile attack, with foul tongue

and nausea, comes on after a full meal. Of the debility ensuing upon the frequent act of vomiting, even caused by titillation of the fauces with a feather, I had painful evidence in the case of a medical man at Old Calabar, who was very much addicted to that practice in his own person. He died after lingering four days in the most perfect condition of paralysis I ever saw; and the general prostration I could attribute to no other cause than to the weakness produced by vomiting—joined, perhaps, to the influence of malaria on a very delicately formed frame. Even the muscles of deglutition were so affected, that he could not swallow a teaspoonful of any liquid without danger of suffocation. And, though unable to exercise muscular action enough to elevate his little finger, his sense of hearing was so acute, that he could distinguish the sound of paddles or oars long before they were perceptible to any one else on board his ship.

Frequently the most unruly and distressing symptom in African fever, is the continued irritability of the stomach. This I found, except in a few obstinate cases, to yield to small effervescing draughts, always made in water, out of which the cold was taken by the addition of a tablespoonful of the liquid warm, and containing four to six minims of dilute hydrocyanic acid (Pharm. Lond.) When this failed, turpentine and camphor

applied to the epigastrium generally proved efficacious. On one occasion, and in a very perplexing case, I tried a plan recommended by a Dutch surgeon at Elmina castle. The patient was pulseless and cold in his extremities—covered with a frigid clammy perspiration—constantly vomiting, and passing stools incontinently from him. Hopeless as his recovery seemed at first—for I considered him almost *in articulo mortis*—and seeing that neither by mouth nor injection would any thing be retained, I applied blistering fluid to the pit of his stomach—cut the cuticle off as soon as it rose, and wetted the part with flannel steeped in a solution of quinine and brandy. Meantime, and while the blister was rising, I had additional blankets put over him, and hot bricks applied to his feet. The man rallied; his pulse rose; his extremities grew warm; he was soon able to retain grateful nourishing drinks on his stomach; and he eventually recovered.

Fearfully puzzling cases of fever that a medical man is likely to meet with in Africa, are those in which prostration or perfect powerlessness comes on suddenly—where there is no evidence of special organic derangement, and where the patient sinks into death gradually. I have seen it seize a sick man in the middle of his pyrexial condition, and hurry him to the grave in a few hours; and it pains me to confess, that I believe no

remedy can be applied for this condition of affairs, save to obviate its occurrence by the proper administration of quinine beforehand. Cases in which this morbid action occurred, seemed always to be derived from an accumulated quantity of malaria in the system, thus becoming developed "in a heap" (to use an expressive vulgarism) by some powerful predisposing cause.

The purgative I have most generally used contains three grains of calomel, three of extract of taraxacum, and four of compound extract of colocynth, made into two pills with a little oil of peppermint. I believe the taraxacum combined with the calomel to exercise a specific action on the liver, as Dover's powder with calomel is increased in its diaphoretic, and jalap with the same drug in its hydragogue properties. When the stomach will not retain these pills, and a speedy evacuation is required, ten grains of calomel in half a teaspoonful of liquid extract of taraxacum, may be followed in a few hours by an active Seidlitz draught, to the unloading of the bowels and liver sufficiently.

For intermittent, I generally found that quinine given during an exacerbation, whether diurnal, tertian, or quartan, was more effectual when assisted by a clearing out of the *primæ viæ* with some of the pills just mentioned. But a careful avoidance of any of the predisposing causes, and a removal from the germinating

influence of malaria, is essential to effect a cure. Dr. Baillie, Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Haviland, and Dr. Watson, all advocate the same line of treatment, of giving opening medicine before administering quinine. Sometimes when quinine is objected to, salicine or biberine if at hand may be tried; or quinine made into pills with mucilage; but, despite of Dr. Bryson's recommendation, I contend that there is no occasion for the use of that abomination to our Pharmacopæia, Fowler's Arsenical Solution, in the treatment of intermittent fever. When the accession assumes the character which is entitled "postponing," citrate of iron and quinine is a very useful medicine, and most efficacious in fortifying the system against an attack, when the invalid is removed from the direct exciting power of the main cause of the malady.

If the removal of an invalid from the direct exciting power of malaria cannot be effected *in toto*, I believe change of air will be found to be more beneficial in all maladies in a miasmatous country than in a healthy one. Cases have come within my cognizance in Western Africa, where persons removed into a comparatively less pure atmosphere than they were used to reside in, have been benefited by the change. And this breaking the habit of disease by removal into another atmosphere, as in chronic intermittents, is thus commented on by Dr.

M'Culloch, in his "Essay on Remittent and Intermittent Diseases:"—"If this be the case, a difference in the quality of the air breathed, which is what the popular phrase would signify, is not in itself the remedy; though respecting this we really are not in a capacity to argue at present, since it is most certain, that the atmosphere in different states or places produces effects on the body, of which our present chemistry does not enable us to investigate the causes. The lungs or the organs here concerned, to whatever extent, are in reality chemical agents, superior in discernment or power to those of our laboratories; or the involuntary and unconscious animal is that chemist, which the reasoning one is not, carrying on operations which he can neither imitate nor discover, and detecting substances which he cannot find."—(P. 492.)

There is no doubt of an evident truth being in these remarks; though it is somewhat mystically expressed.

Supervening upon fever, and indeed often assuming its place, as the representative endemic of the country, comes that intractable disease, Dysentery. The malarious influence on the native population shews itself more in this malady than in fever. With them I have generally found it to yield to a little raw ground rice, mixed with cold water, or decoction of pomegranate peel, in the proportion of half an ounce to a pint of milk

or water boiled for fifteen minutes. Compound powder of chalk with opium, will also be found useful after clearing out the alimentary canal with a dose of castor oil. Opium is a medicine which should not be used to excess, as the patient feels considerably relieved by its anodyne influence, which, if long continued, will aggravate the disease by relaxing the alveolar muscular tissue. In most ordinary cases a dose of castor oil followed up by ground rice, and abstinence from food, liquid or solid, for a few days, will effect a cure.

The majority of these attacks which ensue with Europeans after fever, and are consequently dependent on a debilitated state of constitution, can only be effectually treated by removing the invalid into a different atmosphere. The same therapeutic management, used as an accessory to the influence of change of air, will prove in most cases equally salutary; and no hygienic treatment is more efficacious in warding off a disease than attention to the functions of the skin to obviate dysentery.

CHAPTER X.

REPORT ON THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF TRADE UP THE RIVERS NIGER, TSHADDA, AND BINUE—LAST YEAR'S IMPORTATION OF PALM-OIL FROM AFRICA—DISTANCE AT WHICH THE PALM-TREE GROWS—COMMUNICATION FROM THE BINUE TO LAKE TSHAD—DOMESTIC SLAVERY—REASONS WHY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE THE FIRST STEP IN ATTEMPTING AFRICAN CIVILISATION—INEFFICIENCY OF THE AFRICAN SQUADRON TO ABOLISH SLAVERY—TAXES ON THE COUNTRY FOR ITS SUPPORT, IN MORTALITY AS WELL AS IN MONEY—PLAN FOR OPENING TRADE IN THE NIGER BY STEAM COMMUNICATION—BY STATIONS AT ABOH AND THE CONFLUENCE—KIND OF GOODS REQUIRED AT BOTH PLACES—PECULIARITIES OF THE DIFFERENT STATIONS—NECESSITY OF USING QUININE FOR ALL EUROPEAN RESIDENTS—SUMMARY OF APPEAL TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS.

THE districts on the continuous stream, Niger, Tshadda, and Binue, from the mouth of the Nun to the town of Dolti, a geographical distance of 447 miles, seemed in perfect readiness for some power to turn its industrial resources to account. The sanitary results of the "Pleiad's" voyage have proved, that the Delta of the Niger needs no longer be considered the bugbear to intercept communication with central Africa through this magnificent river. And these results embolden me to record a few reflections and

observations on the position and prospects of its trade in the following report.

Though many ages, if not centuries, must elapse before the country containing the immense lagoon that stretches from Lagos to Cameroons can be habitable for Europeans, yet the stations through these localities may serve as export harbours for the palm-oil that is manufactured throughout the districts interior to it. The importance of this trade may be inferred from the fact, that during the past year 27,000 tons were imported into Liverpool alone, and above 34,000 tons, the aggregate amount from Western Africa, into the different ports of the United kingdom. Yet this amount may be doubled, if not trebled, by the employment of people in the inner country for its manufacture, as I have seen the tree from which the palm-nut is obtained grow as far up as Zhiru, a distance of 400 miles from the mouth of the Nun. Moreover a very diminished mortality, compared to that which the Gulf of Guinea has the character of possessing, may be secured by following the suggestions laid down at the end of this paper.

The Nun branch of the Niger being the most central of all those *embouchures* of the Joliba, Kwarra, Tshadda, and Binuë, which flow into the sea from Lagos to Bonny—a seabord of 251 miles as the crow flies—and its recent exploration having proved it to communicate

with Central Africa, appears to be the best suited for introducing a broad system of commercial traffic to the continent by this western river.

The many mouths that traverse the Delta, by creeks that inosculate one with another over a space of several hundred miles, supply the means of transporting goods and returning produce, through an extent of country impossible to be calculated. I believe, that by a short overland route from the Binuë near Bomonda, to the Yeou or Kŏnadagu river, which rises near Yakoba, the capital of the Bautshi kingdom, a communication may be made with Lake Tshad, as the Yeou falls into the lake near Bossa, after traversing a large tract of the Bornu territory. The Bautshi kingdom lies between Doma and Hamarrua.

The fact, that of the 150 millions of population which (according to M'Queen) the continent of Africa contains, three-fourths are in a state of slavery, and one-fourth constitutes a despotic governing power, is the most puzzling consideration with reference to any design for its civilisation; and therefore all matters connected with such a plan, must be discussed in a light different from that in which we would judge of affairs in a country where freedom is the ægis of peace and comfort to all its inhabitants.

The absence of regular industry in the culture of the

soil, even for domestic comforts, as well as a complete ignorance of mechanics and manufactures, must ever exist where such a condition as this obtains. Educated from his childhood to look upon his slaves, not as his own flesh and blood, but as so much household chattels, the master regards them in the same light as our farmers do their cattle, to be sold or used to their best advantage. And we must not wonder at this. Because these men, for whom the light of reason or of religion has never been enkindled, cannot exercise reflection on this or any other subject. Creatures of an impulse little above that of animal instinct, of the faculty of discerning between right and wrong on the subject, they are as deficient as the slaves; who, on the other hand, are made conscious, from the moment a dawn of intelligence gleams upon them, that they are master's property—that they have no right to themselves, and that they can be sold and torn from their parents—sent to the nethermost ends of the earth, at their owner's will and pleasure.

The slave trade, being a growth of centuries, cannot be eradicated in a day by any act of parliament, or by any single plan, however excellent or however feasible. As much as our age can do will be to clip its wings, and extract its claws, leaving to a self-created spirit of emancipation that must be racy of African soil to effect

its final overthrow. Nations, the most civilized of which the world's history gives us a record, have not grown to manhood in a single epoch. Therefore Africa, helpless as she is—for in human progress she is but an infant—must have a fostering hand to help her upwards, and show her people how to make something of their country and themselves. There are three reasons why Great Britain should be foremost in this work:—

First.—Because of the Christian character of its community and its government.

Second.—In consequence of the restitution it owes to Africa for its many years' legitimization of the slave trade.

Third.—Because the exports from Great Britain to Africa, and the imports *vice versa*, exceed those used and gained by any other nation of the world in connection with Africa.

The inefficiency of the African squadron to put an end to this infamous traffic has been proved year after year since the passing of the anti-slavery act. By a report of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for 1845, it appears that, "from 1816 to 1843, the number of negroes landed for the purpose of slavery on the islands and on the continent of America, so far as the same could be made up from

official reports, was 657,187, of whom, 18,042 were captured, and brought to or driven on shore on the islands and coasts of America, and there liberated. The total number of victims for the twenty-seven years amounted to 865,000. At the present time [1845] it is believed, on good authority, that the number of Africans annually imported into the Spanish colonies and Brazil amounts from 80,000 to 100,000 souls."

Yet during all these twenty-seven years, and the ten years that have elapsed since, a British naval squadron, with little diminution till the present war called for its exercise elsewhere, has been kept up on the west coast of Africa, for whose expenses British taxpayers are mulcted, and whose mortality British families have had to mourn in the following ratio. For 1845 the people of this country paid,

For vessels employed on the West Coast,.....	£291,501
„ „ not exclusively employed	414,953
Making a total of	£706,454

which, with the sums paid to captors, mixed commission courts, wear and tear, coals, machinery, and so forth, amounted to near a million of money sterling.

The majority of these vessels, though furnished with what is called in the poetry of the blue-books "slave-trading instructions," were nevertheless only engaged

in cruising against slave vessels, "in so far as the other duties of the stations on which they were employed would permit."

What was the amount of good resulting from this expenditure? That 166 officers and men died, and 104 were invalided, on the west coast station, during this outlay of a million of money; that 96 men died, and 167 were invalided, in that part of the squadron not exclusively confined to the west coast, during the same period; that whilst this money was being expended, and that mortality accomplished, there were imported into Brazil alone, from Africa, according to the account of the British commissioner, 16,000 slaves, and in the very next year nearly double that number; and that a single fact was not impressed upon the moral sense of the African people, by this outlay, to give them the slightest idea of the cruelty to the slave; of the injury to themselves; of the disgrace to the whole world kept up by the traffic. Although I have alluded to Brazil as a slave-importing country, still, resting on the information afforded by Mr. Hadfield's recent work on that country, I think the Emperor, Don Pedro the Second, has set a noble example in suppressing slavery all through his kingdom. The Committee on Slave-Trade Treaties, which sat in 1853, under the chairmanship of Mr. Hume, reported, "The importation of slaves into

Brazil in '47 was 56,172; in '48, 60,000; in '49, 54,000; but in '51 it had diminished to 3287, and in '52 to 700; of which last importation a considerable portion had been seized by the Brazilian government. Mr. Consul Porter reported to Viscount Palmerston in '48, that 74 slave-trade vessels had sailed from Bahia in the year '47, and 93 in '48; that the slave traffic was carried on with great activity; and, as an example, he stated that one vessel, the 'Andorhina,' of 80 tons burthen, which cost £2000 sterling, had made eight successful voyages with slaves from the west coast of Africa, having actually landed at Bahia 3392 slaves, and received for freight 120 milreis per head, or £40,704 sterling."

The external slave trade will be only put an end to, when the chiefs and masters in Africa are taught and understand how far more profitably to themselves they can exercise slave labour in the cultivation of their soil, than by selling it; they will soon be brought to see that it is not consistent with common sense transporting away the native Africans to Brazil, to cultivate and manufacture sugar—to America, to grow and pick cotton —to Cuba, to aid in the tilling of tobacco, when the very same products can be obtained from their own ground at home. With this will be generated also a desire and a power amongst the slaves to work for their own emancipation, of their anxiety to do which I have evi-

dence in a fact communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Crowther, that several hundred slaves have so purchased their liberty at Abbeokuta. The immense increase in palm-oil, and other exports from Africa, during the past ten years, will clearly disprove the fallacy that the native Africans are averse to labour. At Sierra Leone—at Akkra—at Lagos—and at Old Calabar, I have met negroes thirsting for the knowledge to turn the resources of their districts into the proper channel; but unfortunately no aid was nigh to give instruction to these aspiring men.

The people of Africa are slow in their habits of thinking as well as of acting. When Europeans pay them a flying visit, such as our late voyage up the Tshadda-Binuë, they look upon it with distrust, because they have not time to comprehend it; whereas by making settlements—having goods to sell, whose addition to their comforts would become every day more perceptible to them—shewing them by example how their land might be tilled to advantage, I have not the slightest doubt that their faculties would soon be incited to emulation, and thus the great work of their civilisation would be commenced.

If the government, then, take the matter in hand, giving assistance and protection to a private company to carry on trading operations up the Niger, I should

propose that two steamers be fitted out for the next ascent, one to convey the government officers and go up to Sakatu, to have a conference with the Filatah sultan on her Majesty's part, and make arrangements about securing protection from his marauding subjects, for the peaceable inhabitants of neighbouring countries. The commander of the other steamer, should first see about making settlements in the neighbourhood of Aboh and the confluence, and this vessel may be a medium for transferring cargo from the mail steamers, and produce back for them, according to the following routine. Leaving Fernando Po four times a year, and coming up to Aboh, which is only 130 miles from the sea, the produce purchased at the confluence could be sent down in a canoe paddled by Kruboys, who could bring back cargo. Canoes not so large as those of the Pleiad, with more effective paddles, would answer the purpose. Say, she leaves Clarence on the first of the month, she would be at the bar by the third—at Aboh on the fifth or sixth—discharged and loaded by the eighth—at the bar returning on the tenth; so that she would have time to go to Bonny, Calabar, and Cameroons, reaching Fernando Po by the arrival of the mail steamer. During her time of rest from the ascent of the Niger, she might communicate with the other rivers in the Bights, very much to the interest of her owners. Once a year she ought to

make an ascent to the confluence of the Binuë and Faro, communicating with Wukari, Humarrua, and Yola, on her route. As her consumption of fuel in the river costs nothing but the labour of cutting it down, proper axes, saws, and wedges for wood-cutting, should be supplied her; and her sails, particularly useful on the higher ascent, should never be left behind.

At Aboh a station should be made either in a canoe, or on the island of Avgav opposite to its creek. A residence in its town would not be tolerable for Europeans. Here the oil that is sent down to Benin and Brass from Adamuggoo, Assaba, Onitsha, Ossamaree, Agbari, and the whole extent of the Aboh and Oru countries, can be intercepted. I regret exceedingly, that of the prices given for oil at Aboh I have no information; but it must be much cheaper than at either of the rivers before mentioned, as it passes through intermediate markets on its way down. The goods necessary for trading here are guns, salt, crockery ware, scarlet, green and yellow cloth; velvet of the same hues, bandana handkerchiefs of bright patterns, romals and Madras cloths, cutlasses, mock-coral beads, tobacco pipes, and small looking-glasses. Rum no doubt will be asked for, but I have an objection on principle to make this an article of traffic with uncivilized nations, and think other goods may be made to stand in its place. Cowries

are also necessary. Native coopers can be procured at Akkra and Sierra Leone, and are the men whose organization is best suited to a residence at the unhealthy site of Aboh.

Between Aboh and Assaba is a country of rich loamy soil, capable of nurturing any intertropical produce, as cotton, coffee, or sugar, and the elementary education in whose cultivation would be a very desirable work on the part of any missionary body stationed here.

The confluence of the Kwarra and Tshadda is the best place for a chief settlement, for these reasons:—

First.—The British government have purchased a portion of ground at the model farm on Mount Stirling, the ownership of which can be transferred to the other side by arrangement with the Attah of Egarrah, or Amee Abukko, king of Igbegbe.

Second.—It is a boundary locality between the Filatah territories and the negro tribes lower down.

Third.—It is healthy, from its extent of open ground and water, as well as from the absence of marsh and swamp in the neighbourhood.

Fourth.—Its position will command the produce of both banks of the two rivers with the countries intermediate, and it may serve to open a communication between the Niger and Cross river, the latter of which is only about 100 miles from the confluence.

Fifth.—It will be certain to intercept a large portion of traffic carried on by the people of Borgu, opposite Rabba, who make overland journeys with slaves and ivory to the Yoraba and Dahomey countries, whence they return with European goods procured from Lagos, Badagry, Whydah, and Portonovo.

The present produce of this district is confined to palm kernel oil, pepper, shea-butter, tobacco, and ivory. Of shea-butter the quantity produced here is very small, as Egga and Rabba up the Niger are its chief places of manufacture. But abundance of the trees from which it is produced were observed on our voyage up the Tshadda. The oil manufactured from the internal kernel of the palm-nut can be had cheaply and plentifully at the confluence.

Cowries are currency here as well as at Aboh, and all the districts up the river so far. Salt, mock-coral beads, blue glass beads of a double pyriform shape, such as are brought over the continent from Mecca, velvet and cloth as at Aboh, crockery ware, fishing hooks, and tobacco pipes, with looking-glasses, are the chief articles in demand. Here, as at all other places up the Niger and Tshadda, we found blue cloth to be a drug, as they dye their native manufactured cloths with indigo, and so do not appreciate ours of the same hue. If Trona (Kongua is the Houssa name for it) cannot be made in

imitation of the native Trona, it is useless to send it up for trading. Above the confluence cowries are not currency unless Houssa traders are met with. Although we had green, orange, and red tints in our cargo of goods, the people here preferred unravelling the cloth dashed or sold to them to buying any of our thread. At Ojogo, native salt, dug from pits in the interior country, is sold in bags of about one pound weight, for articles to the value of 300 cowries. There is, however, very little produce in this part of the country. When at Rogan-Koto, about twelve miles higher up, we were informed that cowries are currency all through the Doma kingdom. At this place they have a peculiar medium of barter—a triangular plate of iron, with a handle projecting from the base of the triangle, and called Akika (Doma and Juku language), Ibia (Mitshi), and Agelemma (Houssa). It is used for making knives and other utensils; thirty-six of them being considered the value of a slave.

At Anyashi, the river port of Wukari, the capital of the Kororoofa kingdom, they report a large quantity of camwood to exist, and lead ore to be dug out of the ground at a place called Aroofa, *en route* from Anyashi to Wukari.

Between Gandiko and Zhibu, a distance of sixteen miles, there is a rich and luxuriant soil, quite a fitting place for a model cotton garden. The Filatahs of

these territories are of a pastoral and agricultural character. At the latter city I bought 625 lbs. weight of ivory in a few hours, chiefly for white baft, which the inhabitants prize for turbans, as they are Mahommedans. From Gurowa to Hamarrua, a distance of fourteen miles inland, the country is teeming with vegetation of colossal trees, shrubs, and flowers, which, though indicative of the superabundant fertility of the soil, produces nothing more useful than the barrenest locality of the Sahara.

In order to prevent the action of malarious poison, which superinduces "river fever" in European constitutions, quinine wine should be used in any future expedition, as it was in the "Pleiad;" a glass of the solution, containing four grains of quinine to each ounce of sherry, given morning and midday for three weeks or a month after passing, and while passing through the Delta. It should also be kept at any station, to be taken at the termination of the wet season, or on an accession of fever.

But if the government do not step in to put an end to the lawlessness of the Filatahs, all ideas of a successful trade with the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë countries may be given up. There can be no neutrality on the subject. Independent of its character for unfurling the British banner as the ægis of civilisation and Christianity over the world, there still hangs a

weighty debt on its shoulders to the vast continent of Africa. I cannot be accused of any attempt at declamation in writing, that the twenty millions of money spent in West Indian emancipation, are little alleviation to the miseries caused by the fact of the inhuman slave traffic being legalized amongst us for nearly two centuries; that the voices of humanity and religion, the glory and honour of our empire, and the pre-eminently commercial character of our country, demand it. Let the government commence the work, and I have little doubt that in a few years hence private enterprise will do the rest. British influence will be extended; pillage shall cease; with its cessation will flow into central Africa all the blessings of civilization which otherwise centuries cannot introduce; the trade will pay; and the industrial resources of the country will become at length developed to the peace and comfort of its inhabitants, and to the commercial prosperity of Great Britain.

Under what nobler, broader, more enduring bases could the cordial feeling which has lately been cemented between France and England be erected than by a mutual plan for the civilization of Africa? The blood of the allied armies has been poured out in the same cause before the walls of Sebastopol. The commerce and civilization of the allied countries have here a boundless field for the exercise of their influence. That the

Emperor is anxious for the suppression of slavery is evident from the following remarkable passages in his reply to the address presented to him at the Guildhall, London, last April:—"England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics and progress that agitate the world. From the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Mediterranean—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—from the desire to abolish slavery—to our hopes for the amelioration of all the countries of Europe, I see in the moral as in the political world for our two nations but one course and one end." These sentiments would seem as if making reparation for the refusal of the Corps Legislatif in France to Mr. Pitt's proposal in 1788, for the union of the two countries in that noble statesman's efforts for the abolition of the slave trade. There is ample scope in the countries on the banks of the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë, for a company formed by the assimilation of members of the *Crédit Mobilier* society in Paris, with a company of British monetary men, got up under the protection of the Limited Liabilities Act. If I am asked, where are the working hands for such a scheme? I point to the fact, that since the African Steam Ship Company's first boat went out to the coast, in September 1852, three or four bodies of liberated Akus (numbering past two hundred), liberated in Spanish slave-holding states by their own

industry, have returned to the "Jerusalem of their younger days," to sow the germs of independence by their superior education. And these, I have no doubt, will soon take root over the vast continent of Africa, if the two nations of France and England lead them by the hand, and fashion their guiding culture, as well as constitute their primary governing influence, by the indoctrination of Christian education.

ADDENDUM.

WHILST these pages were going through the press, Dr. Barth arrived in London, and I take the opportunity of correcting a few trivial errors, which I became conscious of, amongst others, during my short interview with the most indefatigable and successful African traveller of whom history gives us a record.

Pandah, he tells me, is not destroyed, as mentioned at p. 73; but its monarch has been murdered, and it is now occupied by the Filatahs, who made a descent on Ousha from Zaria (p. 72). The name of the present head-sultan at Sakatu is Alio, and Dr. B. describes him as a man of no mental or physical ability; hence impotent to quell a continuous system of marauding which is kept up on the road from Sakatu to Kano market by a Pagan nation intervening. He heard first of our late expedition from Alhagi (*vide* p. 130), on his return to Kano from Hamarrua. This man told him that our outfit consisted of three ships, seven white men, and sixty-five slaves! which was about as much near the truth as the majority of African stories are. All our black men he of course described as slaves; and it will not be wondered at his investing our two large canoes with the dignity of being ships, when he exaggerated the two bullocks given by the

sultan of Hamarrua into six. At the time of meeting Alhagi he was anxious to know whether our expedition was an English or an American one, as it was only in last December, when the "Pleiad" was on her way home, that he received official intelligence of the purpose for which she was commissioned. So that the story told by the Keana gentleman at Ojogo, or Zuri's interpretation (p. 88), was, as I suspected at the time, a complete fabrication from beginning to end.

A faint idea may be formed of what this heroic man has gone through by the knowledge of the following facts:—That he left England in December 1849, and returned after an absence of six years, less three months, during the whole of which time he was travelling over the continent of Africa, save for the seven months that he remained at Timbuktu, and the occasional short stays in other localities. He was two years and three months without seeing the face of an European, three years without tasting a drop of wine, and at times so perfectly powerless and prostrate that a child might have slain him. How strong must have been that mental energy which sustained him, when, on one occasion, arriving at Kano, the "London of Sudan," he learned that his death was believed at home to have taken place, and inferred that therefore all his supplies would be stopped! "My journals and geographical discoveries," he exclaimed, "I would have freely exchanged for a bottle of wine, so overpowered was I with this conviction!"

He has been shewn places in Adamawa where the water in the Binuë rises to a height of fifty feet in the wet season; and though it is stated in Petermann's chart that it has finished rising in the end of July, I told him that we did not find this to be the case in our late expedition. Copper he believes not to exist in Central Africa as a native metal;

but he has heard of the tin and lead ore in Kororoofa, whereof we brought home some specimens. He believes gold is found in the bed of Binuë when the dry season occurs; and beside the four names which I have mentioned as being given to the Tshadda at different localities, he adds that of Xanfira. Domestic slavery he states to be more rampant in Adamawa than in any kingdom he visited; and there is a large quantity of ground-nuts growing over the kingdom.

On my asking him if he intended to pay a visit to the British Association meetings at Glasgow, where I had no doubt he would be very warmly received, his answer made me at once conscious that I was speaking to a man of superior mould. "No," said he; "I have been six years away from home, and I have a poor old father in Germany whom I want to see!" I am weak enough to confess, that if a halo of glory had appeared glittering round his head when he uttered these words, I should not have been surprised; yet taking but a common-sense view of the idea—that a man whose discoveries in the world of science, and whose opening out new geographical facts for the benefit of future ages, entitle him to trophies far more brilliant than those that bedeck the warrior's brow—who has worn out the best of his existence in toiling beneath a tropical sun for no immediate or prospective benefit to himself, should be endowed with the noblest feelings of humanity, appears to me the brightest star in the galaxy of honour that he has won by his labours.

He left Dr. Vogel behind him at Yakoba, the capital of the Bautshi kingdom, who purposed going thence to Yola, with letters of introduction Dr. Barth had procured him from the Sultan at Sakatu to Mahommed Lawal.

INDEX.

THE END.

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