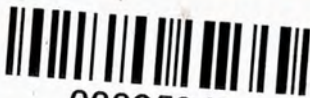
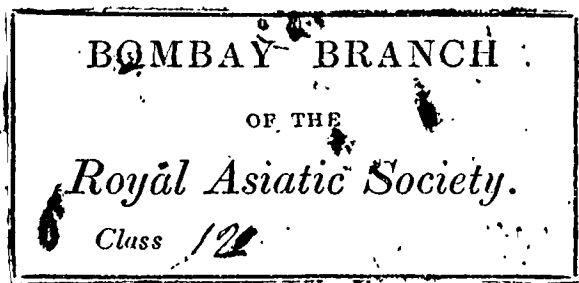


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IMPRESSIONS  
OF  
WESTERN AFRICA.

WITH REMARKS ON THE  
DISEASES OF THE CLIMATE  
AND

A REPORT ON THE PECULIARITIES OF TRADE UP THE  
RIVERS IN THE BIGHT OF BIAFRA.

BY  
THOMAS J. HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR THE BIGHT OF BIAFRA AND  
THE ISLAND OF FERNANDO PO.

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TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK,  
EARL OF CLARENDON, K.G., G.C.B.  
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
AS A TRIBUTE TO THE BENEVOLENT INTEREST  
EVER DISPLAYED BY HIS LORDSHIP  
IN ALL MATTERS AFFECTING THE CIVILISATION OF  
AFRICA'S GREAT CONTINENT,  
THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY

Dedicated

BY

THE AUTHOR.

71 6 23





## P R E F A C E.

---

A RESIDENCE of eight years—two of which have been passed in my present official position under Her Majesty's Government—on the Western Coast of Africa, will, I trust, be considered a sufficient justification for laying the following pages before the public.

My first experiences there having been in a Medical capacity, I made the subject of African malaria and fever my continuous and attentive study. The truth of the old maxim that "prevention is better than cure," with which I commenced my professional duties at Old Kalabar in the year 1850, which I followed up in the Niger Expedition of 1854, and which I still practise as well as preach, has been abundantly confirmed in my experience.

I have introduced into the following pages a few passages relating to Madeira, Sierra Leone, and the Kru

Coast, as well as some of the observations on Malaria and Fever, which appeared in my "Narrative of the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë Exploration." I was led to adopt this course in order to make the narrative of voyaging along the coast consecutive, and on account of the importance so long attached to the bugbears of African malaria and fever.

The commerce of Africa, like the intelligence of its people, is yet in a condition little better than that of helpless infancy. I do not entertain as great hope respecting the hereafter of this country, from its ivory, gold dust, or copper ore, as from the industrial products of its cotton, shea-butter, and palm oil.

To some it may appear a flight of imagination to regard the slave population as the future workers in developing these resources for their own and their country's good, as well as for the promotion of the commercial interests of the British nation. Nevertheless, ever since I became acquainted with the negro character I have entertained this opinion; and it is strengthened by a daily increasing knowledge of the tribes who trade up the rivers within my consular

jurisdiction, as well as by the conditions of society which exist in the countries visited and described by those illustrious and indefatigable travellers, Doctors Barth and Livingstone.

BRITISH CONSULATE,  
Fernando Po.  
January 1st, 1858.



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IMPRESSIONS  
OF  
WESTERN AFRICA.

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CHILL and gloomy was the morning of Monday the 23rd of September, 1856, as I sailed from the port of Liverpool, on my first voyage to the Bight of Biafra, Western Africa.

But gloomier by far than the weather were the feelings that held the minds of all to whom I had bade farewell on that day. The name of this part of the world had been associated with such horrors, that my friends viewed my going to it in the light of a perverse

fatuity, little short of self-immolation. I had made a resolution for the venture; and yet I could not be obstinate enough to contradict the force of *their* arguments save by a passive adherence to my original intention. To Western Africa! The grave of Europeans and the plague-spot of the world! No wonder that their impressions should very materially influence my spirits at the time of departure; but I was buoyed up by a hope—which experience has since confirmed—that Western Africa is in a great measure made the grave of Europeans by Europeans themselves.

After the bustle of setting our ship in sailing trim was over, and our crew had been divided into watches, on the following day we lay, as evening approached, midway between Kingstown and Holyhead—the ocean and atmosphere around us as placid as in the most perfect tropical calm. It was an evening for sober and quiet meditation over the past and towards the future, but not in the slightest degree suggestive of the horrors of the ensuing fortnight's sufferings.

Four days brought us clear of the dangers of the Channel. The Tuskar lighthouse and Saltee islands were distinctly seen as our ship sailed by their localities on the Irish coast; and the last glimpse of British territory was the peak of the hill overlooking Dunganvan, about forty miles north of Cork.

To say that our passage across the Atlantic was very rough and stormy could give no one a correct idea of what I endured. Should the reader have never made this voyage, let him not imagine he knows anything of

the malady called sea-sickness. The form of that disease suffered in small boats or in steamers trading coast-wise bears no more resemblance to the Atlantic 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 would hardly believe the vast difference between reading a written sketch, however graphic, and going through its actual endurance for a fortnight.

In about three weeks land was again in view, and with it came a change in the temperature of the air that was very agreeable. This was the cluster of the "Madeiras," the main island being the first of the group visible, seeming like a huge cinder looming out of the sea, as all islands appear whose outlines are perceptible at a single *coup d'œil*. On a nearer approach to it we had evidences of vegetable life and human habitation, 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 near the sea, close by 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 Bristol to escape the wrath of the lady's friends, as she had been forced into a previous marriage with one whom her heart loathed. They intended to land 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 arrived at this unknown and uninhabited island. The period of this occurrence is given as the year 1344, and their landing-place as the village now called Machico, where there is a chapel built to their memory. A cross is also shown here that has the reputation of having been placed over their graves by the crew of the ship that brought them out, and who remained only long enough to see them buried.

The record farther goes, to the effect that between 1417 and 1419 some Spaniards, who had settled at Porto Santo after the conquest of the Canaries in 1402, sailed towards the S.W. from seeing a dark cloud constantly in that direction, and discovered the island of Madeira with the cross over the graves of Robert Machico and Anna d'Arfet.

Another story is told of the discovery of Madeira by the original Portuguese settlers at Porto Santo. According to this, Prince Henry, a younger son of John I. fitted out a vessel entrusted to two gentlemen, who



had instructions to use their utmost endeavours to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer southward. A sudden squall drove them out to sea, as they were trying to sail along the shore—the only system of navigation known in those days — and so they soon found themselves safely landed on an island which they named Porto Santo. They returned to Portugal, and the following year three ships were manned and sent out to take possession of it. They had not been long there ere they were attracted by a dark spot southward on the horizon, and, conjecturing it might be land, they sailed towards it, finding it to be uninhabited and covered with trees, whence they designated it Madeira.\*

Not daring to doubt the romance of Strepson and his Phyllis having come out and died just in time to let the sailors return together, I am rather incredulous as to the Portuguese suspecting land to be S.W. from Porto Santo by a dark cloud only, as the southern extremity of that island is only thirty-five miles from the harbour of Funchal; and the Pico Ruivo in Madeira rises to a height of 6056 feet above the level of the sea.

But the poetry of this record is completely annulled by Mr. White, who, in his work on Madeira†, entitles the story of Robert and Anna “a romantic and probably fabulous narrative.” He attributes its discovery

\* Madeira is the Portuguese word for wood.

† Madeira, its Climate and Scenery. By Robert White. London: Craddock and Co., Paternoster Row. 1851.

“to Joas Gonzalves da Camera (commonly called Torgo, or Squint-eye) and Tristas vax Saxeira, under the auspices of Don Henry, the Conquistador, son of King John I. of Portugal, in July 1419.”

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 stand 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 are 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 is 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 are around,—some with sticks, and others 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 gigantic plants, bearing flowers, give a grateful shade, and show a handsome bloom. Of the magnolia, I observed a specimen 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 30,000 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 persons affected with pulmonary complaints, is too well known for me to descant upon it. The thermometer is never below 53° Fahr., 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 2000 feet above the level of the sea.

The beauty of the scenery surrounding Funchal is indescribable, hills, peaks, cliffs, and ravines being interspersed with vegetation of every shade, and 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 is how the horse never misses a step as he clatters over 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 everywhere in the streets, and the language is screamed into our ears by a man walking in advance of two bullocks fastened to a sleigh, and who is bellowing furiously at the animals, whilst the cogency of his arguments is impressed upon their buttocks by another individual, who goads them remorselessly with a spike. Past high walls, overtopped with hedges of spartinum, 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 European as well as intertropical fruits. Here and there large heaths and cypress trees vary the natural scenery, with woodbine flowers of a purple hue, and we arrive at 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 fact 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 the quinta\* of the British Consul, but it is seen to advantage from a bend in the road over the Paliero, by which we returned. Looking 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, trelliswork here and there for the vines, flowers sending heavenly odours around, 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, buff-coloured buskins, and “capuças,” or little caps that are only large enough to cover a few hairs of their heads, and seem like funnels turned

\* Country residence.

upside down, with a peak that is ever waddling like a water wag-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 box 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.

The whole aspect of Madeira has quite a *dilettanti* appearance. Riding not along, but up and up and round about, over roads well paved, but appearing an *ad infinitum* of curvatures,—with a stream flowing in an artificial channel on one side, and yawning abysses with huts at the bottom on the other! by quintas whose white, yellow, and red fronts, diversified with green and blue jalousies and flowers of various gorgeous hues outside, in some places I pass under latticework stretching across the road, from which huge pumpkins are suspended, and then by the river's-side walls, looking over which, a tiny stream, the Ribiera del Joas Gomez, seems struggling through huge blocks of granite, on the most elevated of which, pieces of cotton cloth are spread for drying.

Yet this river, generally insignificant in its supply of water, is at certain seasons so swollen by the mountain torrents, that it sweeps away many whole streets of houses and destroys many lives. Since my last visit to Funchal, I have heard of its having caused fearful devastation, carrying away a convent, and its inmates, several of whom were drowned. This calamity occurred previous to the outbreak of cholera in 1856.

On board the boats containing the industrial products of the island for sale, and which are generally in numbers around the mail steamers, may be observed several of the juvenile population of Funchal, who will dive in a depth of six fathoms of water to catch any piece of silver that a benevolent signor may throw into the sea for the practical development of their marine agility.

By the "Mappa Commercial de Porto de Funchal," for the year 1854, it appears that 107 English ships entered the port that year, with cargoes amounting to 68,400*l.*, an amount nearly double that of its Portuguese commerce, to whose crown the island belongs.

A merchant there informed me that American oak shoots for casks can be had at Madeira a hundred per cent. cheaper than in England.

South of Madeira, about 150 miles, is a group of rocks called the Salvages. They are uninhabited, but are sometimes visited by Spaniards and Portuguese, for the purpose of collecting barilla—the only vegetable substance that is found there—and from whose ashes the purest kind of alkali is obtained.

The chief islands of the Canary group, are Palma,

Teneriffe, Grand Canary, Fuerteventura, Lancerota, Gomera, and Ferro. They all belong to the crown of Spain, and the total number of their inhabitants is estimated at 200,000.

The distance from Madeira to Teneriffe is about 250 miles. The Canary islands produce wine, corn, oxen, and goats. With these, the cochineal has of late years become a very important article of export from Teneriffe. Here also grows a species of lichen from which the rich purple dye of orchil is obtained, and whose chemical principle furnishes the blue test litmus.

From Point Anaja, the northernmost end of Teneriffe island, the distance to Santa Cruz, the capital,—which is situated on the N.E. side, is about five miles; and this extent of country has no aspect save that of cindery cliffs with patches of euphorbia growing thereon.

Entering Santa Cruz roadstead by the first dawn of morning, the town is, at the earliest glance, perceptible only as a white line along the beach. On going ashore and clambering up a few rickety steps, the first thing that impressed me with a conviction of being in a strange land was a camel grinding cement by rotatory progression, turning a wheel. The animal was blindfolded to keep him from becoming giddy. On the right hand side at the town end of the pier, is a small garden for public recreation, called the Allemada. Turning over to the same side and past the English hotel, we find a working yard for engineers, and, about one hundred paces farther on, the fort of San Pedro, from which the fatal



shot was fired that took off the arm of the gallant Nelson. To the left from the pier is the fort of San Christobal, — the castle of the port,— and passing by which we come into Constitution Place,—a neat square, in which is erected at one side a cross to point out the place where the Spaniards first planted the symbol of Christianity in Teneriffe. At the opposite side is a marble column placed there in the reign of King Charles III. of Spain, with a statue of the Virgin and Child at the top. The chief attractive houses of the square, are the residence of the Governor-general of the garrison, and a French café. From the latter an omnibus, drawn by four mules, goes twice a day to Laguna — a large town about six miles distant in the interior. From the upper end of Constitution Place stretches Castle Street, which is the Regent Street of Santa Cruz, and which commands the main thoroughfares of the town.

Strolling to the right, we pass some gloomy streets and get into the interior of the church of San Francisco. Nothing more is observable in it than is to be seen in similar Spanish edifices all over the world. A few streets from this, and on a rising ground, are erected the theatre and the market-place, on the site where formerly the convent of San Domingo stood. There is here only “one step from the sublime to the ridiculous”! only forty to fifty yards from the Thespian muse to cabbages, pumpkins, and bilious-looking apples! Yet in both establishments there is a neatness not re-

cognisable in like places at Madeira, and which is in singular contrast to the filthy aspect of the town and its inhabitants. The parish church of the Conception, at the time of my first visit, had grand preparations inside of it for the celebration of high mass to St. Barbara, who is the patron saint of the Artillery, and a company of whose devotees I met, with drums beating and bugles blowing, on their way to worship. Inside of the church a large quantity of military appanages, mortars, shot, swords, and flags were arranged in artistic style before the high altar. Hanging by a wall, close to a small altar on the left side, is a coffin-shaped box containing the colours that were taken from Nelson in his hapless attack on Teneriffe, and which are treasured with pride by the Spanish residents of the island.

The streets of Santa Cruz have a very varied aspect: — ladies with black skull caps and long flowing veils, listlessly carrying expanded fans in their hands; soldiers in white uniform having blue caps and green tassels suspended therefrom; brigandish-looking fellows from the country with sombrero hats, and ponchos made out of common blanket; half-starved mules, ponies, donkeys, and camels that seem to understand as much what they were born for as many of the people one meets about.

The population of Teneriffe amounts to 70,000 inhabitants. It produces better wine than any other of the islands. Its remarkable peak, called by the inhabitants the "Peak of Teyde," and supposed to have been the

Atlas of Virgil and Homer, is at times the most magnificent spectacle in the world.

Large masses of flecky cloud generally enwrap the mountain; but often the atmosphere is clear enough to admit an uninterrupted view from the base to the highest point. The top of it is a cupola, as perfect in symmetry as the dome of St. Paul's, and depressed on the summit by the concavity of the crater. The latter is 12,176 feet above the level of the sea; and on the western side of the mountain, down to the margin of the ocean, are waving beds; in streamy form, of now solid basaltic lava, emitted from the crater when the volcano was in action. These present a most attractively sublime appearance from a ship's deck when passing by, as the setting sun frequently causes them to glow with a ruddy and resplendent glare.

There is still, according to Captain Alexander, a vapour issuing from the summit, and portions of finely crystallised sulphur deposited on its sides. The last eruption is recorded to have taken place in 1798, but Baron von Humboldt states that "the volcano has not been active at the top for thousands of years, its eruptions having been from the sides, the depth of the crater being only about twelve feet. The peak forms a pyramidal mass, having a circumference at the base of more than two geographical miles. Two thirds of the mass are covered with vegetation, the remaining part being sterile and occupying about ten square leagues of surface. The cone is very small in proportion to the mountain, having a height of only 537 feet. The

lower part of the island is composed of basalt, and is separated from the more recent lavas and the product of the present volcano by strata of tufa-puzzolana and clay."\*

• The vale of Orotava, which is at the south-western side of the island, 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 Europeans with bronchial affections.

The country interior to Santa Cruz, in the Laguna direction, was reported to me to have a beautiful appearance, with corn-fields and gardens of cactus, on which the coccus insect is nurtured. The island is said to abound in pitch lakes. At the south side of Santa Cruz are a few lazy windmills; and along the whole stretch of country visible there are vineyards, diversified by white houses and cactus plantations, till our ship gets away on her ocean home again, and we exchange the beauties of the land for those of the vasty deep.

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 Milner †, "that several remarkable phenomena are witnessed in perfection. The phosphorescence of the ocean; the flying fish chased by

\* Nautical Magazine, No. 47, January, 1836.

† Gallery of Nature, p. 333.

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 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 animalcula 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 vitalised fire, as they—

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

## CHAP. II.

First Approach to African Continent.—Tornadoes.—Difference of Sensations perceptible on Land and at Sea after a Tornado. — Lieut. Bold's Description of them.—Portandik and Senegal.—St. Louis and its French Governor.—Native Names of River and Capital. — The Foota Toora and Foota Yaloo Tribes.—Exports of Senegal.—Goree and its Fort.—African Scene in the Town. — Cession of Goree to the French Government by the Treaty of 1816. — Glimpse at Dakur. — Exports of Goree. — The Gambia and Bathurst. — Cheerless first Appearance of the Latter.—Its Market-place and Streets.—The Mandenga and Yaloo Houses. — The Lepidosiren.—Explorations of the Gambia in the Seventeenth Century. — Thompson's, Jobson's, Vermuyden's, Stubbs's, and other Expeditions.—Conviction of Unhealthiness of the Gambia Settlement. — Chief Cause to which this may be attributed.—Notice of the Rivers between Gambia and Sierra Leone. — These Rivers shown to be the Cradles in which the Slave Trade was nursed.

WHEN approaching the African continent, the sensations communicated by the atmosphere are not agreeable to any one who has voyaged hither for the first time. As we neared the coast, the sun became 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 tor-

nadoes — a mingled combination 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 at sea 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. It is not always so on land, more especially at the commencement of this season. During the existence of a tornado, the thermometer often falls from twelve to twenty degrees; but as soon as the rain acts upon the earth, equally oppressive heat as that which preceded the elemental outbreak frequently supervenes. The thunder-clouds are sometimes so near the earth in these outbreaks, that I have often experienced a dash of increased heat simultaneous with a vivid flash of lightning. Dr. Baikie\* writes of this sensation, which he and Mr. May experienced up the Binuë—as “a feeling of warmth in the face,” on the occasion of a tornado.

The tornado† derives its appellation from the Portuguese, being a corruption of “trovado,” a thunder-storm. “It is known,” says Lieut. Bold, “on all the coast of Africa between the Rio Núñez, in lat.  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W., and the equator; but is most severely felt on the windward coast (extending from Cape Mesurado to St. Andrew’s Bay), and seems intended by Divine Providence to expel

\* Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kworra and Binuë, in 1854. P. 206. Murray, London.

† Vide Merchants’ and Mariners’ African Guide. By Lieut. E. Bold. 8vo. London, 1822.



the noxious matter with which the air is so frequently charged. The tornado first announces itself by the appearance of a small silvery cloud in the zenith, which gradually increases and descends towards the horizon, and becomes veiled over with the most impenetrable darkness. At this moment the functions of nature seem to be paralysed, and the elements to have ceased their operations. The most profound and solemn stillness reigns around, with scarcely a breath of air from the heavens; in consequence of which, the whole physical system feels oppressed with sensations of approaching suffocation. Violent and reverberating peals of distant thunder, with lightning, commence, gradually advancing and increasing to an extreme not easy to describe; the atmosphere being at times in a continued blaze for miles without intermission. At length the gust arrives, with sometimes the greatest, irresistible violence, the impulse of which no sails can frequently withstand. It is fortunately not of long duration, extending from one to three hours, and concludes with a furious deluge of rain, that descends rather in columns than in drops. The great danger is in the sudden impulse of the gust, which would immediately dismast or overturn a vessel unprepared for that event. Nothing can be more exquisitely delightful than the subsequent clear and pure state of the air, creating an apparent regeneration of the animal as well as the vegetable world."

Though vessels, unless specially bound thither, do not touch at Senegal, it is the first river of importance on the N.W. coast of Africa.

Before arriving at Senegal, and about a hundred miles to the north of that river, is the town of Portandik, where a small trade is carried on by English vessels. It is situated on a rocky coast, not accessible for ships, as there is a fearful surge breaking across the bar. The trade, however, is of little importance, being confined to gum-arabic, for which the chief market is Senegal. By the treaty of 1783 with France (having reference to Western Africa) it was stipulated that the English gum trade should be entirely confined to Portandik.

St. Louis, the capital of Senegal, is situated about twenty-one miles from the mouth of the river. Here the French governor of Senegal resides, who is styled by the natives Borom N'Dar, *i. e.* chief of N'Dar—the African name of the island on which St. Louis is situated. The population of St. Louis amounts to nearly 10,000 inhabitants; of whom about 250 are Europeans (Frenchmen), 800 military of the same nation, 200 black soldiers, and the remainder negroes and mulattoes. It is the most important settlement of the French on the African coast. Its chief articles of export are gum-arabic, ground nuts, and hides. Ivory and gold-dust are occasionally obtained here from the interior countries.

On the left side of the river as you enter is the town of Guet N'Dar, outside of which the Sahara, or Great Desert, commences to develope itself. The opposite side is denominated the Cayor country, and is occupied by the people of that negro race, whose king, Dommel, is reported to be able to muster 20,000 horsemen on a

field of battle. The river Senegal, in the language of the Cayor people, is called Jallibalil.

The Cayor tribe are of the Yaloo race.\* They are reputed to be the bravest in combat, and the most athletic in physical conformation of any tribes to be met on the coast.

At a considerable distance interior to Senegal, are the countries inhabited by the Foota Toora and Foota Yaloo tribes of the Filata races. The chief city of the Foota Tooras, which is approachable up the Senegal stream, and by voyaging along one of two rivers entitled Woodo and Reo, whence you pass the town of Islande, is called Aurifonde. Here the King Almami † Abdul resides; and he can collect 13,000 horsemen at his command.

Between the Foota Toora and Foota Yaloo districts are two pagan countries called Yanda and Bande. The present King of Foota Yaloo is Almami Omar.

Of the opposition manifested towards the French by these tribes, I have heard many stories, all of which were confirmatory of their cunning and bravery. The examples of the Foota Tooras and Foota Yaloo that have comè within my acquaintance, seem to possess a very superior intelligence. And although the Kûrân is the basis of their education, their political and social ideas

\* Koelle, in his "Polyglotta Africana," gives to these people the name of Wolofs. I believe it is also the name given by themselves towards their own species; they are likewise entitled Yaloo and Yaloo's indiscriminately.

† Almami is the Foota Toora title for king.

prove them, nevertheless, to be endowed with a high degree of mental development.

The trade winds, combined with steam, bring us rapidly to the latitude of the Cape Verd Islands, between which and the Madeleines we first observe the peculiarities of African coast scenery—a patch of sand;—here and there a few gigantic trees towering over their fellows;—with a smoky haze extending to where the trees and sand are bounded by the visible horizon, or to where the little town of Goree, built on a small island outside Cape Verd, causes us to drop anchor. From Senegal to Goree is a distance of about eighty miles.

The island of Goree, though belonging to the British Crown from 1809 to 1816, was ceded to the French Government in the latter year by the treaty of Paris. Its population is about 7000, and its negro inhabitants are of the Yalloo race.

The town is built on a barren, rocky island, composed of basalt and sand. A single palm-tree, with a few straggling oleanders in the market-place, are the only evidences it possesses of vegetable life. From the south-western end of the island, which is not more than 400 fathoms long and 170 wide, abuts the fort—the chief French military depôt in Western Africa. Inside its walls, which are strong fortifications, is a pretty monument to the memory of Monsieur Thomas Renault de Germain, who had been formerly Governor of Senegal. Stones and mortar lying about, as well as excavations made in several places, show that it is

not yet finished; but that part of it which is so has been accomplished in the artistic style peculiar to the French. There is a drawbridge admitting to the main entrance; and Goree presents a very curious appearance when viewed from the battlements. One sees nothing but flat roofs of white plaster down as far as the water's edge, over the whole extent of the island. Coming out of the gate, and looking over a high wall, there is a real African scene before me:—a few negro boys, clambering up a wall like monkeys, between the spot on which I stand and a swine colony underneath;—two women working at looms in the same place, spinning narrow strips of cloth out of cotton;—a large quantity of pigs, some of which are dozing under the roofs of little unwallied sheds; and farther on houses of the natives, an idea larger, constructed with walls, but so filthy in their outward aspect, that at first they appear to me as being intended for the aristocracy of the swinish race. The streets and dwellings have all a very battered appearance about them, save the pretty little chapel of Notre Dame, which is situated in the centre of the town.

About three-quarters of an hour's pull across the sea to the mainland is a place named Dakur, containing 3000 inhabitants, whose chapels and sisters of charity institutions were visible to us from the fort or from any part of Goree.

Gum-copal and ground-nuts are the principal articles of export, chiefly to Rouen and Marseilles.

Between Goree and the Gambia, at the mouth of

which the capital, Bathurst, is situated, nothing of the land is visible unless you are very close to it; and coming up to this the prospect is equally uninviting; a perfectly flat country on either side, diversified with a few ghostly trees rising out of the sand, and leaving one uncertain as to whether there is a sea or a yawning abyss behind St. Mary's Island on which Bathurst is situated. There is no elevation of ground as far as the eye can reach,—the horizon over the tops of the houses and beyond the trees being bounded by the sky, and by that alone. On the right side of the river, a few miles below Bathurst, is Fort Bullom. From this fort, which is on the opposite side to the city, a surface of a mile inland from the beach, extending up the stream to a distance of twenty miles, is owned by the British Government, to which the colony belongs. This affords a yearly revenue in the pilotage and harbour dues of ships,—as the chief trade here, as well as in Goree and Senegal, is carried on by French vessels.

Two wooden piers extend from the shore to a distance in the river sufficient to allow ships to come alongside to discharge their cargoes, and take in the country produce in return.

The sand on the beach and in many of the streets is so soft that it is really a labour to wade through it. Turning to the right, I pass by a market-place, containing many women, seated beside baskets of "khola" nuts, with bundles of the same sewed up in bamboo mats for exportation down the coast. A quantity of hides, which give out an abominable odour, lie about on the

ground; women and girls, bearing baskets of oranges, greet you; and perhaps a British officer in uniform cantering by, splashing up the sand in a shower behind him. This road leads to the barracks, thence by the governor's house to the hospital, where the view is limited by a swamp. Facing the water, the dwellings as well as places of business occupied by nearly all the European traders are situated, with piazzas and verandahs outside each, and rows of the blooming oleander, with its brilliant scarlet blossoms, growing between the houses and the highway.

Between this latter and the water a number of wild cotton and fig-trees grow parallel with the houses, and form a shady arborescence for lounging. Mandenga men and women—some weaving, spinning, and chatting, and some devoutly perusing the *Kûrân*—are in groups beneath the trees. At the end of this street several boats are on the beach undergoing repair, and twenty or thirty craft are riding at anchor in the harbour.

The market-place is the neatest I have seen in Africa, protected from the sun by a zinc roof, and being quite a cool retreat inside. There is also a slaughter-house within view of it, and these have both been erected by the colonial government.

In the interior, lying between the street and the hospital, the houses of the native Mandengas and Yaloos are situated. They are really pattern specimens of African neatness and industry. The majority are fashioned like mammoth beehives, with large spaces of ground, used for yards, surrounding them; in every one

of which I observed males and females engaged in some industrial occupation. Many of these houses are of lattice walls and shingle roofs, but all are clean and compact. From behind the convent, which is situated in the Mandenga part of Bathurst, you can have a view of the steamer "Albert" (lying a wreck on the beach), which was engaged in the Niger Expedition of 1841-42.

A very curious animal, the *Lepidosiren*\*, which forms a connecting link between fish and reptiles, is an inhabitant of the river Gambia. As the upper parts of this river are liable to be dried up during much more than half the year, the whole of this period is spent by the *Lepidosiren* in a hollow which it excavates for itself deep in the mud, where it lies coiled up in a completely torpid condition, whence it is called by the natives, "the sleeping fish." When the return of the rain causes the streams to be again filled, so that the water finds its way down to the hiding-place, it comes forth for its brief period of activity; and with the approach of drought, it again makes its way down into the mud, which speedily hardens round it into a solid mass.

Ever since African exploration was commenced by the English nation in the 17th century, the Gambia has been the chief theatre for its attempted operations. Although each succeeding effort to reach central Africa by the Gambia failed, nevertheless the venture was persevered in. For marvellous stories were told of the

\* A specimen of this fish is in the Crystal Palace.



countries adjacent to the Niger and Timbuktu; — of the existence of one or more localities where the roofs of the great men's houses were covered with gold, and where the precious metal was to be found in the river bottoms, and at the mountain sides.

In 1618, a company, building its hopes on these delusive stories, was formed in London; and Richard Thompson, a Barbary merchant, sailed from the Thames in a vessel of 120 tons. He advanced up the Gambia as far as Tenda, a place never reached by an European before, where he was massacred, most probably by his own people. Lander writes that he was murdered by the Portuguese, but surely if no European had ever reached so high previously to his ascent, this was out of the bounds of probability.

Richard Jobson commanded the second expedition, and arrived in the Gambia in 1620. His narrative is a most interesting one — of the numerous wild animals, as lions, elephants, river-horses, and crocodiles, with which the country and the river abound. But many of his stories are tinged with the apocryphal. He describes the river as being filled with a “world of sea-horses, whose paths, as they come on shore to feed, were beaten with tracks as large as a London highway.” We should not for a moment doubt this, when we learn further on, that “baboons appeared to hold the sovereignty of the woods, and whenever the navigation of the river obliged the travellers to keep close in shore, where the banks were covered with trees, the baboons posted themselves on the branches, and kept up a regular attack upon the

navigators, throwing at them the largest sticks which they could find, and apparently holding a palaver with each other as to the best mode of prosecuting the attack against the lawless intruders into their territory."

The voices of crocodiles, the snorting defiance of elephants, the distrust of the baboons "in the friendly advances of their brother bipeds," would lead the reader to imagine that Jobson went up as a Munchhausen naturalist, rather than as a commercial explorer, did he not ascertain the report of "a silent traffic carried on in the interior between the Moors and a Negro nation, who would not allow themselves to be seen." The reason why these negroes conceal themselves is that they have "lips of an unnatural size, hanging down half way over their breasts, and which they are obliged to rub with salt continually to keep them from putrefaction"—a statement incompatible with our knowledge of physiology in the present day, as well as of what interior African exploration has since taught us.

To Jobson, Vermuyden succeeded on another expedition in 1665, and improved on his predecessor in the narrative he gives of the opposition encountered by the animal kingdom. "So daring were the river-horses, that one of them struck a hole in the boat with his teeth; an accident that was rather of a serious nature, as there was no one on board possessing skill in carpentry." But Vermuyden returned as Jobson did, without finding the El Dorado; and I am incredulous enough to believe that these wonderful stories of savage animals were only palliatives for the failure of the expeditions. The

wild animals of Western Africa, from the northern tropic to the equator, have nothing like the craft or daring in these instances recorded of them.

Another expedition was undertaken in 1720, when the Duke of Chandos was Governor of the African company, by Captain Stubbs, who only got a few miles above the falls at Banaconda, and not-so far as Thompson or Jobson. The African Association, soon after its first formation in 1791, sent out Major Houghton, who undertook to reach the Niger by the Gambia, on land. He was misguided to Tisheet by some Moors, who, under the excuse of showing him the way to Timbuktu, robbed him of his clothing, and left him to perish under a tree. In 1793, the celebrated Mungo Park sailed from England to explore central Africa, by the Gambia; and although perishing on the Niger, near Boussa, in a subsequent voyage, has left a name immortalised by such chivalrous perseverance as has never been before or since recorded, up to the successful labours of Drs. Barth and Livingstone. He reached the Niger by crossing overland, through the countries of Medina, Satadoo, and Bongasi.

The age of romance must either have passed away when I was at the Gambia, or, perhaps, not having ventured above the river's embouchure, I had no opportunity of witnessing the poetic marvels described by Jobson and Vermuyden. But I have seen enough of it to make me believe that Captain Belcher must have been dreaming when he wrote, "even in its present state, it is by far *the most healthy* part of the coast;

and had a portion of the liberality of Government to Sierra Leone been extended to Bathurst and its dependencies, it would have acquired that character which eventually, with infinite labour, it will establish for itself from its own resources." I do not "feel satisfied" of anything of the kind; because geographical facts, as thus described by Dr. Daniell\*, go against its possibility. "The settlements of Gambia are not so favourably situated as those of Sierra Leone, being deficient, not only in picturesque embellishments and local advantages, but also in affording a less healthy climate. Vast alluvial and densely-wooded mangrove morasses extend on all sides, the heavy and monotonous scenery of which reminds the voyager of the more deadly swamps of equatorial Africa." So it appeared to me at the time of my visit; the entrance into the river being one of the most dismal prospects to be seen on the west coast of Africa. And a fact communicated by Dr. Lawson, the Staff Surgeon of the Colony in 1852, adds cogency to Dr. Daniell's opinion: "that in 1836, out of 96 Europeans (English soldiers) sent to the hospital, 92 died."

I believe the ill-healthiness of this locality to be as much attributable to the vicissitudes of temperature as to the influence of its malaria. For the temperature in the town, on the river, and outside the bar varies considerably,—the first sometimes, even on the same day, exceeding the last by from ten to twenty degrees.

\* Sketch of Medical Topography, &c., p. 8. S. Highley, Fleet-street, London.

The Gambia has another settlement on it, named M'Carthy's Island, which is 180 miles interior.

A steamer is attached to the governing power at Bathurst, which keeps up a communication between both places. Ground-nuts, ivory, bees' wax, and hides are the chief articles of export hence,—the ground-nuts by the French, and the hides by the Americans. Goora or Khola nuts also form an important item of traffic at all the ports from this to Lagos. It is used amongst the native Africans entirely as an agreeable bitter or provocative; but I believe it to possess valuable tonic and febrifuge qualities as well.

The population of Bathurst is about 7000. The Yaloos and Mandengas are the chief negro tribes of the place.

Between Bathurst and Sierra Leone, now the chief British Colonies in Western Africa, are the rivers Cazamanza, Cacheo, Jeba, Rio Grande, Bolola, Rio Nunez (or Kakundy), Campanee, Rio Pongo, Dembia, and Debueka, with the Bijooga Islands, and the Isles de Los. Then by Matacong Island, Mahneal, Mordinale, Mellacooree, Janna, and Great Scarcies rivers, and rounding the Bullom shore, we come within sight of Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone.

All the countries traversed by the rivers just mentioned have long been the resort of Spanish and Portuguese slave traders. And, however humiliating it must be to us Englishmen to confess it, the records tell us that from the river Nunez was brought, in the year 1562, a cargo of slaves by Captain Hawkins,

the first Englishman who opened this traffic, which he bartered at Hispaniola for hides, sugar, and other produce of that island. He was, however, preceded by Alonzo Gonzalves, a Portuguese, who made a venture in 1434; and no doubt it was the money to be made by this line of commerce that induced Pietro de Ceutra to settle at Sierra Leone in 1480. The latter was followed up by more of his nation taking possession of the Gold Coast, and erecting the present Dutch fort of Elmina in 1481.

In 1618, a charter was granted by James I. to Sir Robert Rich, to establish a regular slave-trading company to Africa, which, however, for want of integrity in its formation, soon broke up. The year 1631 saw the formation of a second company, which secured from Charles I. the exclusive right of trading between certain parts of Africa. Gradually, however, the privileges of this company were infringed upon by private adventurers, and so it shared the fate of its predecessors. Jamaica was taken by England in 1645, and seventeen years after, namely, in 1662, a third company was formed, at the head of which was the Duke of York. One of the conditions upon which the company was invested with a royal charter was, that it should supply annually to Jamaica 3000 slaves.

The opening of the slave trade was a blot upon the grand geographical discoveries of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century; but it should never be forgotten that the trade commenced by Captain Hawkins was legalised in Great Britain for nearly two centuries, and was even

under royal patronage. In the spirit of that period, one of Hawkins' vessels, in his second voyage, which comprised ten ships, was styled the "Jesus," and another the "John the Baptist," while he, the apostle of the trade, was knighted on his return by Queen Elizabeth.

A history of the slave trade is not my purpose here, and these few observations have only been drawn forth by the recollection, that the places by which we have now passed were the great original slave-trade marts, before the traffic found its way to the windward and leeward coasts, as well as to the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

## CHAP. III.

Sierra Leone.—Impressions of its first Appearance.—Streets and Buildings of Freetown.—Kissy Street.—The Road to Fourah Bay Grammar School.—Peculiarities of the native Timneys.—Early History of Sierra Leone.—Governmental Institutions.—Natural Productions.—Harmattan—Cape Mount and Liberia.—Description of Monrovia.—Mrs. Stowe's Expectations of it.—The Kru Coast and Krumen.—Their Indispensability for African Trading.—Visit to Grand Sestros.—Krumen's Mode of Apprenticeship.—Improvisatori amongst Krumen.—Polygamy; of its general Characteristics in African Nations.—Approach to the Gold Coast.

SIERRA LEONE, according to Mr. Oldfield\*, was named by its early inhabitants Romarong, and by its first discoverers (the Portuguese) Sierra Leone, from their supposing that its mountains abounded 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 Sagrin or Metomba.

The colony 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. This character seems to have been derived from the fact that in 1834 three governors died there in the space of ten months;

\* Vide Sierra Leone Almanac for 1854.



and such an occurrence was enough for the genius of European poetry to build upon with reference to African mortality. 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 vessel made a detour 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 Kentown and the shore,—to the many men-of-war and merchant vessels in the harbour,—to the Fourah Bay 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 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 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. Kissy Street, on the outskirts of Freetown, is in a perpetual bustle of negro venders and purchasers at the many shops with which it abounds. Leaving the street behind, the road along here is a perfect *rus in urbe*, consisting of

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

houses, not placed in juxtaposition, but having gardens intervening teeming with limes, oranges, guavas, sweet-sop, mangoes, pine-apples, and every intertropical fruit. The Fourah Bay grammar-school is a Church Missionary Society Institution, whose principal, the 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.

In the market-place, as well as in other parts of the town, I saw many nobly-formed men of the Mandenga race, who are Mahomedans, and distinguished from other negroes by the sweeping tobies they wear, many of them likewise having a white or red cap. A piece of leather, in which is sewed up a written passage from the Kûrân, is usually suspended round their necks to preserve them from evil influence. A similar practice obtains along the coast in pagan as well as Mahomedan countries; the only difference being that the former wear tiger tusks and poison-nuts as their guardian fetishes, whereas the latter place faith in extracts from the Kûrân. Bridles beautifully ornamented, riding whips, carved calabashes, baskets, bows and arrows, cartouche boxes, telescope cases, all manufactured by them in excellent style, are sold in the market by the Mandengas. Every European merchant residing in Sierra Leone is obliged to have an interpreter of this race to assist him in carrying on traffic with the people of the interior for gold, which is brought to the town in solid rings of various sizes.

The cries of the women in the town at early morning,

parading the streets and selling "foo-foo,"\* "Mandenga bread," "Agiddy,"† "Kholanuts," and "peppers," brought me back in fancy to the by-streets of Liverpool or London. It gave me a better idea than I had been accustomed to entertain of the capacity for physical endurance of the negro women, when I learned that they often bear a basket with these articles on their heads, as well as carry 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, Mandenga, 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 likewise worship the bug-a-bug‡ insect, and build hives over them in the rainy season. Freetown contains nearly 30,000 inhabitants, and covers an area of

\* "Foo-foo" is a name, I believe, of the Koso language, descriptive of a substance made from yams by mashing them into the consistence of putty.

† Agiddy is the Papaw title for Indian corn bruised with water into a gruel-like preparation.

‡ The *Termes fatale* of Cuvier.

about six miles. It is built on the hill-side 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 original 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 400 negroes who had been discharged from the army and navy after the American war, and who were accompanied by 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 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 toleration of, but 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 vested in him.

The colony is rich in the production of teak-wood, palm-oil, coffee, and gum copal. Red pepper, arrow-root, and ginger, form also important articles of cultivation. Ivory as well as gold are brought to it from the interior. As teak-wood is too heavy to float—the age of locomotives not having yet come to Western Africa—this is brought down the rivers on rafts of cork-wood towed by canoes. There were 500 tons of ginger produced from the colony in 1851; and in 1852, from 8000 to 9000 pounds of cotton were sent to England by the African Improvement Society.

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 besides giving employment to a large number of people throughout the year, affords the inhabitants on this part of the coast a very superior burning oil. Being pure and free from smell, it is supplied to the steamers of the African squadron for their machinery.

The Harmattan is one of the most remarkable features of Sierra Leone to a 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. Milner.† 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, having 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,

\* Vide Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LXXI.

† Gallery of Nature, p. 448.

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 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), and to contain in its composition a species of infusoria belonging to Chili. Something similar was gathered by Mr. Darwin when on board the "Beagle" at St. Iago, one of the Cape Verd Islands. That collected in the last-named ship, when scrutinised 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 the Harmattan dust being wafted from the Sahara.

From Sierra Leone we voyage along the Banana and Sherbro islands, and past Cape Mount (a place rendered notorious by its having been so long the residence of the celebrated slave trader, Captain Canot), to Liberia, a colony of free negroes. The constitution of Liberia, which is now a republic, was begun and fostered by the advice and money of the American Colonisation Society, to assist liberated negroes in returning to the land of their forefathers, for the purpose of establishing themselves in liberty and independence.

The capital of Liberia is Monrovia, on the river

Mesurado; but they claim as their territory the whole coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of 300 miles. I have been given to understand that within the last few years they have annexed territory as far as Berebi, a distance of nearly 100 miles to the leeward of Cape Palmas, and near the Drewen country which is adjacent to Cape Lihu.

The colony was established in 1822, when it was described to extend for a distance of 300 miles along the shore from Half Cape Mount to Piccaniny Sestros, and to contain a population of about 6000 negroes from America, with about 80,000 natives.

The British government made to the Liberian authorities, some years past, a present of a schooner, which, at the time of my first visit, was lying useless and dismasted in the harbour. They have several missionaries resident throughout Liberia, and publish a fortnightly newspaper at Monrovia.

Notwithstanding that the colonists live in peace with one another, and with the natives, and although the soil is remarkably fruitful, yet Liberia never can be prosperous, in consequence of the ill chosen site for Monrovia, which is entirely shut in from the sea-breeze. The rivers on the Liberian coast are all short and rapid, and their courses rocky; the anchorage at the bar being shifting sand, and not mud possessing any tenacity. The river Mesurado is no exception to this, for as I was crossing the bar in a four-oared gig, the Kruboyes were obliged to get out and shove the boat off a bank of sand, which is reported to change its position with



every tide. Monrovia is deprived of the northern sea-breeze in its purity, by the long sandy beach and brush-wood which stretches from Cape Mount to St. Paul's River, across which it must pass before reaching the place, and of the westerly wind by a high peak of land intervening between the town and the sea. On the summit of this peak is built a lighthouse very much resembling a colossal pepper-caster, as you view it from the harbour.

The city is erected on an eminence which you can ascend from the shore by either of three or four rugged pathways, past the church, a hotel, and the President's house, until you find yourself in some place, which one tries to realise into the fact of a street. But it cannot be done. Houses are jotted down as if they had been dropped out of the sky; flowers of the richest hue are in the gardens; but there is a stillness, with an absence of spirit or business in the place that made me at first wonder where I was. I looked up at the President's house, the chilliest, most prison-looking building at which I have ever gazed,—then up at the mammoth pepper-caster, then down the street, yet no sign of life was anywhere.

A copy of President Roberts's message, which had been delivered at the House of Assembly the day before one of my visits, was put into my hands as I was leaving the hotel, and its perusal afforded me a great deal of pleasure. It was couched in a style creditable to any statesman, and, amongst other facts, mentioned that the Emperor of France had presented 1000 stand of arms

to the Liberian Republic. Since that time President Roberts has given place to President Benson.

Monrovia has a population of about 2000; but I fancy that the majority of its inhabitants are very unlike Harper, the American negro, who was reported to me (by virtue of his possession of the freedom of Liberia) to have taken a farm of ten acres of ground up the St. Paul's River, and to have been cultivating coffee at an extraordinary rate. Within three years previous to the time of my information (at the beginning of 1854) he had 200,000 coffee trees fit for transplanting, and 400 or 500 of them transplanted, as well as in full bearing.

It is out of men like this that African nationality must grow to make it what it ought to be, "racy of the soil," and thus possessing endurance. Such a nationality will be the only true and efficient eradicator of slavery. "To fill up Liberia with an ignorant; inexperienced, half-barbarous race just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong for ages the period of struggle and conflict which attends the inception of new enterprises." Thus writes Mrs. Stowe; and as this lady testifies that the labours of a body comparatively small, in the north of her country, can show forth examples of men formerly slaves who have rapidly acquired property, reputation, and education, "amongst whom talent has been developed, and who for moral traits of honesty, kindness, tenderness of feeling, for heroic efforts and self-denial, endured for

the ransom of brethren and friends yet in slavery, have been remarkable to a degree, that, considering the influences under which they were born, is really remarkable,"—there should be hope for Africa in such a class as this.\*

"Honesty, kindness, tenderness, heroic self-denial!" — *these* traits developed out of such a slough as existed in the plantation of Simon Legree, prove that there are innate germs of nature's nobility beneath the skins of the sable sons of Ethiopia. And in the virgin soil of Africa's young community, the inculcation of industrial, moral, intellectual, and Christian truths would evidently produce a golden harvest, of which may the mercantile community of our Christian Queen of England be the tillers and the gleaners!

The appearance of the track of the sea-coast for several miles eastward of Monrovia presents no variety. Interminable forests of acacia, and mangrove; an endless beach of white sand, with a small town, or a few slave barracoons on the shore, are the only evidences of human existence.

At Grand Sestros and at the town of Cape Palmas are the chief colonies of Krumen, from which our

\* The Rev. Dr. Willis, Professor of Divinity at Toronto College, in the course of a lecture which he delivered in Glasgow on Canada, stated that there were about 60,000 emancipated slaves settled in Canada; most of them had fled from bondage. He had repeatedly preached to congregations of emancipated slaves, and had ever found them attentive and devout. They appeared to him to enter with more spirit into the praise of God than white men generally.

merchant ships and men-of-war are supplied, and without whose assistance it would be impossible for Europeans to carry on trade in Western Africa.

The town of Grand Sestros is the only part of the Kru coast at which I have been ashore, and it is very primitive in its fashioning. A cluster of rocks are near the landing-place, on a steep shelving beach, against which in the rainy season the surf beats furiously. The houses are formed of plaited bamboo stems, which are first sliced, and then woven together, to fabricate walls, without any mud or plaster. Leaves of bamboo form the roofs, which in many cases looked like gigantic beehives, over-topped by a circular dish that was again surmounted by a sugar-loaf form of the same material. No cultivation of the land is observed about, save for rice. The house of the king was unlike the others, being quadrilateral, and was longer than the rest. He was an old man, named Onee, and had a very stupid, expressionless countenance, with no more evidence of intelligence, than if it had been carved in ebony. He came out into his courtyard to greet me, wearing a furniture-chintz dressing-gown, and having a slave carrying over his head an umbrella, which seems to be a *sine quâ non* with all African potentates.

Fishtown, Rocktown, and Cavally are contiguous to and to the eastward of Cape Palmas. From these localities the best kruboyas can be procured. The cape has a lighthouse on the western extremity; and between it and the town are a few houses, occupied by American missionaries, from which the star-spangled

banner is seen floating when a ship is near enough for observation.

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, three or four black bodies are recognised in each canoe, sitting on the calves of their legs bent under them, and paddling as if for their very lives, in order to be in-time 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 as he thinks will go down with his anticipated employer.

Speaking only of their physical qualifications, I believe them to be the bone and sinew of the negro races of Western Africa, the only men of the Ethiopian tribe 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 head man, so called from his being considered the representative head of the young men. This head man 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. It is his duty to ship the boys off for the oil 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, which can be heard daily

amongst his countrymen in the streets of Liverpool. For this service the head man 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 salary on his return. When a boy has made two or three voyages, and can speak English with the fluency of other head men, he becomes a head man himself, buys wives for himself amongst the families of nations around him, whom he obliges to work for him in his declining years; and a Kruman is considered as a very independent gentleman when he can cease hiring himself out, and has twenty or thirty wives at his command. At a Kruman's death his wives become the property of his son, as part of his chattels; and thus a man may, literally speaking, have his own mother for his wife.

This social condition is considered, and justly too, as one of the greatest brutalities connected with the vile system of polygamy in Western Africa. But I think the anti-polygamists go a little beyond the logic of true Christian induction by instituting a parallel between these usages in heathenised lands and their aspects of its supposed existence amongst us at home. In England the possibility of such an arrangement would be abhorrent to the vilest nature, save to Mormons and Agapemonians. In Africa, interiorly as well as on the coast, there is an absence of any consideration for blood relationship in the matter of marital connections. Sons have their mothers, brothers their sisters, and uncles their nieces in the same affinity — in name only, the

reader will please to observe, and not *de facto*, as one or two instances will suffice to demonstrate. The present King Bell of Cameroons had only two wives on his father's death, but when that event took place he made a selection from the wives of the late king, and now possesses beyond thirty, the majority of whom were owned by his father, to whom he succeeded as ruler. King Peppel, the ex-King of Bonny, had his own sister called his head wife, whilst one of the daughters of King Eyo of Old Calabar is wife of the king's brother, whose daughter is again married to the king's eldest son.

Such a position of affairs will doubtless appear very glaring to those who are accustomed to regard wives in the light in which they are regarded in England, both in law and scripture teaching. A comparison of this kind would be unjust to the African. Many of the monarchs look upon their wives chiefly in the light of soldiers or domestic helps. The King of Ashantee has three thousand three hundred and thirty-three (a number which Mr. East facetiously tells us "is never exceeded"), whom it would be absurd to consider in the light of marital companions, even if we did not know that the majority of them constitute his army of Amazons. The King of Yoruba told Clapperton that he did not know how many wives and children he had; but he was sure that his wives would reach hand in hand from Katunga, his capital, to Jenna, a distance of about 250 miles. Bowditch, in his "Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee," mentions many instances of the monarchs being furnished with a like profusion; and

although nothing could be farther from my mind than to express a sanction or toleration of this apparent absence of moral usage, it is magnifying the animality of the negro race a little too much to paint them in the colours wherein they are usually depicted in appeals to our Christian public.

One remarkable trait in the character of the Krumen is thus recorded by M<sup>c</sup>Queen,—“they never enslave one another;” and a very beautiful characteristic is that mentioned by Mr. Wilson \* of the Krumen’s love for his mother, — “Her name, whether dead or alive, is always on his lips and in his heart. She is the first being he thinks of when awaking from his slumbers, and the last he remembers when he closes his eyes in sleep. To her he confides secrets which he would reveal to no other human being on the face of the earth. He cares for no one else in times of sickness. She alone must prepare his food, administer his medicines, perform his ablutions, and spread his mat for him. He flies to her in the hour of distress; for he well knows, if all the rest of the world turn against him, she will be steadfast in love whether he is right or wrong.”

They have the same silly superstitions, a belief in ju-jus and fetishes, as all the races who are uncivilised and unchristianised, but nothing of the bloodthirsty practices that are engrafted on the idolatry of the natives

\* Western Africa, its Condition, History, and Prospects : by the Rev. I. L. Wilson : p. 116. Chaps. iii. iv. v. and vi. of this work contain the most interesting record I have seen given of the history of these people.



of the Bight of Biafra. Their language is principally a combination of vowels, and, from its peculiar nasal pronunciation, can rarely be acquired by an Englishman. Different nations of them speak different languages, 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 different languages are generally understood by the natives along the coast."

The Krumen, in rowing or paddling boats or canoes, take parts of a song in pairs, as if carrying on question and response; and the whole join in chorus at the end of each verse. I am inclined to think, owing to their great length, that these songs are improvised; and the fact is recorded by Mr. Smith in his "Trade and Travels on the Gulf of Guinea," that "in Bonny, Krumen sing songs which their countrymen can hear in another ship, and whereby they manage to communicate the running news of the time." On our reaching the bar of the Nun, in returning from the ascent of the Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë in 1854, one of our Kruboyes composed an extempore song, in which he celebrated the safe return of himself and his countrymen from a river of such a deadly character, recording all the incidents of our voyage, and giving to each of the officers on board that meed of praise to which their poet laureate considered them individually entitled. These Kruboyes, the majority of whom were Fishtown men, were thirty-three in number; and I feel pleasure in recording here that

they could not have worked more energetically, or acted more faithfully, had they been chosen for the purpose.

I regret, very much, that hitherto all my efforts to obtain an early history of these people have failed; for I believe they are the most remarkable race of negroes to be met with in all Africa.

In Laird and Oldfield's narrative of the Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the river Niger\*, in 1833, an instance is recorded of the Krumen's devotion to their head man, who got into disgrace, that reflects great credit upon his subordinates. A most remarkable peculiarity is their unwillingness to expatriate themselves for a length of time; and their affections towards their parents, wives, and children are as deeply founded and as powerful as those of any civilised nation in the world. The Krumen take an oath by swallowing a few grains of salt placed on the cover of a bible.

Leaving Cape Palmas behind, we come to the Grain Coast, and thence to the Gold Coast, which lies between Cape Lihu and Cape St. Paul's. The town of Axim, in a bay of that name, is visible, with its old Dutch fort, before we reach Cape Three Points, where are two forts, those of Antonio and Brandenburg. On Point Aguydah are the ruins of another Dutch fort, situated over a small negro village bearing the same name as the point.

To the eastward of Cape Three Points, we pass the fort and town of Dix Cove, one of the British settle-

\* Vol. i. p. 261: Bentley, London, 1836.

ments on the Gold Coast. A little further on are the villages of Pompondee and Secondee, then Shura, and we come within view of the Castle of St. George d'Elmina with its white walls. The whole of this part of the coast is occupied by a Dutch and English fort alternately. Eleven miles lower down, our anchor is dropped opposite Cape Coast castle.

## CHAP. IV.

Cape Coast and its Castle.—A Walk through the Town to Fort William.—L. E. L.'s Grave.—Description of the Place in which she is buried.—My Sensations on seeing it.—Refutation of the Calumnies against Herself and Husband.—Supposed Cause of her Death.—The Gold Country interior to Cape Coast.—Mode of Swearing amongst the Natives.—Dysentery and Guinea Worm the prevailing Diseases here.—Some Notes about Ashantee.—Akra.—The Fort of St. James.—The Poll Tax, and Native Objection to it.—The Gold Mines of Akim.—The Artificers at Akra.—Akim Superstition.

IN my progress along the shores of Western Africa, there was no part of the coast to which I turned with such an ardent desire as to this, a place endeared to every Englishman by its being the final resting-place of L. E. L., the sepulchre of her whose muse was the delight of my early days, whose fate I bitterly mourned in common with all who admired her genius, and whose memory flings a poetic halo about this desert shore, that changes its barren soil into a blooming garden.

The foreground of Cape Coast town, whose native name is Inquah, is chiefly occupied by the castle, which, with its white bastions and buttresses, forming an agreeable contrast to the brown roofs of the native houses, stretches over a good length of beach, and is

guarded from the sea by a ledge of rocks, against whose front the waves beat furiously. The extreme view to the east is terminated by sand and brushwood; to the west by the Dutch fort of Elmina Castle. As boats cannot be safely managed along the Gold Coast, owing to the peculiar surging swell in the ocean, I must go on shore in a canoe; and getting on the land through a shower of spray, pass round the castle and find myself in the town.

The castle is an irregular building of great extent and strength, surrounded by walls of five feet thickness at the base, but evidently best calculated for a defence seaward, the least likely position to be required. Ascending the main street opposite the castle gate, I pass by a Wesleyan chapel and some substantial houses, the residences of European merchants or their agents. A visit to many of them showed me that the houses here are the most substantial and most comfortable to be found in any town of Western Africa, not even excepting Sierra Leone. A street leading from the Wesleyan chapel towards the right, has a row of lofty india-rubber trees on either side, which, meeting in the centre, make a natural parasol, from one end of the street to the other,—a plan that ought to be adopted in the towns of all intertropical countries. Here and there, I observed small heaps of sand swept up into little pyramids from the streets, which, on inquiry, I learned were gathered to be washed for the gold, which is thus to be obtained in the very earth upon which I walked.

In the western side of the town is the market-place of the natives, containing half a dozen parallel sheds, and presenting, during market-time, the most amusing picture to be seen in Negroland. I will defer a description of one of these until arriving at a place where its characteristics are more varied than at Cape Coast. On two peaks of hill inside are Fort Victoria and Fort William. The latter is the nearer, and the easier of access, and has a lighthouse at the summit of its tower. Standing within its ramparts, my eyes ranged over a swelling *campagne* of hills and vales, of mound and valley, stretching away for many miles; with clumps of cactus and groves of acacia. A road leading away towards Annamaboe and the farm-house of Mr. Hutton, on the way to Benlah, are the only objects to break the monotony of the vast tract of country. Turning down the town, the castle again engrosses attention. Descending the hill on the road whereby I ascended, I soon found myself within its walls. A splendid range of apartments for the governor, a library and news-room for the officers, and a force of about 200 negro troops, are attached to the military arrangements of the castle.

I felt a solemn awe, as if I were treading upon hallowed ground, when going into the furthest courtyard from the entrance, and the nearest to the sea. Here L. E. L. is buried. Red tiles and quadrangular flags, scarcely discernible from the mass of rubbish over them, pointed out to me the burial-places of officers, all without inscriptions to signify whose ashes repose

below. A tablet to the memory of James Swanzy, Esq., is fixed in the wall on the left side after you enter the court. On the opposite side, and directly facing her grave, is the following inscription on a marble slab:—  
 “Hic jacet sepultum omne quod mortale fuit L. E. Maclean, quam egregiâ ornatam indole, Musis unice ornatam, omniumque amores secum trahentem, in ipso ætatis flore mors immatura rapuit, die Octobris 15mo, 1838, ætatis 36to. Quod spectas, viator, marmor, vanum heu doloris monumentum, conjux mœrens erexit.”  
 —Which may thus be translated for the unclassical reader: “Here lies interred all that was mortal of L. E. Maclean, adorned with a pure mind, singularly favoured of the Muses, and drawing the love of all towards her. Premature death snatched her away in the flower of her age, on the 15th October, 1838, aged 36 years. The marble which you behold, oh traveller! a sorrowing husband has erected, — vain monument of his grief.”

The grave is distinguished by twelve red tiles, over which the soldiers march, and the workmen tread, every day; whereon the tropical sun pours down its intensest blaze, as the little negro children toddle over it on their way to or from school and their respective abodes within the castle. But when I looked around to ascertain if I were in a reality, — with the bricks and mortar for some repairs, strewed over the tiles — with a few howitzers lying upon her husband's grave alongside of hers — with the faces of negro soldiers gazing down at me from the ramparts — the music of the sea,

breaking in melodious chiming on the rocks outside, was the only thing that seemed to me to pay fitting devotion to her spirit's rest. African habits, horrors, and wonders, the sea, the desert, and the people, became the fancies and dreams as well as the realities of her later years, and she is now laid amongst them far away,

"Beside the moaning sea,  
And where acacias wave."

In a chapter of his work, devoted specially to the subject, Mr. Cruikshank\* has tried to refute the calumnies that were circulated of her self-destruction, and of her unhappiness with her husband. He writes, "There was no evidence save that of a malignant woman to prove the former, and every act of her daily life at Cape Coast fully disproved the latter. If any faith can be placed in appearances, I believe that she would willingly have shielded him from such cruel aspersions at the sacrifice of herself. I never heard her speak of him but with pride, and as a woman speaks who loves her husband."

Yet Dr. Madden, in his late work on the "Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington," gives a history of Governor Maclean's conduct to her as diametrically opposed to this as darkness is to light.

In company with one of the most respectable merchants of Cape Coast, I visited the boudoir in which she was found dead, and as he had been an intimate.

\* Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast, by Brodie Cruikshank.



acquaintance of L. E. L.'s, I felt confident he would tell me the truth about her fate.

After showing him a copy of the Countess of Blessington's letter contained in Dr. Madden's work, he assured me it was a tissue of errors from beginning to end. He had seen her the night before her death, after she had finished writing a letter to Mrs. S. C. Hall, which was to have been brought home by a vessel about to leave the roads next morning, as her demise occurred previous to the establishment of the present line of mail steamers which touch at Cape Coast. On her last morning in this world she had written a note to my informant, requesting him to come up and see Mr. Maclean, who was a little unwell; and on his way to the castle, about an hour after receiving her note, he met a messenger who informed him that she was no more. On going into the room, he picked up a small bottle, which was labelled "Prussic Acid,—three drops to kill a rabbit, five drops to destroy human life," and which the attendants had feared to touch before he came in. He was informed that they had heard her fall, and on trying to go into the room, found the door blocked up by her body, against which they were forced to push with vigour before an entrance could be gained. He entertains no doubt but that feeling a spasmodic action of the heart coming on, a disease to which she was frequently liable, she put the bottle to her mouth and unwittingly imbibed enough to kill her.

The woman with whom her husband had lived previous to their marriage had gone to her native place

of Akra a long time before Mrs. Maclean came out, and never after did he hold the slightest communication with her. My informant further added, that he had passed many a pleasant evening with the Governor and Mrs. Maclean, and never saw or heard of any domestic unhappiness between them. Yet so far did the tongue of scandal injure her husband, that after her death he was removed from the post of governor; and when he died, was holding the subordinate situation of judicial assessor at Cape Coast.

Gold forming the principal article of export from Cape Coast, is brought to England annually to the amount of from 70,000 to 80,000 pounds weight.

At Wossa, about six days' journey from Cape Coast, it is found mixed with quartz; and at a place called Confus-a-say, ten days' journey from the town (the furthest part of the Wossa territory bordering on Ashantee), the greater part of the gold that comes from this locality is obtained. It is there got in crystal quartz strata. This district belongs to the King of Inquah, whose capital is passed on the first day's journey from Cape Coast, and whose tribute for working the gold is levied thus:—any nugget weighing five ounces of gold is divided into three parts; the working slaves receive one third, the owner of the slaves another third, and the king gets the remainder.

No corn is raised in the Inquah country. Foo-foo, made of pounded plantain fruit, and garnished with snails, forms the chief condiment of the people. An eatable called koose-koose, which is a kind of foo-foo,

is also manufactured from millet seed. All through Wossa there is a large quantity of gum-elemi, which drops from the trees after the rainy season, and is found imbedded in the ground by the gum hunters. The gamboge tree and the india-rubber tree grow plentifully all around the Cape Coast district.

“ The natives in the Cape Coast country have a strange mode of swearing. Governor M'Carthy was killed on a Wednesday\* in a battle with the Ashantees, and so the people swear by Wednesday, calling their objurgation “ M'Carthy's oath or law.” Whoever can be proved to have sworn falsely by this solemn form, has to pay a forfeit of two ounces of gold.† The Ashantees in the same war lost the battle of Cormantee; and hence one of their nation swearing untruly by this memorable event insures the loss of his head.

•The black ladies of Cape Coast mourn by having their heads shaved and then whitewashed with chalk water.

Dysentery is more prevalent at this place than fever; and that abominable disease, the dracunculus, or Guinea worm, prevails very much amongst Europeans as well as amongst negroes. Dr. Roe informed me that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they were found from the knee downwards. Some of them I have seen extracted from the limbs which were a yard in length, one especially, a yard and two inches long, taken from

\* The 21st of January, 1824.

† Gold is valued here at 4*l.* an ounce: one ounce constitutes 16 ackies, each of which is equivalent to a dollar's worth of silver.

the back of a negro's hand, after it had been killed by the blow of a wooden ruler. In Abyssinia, Bruce tells us, this disease is called Pharentert, or "the curse of Pharaoh."

Interior to Cape Coast is the kingdom of Ashantee, one of the most powerful and despotic monarchies in Africa. The vilest paganism is practised in this country, — the worship of sharks and snakes; and with it is coupled the brutality of human sacrifices in their most appalling features. The remarkable thirst which the monarch and people have for human blood springs either from a desire to vent their spleen on enemies taken in war, to worship their deities, to appease the spirits of their heroes killed in battle, or from the belief that the victims will act as slaves to them in a future state.

Sometimes the skulls and other bones of great men are dug out of their places of burial to be washed with the blood of the slain. Frequently graves are saturated with the latter, and although some of their customs are similar to those reported to have prevailed in Asia during the days of Moses, they are the most truculent savages that the face of the earth can show in the nineteenth century.

Dupuis, Bowditch, and Lander describe the fearful scenes which they saw taking place in Ashantee, with appalling minuteness. Mr. Bowditch was British envoy to the court of Coomasee, the capital, in 1811, and details horrors of human sacrifices dreadful enough to make one's flesh creep.

The king is an absolute monarch. A violation of the

marriage tie is punishable by death, although prostitution is legalised by the state.

The shore between Cape Coast and Akra\* presents the same unvarying aspect as the greater part of Western Africa, — an unbroken line of beach with glistening sand, a vegetation of perpetual verdure, forming a palisading wearisome to look at, from its monotony of colours, botanical character, form, and proportion.

The setting sun cast a vivid glare, as the tropical sun only can, on the white walls of St. James's and the Dutch fort at Akra as we steamed into the roadstead. The fort of Christianburg stood out prominently about three miles to the eastward. On landing, I walked up a brick-paved esplanade by St. James's fort, and entered British Akra. The town is divided into two portions, of which the forts constitute the governing and protective authorities. Hence there are British Akra and Dutch Akra. The native houses here have a dismal appearance, being built of mud, not white-washed, and roofed with a dusky straw, the ends of which hang down like a slovenly boy's hair sadly in want of a comb. But the domestic arrangements inside give one a better idea of the people. Walls ornamented with framed engravings of sacred pictures, beds with clean clothing on them, chairs and tables, show evidence of a progress in civilisation not to be found everywhere

\* Derived from Akrim, which, in the native language, means "ant." The interior country is variegated all over with ant turrets fabricated by the bug-a-bug, or *Termes fatalis* species.

on the coast. Many of the men trade in monkey and leopard skins, some of them are skilful artificers in gold and silver, and others engage in trading for gum-copal, with which the inner country abounds.

The females at Akra wear enormous bustles—not from any idea of grace or beauty attached to such an appendage, but from their conviction of its utility, in enabling them to support their children, and occasionally to carry loads on their backs with less muscular strain than they could without them. A church and a school, the houses of merchants, two hotels with English sign-boards on them, and a level high road leading down to Christianburg, brought back England to my mind, save for the absence of turnpike gates, and the presence of ant-pyramids along the course of the road. A lake stretches away to the westward in the direction of Cape Coast; and far beyond, and around it, is an immense tract of country, not covered with thick brushwood, but dotted with bunches of euphorbia, which grows around Akra in profusion. An overland post is kept up between Akra and Cape Coast, a distance of eighty miles; and this is transmitted from either place by alternate relays of negro runners, who leave both stations twice a week.

It was in the year 1492 that the Portuguese took possession of Akra and established a government there. But the authorities acted towards the natives with such cruelty, that the latter rose up against them, and exterminated them to a man. The place where the governor was killed is still considered such sacred or accursed ground, that the women anoint all their newly-

born children with earth gathered from the spot, which they suppose possesses the power of imparting to the infant a spirit of resistance against tyranny, such as characterised their forefathers.

In 1848, the King of Denmark made overtures to the British government for the purchase of his possessions on the Gold Coast. The overtures were accepted, and for the sum of ten thousand pounds these were handed over in 1851. They consisted of Christianburg Castle, the fort at Akra, with three minor stations, Ningo, Adda, and Quittah, giving to our government command over a line of territory from Cape Coast to the eastward of the Volta—a distance of 140 miles, and inland several days' journey from the shore.

As soon as our government came into possession of the administrative authority at this part of the coast, a council was summoned in April, 1852, at Cape Coast Castle, presided over by Major Hill (now a Lieut.-Colonel, and the respected governor of Sierra Leone), and composed of the British authorities, as well as of the chiefs and head men of the countries under British protection. The purpose of the council was, as the third section of the proclamation issued by them states, to take into consideration the advantages which the chiefs and natives derive from the protection afforded them by Her Majesty's Government, and to declare it reasonable and necessary that the natives generally should contribute to the support of the government, by submitting from time to time to pay such taxes as may be determined on by the majority of the chiefs assembled

in council with His Excellency the Governor. From this a poll-tax of a shilling a head for every man, woman, and child residing in the districts under British protection was decided to be levied. The master of a house or head of a family to be considered responsible for the whole of the inmates of the house. This proclamation further set forth, in the eleventh section, "That the revenue derived from the tax after the payment of stipends of the chiefs and other expenses attending its collection, be devoted to the public good; in the education of the people; in the general improvement and extension of the judicial system; in affording greater facilities of internal communication; in increased medical aid, and in such other measures of improvement and utility as the state of the social progress may render necessary;" and "that the chiefs be informed of the mode of its application, as well as entitled to offer such suggestions on this point as they may consider necessary."

On the whole coast of Western Africa that I have visited, from Goree to Cameroons, I never met a race of negroes so conscious of their mental inferiority to white men, and yet so full of noble aspirations to climb a step or two on the ladder of civilisation, as those I conversed with at Akra. A poll-tax collector at Christianburg told me that he had been paid three hundred and thirty-seven ounces of gold as poll-tax for the last year, in the Akim district, and that the people would pay more if they were conscious of receiving for it value in protection or information.

At Akim, which is three days' land journey from



Akra, they have one of the best gold mines in this part of the country. It is sunk only to a depth of twenty feet from the surface. The native miners will not drive horizontal shafts, from a very curious superstition. The soil being loose, sandy, and deficient in tenacity, it falls down as soon as they cut under it in that manner, without support; and they believe it to be the fetish who is the guardian spirit of the gold, that causes the earth to come down in order to put a limit to human avarice impelled by the *auri sacra fames*.

The artificers at the goldsmiths' shops in Akra are all native negroes, taught the art, no doubt, by the Spanish and Portuguese original settlers of those nations. A score of them at work in a shop would really be a picture worthy the pencil of Lorraine—some assaying—some melting—others blowing fires with small bellows—more hammering on Lilliputian anvils; others portioning with charcoal, and more fashioning chains for rings or bracelets. One of the tribe brought out for my inspection some ear-rings and bracelets, the manufacture of which would have done credit to a London house. But as the majority of them are poor, the gold is generally brought by those who want to get ornaments fabricated, which can be done to any design or pattern.

At Akra, the people name their children after that day of the week on which they are born.

The people in the interior country at Akim—of whose excellent gold mines I have already spoken—have for a fetish what is called a "catagury," a large brass pan said to have fallen in some remote age from

heaven, but which is kept from inquisitive eyes, as no one is yet recorded to have seen it. The fetish house is ornamented with swords and axes having golden handles; and the drums are ornamented with gold also. The fetish man or high priest is always very rich, because if a person dies without having conciliated him, he has the power of ordering the corpse to be placed in an upright position inside the house. Should the body retain its perpendicularity all the property it possessed when living is claimed by the family; if it fall, which the fetish man has knowledge enough of the peculiarity of gravity in a dead body always to secure, the effects of the defunct must of course be at once handed over to the Moloch of superstition. In cases of sickness, a goat is often given as a placebo to the fetish, which is required always to pass through the hands of the representative priest, and whose fate may be easily divined.

There is a German missionary establishment at Akrapong, about thirty miles inland from Akra.

## CHAP. V.

The Bight of Benin. — Whydah and Appi. — Vista. — Monopoly at the latter Place. — Badagry. — Peculiarity of Lagos Roadstead. — Geographical Position of the Town, and Description of it. — Of the Natives at Lagos. — The Abbeokutan Warriors. — Commerce of the neighbouring Countries. — The Cotton Exportation from Lagos. — The French Settlement of Palma. — Benin River. — The Iomen. — The Niger between Benin and Nun River. — Intervening Boundary of the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

BETWEEN Cape St. Paul, which is the eastern boundary of the Gold Coast, and Cape Formosa, the western boundary of the Bight of Biafra, is contained the Bight of Benin. Of its chief ports,—Whydah, Porto Novo, Badagry, Lagos, and Benin river, the three first have long been notorious slave-dealing outlets. The trade has been chiefly carried on by Spanish and Portuguese residents at these places; but the watchfulness of the African squadron, and the fact of a British consul having been sent to reside at Lagos, have been severe impediments to the success of the inhuman traffickers.

About fifteen miles west of Whydah, and seventy from Lagos, is a fort named Appi Vista. For the whole right and liberty to trade in palm oil at this place,—I have been informed on good authority,—one of the oldest and most celebrated slave-dealing residents there gives the King of Dahomey something near 10,000 dollars a

year. That such a sum should be paid for this exclusive privilege shows the importance of the locality; and the iniquity of the monopoly is further proved by the fact, that the king binds all his traders to give palm oil to this man, and to him alone, at the price fixed upon it by His Majesty. So that, no matter how this valuable product may fluctuate in value elsewhere, the king's despotic law must be obeyed, or the loss of their heads is the forfeiture paid by those who revolt against it.

Interior to the lagoon, about a mile from the seashore, and twenty-five to the eastward of Porto Novo, is the town of Badagry with a population of about 5000. In the olden times of slave-trading Badagry was chiefly supplied from the Dahomey and Issoo countries. An overland route from this town would bring the traveller in four days to Abbeokuta\*, one of the chief towns in the Yoruba kingdom, possessing a population of from sixty to eighty thousand people, and being entirely surrounded by walls, whose circumference is fifteen miles. It was from Badagry likewise that the brothers Lander penetrated when they discovered the outlet of the long famous Niger.

The peculiarity that impresses itself on the perceptions of all persons visiting Lagos for the first time is the disagreeable surging roll of the sea, whereof one becomes

\* The name Abbeokuta is derived from two words of the Yoruba language: "Abbe" (under), and "Okuta" (a stone, or rock), from the cave in which the Egba fugitives were used to take refuge during the times of the slave wars. For a more accurately descriptive account of this celebrated city, see Miss Tucker's "Abbeokuta, or Sunrise within the Tropics." Nisbet and Co., Berners Street: London, 1853.

conscious as soon as the vessel is anchored in the roadstead. I felt the motion of the ship as if she were in a marine swing-swing; but the disagreeable sensation of not being able to walk on deck was a little modified by looking round the harbour and observing all the other crafts engaged in the same topsy-turvy riding, so prone is human nature to be influenced even by involuntary sympathy in its sufferings. Men-of-war of large tonnage, even steamers of 200 horse-power, which one would think ought to have sufficient weight of machinery to keep them steady, took in water through their bulls' eyes, over the officers' beds, in one or two cases, where these apertures were neglected to be closed; and the difficulty of climbing up or down a ship's side to get out of or into a boat is not at all alleviated by the prospect of half a dozen sharks cruising about in the water underneath, and ready, without the slightest compunction, to make an annexation of a human body, if it fall in. The harbour of Lagos is full of these prowling monsters of the deep, and so daring are they that they swim close alongside a boat, with their back fins completely above the water. Before the natural breakwater was formed, which now runs parallel with the mouth of the river and about a quarter of a mile from it, there was a line of breakers in which the sea rolled with a fearful "thud," and over which it was nearly impossible for canoes to float in safety. The slavers, however, made the effort; for with the profits of that inhuman trade\* they could afford the

\* If one cargo of slaves out of every six that are shipped escapes to its destination, it is considered to pay a remuneration for the outlay of

losses which frequently occurred from the canoes upsetting here, and all their unfortunate occupants becoming at once food for the sharks. Hence the sharks grew in number, in ferocity, and in sagacity; and it is recorded that they always hovered about the bar, accompanying canoes to the ships in anticipation of a meal.

Lagos (to which the name Eko has been given by the natives, and Oni, by the Portuguese) is situated in lat.  $6^{\circ} 28' N.$ , and long.  $15^{\circ} 52' W.$ , at the mouth of the river Ossa, running from Badagry into the Lake Cradoo, the other end of which communicates with Benin.

The town of Lagos is built on an island of the same name, and is situated about four miles from the river's mouth. Unfortunately, there is not draught enough of water for vessels of ordinary tonnage to cross the bar where it joins the sea. There, it is not more than a quarter of a mile wide, and its mouth is not visible seaward from its emptying itself by an angularity in the land. Turning round this corner, after passing through a narrow channel that exists between the breakers and the beach, and which is navigable only for boats, we can pass by the stores of Hamburg traders, and recognise a few white houses peering up amongst the ocean of arborescence that rises on the high ground before us. By degrees, brown-roofed dwellings and brown walls become at first indistinctly

all. Hence the risks that have been run, and the ingenuity that has been resorted to in this pursuit.

visible in the morning's haze. As I approached the beach at the town, I observed a number of men fishing in canoes, some with rod and bait, others with nets, and many women, tidily dressed, coming down to the river's side for water. The river pier of the British consul's residence (Mr. Campbell) is the nearest place for landing. The Church missionaries have a very extensive piece of ground, walled and fenced in, with a comfortable dwelling-house, and a large school attached to the premises. As the front of their establishment faces the river, to get to the town I walked through the backward part of the courtyard, on which the largest market-place in Lagos abuts. The wall around it, as well as the walls through the town, are all strengthened by buttresses. The streets are generally of soft sand; but in many of them there are double rows of trees, as in Cape Coast Town, that form a very grateful shade. The houses are generally built of mud, which, when it becomes hard, is quite durable. Many are whitewashed, and the majority bear an air of comfort about them. A verandah, formed by causing the roof to project, and an elevation of ground raised about a foot above the level of the street, constitute the shops, in which British manufactured goods and articles of native produce are exposed for sale in a manner that does credit to the taste of the arranger. Nearly all the women here, as well as the men, do not dress in the savage attire of the hip-swathe alone, seen on so many other parts of the coast. They wear flowing garments; in the women, reaching from the waist, and in the men

from the shoulder to the heel, — both sweeping the ground, as the *toga* of the Romans did before the Christian era, and ladies' dresses also were used to do not many years back in Regent Street and Piccadilly. But whatever sex they are, the people of Lagos impressed me with the notion of their being not only conscious of existence, but of feeling something of responsibility attached to the fact. Every one whom I met in the town walked along as if he had a feat to accomplish as well a determination to complete it; and the many armed men that I observed parading about, with white or scarlet turbans on their heads, and scimitars in their hands, seemed exactly like men who understood the responsibility of being warriors, and of being prepared when occasion arose for the proof.

These warriors were placed by the Abbeokutans in Lagos, and paid by their government to protect the natives against the usurpations of Kosoko, who, stimulated no doubt by the Spanish and Portuguese slave traders, organised a plan to intercept all legitimate traffic. This he commenced by deposing the late king, Akitoye, the rightful sovereign of Lagos, who was restored in 1851, but who died in September, 1853. Akitoye's son, Dosumo, was then declared king, and his assertion of the sovereignty sanctioned by Rear-Admiral Bruce as well as by H. B. M.'s consul, Mr. Campbell.

Kosoko I believe to be a man whom nothing but the fear of punishment will keep from the illegal traffic of the slave trade. Mr. Macgregor Laird, in his evidence



before a Committee of the House of Commons, has defined "moral force in Western Africa to mean a 24-pounder, with a British seaman behind it;" and on no part of the coast has this species of moral force been more earnestly required than at Lagos — by no one there more than by Kosoko. Even within the last year he has been known to have conspired with the King of Dahomey, with the intention of making an attack on Lagos, and driving all the anti-slave men and legal traffic merchants out of the place. This attack was planned to be simultaneous with one to be made by his Dahoman majesty on Abbeokuta.

Lagos is about six miles in circumference, and contains a very large population. Before the last Lagos war, Ejenrin, the market near Ekpe, in the Iaboo territory, furnished the traders at this port with 60,000 or 70,000 gallons of palm oil per week. A communication by creeks can be made hence to Bonny, a distance of 270 miles (as the crow flies), but its bar is the great obstacle to its ever becoming a prosperous trading location. Otherwise, I believe the country interior to it to be inexhaustible in the production of palm oil, as well as other industrial resources.\* Cowries are the chief currency here, varying in value as government consols or railway shares do at home; but generally averaging 2000 — which is called a head — for a dollar. The Hamburg merchants, who are traders at Lagos, charter ships to bring cargoes of cowries from

\* Vide Appendix A.

Zanzibar and other parts of the east coast, where they can be obtained.

Within the last few years some bales of cotton have been exported from Lagos to England; and the amount stated to me by Rev. Mr. Crowther, as cleared at Abbeokuta in 1856, was 33,491 pounds in weight. This gentleman further adds, in a communication on the subject, "The highest price at which sound cotton from Abbeokuta was sold at Manchester was from  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $6\frac{3}{4}d.$  per lb., and the lowest price from  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $6d.$  per lb. It is impossible to tell the quantity or extent of cotton plantation in Abbeokuta, inasmuch as we have not yet made impression on the small portions brought to market for sale, and of their store-houses in their farms. Besides the above quantity, we are getting about ten tons ready for the 'Token' as part of her cargo this month. All this will be shipped over Lagos bar; of course we watch for a fair opportunity to ship it."

And despite of the enthusiasm of some Manchester gentlemen on the subject, I cannot avoid believing that the frequent want of that "fair opportunity" in consequence of the perpetual surf of the bar, will ever present an obstacle to Lagos becoming the great outlet for cotton from the interior countries on the west coast of Africa. The districts inland from the mouths of the Niger, Bonny, Old Kalabar, and Cameroons rivers are as eligible for the cultivation of cotton as any localities in the Yoruba kingdom; and these rivers have the advantage of presenting no obstacles to the transit of

produce or cargo at any season of the year or condition of the tide.\*

East of Lagos several farm villages stretch along the shore; and about thirty miles in the same direction is the small town of Palma, which promises to become a place of rising trade since the French have settled there. The palm-nuts are reported to grow in this district in such abundance, that a large extent of country is covered with them as they fall from the trees unnoticed and unused. Forty miles further on is the Rio Formosa, or Benin river, with nothing but the small town of Oddy between, and a few brown huts upon the beach.

Never having been at Benin, I cannot describe it; for the town is a long journey from the place where ships lie for trading.

The way to Benin town, which is called in the native language Bini, and in some old maps Oedo, is by passing Gatto creek, through which Governor Beecroft attempted to reach the Niger in his ascent with the *Ethiope* steamer in 1840. It was at Gatto Town, up this creek, that the African traveller Belzoni died.

In the Warree country, which lies between the Benin and Nun rivers, is a piratical tribe, named Iomen, who are supposed to be of the Ejo race, resident in the Oru country. They live by pillaging all the canoes they can lay hold of, containing either British goods or palm oil.

A communication may be made from Lagos to Old Kalabar by creeks leading from one to the other of the many rivers that constitute the Delta of the Niger, and this comprises a coast distance of nearly three hundred miles. According to Captain Denham's survey, between Benin and the river Nun are the outlets of the Esclaros, Forcados, Ramosa, Dodo, Penington, Middleton, with two streams called the Winstanley Outfalls, and the Sengana branch of the Nun, all flowing from the stream which is formed by the junction of the Kworra and Tshadda, at an inland distance of nearly 300 miles from the sea.

## CHAP. VI.

Boundaries of the Bight of Biafra.—Names of Rivers contained within it.—Explorations of the Niger.—Lander's Discovery of its Mouth.—Laird and Oldfield's Expedition.—Governor Beccroft's Ascents.—Failure of the Government Expedition of 1841.—The "Pleiad's" Voyage up this River in 1854.—Urging Causes for this Attempt.—Dr. Barth's Discoveries in Central Africa.—Fittings out of the "Pleiad."—Success in her Geographical Discoveries, as in the sanitary Arrangements for her Crew.—The present Operations up the Niger, under the Foreign Office Contract with Mr. Laird.

·AFTER passing the Sengana outlet and before coming to the Nun, we find that projection of land entitled Cape Formosa. The Bight of Biafra extends from this Cape, which is in lat.  $4^{\circ} 5' N.$ , long.  $6^{\circ} E.$ , to Cape St. John, in lat.  $1^{\circ} 15' N.$ , long.  $9^{\circ} 30' E.$ , a distance round the coast line of 400 miles, and in a straight direction of 280. The Bight of Biafra also includes in it Fernando Po, Princes, St. Thomas and Anno Bon Islands. Within this Bight are contained the rivers, Nun, Brass (or Bento), St. Nicholas, St. Barbara, St. Bartholomew, Sombrero, New Calabar, Bonny, Andony, Old Calabar, Rio del Rey, Bimbia, Cameroons, Balimba, Boreah, Campo, Bati, St. Benito, and Bassakoo. The first named eight, with the other rivers ex-

tending to Benin (mentioned at the end of last chapter), are known to have communication with the Kworra interiorly.

It is three hundred years since these portions of Africa around the delta of this noble stream were known to Europeans, and more than two hundred since English traffic was first commenced here. Since that time its name has been associated with appalling records of African mortality; and even still its mouths are known to contain little more attractive features than mud and mangroves, with their concomitant abominations of mosquitoes 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 Kworra, in canoes, and came out at the Nun mouth, in November 1830. This was the first discovery of the outlet of the Niger, Kworra, or Joliba, which has been mentioned in African history from the days of Herodotus and Ptolemy to the present time. By the same stream, Messrs. Laird and Oldfield ascended this river on an exploring expedition, to try its trade-resources in 1832. Their outfit consisted of the “Kworra” 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 Kworra, 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, without 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 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 Kworra 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 145 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.

The "Albert" was assisted in her return by Governor Beecroft, who, with that manliness for which he was remarkable, went to her assistance in the steamer "Æthiope," as soon as he discovered by the arriväl at Fernando Po of the "Wilberforce" and "Soudan," that the whole affair had proved a failure.

Such a history of African adventure up the Niger was not very promising for future explorers; and at first thought our expedition in 1854\* seemed to all, who knew no more about African shores than its recorded facts of mortality indicate, as very like a "forlorn hope"

\* "Narrative of the Niger, Tshadda, and 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 Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra, forming parts 91 and 92 of the "Traveller's Library." London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.



to undertake. Yet it 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 Ghadames, Ghat, and Murzuk, was joined by two Germans, Drs. Barth and Overweg, in a political and commercial expedition which 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 Mariada—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 on its waters 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 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 Kworra. 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.  $9^{\circ} 2'$  N. and long.  $14^{\circ}$  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 Kworra.

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 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, as being 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 — has demonstrated that the latter river has no connection with Lake Tshad, the only rivers communicating with that lake being the Shary and the Yeou, or Komadagu, that flow into it, instead of having it for their source.

The "Pleiad" was built by 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. Through all of the officers' rooms from one to the other there was ventilation by means of movable 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 bull's 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*l.* With this he was also to carry out as passengers such officers as the Government might appoint. The native negro races 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 Biafra, 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.

Our crew, when leaving Fernando Po for the Niger, on the 8th of July, consisted of three Admiralty gentlemen and the Rev. Mr. Crowther, nine European officers sent out by Mr. Laird (of whom I was one, and in medical charge of the ship's crew) ; twenty-one Africans as sailors, interpreters, and firemen, with thirty-three

Krumen, making an aggregate of sixty-six in our little vessel. We arrived at Fernando Po on our return the 7th of the following November, having been away for a period of 122 days, with the same number and the same hands on board, without a single mishap by disease or accident!

Similar success in a sanitary point of view attended the expedition throughout; and soon after our return to England, Mr. Laird addressed a letter to Lord Clarendon, urging on Her Majesty's Government the expediency of making "annual visits" to these rivers by means of a steamer, and justifying his recommendation on the grounds of the "Pleiad's" voyage. "Standing out in broad relief," wrote Mr. Laird, "from all former ascents of the Niger or land expeditions of discovery into Central Africa, the Chadda expedition is remarkable for the safe return to this country of all Europeans engaged in it."

All the energies of our Government being engaged in the Crimean war at the time of the "Pleiad's" arrival home in the beginning of 1855, nothing was done in that year in answer to this appeal. But at the end of 1856, Mr. Laird entered into a new contract with the Foreign Office Department of Her Majesty's Government, to supply a steamer every spring for five years, and at the same time made preparations to enter with commercial spirit into the speculation. Dr. Baikie was again entrusted with the command of this expedition, and arrived at Fernando Po, with several brother officers, in the month of May, 1857, on

board the Royal Mail Steamer "Candace." They left Clarence on board the "Dayspring" on the 29th of June. A schooner, the "George," which was to be placed for trading purposes at the confluence, sailed from Clarence on the 25th June, for the mouth of the Brass River, to be towed up by the steamer.

The "Dayspring" was built somewhat on the model of the "Pleiad," with the difference of being twenty feet shorter,—with her engines on deck—and drawing only four feet of water.

"The main objects of this expedition," according to the instructions from Her Majesty's Government, are to explore the River Niger and its tributaries; to ascertain the natural productions and capabilities of the countries through which they flow; to enter into friendly relations with the native chiefs; to facilitate the return of liberated Africans to their homes, and practically to show the advantage of legitimate trade over the debasing and demoralising traffic in slaves."

Dr. Baikie was further authorised to confer with the present Filatah Sultan Alihu at Sokoto, to which place he was to proceed overland from Rabba. After executing his commission with the Sultan, he was to advance in a northerly direction to Tsai, returning from this to Rabba by water. The operations of the explorers were also to include an overland journey to Abbeokuta and Lagos across the Yoruba country; a trip to the Kororoofa and Adamawa kingdoms up the Tshadda and Binuë; and a march from Igbebe, the large town at

the confluence, to the district of Atùm near the Ethiope Rapids up the Cross River.

Nothing could be more promising for the result of such an expedition than the directions contained in the following extract from the instructions: —“It is most desirable to impress on the chiefs that you are there as traders, not as colonists, not as acquirers of land; but simply as traders and as the protectors of trade.”

The Rev. Messrs. Crowther and Taylor, of the Church Missionary Society, were members of the party, with interpreters, and intended to establish branches of their mission wherever a site was found available for the purpose.



## CHAP. VII.

Brass River. — Lander's Description of its chief Town. — Visit to Twa Village. — Appropriateness of Twa for a Slave-trading Depôt. — Sketch of Brass Town. — Present Kings of Brass — Its domestic Slavery. — Primogenitureship. — New Kalabar River. — King Amakree. — The Town of New Kalabar. — The Ju-ju King. — Amakree's Ju-ju House. — Peculiar Fashion amongst the Ladies. — Bonny River. — Statistics of former Slave Trade in Bonny. — The Palm Oil trading Stations interior to Bonny. — Sketch of Bonny Town. — The Iguana (the Bonny Ju-ju). — Style of Architecture in Bonny. — Horrors of the Ju-ju House. — The Market Place. — Ex-King Peppel's Physique. — His Successor, King Dappo. — Internecine War consequent on the Death of the latter. — Peppel's subsequent Career. — The Equity Court House. — Andony River.

THE River Brass, or Bento (styled by the natives who reside near its mouth Twa Tora), is the next in position to the Nun, its outlet being only about twelve miles from the latter. The inhabitants of this locality style their territory Nimbe. The Abos call it Itebu. From the Nun to Brass there is a water passage called Akassa creek; and Akassa Tóra is the name given by the inhabitants of the latter country to the former river. Between the Nun and Brass Rivers besides the small village of Akassa, are three towns, Billetshima, Egummo, and Iliama, all situated on the banks of a small creek that flows into the sea, not half a mile

from the west side of Brass River. The largest of these is Biletshima, bearing the prefix of Oko, which in the Nimbe language means "great." The inhabitants speak a different language from the Brass; and they pronounce Akassa with the guttural sound of Akagha.

"Of all the wretched, filthy, and contemptible places in this world of ours," writes Richard Lander \*, "none can present to the eye of a stranger so miserable an appearance, or can offer such disgusting and loathsome sights, as this abominable Brass town. Dogs, goats, and other animals, were running about the dirty streets, half starved, whose hungry looks could only be exceeded by the famishing appearance of the men, women, and children, which bespoke the penury and wretchedness to which they were reduced, while the skins of many were covered with odious boils, and their huts were falling to the ground from neglect and decay."

The mouth of Brass River is not more than half a mile in width across the bar; but when one arrives inside, there is a noble expanse of sixteen or eighteen miles in circumference, reminding you at once of Milford Haven.

Twa, where the native pilots reside, is not visible until your boat is on the beach, at the very town, and alongside the houses. The passage to it is through a very tortuous creek, which at low water emits such noxious effluvia as would make one certain that Mark

\* "Travels into the Interior of Africa," p. 690. London: 1836.

Tapley could have "found credit in being jolly" if compelled to take up his living here. Huge radicles of mangroves, some of them larger than their parent stems, seemed twisted into a Gordian knot of arborescent existence, as if they were resolved (not to lift up, but) to let down their giant arms in rebellion against their parent stock.

This village is composed of a number of miserable huts, and the streets, if the narrow pathways can be denominated such, are diversified by heaps of oyster shells, a profusion of mangrove, cocoa-nut, and plantain trees, with narrow streaks of muddy water stretching their whole length even in the dry season. What it must be when the heavy rains fall, I would rather imagine than practically realise; but the effect of its abominations is visible in the face of every man, woman, and child to be met about.

From the position of Twa — up a creek where canoes can float — perfectly shut in from human observation in the harbour, and its proximity to the sea, I have no doubt that it was originally intended as a half-way depôt for the slaves sent down from Brass town, when the slave trade flourished in this locality.

Brass, the capital of this territory, being about thirty miles from the mouth of the river, I determined to pay it a visit on one of my trips there in a man-of-war, and so proceeded on the voyage up the river in a boat, as the water was reported to be too shallow for the ascent of a steamer.

Passing the small creek leading to Twa round Fish-

town point, and skirting along a wide creek to Fishtown or Oguonuna, by another trending to the town of Fautoi, and by a third communicating with the St. Nicholas River, we soon get out of the Brass main stream, and navigate an apparently interminable winding of creeks.

On arriving there I found that it is divided into two towns; the Obullum Abry side being governed by Keya, a nephew of the late King Boy, and the Bassambry by Orishima, a near relative of King Jackets.

The frontage of Orishima's town presents a convex crescent shape, but neither of the cities shows a feature one whit more attractive than they did in Lander's time. The whole journey up does not afford one square inch of *terra firma*, being nothing more than mud and water, out of which mangrove is springing; and the ground whereon the houses are erected, seems to be formed of the débris of a sort of pertwinkle shell, called in the native language semee. The fish contained in these is one of the epicurean delicacies of food with the inhabitants. The streets contained in the wet season, when I visited it, little but mud and filth, piles of red wood, for fire-wood, with mangrove stems having oyster-shells placed outside the doors for a protecting ju-ju.

The system of polytheism, founded on their belief in spiritual and intelligent beings taking up their residence in natural bodies, is the most general superstition all over Western Africa. To this the title ju-ju, or fetish, is given, expressive as well of a malignant demon as of

a protective power, and to be appeased or honoured by a propitiatory sacrifice.

In Brass the grey and white kingfishers are ju-ju or sacred, and therefore not molested. The same holds good with reference to a bird about the size of a dove, and in its movements resembling the water-wagtail. Yams are not cultivated in Brass territory; and if you ask the head men why this is so, their answer is, "Ju-ju no will."

Outside the Bassambry side of the city and along a pathway over which the stem roots of bombax trees are ramifying in luxuriance, is the Brass head ju-ju house, whose high priest Mummo was seated there on my visit to it. His left arm was resting upon the rudely-carved figure of a small elephant, which is supposed to be the guardian numen when he is away. A phrenologically-charted cast of the human skull in plaster of Paris, a few jugs with the figures of Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnny in bold relief beneath their spouts, and a number of wooden puppet-size human figures carved by native artists constitute the chief ornaments of the place. In the centre of the room is an iron staff about five feet in height, surrounded by eight bent spear-heads. This is styled the *tókoi*, and at its bottom is a hole into which libations are poured as a sacrifice to the ju-ju who is supposed to be influenced by them.

A very brutal practice exists with the Brass people, of occasionally sacrificing an Albino child at the bar of the river, for the purpose of appeasing the ju-ju of the surf, so as to permit vessels to come in.

At some locality between Brass and New Kalabar, there is a tribe living who are entitled by the inhabitants of both places "God-country people." They are the head ju-ju men, referred to in all grievous difficulties, and bear with them a kind of "Delphic oracle" reputation. In Brass they are styled the Ekrika nungos\* ; and the same gentry have a like sacred reputation at New Kalabar and Bonny.

A remarkable characteristic of the Brass people is the absence of petty thievery. Not that they can be said to yield, in their qualifications of importunate begging and swindling in reference to their palm-oil debts, to any negro nation; but the *tactus eruditus*, so certain a development of the adhesive faculty amongst negroes in contiguous districts, is entirely unpractised by them.

The Brass people are naturally not brutal; for human sacrifices, save in the case of the Albino just mentioned, are not practised. The head ju-ju man is the chief referee in criminal cases. One, if not the only one, of their forms of trial by ordeal, is that of driving a quill through the tip of the tongue: if it do not break, the accused is pronounced guilty; in case it fractures, the culprit is declared innocent.

The chief attractive features of Brass town are the kennels in the passages of streets, amphibia entitled mud-fish or jump-fish in the puddle between the mangrove bushes and the water, with the variety at night of

\* "Nungo" is the Nimbe word for "people."

bull frogs, rats, and mosquitoes everywhere. Yet more agreeable than any of these, to a person passing a night there as I did, is the perpetual clatter of the women going to and returning from fishing, whose appearance in the morning will delight every lover of natural beauty when he sees some of them bedaubed over with powder of red saunders-wood (bright almost to a pinkish hue), styled umbia, and others ornamented with a black pigment which is obtained from the juice of an apple-shaped pod entitled mummierce. One of these fashions gives the wearer the semblance of a highly-tinged Red Indian; and the other strikes you as being an illustration of carrying coals to Newcastle. I have been informed by Mr. McCall, a very intelligent supercargo at Brass, that he has known houses to become the property of three different persons of a family in ten years, thus giving an abstract idea at least of the shortness of human life in this part of the world.

In the domestic slavery of the Brass country,—the only one, I am happy to say, now existing,—there are two classes; the Egbo-bos, or nigger-niggers, who are employed as pull-a-boys for the canoes and to do the most menial work—and the Winna-bos, who are a higher grade, ranking as adopted children, and having liberty, if they possess means, to purchase their own freedom.

The law of primogenitureship is not sanctioned by the Brass people; so that when a man dies, the friends and relations elect a head man, according to competency, to rule the domestic concerns of the family and the commercial affairs of his territory.

In the upper end of the harbour is a large island called Opolobo (or big island) which would be a capital place for a mercantile station for any commercial expedition settled up the Niger. Brass River may be reached from the Nun by passing Akassa Creek which flows from opposite the lower end of Alburkah Island, nearly to a juxtaposition with the hulks that are moored inside the Brass bar.

Between this and the New Kalabar are the St. Nicholas, the St. Barbara, the St. Bartholomew, the Sombrero, but nothing of the country interior to these is known, as no legitimate trade has been as yet opened in them.

In former times New Kalabar and Bonny rivers had a common embouchure; but of late years the confluence of the streams flowing down with the regurgitation of the sea-tides backwards has formed a large bank of sand between their mouths. This is called Breaker Island; and its formation must have been recent, from the fact of its not appearing in the chart of these rivers drawn by Captain Vidal and the officers of H. M. S. "Barracouta" in 1826.

Entering New Kalabar river you pass between Fouché Point and Breaker Island,—the first on the western, the second on the eastern side. There is a fearful roll of breakers perpetually on this point, and no vessel is safe going in here without a pilot, who can always be obtained from Fouché Town, by firing a gun when anchored in the offing. From this latter place, where the trading vessels are stationed opposite Young Town,



you pass no village, save that of the pilots' residence, and about eight miles higher up is the capital of New Kalabar and in which King Amakree resides.

Amakree is the most independent king to be met anywhere on the coast; and I believe he owes this reputation to the fact of his not taking goods on trust from any supercargo, nor allowing his people to do it, consequently maintaining his high position.

He is past the middle age, and has a very anxious expression of countenance, as if subject to the influence of some internal malignant disease. On state occasions he is clothed in a black velvet robe, and wears a black hat with several brass stars on it, and a profusion of beads round his neck.

Many of the streets of his city reach down in parallel rows to the water's edge of the creek, which is barricaded in its whole extent of shore by the entrances into the streets and with stout and lofty palisading. All the people met with in the town have an air of sturdiness in their walk, not to be seen elsewhere except at Lagos or Akra. In the centre, outside the king's palace, is a miniature copy of Trafalgar Square—without the monument and accessories— from whose basin all the townfolk have permission to draw water ad libitum for their domestic use, without corporate interference of water-dues.

The social position of the ju-ju king is before that of Amakree amongst his people. The ju-ju king is the head high priest, and holds the same preeminence over the monarch as Church does over State in other parts

of the world. On public occasions the ju-ju king always walks before Amakree, having an umbrella held over his head by an attendant slave. Every great man in New Kalabar has a ju-ju house of his own, and the varieties of carving in ivory and wood to be seen in these heathen temples are grotesquely savage indeed. Inside of Amakree's there are four large tusks carved to represent human figures, each one supposed to preside over its particular ju-ju dwelling-place. As at Brass, there is an excavation in the ground, in the centre of three figures, about a yard in circumference, in which solid offerings are deposited, and around this cavity, which is supposed to be the deity's residence, are erected four mud-clay cones with a hole in the top of each, into which wine, rum, or palm-wine is poured as oblations to suit the different motives for sacrifice.

The shark is the ju-ju of New Kalabar, and it is the custom every seven years to sacrifice the tawniest Negro child procurable, as an offering at the mouth of the river.

The ladies of New Kalabar attempt the "gilding refined gold" system in their fashions; for their faces, bodies, arms, and legs are painted over with black streaks and spots, and shapes of inexplicable patterns. That which strikes a stranger most is their mode of wearing bustles — generally about the size of small haystacks, and which are carried before instead of behind. This mode certainly — let the beau monde speak against it what they will — has the advantage of giving an upright carriage to the fair sex, which they are

obliged to assume in order to balance their *poses de promenades*.

From New Kalabar a passage may be made to Bonny between Breaker and Shark islands without returning to the sea.

Bonny River is designated by the inhabitants of Brass, Okuloba-Toro, and by the natives of Bonny its former name is reputed to have been Okulōma, from the fact of a quantity of birds, seen on their first visit to the swamps where the town is erected, having deserted the place when it was fitted for human residence. The Bonny people came originally from some part of the Abo country.

Bonny Town appears to me no better or cleaner than Brass is described by Lander. It seems the *ne plus ultra* of abomination and filthiness, evidently a fitting Pandemonium for that vile traffic in human flesh that, during its continuance for twenty years, flourished at an export of twenty thousand slaves per year. Of these, nearly sixteen thousand were from the Abo country, of which the original King Peppel of Bonny and Amakree of New Kalabar were natives, and some of whose ancestors were no doubt the earliest originators of the trade. Fairs for the sale of the human stock were held every five or six weeks, as horse and pig fairs are held at home with us; and this traffic was continued remorselessly until the abolition of the slave trade, by Act of Parliament, in 1819, and the consequent opening of the palm-oil traffic in 1821. The chief trading stations interior to it are Iguangu, Sebrotonme, Ouragua,

Oriante, Kufe, Orata, and Egbanaje, all in a territorial district entitled Qua. A tribe of the Qua race I believe to have been the original owners of Bonny district, as they were of Old Kalabar.

It is stated from authentic information not to be doubted that, previous to the commencement of the palm-oil trade, 190 cargoes of slaves had been carried off from Bonny river during a period of fifteen months. The same activity which the former chiefs showed in the sale of their subjects, their successors are now exhibiting in the palm-oil markets; for Bonny supplies the largest amount of that article that is brought from any river in Western Africa. There are generally from twelve to fifteen vessels in this stream; and these comprise an average tonnage of nine to twelve thousand tons. The New Kalabar river trade (the station not being more than sixteen miles from Bonny) is carried on by subordinates of the traders in the last-mentioned river. The ships here are all moored opposite the town, only a few miles from the sea, consequently under the full influence of a sea breeze, and not cooped in a bight such as may be found up many of the rivers where mosquitoes congregate in thousands.

All my subsequent visits to Bonny have impressed me with sensations similar to the first, when, landing on the sandy beach, hard by a cask house, with the intention of exploring the town, I had not walked forty yards up a passage pointed out as the proper road by a Kruboy chaperon, before my progress was arrested by a muddy-looking pool, from which rivulets ran on the

road, as far as my eyes could reach, on the other side. Locomotion was of course stopped, unless I adopted the alternative of riding on the Kruboy's shoulders, most kindly offered to me for that purpose by one of the supercargoes trading in a vessel moored in the river. So I mounted accordingly, the journey being anything but refreshing, independent of the perspiratory odour from my sable Rosinante, and from the foul vapours which he stirred up in the pool as he went along. For stagnant water and currents of liquid mud, with decomposing vegetable matter, were everywhere visible, forming pleasant retreats for those nasty crawling reptiles, the iguana, many of whose family were about. This animal is considered the Bonnyman's ju-ju, or fetish; the tutelary genius of his town, and guardian of his trade. It is not a venomous reptile, and so is allowed to wander where it pleases with impunity. If a native were to kill or injure one of these animals, summary death would be his punishment; if a white man, the stoppage of his ship's trade, and the infliction of a considerable fine.

The style of architecture in Bonny cannot be defined except as an extreme of Gothic angularity; and the possibility of distinguishing between back and front of the houses is out of the question. Only one file of walkers has room to traverse the passages, in which fronts, rears, gables, and angles of houses jut out in amazing confusion. To get in or out of a gentleman's residence (a pilgrimage incumbent on every stranger who visits here) is like going through the maze at

Hampton Court — save for the surrounding scenery — even in broad daylight. At the house of King Peppel I made my bow, and was conducted to his inner courtyard. A clay ram, having real horns, and a human figure of like material, with his two legs, a musket and sword which he held in his hands, sunk in the ground, were the *gendarmes* inside the door as I entered.

But no sight I have ever witnessed, not even the room of horrors at Madame Tussaud's, shocks one so much as the first view of the Bonny ju-ju house. The pillars of the two doors are formed of human skulls; inside, the ground is paved with them; an altar is erected on which is a dead iguana; and the whole of this is fabricated of the same material as the pillars of the door. Two high columns of them are beside the altar; a string of jaw-bones is hanging by the wall; and these, you are informed, are the skulls of their enemies of the Andony country, which adjoins the Bonny territory, and with whom, a few years ago, they waged a furious war. The stories that are told of their having devoured the bodies of the victims whose heads are here, seem too preposterous to believe, and are too disgusting to repeat.

The market-place is very small, and a huge wild cotton-tree is growing in the centre of it. Opposite the ex-king's house, the European traders had fitted up a sort of club-house of their own, to meet and discuss matters of trade, and have an evening's lounge in when the business of the day was over. His Majesty was not at home when I visited his palace, on my first tour.

through his town, but I saw him at his canoe-yard, whither I was directed. He appeared to me to be between thirty and forty years of age, semi-paralysed, his articulation very much impeded. He had a careworn expression about his countenance, which is not so black as that of many of the negro tribes I have seen on the coast. Leaving him apparently indisposed for much palaver, I returned by a creek at the back of the town, which reminded me of all I had read in the heathen mythology of that Styx that leads to the country of bottomless notoriety.

King Peppel had been deposed since my first visit, and a younger man, Dappo, constituted monarch in his place. The latter, soon after his assumption of the government, died of what the surgeons attached to the ships in the river report to have been an intus-susceptio; and the superstitious people of the place, not understanding anything of a death from physical causes, attributed his demise to poison, administered by some of ex-King Peppel's family. Hence a fearful slaughter was the consequence, and the white men's house, which had come to be used as a court of equity as well as a place of worship, was razed to the ground, because the supercargoes had rescued two of Peppel's men, Yanibo, and Fred Peppel, from the fury of the mob. King Peppel threw himself on the protection of my predecessor, Governor Beecroft, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra, and accompanied that gentleman to Fernando Po. After Governor Beecroft's death, he was sent to the Island of Ascension by Go-

vernor Lynslager, at that time Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul, and from Ascension he proceeded by Sierra Leone to England. In London he was baptized, and became, it is said, a disciple of George Cruikshank's, in the Temperance cause. Of his character at Bonny, I wish to write nothing, because what I should write would not be in his favour. Bonny politics are now ruled by a species of provisional government, consisting of four men, who are entitled regents.

The general design upon which the court of equity just mentioned was founded was, for the purpose of keeping commercial transactions between the European and native traders on a proper basis of justice and honesty, as well as to nurture friendly feelings between both parties. In the absence of any international codes of jurisprudence, such a court was considered by its founders necessary to hold the natives true to the principles of fair and honest dealing, and the more so, as there was no tribunal of appeal in this country for the recovery of debts due by the native traders to the supercargoes. Some of the head men, including the king, were representatives of their people in it, before the destruction of the house; and by black traders, as well as by white, its utility to the healthy condition of their commerce was universally allowed.

Of the next river, the Andony, nothing is yet known, and so we pass it by *en voyage* for Old Kalabar.



## CHAP. VIII.

Up the Old Kalabar River.—Tom Shot's Breakers and East Head.— Peculiarities of the Mangrove Trees.—Dr. Brown's Description of them.—Parrot Island, and the Superstition connected with it.— Statistics of former Slave Trade in Old Kalabar.—Anti-Slavetrade Treaty of 1842.—Clarkson's Record of Brutalities committed during Slave Trade Times in this River.—Explorations of Cross River; Governor Beecroft.—Mr. Colthurst's Attempt and Failure to reach the Niger from this Stream.—View of trading Vessels moored off Duketown (or Atarpah) the Capital of Old Kalabar.—Size of the Town and Number of Population.—Henshaw Town (or Nsiring).—Its Necropolis.—View from the Top of Duketown Hill.—“Wattle-and-Dab” Architecture of the Higgedly-Piggedly Order.—The “Jukas,” or Night Watchman.—Promenade through the Turkey Buzzard's Pasture Grounds.—King Eyamba's Iron Palace.—His Majesty's Carriage and Horses.—Notions of Royal Dignity.—The Duketown Palaver-house.—Its Construction and Appearance.—The Eybo Drum.—Times at which it is beaten, and Tunes sounded upon it.—King Architong's House.—Chop Days in Old Kalabar.—Devotions on their Sabbath.—The Duketown Tyburn Tree.—The Market-places and their odorous Attractions.—Sketch of Antika Cobham's House; Furniture and Fat Wife.—Varieties of Kings in Old Kalabar.—A Slave-Trader's Tomb.—Cask Houses on the Beach.

THE Old Kalabar river is said by McQueen to be twelve miles wide at its mouth. To me, on my many visits, it seemed much wider; but authority like McQueen's I would not dare to dispute. The western extremity of land at the embouchure is called Tom

Shot's Point, between which and the channel of the stream, are some very dangerous breakers. The eastern point is entitled East Head. Sailing some miles above East Head, I observed two promontories called Greenpatch and Fishtown Points, in the heights between which the water forms semicircular bays, giving the river here a magnificent appearance.

Between its mouth and Parrot Island, which is about thirty miles from the bar, the Backasy and the two Qua rivers empty themselves, on the eastern side, one of the latter having a small island, called by the Kalabar missionaries Robson Island. The upper Qua river debouches itself by James's Island, which is a low, swampy locality, appearing, as you advance up the river, to be part of the main continent rather than an island *per se*, as Parrot Island is situated in the centre of the stream, and is directly opposite James's Island. At the other side of Parrot Island, and on its western side, the lower and larger mouth of the Cross River empties itself, although this is not indicated on any chart of the river yet published. Parrot Island is about twelve miles in circumference, and is covered with dense vegetation, principally of the mangrove tree. There is no solid ground on it as yet; but the earth washed down by the river, and held by the peculiarly spreading branches of the mangrove, will no doubt, in time, make the soil solid and substantial, instead of being what it is now, a mere swamp of mud for the retreat of crocodiles and manattis.\*

\* The sea-cow, of the *Cetacea herbivora* of Cuvier and supposed to

The mangrove is a tree of very peculiar growth, and is a very noticeable feature at the mouths of all the African rivers. The swamps in the Bight of Biafra nurture it, so far as there is salt water from the ocean, impelled by tidal action, to make the currents of the stream brackish. The name which botanists give it, *Rizophora* (a word derived from the Greek, and signifying root-bearing) is very applicable: for the most remarkable appearance in its growth is the number of spicula or appendices that spring from the branches, downward to the mud, and, there taking new roots, generate new trees, thus forming a series of arborescence *ad infinitum*. In his natural history of Jamaica \*, Dr. Brown says: "It grows on the borders of the sea, and there only in such places as have a soft and yielding bottom." The "soft and yielding bottom" is certainly essential to its growth in the African rivers; but it is not confined to the borders of the sea, on their banks. The arched branches of the appendices form a kind of network, that serves to stop the mould which is continually being washed down by the current, and thus in time forms rich and fertile soil out of what otherwise might be useless ponds or creeks. Perhaps its growing on the borders of the sea may be a peculiarity of its condition in Jamaica; for I have seen it growing likewise at the mouth of a river in the island of Fernando Po.

be the original of the mermaid, from its having two palmated fins, like hands. Hence its name.

\* Page 211.

A curious superstition is connected with Parrot Island, and is observed with religious punctuality by the natives of Old Kalabar, on the occasion of need arising for its performance. Whenever a scarcity of European trading ships exists, or is apprehended, the Duketown authorities are accustomed to take an Albino child of their own race, and offer it up as a sacrifice at Parrot Island, to the God of the white man. This they do because the island is in view of the sea, "or big-watery" (to use their own phraseology), over which the God of the nations that sent them articles of European manufacture is supposed to preside. The last sacrifice of this kind was made within the past year; and every one must regret that the increasing trade of the country, together with the teachings of the missionaries and supercargoes, has not put an end to this brutality.

On the western side of the river, above Parrot Island, is a small islet called "Alligator Island," improperly so styled; for the animals in the Old Kalabar, as well as in all the African rivers, called alligators, are true crocodiles according to Baron Cuvier, whose authority no naturalist will dare to impugn. Here the old Kalabar stream forms an acute angle, which is exactly opposite the upper mouth of Cross River, and is called Seven Fathom Point. It was near this place, as well as higher up at Oldtown, that slave vessels were anchored for their living cargo, when the traffic was carried on in this river; and some idea of how extensive that commerce was here, may be gleaned from the fact that in 1821 Sir Charles M'Carthy reported, from authentic proofs, that during

the previous fifteen months 162 cargoes of slaves had been carried off from the Old Kalabar River.

A treaty was made, on the usual terms of anti-slave-trade treaties, with Kings Eyo and Eyamba, by Commander Raymond, R. N., of H. M. S. "Spy," in 1842, and both of these kings' letters, signifying their assent to stop the slave trade and to accept the terms for its suppression, expressed a desire to the Commander to have cotton and coffee cultivation, with sugar manufacture, taught to their people; and thus add other materials beyond palm oil, to the development of the industrial resources of the country. These men, with a sagacity which did them credit, saw that the slave population, becoming superabundant by the forbiddal of their exportation, would require employment to keep them from mischief, as well as to contribute to their daily sustenance.

When the slave trade was rife in Old Kalabar, the officers and crews of four Bristol ships and one from Liverpool and London, committed a most fearful atrocity in this river. The details of it are described at length in Clarkson's work, "On the Slave Trade."\* This book gives likewise incontrovertible accounts of a series of brutalities committed by their masters on the crews of English ships, during the existence of that appalling traffic, that seems to have been the originator of the fearful title of "Grave of Europeans," which Western Africa has so long possessed.

The native name of Kalabar River is Akpa-Efik, the

\* P. 186. John W. Parker, West Strand, 1839.

former word being a name for water, and the latter the title of the tribe who now inhabit the country.

The Cross River seems to be the larger of the two that meet at this point. It has been explored by the late Governor Beecroft as far as the Ethiope rapids; and an account of the expedition is published in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, for 1844. This expedition was commenced on the 7th of September, 1842. The channel taken (for the number of islands here makes the course very uncertain) was that which trends to the N.W. in a serpentine course, with an average width of a hundred yards, and having throughout a depth of water from four to six fathoms. The only features described in the narrative are those referring to breadth of river and depth of channel, and so I will proceed to something that may be more interesting to the general reader. Mr. Colthurst, an American, also made an ascent of it with the intention of crossing over by water to the Niger, but did not succeed; and he died on board the "Agnes," on his way back from Old Kalabar to Fernando Po. In my *Narrative of the Niger Expedition of 1854*, I stated my reasons for believing no water communication to exist between these two rivers.

Rounding Seven Fathom Point, we come in view of the trading vessels moored off Duketown; and further up the river, of the small village of Oldtown, situated on a fine eminence, that is refreshing to behold, after the swamps which have been passed on our way down the coast.

Duketown (or Atarpah\*) is about two miles in circumference, and contains a population of at least four thousand. At about a quarter of a mile to the seaward of it is a small village called Henshaw Town (or Nsiring), having not more than about 120 inhabitants, and remarkable as well for possessing a spring of fresh water, as for being bounded on the river side by the Necropolis, for the interment of all the sailors who die on board the ships anchored in the river. A pathway leads from this by the Presbyterian mission house and school to Duketown; and reaching the top of the hill where these are situated, there is an ample view of all the trading vessels — of Oldtown and Creektown — with an interminable sea of brushwood stretching right and left — as well as of the city beneath our gaze.

The houses are built by forming walls of interlaced palisading, which are plastered inside and outside with mud, technically styled “wattle-and-dab.” The structure of the roofs is fabricated in like manner; but these, instead of being covered with mud, have matting made of the bamboo-leaf placed over them. The native architects have not yet arrived at the civilisation of a chimney; the smoke passes out the way the fire came in — through the door; and, except at a few of the gentlemen’s residences, square holes in the walls suffice for windows.

The town is sadly in want of a corporate body, the only semblance of corporation it has being in the fact that a number of young freemen, called *Inkas*, pervade

\* The native Efik name.

the passages at night, in respective watches, nominally to see that no thievery—a science indigenous in all African nations—is abroad; but really to keep the serf population in awe of the guardianship of the town being committed to the Inkas by a superior power. Houses are jotted down without any regard to the evenness or regularity of the ground on which they are erected. The higgledy-piggledy order of architecture prevails throughout; and the axiom of Bacon that “a house was meant to live in,” is carried out in its most original simplicity in Old Kalabar. As I walk through the passages intended for streets, I have to scramble over eminences and down declivities in the best way I can. In a pathway between two houses opposite each other, or perhaps side by side, there may be an ascent or a descent of a dozen or score of feet; and in wet weather it is impossible to escape a footbath in some of the many ruts to be met with as one goes along. Heaps of dirt and all kinds of refuse are thrown indiscriminately through the town, as if to allow pasture ground for the many turkey-buzzards\*, styled by Swainson the “scavengers of nature,” that congregate upon them, and have a perpetual carnival in browsing upon the festering offal.

The most remarkable house in Duketown, on my first visit (for it has since fallen, and not a vestige of it remains), was the iron palace of the late King Eyamba, which, previous to its being sent out, was exhibited in

\* Le Vaillant, the French traveller, found six pounds weight of hippopotamus flesh in the stomach of one of the sociable-vulture family in Africa.



Liverpool on the site of the Sailor's Home. It was constructed of galvanized iron, and consisted of two stories and an attic, being erected on mangrove posts about six feet from the ground.

No man was more impressed with an idea of the dignity attachable to the trappings of royalty than Eyamba; and so he must have a carriage. But the horses soon died\*, after dragging out life for some time; the skeletons of two only were visible about Duketown, perfect *anatomies vivantes*, at the time of my first visit there. When I beheld the nature of the streets and roads in and around the town, it was a marvel to me how Eyamba could find a place broad or level enough for four wheels to roll upon. But he did make out a few yards meet for that purpose; and there it was his custom to have the

\* Horses not being native to this part of the country, it puzzled the lexicographers very much to find a name for them in their Efik tongue, —the language spoken at Old Kalabar. At length they hit upon the term "Euang makara," which signifies "white man's cow;" and, to carry the absurdity further, entitled Eyamba's carriage, "Ufok euang makara," which literally means "white man's cowhouse."

From a small book, "The Translation of the Prophecies of Elisha and Jonah," published at the Mission Press in Old Kalabar, I transcribe a copy of the Lord's Prayer in this language:—

*The Lord's Prayer in Efik.*

AKAM. (i. e., Prayer.)

"ETE NYIN emi odudè ke enyong. Nam pupru owo ekpuno enying Fu. Yak ubong Fu edi. Nam pupru owo ke isong, enam se Afu amade nte emi enamde ke enyong. No nyin ke usen emi udia eke ekemde ye nyin. Dahadu ke idionkpo nyin nte emi nyin idahade du ke idionkpo eke owo enamde nyin. Ku yak nyin itiene mbukpebe, edi nyanga nyin ke ubok Satan. Kuru ubong, ye odudu, ye ukpuno, enyenede Fi, nsi nsi, nsi nsi. Amen."

carriage drawn before him by a number of slaves, whilst he walked after it, with his shining brass crown upon his head, and an immense partycoloured parasol held aloft by a strong-armed man. The Irishman who got into a sedan chair, and finding the bottom of it, said "he might as well be walking, were it not for the grandeur of the thing," had a nearer semblance to state than this gander-brained monarch, who often used to boast of his desire to see Wellington and Napoleon, that he might show his pre-eminence over them, and who was accustomed to sign all his letters and documents as Eyamba V., "King of all black men!"

Everything in this once magnificent house was, on my visit to it, in a state of perfect ruin and decay; for his majesty died a few years after it had been constructed.

This condition of affairs may be explained by the fact, that there exists amongst the people of Old Kalabar, as amongst the majority of the heathen nations in Western Africa, a silly superstition, that when a man dies he requires the spirit of all that belonged to him in this world: his wives, slaves, clothes, chattels, and furniture, for use in the unknown world to which he has gone. In proportion to what his competency was here, and to the means of his friends to make a corresponding sacrifice for him, so is his anticipated comfort in the next state to be measured.

I have been since informed that in a few hours after its fall there was not a single piece of its structure to be found on the site of its former location: for the inhabitants all acted as so many human turkey buzzards; and

the earliest bird of course picked up his choice of the best worms.

Coming out of the palace, and not fifty yards from it, although I had a hill to go down, a rut to scramble through, and an eminence to ascend, I find myself in front of the Duketown Palaver-house, a species of senatorial forum, where all the legislative matters of the country, the municipal affairs of the town, "palavers"\* on matters public or private, are discussed and settled by the king and the Egbos.†

The palaver-house consists of two walls running parallel for about forty yards, terminated by a transverse wall, about as many feet in length, and thatched with a stout bamboo roof. The end by which it is entered is opened from side to side, a space of nearly eighteen inches intervenes between the tops of the walls running lengthways and the roof; and there is an ascent from the road by half-a-dozen steps to the floor, which is hard and smooth. In the centre of the entrance is a huge hollow brass pillar reaching up to the roof; further in are two more of equally imposing diameter, whilst between them are a large bell and a piece of wood. The latter is drum-like in shape, with a slit longitudinally in it, and fixed to the

\* The term "palaver," derived from the Spanish "palabra" (talk), has a very extensive meaning. It signifies "dispute," "controversy," "argument," or "reasonings." "War palaver," "trade palaver," are used in reference to these affairs. "God palaver," is applied to the missionary teaching; and "sweet mouf palaver," is analogous in its meaning to the term "blarney" with us.

† Of the Egboship, more hereafter.

pillar. This is the Egbo drum\* which is beaten to alarm the inhabitants in case of a fire, to give notice of the attack of an enemy, or to signify the fact of a leopard having been captured, each occurrence being indicated by a peculiarity of beating the drum, which is known as soon as the sound is heard. In the farthest corner of the house is a private sanctuary into which none but the privileged are admitted on occasions of Egbo meetings, and outside the front are two flourishing ju-ju trees, with five pillars of stone before them, said to be solidified basaltic lava brought from Prince's Island, and erected there to the memory of five sovereigns of Old Kalabar.

Not far from this palaver-house was the residence of the late king, Archibong I. There was nothing noticeable in it, beyond that of any other gentleman trader's abode; but the king was one of the most extraordinary specimens of sable humanity I ever met. He could neither read nor write the English language, but spoke it in a very imperfect gabble; and, go to his house whenever you would, he was nearly always in that condition in which he might be expected to agree with the sentiment of Sancho Panza, "Blessings on the man who first invented sleep." On the first day of the week, which consists of eight days, he was accustomed to entertain all the supercargoes and surgeons in the river at a dinner; and this was called "Chop-

\* A similar drum is used by the natives to the north of Sierra Leone. It is called ballangi.

day.”\* Duketown chop-day is entitled *Aqua-e-dere*, and is equivalent to our Sunday; but it is used only as a day of rest — drinking rum and palm wine being their chief devotions. They wash their courtyards with cow dung and water on that morning, and the largest market in the week is held on *Aqua-e-dere*. Eyamba, when king, adopted it as his “Chop-day,” because it was the most honoured in the week; and he wished to be considered the most consequential man in the country. King Archibong followed in his footsteps with reference to the same practice. A similar custom is adopted on the second day of the week, called *Aqua-ibibio*. The dishes served up at King Archibong’s were very creditable to his culinary establishment. They consisted of various kinds of soups, containing goats’ flesh, fish, pork, cocoa leaf and root, plantains, bananas, with a variety of other dishes, such as Apicius, Meg Dod, or Alexis Soyer never smiled upon, and which, to use the words of Mr. Laird, “contained pepper enough in them to have scalded a silver spoon.” These were followed by roast maize, ground-nuts, and shrimps as a dessert. “Mimbo,” or “min-Efik,” † the native name for palm wine, was the beverage at these dinners. It is a milky fluid, having sometimes an acid and sometimes a saccharine taste, and is procured from a particular species of the palm tree, by tapping it at

\* All condiments, liquid or solid, are called “chop,” on the West Coast of Africa.

† “Min-Efik” means “strong drink of Efik.” “Min-makarra” signifies “rum,” or “strong drink of white man.”

the top, and allowing the juice to exude into calabashes placed to receive it. One dish relished very much by the king was a plate of pounded yam, made in the putty-like consistence of "foo-foo," used with a soup entitled "palaver sauce." The mode of eating it was by grasping a lump from the dish, rolling it on the palm of the hand into the shape of a racket-ball, putting the index finger into the centre, dipping it in the soup, and bolting it. The table was always neatly laid out with silver service, and the viands were brought in in large calabashes covered with white cloths, on the head of a number of female slaves.

In a triangular space between the three houses last described, is situated the smaller market-place of Duketown. Markets are held daily in the town, but at either of the market-places alternately. The larger one is higher on the hill, and the upper side of it is ornamented by a splendid specimen of the wild cotton tree; whose beauty and towering grandeur at once attract your admiration. It is the Tyburn tree of Duketown, where criminals sentenced to death undergo the extreme penalty of the law, by being shot or decapitated.

Yet a view of these market-places during the time of business would be a rare novelty to any person accustomed only to Covent Garden or Leadenhall. The first impression that one has on coming within sight of it, and within hearing of the murmur in the vast mass of negro life before you, is that all the females of the adjoining countries have met for a gabbling party, with the intention of trying to talk one

another to death. Amongst the several hundred persons in the market-place, it may be inferred at once, from the clatter, that the softer sex have the predominance, both as venders and purchasers. The currency among them consists of pieces of copper wire, blackened and bent into a horse-shoe form, called "black coppers." Bundles of fire-wood, nuts of the palm tree, cocoa nuts, oranges, pine apples — and in their season cassava, cocoa root \*, plantains, bananas, and Indian corn, — elephants' flesh, living goats, fowls, and eggs, with a variety of British manufactured goods, constitute the articles offered for sale. There are no tables or standings to place these upon. Such as would receive detriment from coming in contact with the ground, are contained in calabashes, and the seller squats down beside them.

But try to push your way through the crowd, and the exhaling odour from that naked congregation almost paralyses you. Men and women in Old Kalabar wear no clothing, save a hip-swathe, differing in its material with the difference of the wearer's rank and station. Here, in this market-place, there is palpable evidence of the condition of affairs arising from this practice. No vile compound of drugs or chemicals — the vilest that could be fabricated by human ingenuity — would rival the perspiratory stench from the assembled multitude. It is not only tangible to the olfactory nerves, but you feel conscious of its permeating the whole

\* The *Arum acaulo*.

surface of your body. Even after going from the sphere of its generation, it hovers about you and sticks to your clothes, and galls you to such an extent that, with stick and umbrella in your hands, you try to beat it off, feeling as if it were an invisible fiend endeavouring to become assimilated with your very life-blood.

A sketch of one of the trading gentlemen's houses will suffice for the whole. I enter Antika Cobham's yard by a door leading from a veranda facing the river, from which I have a view of the ships anchored beneath, and of the dense brushwood which springs up from the swamp stretching over to Creek town. I come into a quadrangular courtyard, which has houses for the residence of slaves; and from this into another, through a large door. Here is a veranda on either side of the yard, a pigeon-cot in the centre, and before me a profusely-furnished room, between which and the veranda there is a passage on either side leading into the harem. The style of beauty of the ladies occupying this may be imagined from the fact of his head wife being styled "Bang-aran-ket," which, in the Efik tongue, literally means "one puncheon of palm oil!" The place on the right contains his bed, his table, a sofa, and a few chairs for gentlemen to sit down on, who come to him on business matters. Whilst seated on one of these my eyes wandered over the place. The walls all round the court are adorned with a variety of extravagant designs of apocryphal animals; impossible crocodiles, possessing a flexibility in their outlines such



as is never seen in the living specimens; leopards with six feet; birds with horns from their tails. Diamond, and crescent, and cruciform shapes of vari-coloured hues abound wherever there is a spot to paint them on. Opposite where I am sitting are two large mirrors, with a number of tin caddies suspended by nails on the walls around them, whilst on a table hard by are seated a peacock and a turkey buzzard. In the centre of the yard is the pigeon-cot, fixed on the top of a pole, with a looking-glass placed between each nest. Looking to the large room, the first idea of wonder that came into my mind was, how the person who fitted it up managed to get out of it, or if he did get out without breaking anything. There did not seem to me to be space for a fly to turn or stand within its precincts. China and glass jugs, all kinds of delf and crockery-ware, mirrors in profusion and of every size, blue decanters, chandeliers and pictures, glass globes and China vases, with an uncountable quantity of indescribable jimcrackry, seem heaped up to repletion. Turning out, I passed through another courtyard, leading to a different part of the town, by the residence of the late Adam Duke, styled "King War."\*. It was a very fine house, having lofty rooms, with an ascent of double stairs on the outside.

\* "King War," in Old Kalabar, is a very *lucus a non lucendo* name of honour. "King Wash," the title given to a man who used to wash for the sailors, "King Chop" to a fellow who had a gluttonous appetite, and "King Lie" to liars, show how highly they estimate the dignity of royalty in Africa.

There is a granite slab in the yard of one of the gentlemen at Duketown, over the body of a slave-trader who died here, and which, under the name and date — both forgotten by me — has inscribed on it the two first lines of Pope's "philosophical" elegy on his friend Elijah Fenton: —

"The modest stone, what few vain marbles can,  
May truly say, here lies an honest man."

Along the beach at Duketown is a range of cask-houses, where all the appurtenances for casking the palm oil are kept by the supercargoes of the various ships, with large pots to boil the oil, and purify it from the adulterations with which it is frequently impregnated.

## CHAP. IX.

A Visit to Oldtown (or Obulong) through the Qua Country.—The Qua People and Language.—Curious Character attached to a Palm Tree opposite the Royal Residence.—Her Majesty Queen Qua.—The Qua People the original Owners of Kalabar Country.—The Kalabarese resident here only on Toleration.—The arborescent Scenery of the inner Country.—Corroboration of Mr. Gosse's Opinion on the Music of Birds and Odour of Flowers in Tropical Climates.—Anansa, the tutelary Guardian of Old Town.—Creektown (or Ekuritanko).—King Eyo Honesty.—Opinion of his Character.—Support given by him to the Presbyterian Missionaries.—His Dress and Appearance.—State Visits to the trading Vessels.—Superiority of Creektown to Duketown.—King Eyo's Palace and Harem.—Tom Eyo's Museum.—A Trip down Monkey Creek.—Mountains to the East of Duketown.—Suppositions concerning Tribes to the Interior of Old Kalabar.—The Aludikum, Albafu, Tekar, and Dingding.—Remarkable Echoes in Old Kalabar River.

ASCENDING a rugged pathway that passes through both market-places, and that is sadly in want of macadamization, we come to the outskirts of the town, where a road turning to the right leads to Henshawtown, or, keeping more directly to the eastward by another road, I can travel to a creek that connects Qua with the Old Kalabar river. But the pathway to the left being the most open and inviting, I turn up that, and proceed through a country profusely rich in every variety of vegetable life, to the town of Qua\*, and thence

\* The Qua language is different from the Efik. It is very liquid, whilst the Efik is guttural. Abakpa is the native name of Qua town and country.

circuitously to Oldtown (or Obulong), about three miles' distance from Duketown.

The kingdom of Qua had been governed from 1850 to 1854, by a queen, who was sister to the former king. The chief town is not more than a quarter of a mile in circumference, and contains only about a hundred inhabitants.

There is little worthy of notice about it, save that it contains two palaver-houses, one of which is generally tenanted by a herd of cows. It has a latticework boundary, on each side of the entrance roads, with a semicircular passage to admit one person at a time coming along from Oldtown or Duketown.

Opposite the queen's residence grows a palm tree, whose gracefully-pendant foliage always attracted my attention after I had been told of a strange character it is reputed to possess — that of ensuring conception even to the barrenest of those women who eat a palm nut from its branches. The queen \*, although fallen into the "sere and yellow leaf," ever bore an expression of kindness and good nature on her countenance. She had a prince consort, but no family of her own. And this is not of much consequence, as royalty in most parts of Africa is not hereditary, wealth and influence having more to do with the acquisition of regal authority than family connexion. The Qua people were the original holders of the Kalabar country; and the present inhabitants of Duketown, Oldtown and Creek-town are descendants of the Egbo Shary or Ibibio

\* Since my first visit the queen has died.

tribe up the Cross River. The Kalabar authorities pay a yearly tribute to the Qua people for permission to reside in their territory. In fact, the natives of the chief Kalabar towns originally came from the Egbo Shary country to carry on the slave trade, at the time that the whole inhabitable country on the east side of the river belonged to the people of Qua. In the original settlement, the Egbo Shary immigrants obtained only sites for their towns and little more. The Qua people are therefore still owners of a considerable portion of land to the east and south of Duketown, which is gradually becoming absorbed by the Old Kalabar residents of the present day.

The country between Qua town and the river of that name, which flows about four miles to the eastward and empties itself into the Kalabar stream near the mouth of the latter, possesses a very rich soil, and is partially inhabited and cultivated. The houses are surrounded by lofty trees, pre-eminent amongst which are the towering wild cotton, the palm, and the cocoa-nut. The woods here are perfect oceans of arborescent and animal life, and I could not avoid in my many rambles through them being impressed with the redundance of the one, and the unremitting activity of the other. The perpetual singing and chattering of birds; the chirruping and twittering of insects; the creepers and parasitic plants that cling around every stump to which they can lay hold, and fling their leaves about in rich profusion; the myriad pencilled streaks of vegetable life around, all filled my mind, at each successive walk amongst them,

with a feeling of gratitude and adoration to Him "whose music is the harmonious voice of all creation." It has often been remarked that in tropical climates, where "brilliant and varied colours have been granted to the birds and flowers, song has been denied to the one, and fragrance to the other," a flippant generalisation completely set aside by Mr. Gosse in his recent work, "A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica." It is untrue of Kalabar, as well as of Jamaica, a fact which I can testify from my observation in the former country. I have frequently heard the songs of birds — particularly in the neighbourhood of Oldtown — perhaps not as tuneful in their melody as the lark or linnet in the blooming fields of England, but nevertheless musical. The majority of the brilliant flowers do not give out perfumes, it is true; but gazing on them and inhaling the sweet odour emanating from the fragrant herbs, I often found myself instinctively repeating the beautiful lines of Horace Smith: —

"Were I, O God, in churchless lands remaining,—  
Far from the voice of teachers or divines,  
My soul would find in flowers of thy ordaining,  
Priests! — sermons! — shrines!"

Of late years a Presbyterian mission station and school have been established at Oldtown. There is a commanding view of the whole course of the river to Seven Fathom Point, and of Mangrove Morass up to Creek-town — as seen from Antika Cobham's — visible from the eminence between the king's and the mission house. Beneath the latter, and adjacent to the beach, is a ravine

full of the densest and richest vegetation, whence a limpid well of delicious water gushes up and flows along in a purling stream to the river. This spot was considered hallowed ground by the king; and all his people had strict commands to reverè it as such. Not a branch of a tree was allowed to be cut here, for the king believed it to be the residence of his god "Anansa," the tutelary guardian of Oldtown, with whom he expected to take up his abode when he died.

On the opposite side of the river, ascending higher, and about half a mile up a creek leading from the parent stream, is Ekuritunko, or Creektown, the residence of the chief trader of the Kalabar country, King Eyo Honesty. All the kingdoms of Western Africa would very soon present a difference from their present condition, were they governed by such men as King Eyo.

He is anxious for the civilisation of his people and the cultivation of his country; but he has had no one to teach them anything of the latter, and so the fruitful soil of his dominion lies unproductive, save in the one material of palm-oil. Those who agree with me in thinking Christianity and civilisation to be cause and effect in Africa, as they are all over the world, will rejoice to hear that he has given every countenance and assistance to the body of Presbyterian Missionaries settled at Old Kalabar. He speaks, reads, and writes the English language very well; keeps his own accounts; and translates the Rev. Mr. Waddell's sermons into the Efik tongue for his congregation. The king's sons are

the only members of his family that have made an open profession of their belief in the doctrines of Christianity ; but Eyo enjoins the sacred keeping of the Lord's Day — has no dinners for the traders, when *it* comes round in its eight-day rotation ; has abolished the market formerly held on Sundays at Creek town — commands the weekly attendance of his people at the missionary service in the galvanised iron church ; is most respectful and attentive during worship ; and follows the preacher, translating sentence after sentence for the audience. He is a man past forty years of age, about five feet eight inches in height ; of a stout muscular frame ; with eyes and lips of the usual prominence observable in the Ethiopian face, and grey whiskers. His dress consists of a cloth, generally silk, tied round his loins ; a silk handkerchief thrown over his shoulders ; a black hat with a gold band, and a binding of the same material about the edge. His ornaments are circlets of blue glass or coral beads round his neck, wrists, and ankles, with a massive gold ring on the index finger. He partakes freely of snuff, and this is carried by his slave in attendance in a silver box. It is the only luxury in which he indulges, for he never smokes, and from spirituous liquors no man can be more abstemious.

When he goes in state to Duketown, as he always does on business occasions, to the trading ships in the river, he is invariably accompanied by a train of large canoes, from one of which a gun is fired to announce his approach, as the royal party turns the angle opposite Oldtown. The king is always seated in a six-oared gig



belonging to the ship to which he is proceeding, whilst the canoes contain his eldest son, young Eyo, and his three brothers, with an innumerable host of slave attendants. He has a gigantic parti-coloured parasol held over his head on these occasions, as he has whenever walking about his town, or seated in one of his courtyards, overlooking his trade-books. The musical band accompanying the king consists of an Egbo drum, placed transversely in the canoe, which is not beaten on the ends as our drums are, but on the top of its longitudinal surface with a pair of sticks; an instrument formed of iron, as of the saucers of two shovels, welded face to face, and struck with a piece of the same metal; a cow's horn, blown rather discordantly; and clattering boxes made of bamboo matting, with a fringe to them, held in the hands like Spanish castanets, and shaken vigorously to produce a noise by the agitation of the pebbles, or pieces of broken crockery-ware, they contain. Yet, with this primitive attempt at music, the banners flying from the canoes, the simultaneous hoisting of flags on all the ships in the river, and the return of a salute from the vessel to which he is proceeding, when the king's party becomes visible, give the whole scene a very animated appearance.

Creektown is in its arrangements, as well as in the order and cleanliness of its streets, much before Duketown. It is not more than one mile and a half in circumference, and its population, daily increasing, amounts to about 3000 inhabitants. From the beach up to the new Presbyterian church, by the king's house, through

the market-place, and past the Egbo Palaver-house, there is a fine sweep of broad level street, which, after leaving Duketown, is quite a comfort to walk upon, and a rarity such as is seldom met with in an African city. Here one of King Eyo's new houses (his old mansion was burned, with a large quantity of goods, in the beginning of 1852), is a very fine substantial wooden building, of an angular, or rather semi-crucial form, one side of the angle being much longer than the other. This was entirely planned and erected under the superintendence of his son, young Eyo.

A house constructed for him by Messrs. Holmes of Liverpool, on a contract with a merchant of that town, is, however, a beautiful residence; tastefully furnished, well ventilated, having wide verandahs, and a movable dome at top. It has all the luxury of coolness that one might suppose a Turkish palace to possess. The inside chief hall is not fitted up bombastically, as other regal residences in Africa are, but is nevertheless "right royally" furnished.

Facing this palace, though separated from it by two quadrangular squares, is a large courtyard of the same shape, which contains his harem. It is death for any Kalabar man to put his foot within the hallowed precincts of this place; yet the king's wives are not shut up with the jealous feeling which characterises the Turkish and Eastern nations. They are permitted to go into the town, but no black man is allowed to speak to one of them, under pain of capital punishment. Sometimes a dozen or a score will be

seated on mats, beneath the piazza in the small yard opposite his house, plying their needles as busily as though they subsisted on the profits of their work. They live in the most friendly relations with one another, showing no jealousies, or bickerings, or animosities.

Higher up, and opposite the Egbo Palaver-house, facing the market-place likewise, is the residence of the king's eldest brother, Tom Eyo. On entering the outer courtyard, I saw before me an immense collection of crocodile skulls and jaw-bones; the jaw-bones of sea cows, the skulls of leopards and goats; a sufficient collection of ossific curiosities to form the nucleus of a museum. In the market-place a huge bell is suspended, opposite the Palaver-house. On the brow of the hill higher up, rise the Presbyterian Mission-house, two schools, and a chapel.

The country lying in the angle formed by Duketown, Creektown, and the Creek, which makes a communication, from the latter place, of the Kalabar with the Cross River, is a dense swamp. I have heard of a fresh-water lake being in this district,—which I cannot vouch for, as it has not been visited by any European; but of whose existence there is strong presumptive evidence in the many rivulets of pellucid water flowing from the mangrove bush all around. Wild pigs and deer are said to abound in such parts of it as have *terra firma* for them to stand on; but these spots must be oases “few and far between,” judging from the nature of so much of it as is visible. Moreover, these

animals could scarcely penetrate the dense bush that everywhere abounds, and through which no pathway is known to exist. There is a water passage through this territory, from Creektown to Duketown, called Monkey Creek, a trip down which is one of the most delightful that any lover of natural beauty need require.

On entering it, I found myself surrounded by an extreme richness and variety of arborescence. From the brightest yellow down through pale emerald to sombre brown, are trees of every species observable within the tropics, with the beautiful water-lily (the *Alga nymphaea*), adorning the water's surface with its virgin whiteness. Here and there a huge trunk of bombax, rooted up from its fastenings by the action of the tidal flow, was lying diagonally over the water, so that I was obliged to stoop beneath it as the boat glided along. Towering up above all vegetable life around, is the majestic palm-tree, called truly and appropriately by Linnæus, "the prince of the vegetable world." "The common world atmosphere," writes Von Martins, "does not become those vegetable monarchs; but in these genial climes, where nature seems to have fixed her court, and summons around her, of flowers, and fruits, and trees, and animated beings, a galaxy of beauty, there they tower up into the balmy air, rearing their majestic stems highest and proudest of them all." Birds chattering, many whistling, and some singing, are in the apparently impenetrable foliage around. Now and then a parrot—a sun-bird, or a kingfisher, darts across the creek, over my head. With a fruzzle in the water,

a huge crocodile, which has been ruminating on the mud, escapes from my sight by a spasmodic dive. Varicoloured butterflies give an additional charm to all the beauties around, and the chanting of the Kruboyas as they slowly paddle the boat along, chimes in with the universal melody of nature.

The land becomes elevated from Oldtown interiorly, and from the veranda of the Mission-house at Duketown a chain of mountains is seen stretching east and west; of whose geographical position and bearings, no one could give me information, when in Old Kalabar. Captain Cummins saw no mountains at the highest point to which he ascended the Old Kalabar river; but Mr. Oldfield states that at Beaufort Reach, five miles above Akrikok, distant mountains run from north to south in the direction of the Qua Mountains. These are probably the hills whose peaks I recognised, and which turn to the south, as they must do to join Qua Mountain; for on the published charts the latter is placed in a parallel latitude with Parrot Island. Or perhaps they may be a chain connected with Mount Gelangero, which, in Mr. Petermann's chart of Dr. Barth's travels, is placed between Duketown and the Ietem country.

All the mountains in this neighbourhood, the Qua, the Rumbly, the Cameroons, and the Clarence, at Fernando Po, are said to be one continuous chain of volcanic origin.

Of the Kalabar people, through the kindness of Rev. Mr. Anderson, I have received some information touch-

ing the interior tribes of this district extending as far down as Cameroons.

The Mbrikum, — the Mbrikum or Mbüdikum race, which Dr. Barth conjectures to be Koellss \* Ndob, are located between Kalabar and Cameroons, and comprises many tribes, as the following : —

Mbāfum, — there is a people or country, or both, far on the other side of Qua, (*i. e.* S. E. of Duketown) called Mbafum, some of whom are brought occasionally as slaves to Old Kalabar. These I have no doubt to be the Mbāfus of Dr. Barth. They are by some persons styled Mbafong, or Ekoi.

Teka is believed by many to be Ataka or Ataga, near Akuna-Kuna. Others represent them to be of a tribe and country near the Tibāre, by which name the Filatahs are spoken of here.

The Banūnu are a strong fierce people, who sometimes wage war with the Tibāre.

The Ding-Ding, represented by Dr. Barth as living in trees, I have ascertained to be a name given by the Tibāres to some of the Mbudikum race, who are placed as sentinels in small houses erected in trees to watch for the coming of these marauders.

The word Ding-Ding in the Tibāre language is synonymous with slave, and is no doubt applied as a nickname, like Baibai and Nyem-Nyem, — the former of which means “fools” and the latter “cannibals.”

Other districts to the east of Esik or Old Kalabar (“on the side where the sun rises”) are named Babak,

\* Vide Polyglotta Africana, p. 9.

Bariki, Bangwa, Isa, Bansok, Bambo, Babri, Banam, Baion, and Ba Kouka ; but of these nothing is known.

The Bato people, as represented in Petermann's chart of Dr. Barth's travels, are not white. They are pure negroes. I have seen two of them at Fernando Po. One of them is a native of Banim in the Bati country, and from the position of his birthplace pointed out to me by this informant, I conjecture it to be in the same place as that race described by Mr. Petermann.

It would be interesting to ascertain to what physical causes are attributable the remarkable echoes in the Old Kalabar river. Is the refraction of sound due to the density of the atmosphere or to its percussion on the thick bush? The latter, I am inclined to doubt, because I believe vegetation possesses the quality rather of absorbing than of refracting it. The constant occurrence of these echoes at first surprised, and subsequently delighted me. On the morning of King Eyo's dinners there are always three guns fired to give notification of the day ; although he is courteous enough to send a polite written reminder to the traders the evening before.

But listen ! a booming sound of ordnance comes over the swamp from Creektown — it rolls and rolls away down the river, and over the country by Henshaw Town. The gradual diminution of echo at every reverberation at once attracts my listening faculties. A silence of a scarcely appreciable moment ensues. Is it gone? No: farther off than I would presume to guess the roll and the rattle seem making an effort at resusci-

tation ; but they are weaker at every peal, now rallying now expiring, until I am fixed in the veriest anxiety of attention by the sharp roll of another gun, followed soon after by another. The most remarkable phenomenon of the echo occurs after the third shot is fired. As I strain my attention to hear, I become conscious of the echoes of the three shots being separate and distinct from one another ; varying, of course, in intensity by the time which has elapsed between the firing of each. A shot from a rifle, the striking of cooper's hammers on board a ship, have a somewhat similar effect ; and the voices of the children, singing hymns in the Mission School may be heard re-echoing over the dense bush which abounds in the neighbourhood of Duketown.



## CHAP. X.

The Egbo Order of Old Kalabar. — Derivation of the Title Egbo. — Difference of Grades. — Similarity to our Freemasonry. — Mode of Initiation. — Peculiarities of the Order. — Style of Egbo Proclamation by a Spirit supposed to come from the Woods. — Brutalities connected with the “Brass Egbo” Day. — Legal and Judicial administration of Egbo Statutes. — The Bloodmen. — Generalities of Ju-ju Worship. — Kalabarese Polytheism. — Ideas of Abasi-Ibum (the Efik name for God Almighty). — Old King Kalabar the Efik High Priest. — The Children’s Deity Obu. — Idem Nyanga and Ekponyong. — Skulls paving the Ground. — Devil-houses as Obsequies for the Dead. — Howling over the Graves. — Fashions in Native Mourning. — The Esere or Chop-nut Test. — Ifod or Witchcraft. — Professor Christison’s Experiments on the Properties of the Chop-nut. — Graphic Description of its Effects by a Kalabar Man. — The Abiadiong or Sorcerer. — His *modus operandi* when consulted. — The Abiabok or Native Doctor. — Surgery performed by the soft Sex. — Extent of Therapeutic Knowledge.

THE Egbo order of Old Kalabar is a very peculiar one, and in its ceremonies is similar to the Mumbo Jumbo tomfoolery practised in other parts of Africa, and described by Mungo Park and Major Laing. It is a sort of negro brotherhood of kings, chiefs, and freemen, and the title is derived from “Ekpe,” the Efik name for tiger. There are eleven grades, the three superior of which, the “Nyampa,” the “Brass” (or Okpoko), and the “Ka-

kunda," are not purchaseable by slaves. In former times, the Egbo title was confined entirely to freemen, the second or third generation of a slave born "within the pale" of an Egboman's dwelling being liberated by this fact, and allowed to purchase it after their parents were dead. It cannot be compared to any institution familiar to European minds but to that of Freemasonry. Previous to initiation, the Egbo candidate is obliged to go through a number of ceremonial observances; as, for instance, on a "Brass Egbo" applicant's admission into that order, his body is daubed over with yellow dye to simulate brass, and there is a sacrifice of animals on the occasion. The secrets and meetings of Egbo men are strictly private. If a slave man, woman, or child, have a complaint of grievance against a master or neighbour, he or she has only to give notification of it by slapping an Egbo gentleman on the front of his body, or by going into the market square and tolling the large Egbo bell. The gentleman apprised by the first mentioned form of notice, is bound to have at once an Egbo meeting to redress the grievance complained of; and if this be found to be trivial the punishment is inflicted on the complainant. When an Egbo man wants to make a proclamation relative to a theft committed, or the recovery of a debt, he sends out into the town what is supposed to be the Idem, or spiritual representative of Egbo, a man with a black vizard on his black face, and the whole of his body covered cap-a-pie with a fantastical dress of bamboo matting. This personage is sometimes preceded by a few drummers, and he

always has a bell fastened to his side, which rings as he goes along. In his left hand he carries a bunch of green leaves (for he is believed to have been exorcised from the woods, and of course must keep up his sylvan character), in his right is an enormous cow-hide whip with which he flogs every slave, man or woman, whom he meets, as taste or inclination may suggest. A brutal peculiarity of the Egboship is this, that the want of a single variety of the title will expose him who is so unfortunate as to lack it, to the lashings of the Idem of that particular grade which he has not purchased. If an individual who is in possession of all the inferior grades, and of three of the superior ones, happens to be out on the day when the Idem of that particular Egbo that he was in want of is walking, he is marked out from the common multitude and treated with extra severity. Should the Idem not meet any slave in the streets to whip on his rounds, he has liberty to go into their houses and whip them to his heart's content. The sound of "Egbo Bells," and the name of "Egbo Day," are enough to terrify all the slave population of Duketown; and when they hear it, they hide in every available place. Latterly females have been permitted to buy Egbo privileges, but are not allowed to be present at the councils of the Egbo gentlemen, nor to enter at any time within the walls of the Egbo Palaver-house. When a yellow flag floats from the king's house, it is understood to be "Brass Egbo" day, and none but a few of the privileged are allowed to walk abroad. A strip of cloth of the same colour nailed

to any man's door implies that his house is under the powerful protection of Brass Egbo, the indication being significant of the master's absence from home. If an Idem meets an European in his progress, where there are two roads or pathways available, the Idem walks off on the one different from that on which the white man is approaching; if there be but one road, the latter is expected to turn his back, and let the supposed spirit pass unnoticed and undisturbed. "Aqua-Ofiong," the last day of the Kalabar week, is Grand Egbo Day, on which there is a carnival and Egbo procession, with the usual amount of brutality. All legal and judicial proceedings in the country are ushered in and carried out under Egbo demonstrations, for the purpose evidently of keeping the law *in terrorem* over the heads of the slave population. And no stronger evidence of this can be adduced than that a man tried and condemned by Egbo law has to forfeit all his slaves and other property in his possession, no matter to whom this latter may belong. These are all divided as prey amongst the highest Egbo authorities. Persons sentenced to death by Egbo trial are allowed, what is considered a privilege, of leaving the world in a state of intoxication.

There is a class of people here called "bloodmen," who live in the interior, at the plantations, and whose presence in Duketown does not give much comfort to the Egbo authorities. Some time after the death of King Eyamba in 1846, a number of slaves belonging to the duke's family, ran away from their owners, and entered into a blood covenant for mutual protection.

In a short time others joined them, and they now amount to several thousands. The present King of Duketown, Duke Ephraim, is the lineal descendant of the master of the original refugees, and consequently has considerable influence over them. Some time back, they tried to be allowed the establishment of a separate Egbo-ship for themselves, but were refused. They come into the town whenever any ceremonial is performed having reference to a deed of blood; but what their relation is to the Egbo order still remains a profound secret. The gentlemen at Old Kalabar have all private fetishes at their houses; the skulls of human beings, the bones of leopards, hippopotami, crocodiles, and manattis, arranged according to the owner's taste and fancy. Peculiar species of food are not eaten by many families, from the fact that some members of them die after eating of such condiments, and their ju-ju consequently places an interdict on their use.

The idea of God entertained by the Kalabarese is confined to their incomprehensibility of natural causes, which they attribute to Abasi-Ibum, the Efik term for Almighty God, hence they believe He is too high and too great to listen to their prayers and petitions. Idem-Efik is the name of the god who is supposed to preside over the affairs of Kalabar, and who is connected mysteriously with the great Abasi; sometimes represented by a tree, and sometimes by a large snake, in which form he is only seen by his high priest or vicegerent on earth—Old King Kalabar. This representative of Idem-Efik was a lean, spare, withered old man, about sixty years

of age, a little above five feet in height; grey-headed and toothless. He wore generally a dressing-gown, with a red cap, bands of bamboo rope round his neck, wrists, and ankles, with tassels dangling at the end. In case of any special crime committed, for the punishment of which there is no provision by Egbo law, the question was at once referred to King Kalabar's judgment, whose decision of life or death was final. King Eyo and all the gentlemen saluted him by a word of greeting peculiar to himself, "Etia," meaning in English "You sit there," which, amongst persons of the slave order, must be joined with placing the side of the index fingers in juxtaposition, and bowing humbly as evidence of obeisance. He offered up a weekly sacrifice to Idem, of goats, fowls, and tortoises, whose relish must naturally be more savoury to the Idem-Efik's taste if dressed up with a little rum. When famine was impending or a dearth of ships existed at Old Kalabar, the king sent round to the gentlemen of the town an intimation of the necessity of making an offering to the deity, and that Idem-Efik was in want of "coppers," which of course must be forwarded through Old King. He had a privilege, that every hippopotamus taken or leopard shot must be brought to his house, that he may have the lion's share of the spoil. Since my first visit to Kalabar this old man has died, and has yet had no successor, as the head men and people pretend to believe twelve "moons" (two years) must pass by, before "he be dead for thrice."

Besides this idea of worship, they have a deity named

Obu, made of calabash, to which the children are taught to offer up a prayer every morning, to keep them from harm. Idem-Nyanga is the name of the tree, which they hold as the impersonation of Idem-Efik; and a great reverence is entertained for a shrub, whose pods, when pressed by the finger, explode like a pistol. In all their meals they perform ablution of the hands before and after it; and in drinking, spill a teaspoonful or so out as a libation to their deity before imbibing. When they kill a fowl or a goat as sacrifice, they do not forget to remind their god of what "fine thing" they do for him; and that "they expect a like fine thing from him in return." Ekponyong is the title given to a piece of stick, with a cloth tied round it at top, and a skull placed above the cloth which is kept in many of their yards, as a sort of guardian numen. In nearly all the courts there is a ju-ju tree growing in the centre, with a parasitic plant attached to it, and an enclosure of two to four feet in circumference at the bottom of the stem, within which skulls are always placed and calabashes of blood at times of sacrifice. At many of the gentlemen's thresholds a human skull is fastened in the ground, whose white glistening crown is trodden upon by every one who enters.

The most ridiculous superstition of the Kalabaresè is that connected with the obsequies for the dead. At the deaths of Iron Bar, a very respectable trader, and of the late King Archibong, I saw the absurdity of these rites carried out to their fullest extent. At Iron Bar's,

as I went into the yard, there was a dense crowd gathered round what was supposed to be his grave, which was made in the room where he died, and sunk to a depth of ten or twelve feet, that it might hold all the things put into it for his use in the next world. At the head of the grave a palm oil light was burning with a livid flame, and cast a dim shade over a man, who had descended into it, for the purpose of arranging his furniture—brass pans, copper rods, mug, jugs, pots, ewers, tureens, plates, knives and forks, spoons, soap, looking-glasses, and a heap of Manchester cloth, all impaired in their integrity by a slight fracture or a tear.

In the evening I visited the place again. The grave was filled up and levelled. Over it was placed a number of mats, on which were squatted a score of women. In all the apartments of the court numbers of the soft sex were in a like position, and kept up the most dismal and dolorous mourning it is possible for the imagination to conceive. I find it out of my power to convey any idea of the sensation it communicated to me. It was not harsh, it was not loud, it was not crying, nor was it shrieking; it bore no resemblance to an Irish wake, or to the squalling of a congregation of cats; but it was a puling, nauseating, melancholy howl, that would have turned my stomach long before it could have affected my brain.

Over the grave and suspended by a string from the roof was a living cock tied up by his legs, with his beak pointed downward. There is always a hole left in the side of the grave, through which, from time to



time, rum or mimbo is poured for the spirit's refreshment. With this there are also erected, within the house, or on the public road, or by the river's side, what are called "Devil-houses," of which Iron Bar's were good specimens. There were three structures of this kind constructed for him; one in the court attached to the house, one outside, and one on the beach adjoining the river. All were similar in their fixings: a scarlet canopy overspread the bamboo roof placed to shelter the table, and over this again was a trio of parasols, two crimson and one blue, of silk material, and white fringe to each; around the table were three large sofas; and at either end of the roof a pendent glass lamp. But the greatest display was on the table. In the centre was a large mirror, with a huge brass jug behind it. On either side, and covering every spare inch of the table, heaped over each other as high up as an equilibrium could be sustained, were monster jugs, decanters, tumblers, soup tureens, flower vases, bottles, and mugs of all shapes and sizes, china and glass articles, as much as would stock a large shop, all being damaged like the articles placed in the graves; perhaps on the supposition that their materiality should be destroyed, in order to allow the spirit to escape with them, for the ghostly company they were intended to serve; or perhaps, and more likely, to render them useless to any of the thieving fraternity, who in the practice of their science might stray in the road of these establishments. In another of the "Devil-

houses" a quantity of stewed meat, cooked plantain, and the pounded yam called foo-foo, were placed in calabashes, for the refreshment of himself, and those who were to be his fellow-travellers in the world of spirits. It shows clearly that they have a belief in a future existence, because these "Devil-houses" are always furnished as profusely as their means will allow, from the conviction (as I have mentioned when writing of Eyamba's palace), that of whatever quality his chop and comforts may have been to the defunct, when he was in this world, they will be similar in the next.

The houses erected for King Archibong, to entertain his devil in, were superior in their furniture to those of Iron Bar. That on the beach particularly contained a quantity of the productions of native art. The women always go in mourning by painting patterns of deep black on their foreheads, and the men by covering their bodies over with ashes. When the mourning time is over, a general smash is made of all the things in the Devil-house; the house itself is pulled down, and nothing but the "wreck of matter" left behind.

Together with the widows and slaves, who in former times were sacrificed at the death of a gentleman, there were added to the list a number of persons who were accused by the friends of the deceased as being accessory to his death, and obliged to undergo what is called the "chop-nut" test. They cannot believe, or at least they will not try to understand how natural causes create diseases; but attribute them

and subsequent death to "ifod," or witchcraft. Hence a plan is adopted to find out the perpetrator by fixing on a number of persons, and compelling them, as the alternative of the Egbo law of decapitation, to take a quantity of a poisonous nut, which is supposed to be innocuous if the accused be innocent, and to be fatal if he be guilty.

In the "Monthly Journal of Medicine" for March, 1855, there is a very interesting paper by Professor Christison on the poisoning properties of the test nut used in these cases, exemplified by experiments on his own body which had nearly proved fatal to him. He writes, "The ordeal-nut of Kalabar, called 'esere' by the natives, is a leguminous seed or bean, about the size of our garden bean, but thicker. The seed is, I apprehend, quite unknown in Europe. Of several eminent botanists, including Mr. R. Brown, to whom I have shown it, no one has been able to recognise it as a known species. In order to describe it, it has been cultivated at my request by my colleagues, Professor Syme and Dr. Balfour; and both have succeeded. It proves to be a perennial creeper, of the natural family *Leguminosæ*, and closely resembling a *Dolichos*. It has a large root-stock. The fresh plant has a heavy, strong smell after being some time cut. Though two years old, it has not yet flowered, and, like perennial creepers, it may require to form wood for several years longer before it bears flowers. I am therefore unable to describe it further or to name it.

“It has a hard brittle, ligneous tegument, rather rough, and of a brownish crimson or pale chocolate-brown colour; but many specimens are ash-grey, apparently from slight mould. The kernels, which weigh from 36 to 50 grains, are always in good preservation, and never injured in the slightest degree by insects — a rare occurrence with tropical seeds. They are white and hard, but may be chewed; and they have the taste of the eatable leguminous seeds, without bitterness, acrimony, aroma, or any other impression on the organs of taste; in fact, they are scarcely, if at all, distinguishable in taste from a haricot-bean. This is a formidable peculiarity, were it possible for the seed to become a familiar poison in Europe. So far as I know, the property in question is peculiar to it, for all other poisonous seeds of the *Leguminosæ*, with which we are sufficiently acquainted, are bitter. The blandness of its taste is indeed so unusual a character, that I was at first misled, and imagined that I had probably got a wrong and harmless seed; but I soon found that I was much mistaken.”

It does not grow in Kalabar, but is brought from the interior. I have seen it frequently on the beach washed down by the river. Some persons say that boiling water destroys the virus of the nut; hence, when a man is doomed to the poison, who is rich enough to buy over the interest of the Abiadiong, it is generally found to be very harmless. It causes convulsions, shooting pains in the head, a discharge of water from

the eyes and mouth, spasmodic twitchings of the whole muscular system, paralysis, and death. "Him do dis," said one of the Kalabar gentlemen, describing to me its effects; and in the words, as well as the action suited to them, there was a graphic power impossible for me to transfer to paper; "him do dis, soap come out of him mout, and all him body walk,"—a most perfect description of the frothing from the mouth, and the convulsive energy of the whole frame.

Civilisation advances step by step in all countries; and so, before the science of the "chop-nut" test was brought into operation in Old Kalabar, it was customary to perform sacrifices either by summary decapitation, or by strangulation effected with placing two horse-shoe-formed pieces of brass wire, one before and the other at the nape of the neck, twisting their ends together until the convict was choked. Now, however, a person styled an "Abiadiiong," or sorcerer, is always consulted in cases of sickness, death, or capital crime, to find out the individual who has earned a chop-nut by bringing a malady on his neighbour. He is reputed to derive his knowledge by education, but is not the bearer of a diploma, save one in his title. The "Abiadiiong" squats himself beside the sick man—repeats a number of incantations—tosses strings of beads he has in his hand, as an appeal to the spirit he invokes—rubs the beads alternately on his own body and that of the sick man—cogitates and decides. Sometimes the decision is settled by a little "copper palaver" beforehand; and as the

Egbo law gives to the possessor of its privileges an unlimited power in this respect, it may be imagined what scenes of blood the system creates and fosters.

“Abia-bok” is the title which in this country is given to a doctor of medicine; but the Kalabarese have little faith in drugs, and surgical operations are generally performed by the soft sex. These are confined to two species of cupping—the dry and the bloody—and to enema administering. The dry cupping is effected with a pyriform calabash upon the breasts of young women, whose bodies are chalked over at the same time, to force them to maturity. Razors are used as scarificators in moist cupping the side and temples of persons labouring under, what they suppose to be, congestive diseases. Ulcers are usually dressed by a piece of leaf passed round the diseased part, and fastened by a bamboo stem. A poison-bean, with a string through a hole bored in it, is frequently worn as a curative ju-ju round a sore leg,—only a modification of the *similia similibus curantur* system.

Perhaps it is to carry out a like idea that dogs are buried in the ground with their heads above the ground, where the poor creatures spend three or four days before nature conquers their power of life, for during this time they are allowed no food. These dogs are generally impounded so before the door of the sick man. When small-pox prevails in some places they dot their bodies over with spots of chalk, perhaps to make the demon of disease believe that they have previously been visited

with a skin affection, and that his ground is already occupied.

It may hence be inferred that in all even the extremest cases it is barely possible to induce them to leave a sick man under the care and treatment of an European doctor; for their ju-jus and fetishes hold by far the greatest amount of their confidence.

## CHAP. XI.

The "Afiás," or Ordeals of Old Kalabar. — Power and Influence of the Abiadióng Faculty.—Albiam or "Chop-Doctor" (the Native Oath.) — Mode of administering this Oath.—The Lady Artists in Old Kalabar. — Varieties of Hair-dressing. — Its similarity to the old English Practice. — The biennial Custom of "Judok."—Description of Nabikems, and of Operations to expel Evil Spirits. — Belief in the Transmigration of Souls.—Examples of African Fables.—Of the Unicorns. — Championship. — Of the Chameleon's Varieties of Colour and Uniformities of Habit. — Baron von Humboldt on the fantastic Creations of uncivilised Tribes. — Superstitions in burying Twins alive.—Account of the Presbyterian Mission in Old Kalabar. — Its Necessity here. — Of the Work it has effected. — The Rio del Rey. — The Kameróons Mountain. — The Bimbía District. — Kameróons Towns, and their clean Streets. — A Queen Street Sweeper. — Kameróons Egbo Peculiarities. — Kongolo Order. — Gambia, sorcerer. — Qua Poison. — Captivations of soft Sex. — Yearly Produce of the Locality. — Rivers in the Bight of Biafra below Kameróons.

AKIN to the chop-nut test, though not so fatal in their results, are the "Afiás" or ordeals, of which there are eight. The first is the "Afiá-aran" or palm-oil test, in which boiling palm oil is poured on the hand of any one suspected of thievery. If the hand be burned, it is taken as proof of guilt; if not, the suspected person is held to be innocent. As the Abiadióng is the manipulator in all these cases, it may be guessed from what causes the temperature of the oil may be varied by the operator; or permission given to hold the hand in an



inclined position; or the fingers squeezed, so that the oil runs off on its application.

The second is the "Afia Ayara." Ayara is the name of a kind of calabash. Water is poured into it, and pepper is bruised in the water. A feather is then taken, and the eye-lids rubbed over with the liquid. If the eyes are not made to scald, the accused is declared innocent; if otherwise, guilty. The third is the "Afia-edet-ibom." "Edet" is the Efik name for "tooth" and "ibom" means a black snake. This reptile's teeth are small crooked things, like a sparrow's claws, and are inserted below the eye-ball by the Abiadiiong. Should the accused eject the teeth by rolling his eye-ball in every direction, he is pronounced innocent; if not, he is deemed guilty. When the suspected culprit cannot emit the article of torture, it is dexterously pulled out by the operator with something like a leopard's tooth; and the supervening inflammation of the eye is an addition to the other punishment bestowed for the offence suspected. "Afia-ibnot-idiok" is the fourth. "Idiok" is the native name of a chimpanzee. The operator holds the head (or ibnot) of a chimpanzee over which he draws one line with chalk, another with charcoal. In case the operator favours the person under trial, the baboon's head can be made to drag him towards the white line, signifying acquittal, as the black line is fatal. The fifth is the "Afia-ntuen," performed with seeds of an acrid plant in the eye, as the third test is done. The sixth is styled "Afia-usan," "usan" signifying a plate or dish. The Abiadiiong appoints a man to

wave a plate or dish full or nearly full of water, a little charcoal or other substance put in with the water. If the liquid falls out with the process, "guilt" is decreed; if not, "innocence." The seventh, "Afa-utong," is one in which a needle is run through the lobe of the ear. Should it go through easily, the accused is pronounced innocent; if it break, he is as once condemned by the fact. The eighth is entitled the "Afa-itiat," or ordeal of the stone. The Rev. Mr. Anderson acquaints me that he saw this form used in a case where a Henshaw-town chief's house had been robbed, to test whether the burglary were committed by a Duketown or Henshaw-town thief. In order to ascertain this, a large round stone was brought in presence of the Egbo authorities of both places. A white line and a black one—with chalk and charcoal—were then drawn about a yard apart, for a distance of several feet in length. The stone was placed between the two lines, one of the chiefs (not an Abiadiong) pouring a few drops of vegetable juice on it, appealing to it to do justice, and apprising the assembly that if it rolled towards the black line a Duke-town man was the thief, if to the white line a Henshaw-town man would be proved to be the guilty party. A boy was then called forward, who placed his hands on the stone, after some of the vegetable juice had been dropped on them. Then he commenced operations, by seemingly pressing the stone perpendicularly downwards. A very obstinate stone at the first manipulation it proved to be; for it advanced, inclining to neither side, and the boy was getting into a profuse

perspiration, which probably may have been the cause of its leaning towards the black line and eventually becoming fixed on it. This of course was the occasion of plaudits for the Henshaw-town people, who were therefore freed from all imputation of theft. To the Abiadiong was left the discovery of the individual rogue.

It might be said that these plans of trial have a beautiful trait of simplicity about them, free from all the paraphernalia and technicalities of law courts in civilised countries, did we not know what an extensive power and influence the Abiadiong faculty possesses in their dispensation. Under the influence of a bribe, one of this class will fix upon any person obnoxious to a great man, as being the cause of his illness. By the same impelling power he can modify the action of the poison-nut by mixing an emetic properly with it—can wink at the boiling palm oil test—put the snake's teeth in a man's eyes so as they are sure to tumble out—insert a sharp needle through the lobe of any one's ear without suffering it to fracture, and make a chimpanzee turn its head to the white or the black line as he pleases.

“Chop-doctor” is the English title which the Kalabarese give to taking an oath. It is called “Albiam” in the Efik tongue, and is accomplished in the following manner. The “Albiam” is composed of a variety of substances it would require an eminent analytical chemist to discover, and one of which is too abominable to mention. The person about to be sworn is seated on.

the ground, and three bottles containing "Albiam" placed before him. The administrator of the oath (generally an "Abiadiong") delivers a harangue to those around, explaining his reason for giving it. When the speaker ceases, some of the Albiam is poured into a dish from each bottle, and the oath-taker dips his forefinger three times into the dish, putting the finger each dip into his mouth. The same movement of the fingers is again repeated a similar number of times; and this is followed by putting the fingers on the tops of the great toes. The dish is then held to his mouth, by the administrator of the oath; he tastes a little, and the remainder is thrown upon his head. "Albiam" is the Efik name for a disease similar to dropsy, with which all persons swearing falsely are supposed to be visited; causing sickness even to death. After the oath is taken, an address is delivered to the portion of the "Albiam" remaining in the bottles, charging it not to forget the oath, and enjoining it to visit the breaker with its vengeance, if he may hereafter falsify his abjuration.

The women in Old Kalabar are not only the surgical operators, but are also artists in other matters. Carving hieroglyphics on large dish calabashes and on the seats of stools; painting figures of poeticised animals on the walls of the houses; shaving the gentlemen's heads; weaving and dyeing mats,—all are done by them. The varieties in the *friseur* department it would be impossible for me to describe; without taking a series of portraits.

In my former "Narrative" I mentioned the analogy that exists between the Filatahs of our time and the Anglo-Saxons of a pre-Christian age.\* I may institute a like comparison here. The very fashions which existed in England in 1643, as described by Dr. Hall, in a little work "On the Loathsomeness of Long Hair," may be seen any day in the present year amongst the Kalabarese: — "How strangely do men cut their hairs — some all before; some all behind; *some long round about their crownes*, being cut *short* like cootes or popish priests and friars; *some have long locks at their ears, as if they had four eares or were prickeared*, — *some have a little long lock onely before, hanging down to their noses like the tail of a weasell*; every man being made a foole at the barber's pleasure, or making a foole of the barber for having to make him such a foole."

The words printed in italics, describe the prevailing fashion of hair-dressing amongst the Kalabarese, save that instead of single locks, each pendant lappet is composed of three or four locks gathered in a plait.

All my efforts to obtain a song of the Efik tongue were unsuccessful. I heard of a translation of a war song of Kalabar, which was taken "through an interpreter from the lips of one of the settlers in Fernando Po." When paddling their canoes they chant sometimes a lively air, whose chorus chimes in with remarkable accuracy to the strokes of their paddles.

\* Vide Narrative of Niger, Tshadda, and Binuë Exploration, p. 75.

A strange biennial custom exists at Old Kalabar, that of purifying the town from all devils and evil spirits, who, in the opinion of the authorities, have during the past two years taken possession of it. They call it "Judok," and a similar ceremony is performed annually on the Gold Coast. At a certain time a number of figures, styled "Nabikems," are fabricated and fixed indiscriminately through the town. These figures are made of sticks and bamboo matting; being moulded into different shapes. Some of them have an attempt at body, with legs and arms, to resemble the human form. Imaginative artists sometimes furnish these specimens with an old straw hat, a pipe in the mouth, and a stick fastened to the end of the arm, as if they were prepared to undertake a journey. Many of the figures are supposed to resemble four-footed animals; some crocodiles; and others birds. The evil spirits are expected, after three weeks or a month, to take up their residence in them, showing, to my thinking, a very great want of taste on the part of the spirits vagrant. When the night arrives for their general expulsion, one would imagine the whole town had gone mad. The population feast, and drink, and sally out in parties, beating at empty corners as if they contained tangible objects to hunt, and hallooing with all their might and main. Shots are fired; the "Nabikems" are torn up with violence, set in flames, and thrown into the river. The orgies continue until daylight dawns; and the town is considered clear of evil influence for two years more.

Strange inconsistency with their ideas of the provision necessary to be made for the dead in their passage to another world!

But heathenism is full of these follies: and few of them can be more absurd than their belief, that, if a man be killed by a crocodile or a leopard, he is supposed to have been the victim of some malicious enemy, who, at his death, turned himself into either of these animals to have vengeance on the person that has just been devoured. Any man who kills a monkey or a crocodile, is supposed to be turned into one or the other when he dies himself. On my endeavouring to convince two very intelligent traders of Duketown of the "fool palaver" of such nonsense, and of my belief that men had no more power to turn themselves into beasts than they had to make rain fall or grass grow, I was met with the usual cool reply to all a European's arguments for civilisation, "It be Kalabar 'fash'-(ion), and white man no saby any ting about it."

The same answer, "white man no saby any ting about it," was given to me by our Yoruba interpreter when up the Tshadda, on my doubting two "supposed facts," which he thus recorded to me. The first was, that the Houssa people believe in the existence of the Unicorn, but his precise location cannot be pointed out. He is accredited to be the champion of the unprotected goat and sheep from the ravages of the leopard, — that, when he meets a leopard, he enters amicably into conversation with him — descants

upon his cruelty, and winds up, like a true member of the Humane Society, by depriving the leopard of his claws. On my asking him if a clawless leopard had ever been discovered, or if the unicorn had proposed any other species of food as a substitute—observing me smile with incredulity—he gave an answer similar to that of the Kalabar men, in the instance just mentioned.

The second was to the effect that a chameleon always went along at the same pace, not quickening his steps for rain or wind, but going steadily in all phases of temperature, changing his hue in compliment to everything he met, turning black for black man, white for white, blue, red, or green, for any cloth, or flowers, or vegetables that fall in his way, and the only reason he gives for it when questioned on the subject is, that his father did the same before him, and he does not think it right to deviate from the old path, “Because same ting do for my father, same ting do for me.”

The “revelling in strange and fantastic creations,” which Baron von Humboldt writes of as existing in nations least advanced in civilisation, comes before a man’s sight and within his hearing every day on a visit to an African river. “Instead of examining, men are led to conjecture, dogmatise, and interpret supposed facts, that have never been observed.”\* This represents the most potent species of arguments used by Africans against our civilisation. It was even resorted to in

\* *Cosmos*, vol. i. p. 16.



Old Kalabar, when it was tried to suppress the brutal system of burying twins alive and banishing the mother from all society, as well as the equally cruel one of burying a child, though living, with its mother, if she died during the period of suckling. But many of these superstitious brutalities and wickedness have received a check from the labours of a body of Scotch Missionaries in this part of Africa.

In the year 1846 the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent out missionaries to Old Kalabar, deeming it a most important field for Christian enterprise. They established three stations, one at Duketown, the second at Oldtown, which carried its operations into the Qua Country, and a third at Creektown. The Europeans consisted of four ordained clergymen and their wives, with several catechists and assistants; and, during the twelve years they have been labouring here, there have occurred but three deaths amongst them.

About two hundred children are in daily attendance at the Mission Schools; and between twenty and thirty of the native youths have been baptized. There is a printing press attached to the mission, which was worked by the Rev. Samuel Edgerley till his death in May, 1857, and employed in furnishing school books and translations of the Holy Scriptures, in the native language, previously unwritten. The Rev. Mr. Goldie has penetrated to Ekrikok or Ikunitu up the Cross River; and new stations are contemplated at Ekri-Tobaka on the Aboh side of the main river below Parrot

Island, at Guinea Company and Uwet up the Kalabar Stream, and at the Duketown plantations in the Qua Country, thus spreading their operations over a tract of land that commands the main entrance to the very heart of the continent.

At Duketown near the Mission residence, are a chapel and a school, made of wood, with bamboo roof; a galvanised iron church is at Creektown, with two schools; and at all the stations they are labouring energetically, each in his vocation, to propagate the doctrines of the Christian religion. All the gentlemen address the people on scriptural subjects in their native tongue, the Efik; whilst the Rev. Mr. Anderson\*, besides his hard work amongst the Duketown people, frequently performs service for the crews of European ships in the river.

And, surely, there is no region of Western Africa where the doctrines of Him, who came on earth to preach "peace and good will amongst men," have more need to be engrafted, than where so many native diabolical doings still prevail.

From East Head, the voyager sails by more of the mud and mangrove swamp past the Rio del Rey, which flows from the Rumby country, and of which nothing is known save apparently extravagant stories recorded by ancient geographers. The Kalabar native traders

\* To him I am indebted for much of my information about the peculiarities of Efik superstitions.

have some acquaintance with the natives of the countries on the banks of this river, and they call them Arumbee. By the Kamerons residents they are styled Duwalla, D'Ambedi, and Collambedi. Many of the Kamerons people, whose native name is Duwalla, trace their origin to some part of the country here. This river has never been explored, and there is no traffic opened in it as yet; but it is said that the Dutch had a factory on a small island at the mouth, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Before arriving at Bimbia, we come within sight of the Amboises Islands, and, if the day be clear, of the lofty peak of Kamerons mountain.

In the days of Hanno\*, who voyaged this way from Carthage 2500 years ago, an exploration along the western coast of Africa was made, but the navigators turned back on seeing fire issue from the crater of the Kamerons mountain. As everything in that epoch was looked upon in the light of heathen mythology, the mountain was named the "Chariot of the Gods."

Kamerons peak, which, in the native Duwalla language, is called Mongo-ma-Loboh, rises to a height of 13,760 feet above the level of the sea, and is therefore 1,590 feet higher than Teneriffe. The lower peak, entitled the Mongo-ma-Etendeh, is 5820 feet high. But the inhabitants at the base of the mountain on the

\* Hanno the Carthaginian general, and likewise a historian, was spoken of by Pliny, as the first lion tamer: "Primus hominum leonem manu tractare ausus, et ostendere mansuefactum Hanno e clarissimis Pœnorum traditur."

Kameroons side, the Mungo tribe, who trade with the Bakouli race higher up, report that the latter will permit no strangers to pass through their country. Hence we may infer that the peak is inaccessible till more civilised notions are propagated and take root amongst these people.

The appearance of the country about it stretching up the mountain side is very attractive, from the livery of redundant vegetation which it wears, and its brown-roofed houses contrasted with the white aspect of the Baptist Mission residence. The inhabitants of this district are of the Isebutribu tribe. Passing Nichols Island\*, on which are two trading establishments, belonging to merchants in Fernando Po, and rounding Cape Kameroons, we find ourselves ascending the Kameroons river, leaving a group of ugly breakers, called the Dogs' Heads, on the right-hand side. Up the river, about sixteen miles, the trading vessels are stationed, some of which are permanent hulks with residents on board. Josses-town, King Bell's-town, King Aqua's-town, Dido's-towns — one governed by Charley and another by Ned of that ilk, — with Long Tom's-town, are the trading locations on the left side of the river. At King-Bell's town there is a Baptist Mission station, where capital bricks have been manufactured. On the opposite side of the river, higher up,

\* Called so after my respected friend, General Sir Edward Nichols, K.C.B., who was governor at Fernando Po after Captain Owen had formed the British settlement there in 1827.

is Hicory-town\*, presided over by a chief named Preese Bell. The head men of all these places are living in a continual state of petty jealousy one with another, on account of trading matters.

Nothing appeared to me so illustrative of the vast difference between the Kalabar and Kameroons people, as the remarkable cleanliness of the streets in the latter place. They are all perfectly level, and are swept after sundown every evening, to a condition equal to the neatest Dutch town you fall in with when travelling up the Rhine. The houses have their floors raised from the ground by mud, which becomes hard as brick; but no plaster is used for the walls, which are composed of sliced bamboo stems closely wefted together. They are all quadrilateral in shape; and, except those belonging to the chiefs, have no separate rooms, chimneys, or windows.

On my first visit to Kameroons — being then a novice in my experience of African peculiarities, — it struck me as very singular to see a Queen sweeping the streets. The royal broomer, I was informed, was the head of three Queens of King Aqua, monarch of Aqua territory. She was a woman of not more than twenty years of age, the front of her body tattooed with deep black marks, in the forms of birds, circles, angles, and parallel lines. Her only clothing consisted of a silk hip swathe, but her hair was plaited to above the summit of the crown

\* Derived from the title "Niggery-town," which was given to it in the flourishing days of the slave-trade.

into a helmet shape, and set off on either side of the top by a circular cake of dyed earth. At each temple was a like-shaped piece of hard mud, and all of these four earthy ornaments had four holes bored through. From temple to temple, and from forehead to crown, extended a string of large mock coral beads; around her neck was a broad tape-like string of small beads, whilst a brass ring on each toe of the left foot completed her costume.

The Kameroons people have an Egboship like the Kalabarese, somewhat similar in its tomfooleries, but not in its atrocities. Palm trees and pepper are their chief ju-jus, and their mode of swearing is by chewing a piece of Euphorbia leaf before the process of abjuration.

In cases of serious illness, or dearth of rain, a ju-ju festivity is made; when a number of persons go into the woods, every man twisting each of three palm leaves into a knot. Amongst the worshippers is a supposed spirituality, fabricated by a series of hoops, surrounded with grass cloth; the tenant inside of which has the power of lowering or elevating the structure by an elastic contrivance, known only to themselves. Kongolo is the Duwalla name for the Egbo order in Kameroons. A person, entitled Gambia, represents the Abiading character of Old Kalabar; and the poison which is administered as a capital punishment is the root of a tree, and is called Qua.

The country interior to Kameroons is very extensively cultivated; and there must be a large population here.

The women are all abominably tattooed; some of them wear rings of bead-rings in their noses; and are, taken altogether, the most disgusting specimens of negro humanity I have ever met with.

The entrance to Balimba river is by a surfy bar, across which there is no passage for a vessel drawing more than four feet of water. The country, for a distance of twelve miles up the Balimba river, has a far more pleasing aspect than at the mouths of any rivers in this Bight. There are no mangrove swamps,—the left bank, along which stretch rows of hamlets are from four to six feet above the water's surface—redundant in cocoa nut, plantain, and cocco trees. On the opposite banks are plantations where the slaves reside, and which they cultivate. Interior to their country is the Woorree race, who speak the same language as the Balimbas, and are supposed of the same descent, being entirely different from the Duwallas of Kamerons and Isebus of Bimbia. The Balimba has several mouths, one of which is called the Boreah.

Touching the trade or other peculiarities of the rivers beyond Kamerons in the Bight of Biafra, very little is as yet known. In the Boreah, some ivory traffic is carried on at Corisco: it is chiefly conducted by the Americans; at Gaboon, by the English and French. Gaboon is a French settlement, and owns a Governor there, who is also Commandant of the Naval establishment. On the south-west coast, at Angola, Ambrig, and Saint Paul de Loando, British merchants have

permanent factories, and this is the healthiest part of the West Coast. Unfortunately there is no postal communication to this place, as it is intermediate between Fernando Po (the last port whereat the Royal West African Mail Company's steamers touch) and the Cape of Good Hope. Casual visits of men-of-war are the only media of communication between these stations and Fernando Po.



## CHAP. XII.

**Fernando Po.** — Its geographical Position and early History. — Transference of Ownership from Portugal to Spain. — First Spanish Colonisation. — Attempt at Settlement by the English. — Why it failed. — Replanting of the Spanish Flag in 1843. — First Appointment of a Consul here for the Bights. — The British Government making no Agreement with Spain for the Cession of the Ground now called Clarence. — Census of Clarence in 1856. — Description of the Town. — Monument to Governor Beecroft. — His successor, Governor Lynslager. — Clarence Grave-yard. — Lander's Grave. — Fernando Po Peak. — George's or North-west Bay. — Its Position. — Charles's Folly. — Point Kelly. — Goat and Kid Island. — Assemba and Moloko Territories. — Lander's Opinion of the sanitary Superiority of George's Bay to Clarence Cove.

THE island of Fernando Po is situated between Lat. 3° and 4° N., Long. 8° and 9° E., and is about 100 miles in circumference. From its northern extremity of Point Bullen to Melville Bay, on the south side of the island, is a distance of about thirty-five miles; and from its easternmost point, Cape Horatio, (not more than twenty miles from Point Bullen,) to the land of Bimbia on the African continent, there are only twenty-five miles of sea intervening.

Fernando Po was discovered in 1471 by a Portuguese navigator, who entitled it the "Illha Formosa" (or beautiful island), but it has since been called after the explorer who found it out, and whose name was Fernando Poo. Dr. Hensman has styled it "the Madeira" of the Gulf of Guinea.

It has been stated by some authorities; that the possession of this island was transferred from Portugal to Spain in exchange for the island of Trinidad, on the coast of Brazil. This, however, does not appear in the "General History of Spain," by El Padre Mariana, who gives an account of Fernando Po and Anno Bon having been ceded to Spain, in a treaty ratified at Madrid, the 24th of March, 1778; and states that they had been privately given over on the 1st of October, in the previous year, by Joseph II., the then reigning monarch of Portugal. These ratifications were entered into in consequence of a difference between both powers, about the famous line of Alexander VI., relating to their possessions in South America. It is confessed in a despatch by the Count de Floridablanca (at that time premier to his Catholic Majesty, Carlos III.), that the necessity existing for the cultivation of the Spanish colonies in America by negro slaves made the possession of these islands desirable; as it would enable them to procure negroes at first cost, instead of paying an usurious sum to the French and Portuguese slave traders for their supply. In a little more than a month after the treaty was ratified, a Spanish expedition set out from Monte Video for Fernando Po, in the frigate of war "Catalina," and two other smaller vessels, containing 150 men as soldiers, operatives, and agriculturists. These were commanded by Count de Arjelejos, to whom Don Joaquim Primo de Rivera, a colonel of artillery, was second.

They did not arrive in Fernando Po till towards the

end of October in the same year, thus occupying six months in the passage. Hence they proceeded to Anno Bon, occupying two months in their voyage thither, during which time Count Arjelejos died. At Anno Bon they were resisted and repelled by the Portuguese residents, who — having dwelt on the island for seventy years, constructed a fort, and organised an artillery and an establishment of seventy priests—could not understand why they should be disturbed in their abiding-place, which they considered the *bonâ fide* property of their crown.

By the orders of the government of Madrid—by a mutiny caused through a sergeant named Geroninio Martin—and worse still, by the fatality of the climate, which in less than three years had carried away 128 out of 150 men, Primo de Rivera returned with his 22 survivors to Monte Video. From thence he sailed to Buenos Ayres, where he handed over his insurrectionists to the Vice-Roy of that place, and proceeded himself to Spain. Thus ended the first expedition previous to the British colonisation in 1827; and from the abandonment of this island in 1781 till Lerena's expedition in 1843—a period of sixty-two years—the Spanish government seems to have blotted out Fernando Po from the map.

The frequent visits of English men-of-war and merchant ships to Fernando Po to procure water, yams, and live stock—the last two of which on the first visits of ships could be obtained for pieces of iron hoops—induced our government to establish a colony in this

island, which was undertaken in 1827. A motive of humanity was the main inspiring idea of this settlement. It was considered that Fernando Po being only from twenty-five to a hundred miles from the mouths of the principal rivers in the Bight of Biafra—then the great slave-trading mart—a colony here would form an eligible ground for a mixed Commission Court, and so diminish the horrors of the dreary passage to Sierra Leone,—that the climate appeared salubrious,—and that thus, after a time, it might be the key for opening civilisation and Christianity to Central Africa, through all the streams whose embouchures its position commanded.

The settlement was accordingly made in 1827 by Captain Owen, of His Majesty's ship "Eden," who assumed the post of superintendent of the colony, whilst the chief civil appointment was given to Captain Harrison. The ground measured out was entitled Clarence-town; a formality of purchasing it was gone through with two native chiefs; and the work of clearing it and building commenced.

Here began also one grand error in our colonisation, the employment of Europeans to dig and delve under a tropical sun, amidst the rifest germs of disease. Hundreds of valuable lives were lost in carrying out the ideas of a military establishment in Clarence,—by raising mounds whereon to place guns—a most mistaken system of cultivating any soil or humanising any class of people. The introduction of legitimate commerce up any one river in the Bight of Biafra has done something to neutralise the slave traffic. How have all

the lives and money wasted in Fernando Po tended to assist this object?

From 1827 to 1833 the colony of Clarence—the only town in the island save the hamlets of the aborigines—remained in the hands of the British government, when Admiral Warren came out in H.M.S. “Iris,” and disclaimed, on the part of the government, their future intention to keep it up. I believe a great deal of the bad character it bore up to this time is attributable to the misrepresentations about it that were sent home by those interested in retaining the mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, as well as the fact that black men were not employed in the primary clearing of the ground, nor proper sanitary measures adopted to preserve the health of the white men so engaged. Europeans should never be employed as day labourers in clearing land over any part of Africa. I lay that down as an indisputable axiom,—because a tropical sun is too intense for the physical constitution of a white man to endure through the course of a day’s out-door work,—because the prostration ensuing on this hard labour is almost certain to be followed by an attempt to recover energy through indulgence in stimulating drinks,—because these combined are the main predisposing germs of African fever,—and because such effects are all perfectly avoidable, as any quantity of black men may be had on the Kru coast to do the work.

After the British government had given up their houses and other establishments in Clarence, they passed into the hands of Dillon, Tenant, and Company, on

whose bankruptcy, in 1837, the West African Company became possessors of the houses and stores till 1841, when they were purchased by the Baptist Missionary Society for 1500*l*.

In 1843, an expedition was sent out from Madrid under the direction of Don Jon Joseph de Lerena, gentleman of the military order of St. Hermenegildo, and commander of the Spanish brig of war "Nervion," commissioned by the regent of Spain to the islands of Fernando Po and Anno Bon, with full powers to replant the Spanish flag there, and assume the proprietorship of these islands for his kingdom. During this expedition the island of Corisco was made over to Spain by the head chiefs of the place; the Spanish flag was hoisted in Anno Bon as well as Fernando Po, and Mr. Beecroft was made governor of the latter place, as well as of its dependencies, Anno Bon and Corisco.

The authorities at Madrid were so well pleased with the result of this expedition, that in the end of 1845 they fitted out another, which arrived at the island in a war corvette entitled the "Venus," under the command of Captain Don Nicholas de Manterola. It was accompanied by Chevalier Guillemard de Aragon, then Spanish Consul-General at Sierra Leone. There were only two priests and a few soldiers left behind out of this company. The latter soon died; one of the former remained only eighty days, and returned to Madrid, *via* Liverpool, in a palm-oil ship (the "Magistrate"), the other quitted soon after on board a French man-of-war.

Meanwhile the British government deeming the in-

terests of British commerce in the Bights of Benin and Biafra as sufficiently important to require the appointment of a consul, fixed upon Governor Beecroft for the post. He received Her Majesty's commission in 1849. The situation of Spanish Governor did not interfere with this, for never during his occupation of it had this title been more than a *nominis umbra*.

At the time of the arrival of a body of Spanish missionaries, under the superintendence of Signor Don Miguel Martinez y Sanz on the 14th of May, 1856, there was not a single Spaniard residing over the whole length and breadth of Fernando Po.

The British government in their original settlement of 1827 made no agreement with Spain about their intention to establish a colony here; and it is said by Spanish authorities that their government protested strongly against the occupation of it by the English. The ground marked out for the town of Clarence was purchased for a trifle from two aboriginal chiefs; and hence British residents can still be permitted to remain solely on the toleration of the Spanish crown.

I learn from Lieut. Holman's "Travels\*," that on Christmas-day, in the last-mentioned year, formal possession of the ground for a settlement was taken in the name and on behalf of His Majesty George the Fourth, in the presence and by permission of two chiefs, named Chameleon and Cut-Throat—titles given to them by Captain Owen's company.

\* Vol. i. p. 336.

Since that time the vessels of H. B. M.'s squadron have left many slaves in Clarence rescued from slave ships taken in the Bight; and on the 31st of March, 1856, the census of the population was as follows:—

ABSTRACT OF CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF CLARENCE,  
FERNANDO Po, TAKEN 31ST MARCH, 1856.

	Natives of	Male.	Female.	Total.
British residents . . . . .	England . . . . .	6	1	} 105
	Sierra Leone . . . . .	47	21	
	British Akra . . . . .	20	1	
	Capo Coast . . . . .	6	3	
	Lagos . . . . .	12	28	
Liberated by British men- of-war from slavers cap- tured in the Bights, &c. under the impression that they are becoming British subjects . . . . .	Aboh . . . . .	36	29	} 238
	Old Kalabar . . . . .	22	24	
	Kameroons . . . . .	14	15	
	Habenda . . . . .	6	13	
	Congo . . . . .	16	18	
	Popoh . . . . .	1	1	
Orphans of old settlers, the majority of whom came with Capt. Owens in 1827 . . . . .	Akw . . . . .	2	1	} 43
	Clarence, Fdo. Po . . . . .	22	21	
Offspring of living parents who believe themselves to be British subjects . . . . .	Ditto ditto . . . . .	89	91	} 180
	Bonny . . . . .	14	5	
Non-British and non- liberated residents, working as artisans and servants . . . . .	Portuguese from Princes and Saint Thomas Islands . . . . .	33	8	} 416
	Dutch Akra . . . . .	7	1	
	Bimbia . . . . .	55	13	
	Old Kalabar . . . . .	4	21	
	Kameroons . . . . .	44	13	
	Aborigines . . . . .	27	9	
	Benin . . . . .	1	1	
	America . . . . .	0	1	
	Jamaica . . . . .	1	0	
	Krumen . . . . .	158	0	
Total . . . . .				982



The town of Clarence is situated at the northern end of the island, behind a small cove between Point William and Point Adelaide. These are in Maidstone Bay, whose extreme boundaries are Point William and Cape Bullen.

The volcanic nature of the island is evident on the road from the beach to the town; for basaltic scoriæ are imbedded in the soft clay through which it is cut. These are of such a size that they could have been placed there by no mechanical power available in this part of the world, and are essentially different in their geological formation from the soil in which they are impacted.

The few houses constituting the foreground, visible from the sea, are the best in the town; for the remaining habitations behind are only a superior kind of African cabins. The negro residents, save the Krumen, nearly all dress in European style, and are very courteous in their bearing when met in the streets.

Near the end of Point William is a plaster monument, fabricated by one of the *terra cotta* artists of the New Road, London, which has been erected "by their shipmates and relatives," to the memory of the officers and men who died whilst serving in the expedition to the River Niger, under the British Government in 1841 and 1842. Underneath a huge red-wood-tree about 400 yards from the Niger monument, the late Governor Beecroft is buried. A handsome stone pillar has been lately placed over his grave, and a front slab contains the following inscription:— "Beneath this monument

are deposited the remains of John Beecroft, Spanish Governor of the Island of Fernando Po, and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra, who died June 10th, 1854, aged 64 years. This memorial was erected by the inhabitants of the colony of Clarence, as a testimonial of their gratitude for his many years' fatherly attention to their comforts and interests, as well as for his unwearied exertions to promote the happiness and welfare of the whole African race."

He died in June, 1854, just as he was about to start in command of the Niger Expedition of that year; and to him succeeded, as representative of Her Catholic Majesty Isabella the Second of Spain, Governor Lynslager. This gentleman is a descendant of Maurice Lynslager the celebrated merchant of Amsterdam, of whom Van Tromp the valiant Dutch Admiral said, that he "was a brave citizen and a good Christian."

Governor Lynslager is known for the best and noblest qualities which adorn a man. Wherever the island is spoken of, his name and Fernando Po are as inseparable as the Siamese twins.

The grave-yard of Clarence is situated at the end of Waterfall-street, where the murmur of a slight cascade hard by gives a melancholy tone to one's feelings when entering; more particularly, because in it some of the heroes of African exploration are buried,—French and English officers of men-of-war,—Dr. Vogel the botanist, and Captain Bird Allen, R. N., who were up the Niger in the government expedition of 1841-42,

together with Richard Lander. Though *his* grave be unmarked from the mass of mortality by which it is surrounded, yet he has built up for himself a *monumentum ære perennius*, by his great discovery of the mouth of the river Niger. The brushwood is remarkably dense, as if vegetation assumed new life from the many dead bodies underneath.

The peak of Fernando Po is more than ten thousand feet above the level of the sea; and I believe the mountain to possess all the varieties of temperature, as well as of vegetation, to be met with from the equator to the poles. The palm-tree, the banana, the plantain, orange, and all kinds of intertropical fruits, flourish on the low ground. Higher up, satin-wood, lignum-vitæ, and mahogany grow, with cinnamon and tamarinds; whilst, ascending farther, cloves are found, and, near the summit, myrtles and lichens. The upper part of the mountain is said to abound in wild peacocks. The late Governor Beecroft made an ascent of it in 1840, and so intense was the cold at the peak, that two of his negro servants died on their return to Clarence. The thermometer was down to 40° Fahr. From this it may be presumed that an hospital could be erected here, in a position to be above all the endemic influences of the country, as the fever miasma is never known to rise higher than 2000 feet above the level of its germination.

North-West Bay is situated about thirty-five miles from Clarence in the direction which its name indicates. It has also been called George's Bay, in honour of

George IV. At the time of its being visited by Captain Kelly, in 1822, the king of the Moloko country was nominated King George. The Assemba chief bears the name of Bioko, to whom the Moloko monarch is subordinate, and Bioko's town is the principal of three villages, of which the Assemba kingdom is composed.

Between Clarence and North-West Bay, there is nothing to attract one's attention, save a few rocks, some distance at sea, called the Boteler Rocks, and two small islets, styled Goat and Kid Islands, which are opposite Moloko Point (Point Kelly), at the eastern end of the bay. From this to its western extremity, called in the native language, Jumpana Point, is a distance of six miles, within which is the very safe and secure bay, comparatively protected from the tornadoes which beset the other side of the island. Farther on is a point called Balibi, to which the title of Charles's Folly has been given in our English charts; and, beyond this, is Bakaika Point, coming between it and Cape Badgely, the westernmost extremity of the island. The whole of North-West Bay is included between Point Kelly and Charles's Folly.

The landscape visible from the roadstead here presents a greater variety than that seen from Clarence Cove. The North-West Peak rises at least 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and from this to Bassapoo, which is about twelve miles north and west of Clarence, there are slopes, and hills, and valleys,—very few level plains,—but all clothed down to the water's edge with vegetation of many centuries' growth.

I should easily coincide with Lander's\* opinion to the effect that George's Bay is far healthier than Clarence, were there more cleared land between it and Cape Badgely. And if a town were erected on that lofty piece of ground, tilled by the natives for yam plantations, I feel confident it would be as healthy as any position in a tropical island, from the facts that it is above the fever level, as well as exposed to the westerly sea-breeze. Such of the soil as I saw near the shore is dark and loamy, not red, like that which borders the cliffs in the neighbourhood of Clarence. There are also streams here of equally pure water as those of the latter place.

\* Travels of Richard Lander into the Interior of Africa, p. 737.

## CHAP. XIII.

The Aborigines of Fernando Po. — Reasons for rejecting their Name of "Boobees." — Most certain mode of ascertaining the Ethnological Distinctions of African Races. — Supposition of the Fernandians' affinity to the Okoos. — Dr. Thomson's name of Adeeyahs for them. — Lieutenant-Colonel Smith's Error in identifying them with the Guanches of Teneriffe. — Items of Dissimilarity. — Notice of Berthelot's "Mémoire sur les Guanches." — Estimated Population of the Island. — Peculiarities in Appearance of the Fernandians. — Their modes of decorating their Bodies. — The "Tola" Pomatum. — Style of Dress. — Attractiveness of soft Sex. — Arms of Warfare. — Beauty of Language. — Varieties of Currency. — Stone Hatchets. — Laziness of the Fernandians. — Review of Fernandian Warriors. — Visits to the Towns of Issapoo, Banapa, and Bassili. — Mode of manufacturing Palm Oil. — Peculiarities of the Town-gates. — The "Reossa." — Attributes of the Skin of a "Roukarouko" (Serpent). — King Bowawodi's Palace. — Ceremonial of Coronation. — Causes of Deficiency in Galantry to a Fernandian Queen. — The Solemnity of Marriages. — Picturesque Mode of Fishing amongst the Race. — Their own Account of their Origin. — Burial of the Dead. — Whale. — Calving Season at Fernando Po.

THE Fernandians, who are the aborigines of the island, do not seem to have an affinity with any of the races of the continent.\* The name "Boobees" has

\* Dr. Baikie is nevertheless of opinion that the Fernandians are one of the purest negro races to be met with on the coast. He traces an analogy to the Corisco and Kabenda tribes of the south coast from similitude of language, but I cannot avoid deeming this theory a foregone conclusion.

been given to them by Captain Kelly when he landed at North-West or George's Bay, in 1822, at the place now styled in the charts Kelly's Point. "A boobee," in their language, signifies "a man."

They are called "Adeeyahs" by Dr. Thomson, who was one of the medical officers of the Niger expedition of 1841; but, as this word in their language signifies a "town," I deem a generic name from their native place to be more correct than either appellation.

The most certain mode of ascertaining the ethnological distinction of African races is the peculiar shape of the cicatrix with which nearly all are marked in the face. A few of the Fernandians are not marked at all. Some have transverse incisions across the forehead, cheeks, nose, and chin; giving to the countenance a very horrible appearance. Others have semicircular cicatrices from the forehead to the cheeks, with the convex side diverging towards the ear. And this last is supposed by some persons to afford the only clue to their origin that has yet been ascertained. The Okoo negroes, who are natives of a district in the Yoruba country, interior to Lagos, bear exactly similar marks. Hence it is not at all improbable that these Fernandians may be of a mixed race between the Okoos and the Portuguese, who visited Lagos some hundred of years ago, and who were the original discoverers as well as the first colonisers of Fernando Po.

Lieut.-Colonel Smith, in his "Natural History of the Human Species," has given portraits of a Fernando Po Chief, who bore the English name of Cut-Throat, and of

a Fernandian woman, neither of whom bear the slightest resemblance in colour, or form of feature, to any I have ever seen in the island. These faces are more Caucasian in outline, more blanched, and possess an expression of greater suavity and of higher intelligence than I have at any time observed in a specimen of the hundreds of countenances that have been before me. He states them to have been from drawings of the late Capt. Filimore, R.N., and that they are of the Guanche race.

An interesting description of the latter race, who constituted the original inhabitants of Teneriffe, is published in the "Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique," at Paris (1841), in a paper by Sabin Berthelot, entitled "Mémoire sur les Guanches," and in which he makes extracts from a previous account contained in a very curious document from the Magliabecchi Library at Florence, published in 1827 by M. I. Ciampi.

The manners, customs, and superstitions of these people may be similar, yet not more so than in the analogy which we find in all uncivilised and unchristianised tribes. But the tall stature, the tawny colour, the indubitable evidence of their being descendants of a white race, whether Phenicians or Carthaginians, from their hair being long and not crisp, as well as the rare beauty of their women, can find no parallel in the inhabitants of the present day at Fernando Po. The Guanches of Teneriffe may, no doubt, have greased their bodies with goat's fat, stained with vegetable dyes; fed on corn unknaded; and used the same



weapons of warfare, a long javelin with a barbed spear at the end, as the Fernandians of our time do. The description given of the former by Don Antonio de Vianã, in his work "Antiquedas de las islas Afortunados," published in Seville, in 1604, paints them in the following characteristics: — "Les Guanches étaient des gens vertueux, honnêtes et braves; en eux se trouvaient réunies les plus belles qualités: magnanimité, adresse et courage, formes athlétiques, force d'âme et de corps, fierté de caractère, noblesse de maintien, physionomie riante, esprit intelligent et dévouement patriotique," — qualities not one of which is possessed by our Fernandians, and which I fancy to be very redolent of poetic imagining, when applied to the aborigines of any African islands.

I have heard the population of the island estimated at 30,000; but, judging from the towns I have visited, I cannot conceive that this is correct, more especially as I am not aware of the existence of any mode which can be depended on of obtaining a correct census here more than in another part of Africa.

The bodies of the Fernandians, in a natural condition, are as black as those of other negroes, the only essential difference observable in their *physique* being that, in many, the hair falls down to the nape of the neck in spiral curls. These are generally smeared over with a pomatum made of a red-dyeing herb, which they call "Tola," and which is mixed with palm oil and ashes in its fabrication. Occasionally ochre earth is added to it, which gives the curls the appearance of having lumps of

red lead attached to the ends. Some of the higher class paint their faces with red, yellow, white, and brown dyes alternately in patches under the eyes and on the cheeks. Many of the men have long beards, pendent from their chins; others have mustachios; but whiskers are seen on very few. Their dress — of those who do dress — consists of a hat, often only a mere plate, but sometimes approaching the conical, which is fastened to the head by a skewer passed through the hair from one side to the other. In some cases a bunch of parrot's red feathers is stuck in the hat, which is frequently covered by a monkey's skin. Their only trowsers consist of girdles, five or six inches in width, worn on their legs and arms, and called "Ipas." These are made from small pieces of the *Achatina* shell strung together, or from white beads. Circlets of another shell, which conchologists entitle the *Architectonica*, and each of which is about the size of half a crown, are worn across the forehead; a monkey-skin hangs down in front of the body; and that is all, save with the gentlemen and chiefs.

This class is further adorned with green leaves at different points of the body; pouches of a semilunar shape, containing goats' fat, suspended from the shoulders over the waist, and enormous strings of beads.

Large strings of beads are the predominant ornament with the females, who are as attractive as incisions in the face, an indescribable amount of *Tola pomatum*, and an inexpressible odour can make them.

Their arms of warfare are represented only by a spear with many indentations in it, that would give a very disagreeable wound. Its blade is from six to eight inches long; generally quadrilateral, and the handle is from six to eight feet. But their intestine wars — the only broils they can indulge in — are very rare; and when they do occur, neither age nor sex is spared.

Of the Fernandian language, Mr. Clarke, a Baptist missionary, who has compiled a vocabulary, declares there are five different species in the island, and a great number of dialects. This I am not enough of a linguist, or do not possess sufficient experience, to decide; but such parts of the tongue spoken by those I have heard seem to me very peculiar, “Oipūdo Abiaso?” is their “How do you do, sir?” and the reply is “Apotto,” meaning, “Thank you, stranger,” leaving you to understand that “very well” is intended to be prefixed to the response. The expression, “Ko Hodi oowe lobu lobu,” “I love you very much,” has a very spluttering harmony in it, conveying, I should imagine, to a dear one’s ears, sounds very different from the love-making language of Racine and Molière.

Their currency is represented by small pieces of the *Achatina* diminished to the size of a silver three half-penny coin or a medium-sized bead. Some of them are much smaller, and most are suspended on strings by means of holes which are driven through them. Twelve strings of the former, about a finger’s length each, are valued at 6*d.*; and 100 strings may be purchased for a dollar. This halfpenny currency is their only

one in the domestic markets. These they entitle "Tshibbu." All varieties of this money are worn round the body, and the large ones from the Architectonica are entitled "Tshoko." The mint for the manufacture of this coin is at a place called Ballilipa, near Melville Bay, at the south end of the island.

I have been informed that, at a locality named Bassakatoo, near Ballilipa, there are stone hatchets in the keeping of one of the kings. This fashion of instrument was used for splitting wood and separating bunches of palm-nuts from the trees, before they became acquainted with iron. The knowledge of this metal was first communicated to them through their exchanging vegetables and stock for iron hoops, in the early visits of European traders to their island. Now, however, they have arrived at the civilisation of Birmingham axes, cutlasses, and hatchets, which are procured by the exchange barter of yams and palm oil.

Since they have begun to manufacture palm oil, which is sold in blighs, or wicker pots, containing from one to ten gallons (entitled "Bectapas"), they exchange this commodity for British merchandise. Save the manufacture of about 300 tons of palm oil in the year, on an island which could produce double that number of thousands, and the growth of a few millions of yams, their country, though teeming with indigenous productions of nature to its very summit, is as unproductive as the Sahara. I believe them to be the laziest and idlest race in creation. No offer of any premium will make them clear their ground or cultivate it; and were

the yams or plantains to grow spontaneously, I think they would be content with sheds of huts in the branches, and bite the fruits off the trees, without the trouble of plucking or cooking it.

During my first month's stay here as a resident, three or four hundred Fernandians came down from the village of Banapa, and had a military review in the square beside my office. They were all armed with their peculiarly shaped spears, and many carried enormous cow-hide shields, sufficiently large to protect the whole body from their javelins, — a very disagreeable weapon to look at, much more, I should say, to feel. The huge hats, many of them surmounted by scarlet feathers, — the hair curls with the red lead beads at the end, — the "Tshoko" shells round the forehead, — the bladder pouches entitled "Bahaba," and filled variously with fat of cows, snakes, or goats, indicative of the wealth of the wearer, — the monkeys' tails dangling about them, — and the differences of colours painted on their faces, red, dirty white, blue, and yellow, gave them a *tout ensemble* of the most grotesque nature. Their filing off in groups, and marching to attack an imaginary enemy, had something really graceful in it; and it would be impossible for me to convey an idea of the thrill which the music of their voices sent through me, — their war chanting was so solemnly profound, and yet so wildly harmonious. A group of women and children accompanied them, and sat at one side of the square, whilst the warriors were going through their evolutions.

Yet with all their savageness of aspect, there is an innate nobility in some of their manners. I remember once seeing a Fernandian chief rising from a group who had watched a man being flogged by the jailor for having beaten a Fernandian woman, and appealing forthwith to Governor Lynslager as earnestly for the cessation of the punishment as if it were for his own son.

Having long meditated a visit to a Fernandian town, I started one morning at 6 A.M. from Clarence, accompanied by an interpreter and two of my Krumen servants, to reach Issapoo. The road led through a country so prolific in palm-trees, that the pathway as we went along was literally paved with the kernels of the nuts, whose outside pulpy rind had either rotted off or been devoured by the monkeys. Three rivulets of fresh water flowing down from the mountain were passed at intervals of about a mile from each other, and the rich soil was utterly unproductive of any useful vegetation save the palm-trees. The remainder of the thick bush along the way consisted chiefly of red wood, parasitic plants, and ferns tenanted by birds, butterflies, and ants. As we neared the village, we passed a palm-oil manufactory, where the women were at work extracting the oil from the rind in the primitive manner in which it is done on most parts of the coast. The nuts are plucked from the cones on which they grow, and then placed in a heap covered with palm leaves till they are verging on putrefaction. They are then pounded in a mortar-shaped hole made in the ground, and paved

at the bottom with stones. The pounding operation is sometimes effected with a large stone, frequently with a wooden pestle. When this is finished, the inner kernels are taken out and thrown away. The macerated pulp is placed in a country pot to simmer over the fire, after which the oil is pressed out of it by no more potent agency than the women's hands. Thus a large quantity of oil from the outer rind of the nut, as well as the whole contained in the kernels, is completely lost by inefficient manipulation.

Entering Issapoo by either of two arched gateways, divided from one another by a single bamboo stick, my interpreter pointed out to me a number of large *Achatina* shells that were at the threshold, in each of which was perforated a hole, and through the hole was passed a stem of palm-tree. These he explained to me were placed there to keep the devil out, when he is prowling in the neighbourhood. His Satanic Majesty must be supposed to be very tender-footed, for the inhabitants believe that as soon as he touches one of these shells, with his toe or with his hoof (?), as the case may be, he turns back! Not being palpably in our company at the time, this mystic *chevaux-de-frise* did not keep me from going in. No clearing of ground is inside the gate (for the yam and plantain farms are all at a short distance), save a square entitled the "Reossa," and the places on which the houses are stuck.

The "Reossa" is an open space, used as a kind of forum for holding legislative assemblies, and for discussing palavers, as the Egbo House is in Old Calabar.

This, however, is open, and exposed to sunshine, rain, and tornadoes, is often used as a market-place, and is sometimes allowed as a play-ground for children. Near its centre is a group of shrubs, with about half a dozen rough stones underneath them—no doubt seats for the senators,—and from a branch of the tallest tree in this hunch there is suspended the skin of a species of serpent, entitled “Roukarouko,” with its head uppermost. The tail reaches to within a yard and a half of the ground; and the placing of a snake’s skin here is an annual ceremony. As soon as the ceremonials connected with the operation are completed, all children born during the past year are carried out, and their hands made to touch the tail of the snake’s skin. This species of snake, styled by the Portuguese residents of the island Jack Maranta, is believed to be their guardian deity—to possess the power of good or evil towards them,—to be able to confer riches, or inflict sickness, even to cause death—therefore needing to be propitiated.

“Bowawdi” is the euphonious name of the present chief of Issapoo. The monarchy here, as in all Fernandian towns, is hereditary, not from father to son, but from uncle to nephew. His palace was certainly a most extraordinary place for human residence. Yet on my getting inside, his first exhibition to me was, as the interpreter explained it, his throne and crown; the former consisting of a filthy stool, that looked old enough and dirty enough to have been handed down in his family for several scores of generations,—and the latter, an equally filthy old hat of



bamboo-leaf, with a monkey tail pendent from it. Inside the house, the light came in through dozens of crevices in the walls as well as the roof. The walls consist only of lap-boards placed side by side, reaching from the ground to the roof, all of which are movable, so that the inmate has only to shift one or two at any side, and he lets himself in or out as he pleases. Across the house inside are placed a number of poles, on which are suspended hats, skins, rusty guns, cloth, and calabashes; but no windows, stools, beds, or tables, save the old throne; and a tax-gatherer would find a great scarcity of available chattels in the place.

The coronation of a king is a ceremonial that I have not yet had the pleasure of witnessing; but it has been reported to me as one possessing interesting features. It is so bound up with their notions of a spirit or devil, that I deem it necessary to explain the peculiarity of their belief on this latter point.

“Maaon” is the title given to the devil, and the Botakimaaon (his high priest) is supposed to have influence with him through communication with the cobra-capella, the “Roukarouko.” Their faith in God, to whom the name of “Rupe” is given, is a loftier aspiration than that of the devil; but they believe that the Deity’s favour can be only obtained by intercession through the “Botakimaaon” with his master.

At the ceremony of coronation, the Botakimaaon steps into a deep hole, and pretends to hold conversation with one of the Roukaroukos at the bottom; the candidate for regal honours standing alongside, and all his

subjects, *in futuro*, being about. This conference is, I believe, carried on by means of ventriloquism,—a faculty with which many of the Fernandians are reported to me to be endowed. The Botakimaaon then delivers to the king the message from the Roukarouko for his guidance in his high station, shakes over him a quantity of yellow powder, entitled “Tsheobo,” which is obtained by collecting a creamy coat that is found on the waters at the mouths of some small rivers, evaporating the water, and forming a chalky mass of the residue. From the lightness as well as friability of this article, I believe it to be of a vegetable nature.

He has then placed upon his head the hat worn by his father, and the crowning is accomplished. After becoming a king, his majesty is forbidden to eat cocco (*Arum acaule*), deer, or porcupine, which are the ordinary condiments of the people; and the ceremonial is concluded by the latter having some of the yellow powder rubbed over their foreheads by the Botakimaaon, with instructions to use the same material in a like manner every morning for seven days.

The man holding the same position here as the Filatah Galadimo is named, *ex officio*, the “Boakitshi,” and he is field-marshal, prime minister, the king’s head adviser, market-marshal, as well as everything from a secretary of state down to a bellman.

Issapoo contains a population of about 2000, and can turn out more than 250 armed men.

My visits to Banapa and Bassili had nothing in them worth recording, save that the same road leads

to both. This, after passing the first river, more decidedly ascends, for Bassili is the highest town on the Clarence side of Fernando Po. About a mile outside Clarence was pointed out to me a pathway leading to where the town of Bassili formerly stood, and near which General Sir Edward Nichols, K.C.B., had a mountain residence when he was British Governor of the island, in 1830-32. The road along was similar in all its characteristics, the "Reossas" alike in the towns, — and his majesty Boibieg gave me the honour of an interview outside his house, seated on his throne, whilst his queen Salée squatted on the ground beside him. I must confess I was so little impressed with her queenly air, that I did not even think of offering her a camp stool, which one of my boys had carried, and on which I was seated, for so fearfully was she bedaubed with the Tola pomatum, that I dreaded to try and imagine where the unction found its limit.

Perhaps it may be a small compensation for my deficiency in gallantry to her majesty Salée, to give here an account of the mode in which happy pairs are joined for life.

The marriage ceremony — and polygamy prevails amongst them according to their means of supporting wives — is performed by an old woman. The marriages take place in the evening. The couple about to be united catch hands, and the priestess gives them advice separately, to the man directing him not to neglect *this* wife even if he have many more, and to the woman, enjoining her not to omit her duty of tilling her

husband's farm, and making palm oil, as well as being faithful to him. When this exhortation is finished the spectators all cry out "Eeo!" which is synonymous with our "Amen." The bride and bridegroom walk through the town followed by several persons playing what are called "Leebos," or wooden bells, and accompanied by the "Nepi," or head singer, whose chanting is very solemn, bearing with it something akin to a proclamation of the ceremony just completed, and which is carried on with a solemnity as impressive on them in their savage state, as a like ceremonial would be to Christian spectators, with the usual accompaniments, in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The bride is dressed from head to foot with strings of "Tshibbu" already described, and wears a broad-brimmed hat trimmed with feathers, sometimes peacocks', the wild species of which bird is said to abound up the mountain; the hat is fastened to her hair with a wooden pin run through from side to side. After the wedding procession has terminated, there are feasting and drinking baow (palm wine), and dancing to a late hour.

The atmosphere about a quarter of a mile higher up than the town was deliciously cool; but the natives have no residence above this. I cannot estimate its height of surface over Clarence; but I could see the governor's house, the residence of Messrs Horsfall's agent, and my own abode from it, — guessing them to be about a mile beneath my level, though nearly six miles distant.

The Fernandians who reside in the many small

villages along the coast, all of which have names in their language that it would nearly break my pen to write, are called Fishmen, and their places of abode Fish-towns. Fernando Po bays contain immense quantities of all kinds of fish, and the native style of catching them with rod and line is very picturesque. Three or four canoes are paddled round a circle of about a 100 yards in circumference. Into the centre of this circle a number of small fish are thrown as an alluring bait, the paddlers on the outside of the canoes splash the water up as they propel, and on the inner side of each canoe, three or four men with rods, lines, and hooks, having some species of nibble affixed, try to attract the fish to take their barbed treat. Besides this they fabricate sieves out of thread made from the fibres of trees, and catch turtle on the southern and eastern parts of the island. They also collect in wicker baskets any amount of small fish like minnows, which they call "Soko," and which, dressed with palm oil and pepper, afford a treat such as the white-bait epicurists of Blackwall or Greenwich could not imagine.

"Apotto" is the title which the Fernandians give to the Europeans and colonisers of Clarence, and which in their language signifies a stranger, or one speaking a foreign tongue.

A Fernandian's account of the origin of his people is, that they came out of the mountain's top. Knowing that the summit of the peak was once a volcano, this idea at first amused me very much; and I endeavoured to ascertain if they had any notion of a primitive

creation, but found it impossible to convey to their sense of understanding, even through an interpreter, a perception of what I was aiming at.

When any of the race dies, the members of his family emigrate to another town, after burying the body in an upright position, one half of it being left above the ground. The graves are dug by the females, the ground being rooted with a piece of stick; and no ceremonies are connected with a death, as amongst other savage tribes, save that in cases where life is despaired of, as of prolonged ulcerations in the leg, a small hut is erected, within which the patient is placed, and a cooked yam or plantain with a little water daily left outside for his sustenance, till death puts an end to his sufferings. Yams and plantains constitute the only food of the common people, save now and then the luxury of a little palm oil.

In the months of July, August, and September, numbers of large whales may be seen sporting in the bays around Fernando Po. They are supposed to come here for the purpose of calving. Attempts to capture them by American whalers have proved that the sharks are able to appropriate their blubber before it could be secured, and so the pursuit is not followed up.

## CHAP. XIV.

Prince's Island. — Its Position. — Agalhas or West Bay. — Approach to the Capital, Porto San Antonio. — Preliminaries to entering the Town. — Portuguese Soldiers at the Custom-house. — Chapels of Porto San Antonio. — "Deserted Village" Appearance of the Town. — Governor Ozorio. — Dr. Nunez's Opinion of the sanitary Character of the Island. — Natural Products of Prince's. — The Voyage home. — Difference of Sensations from those entertained on going out. — First Sight of the Polar Star. — The Azores or Western Islands. — Their volcanic Nature. — The deceptive Appearance of African Rivers, as to the Origin of Malaria. — Professor Daniel's Theory of its Generation. — Enumeration and Specification of Objections to it. — Analysis of Professor Dumas. — Opinions of Surgeon Peters, Drs. Johnson, Ferguson, Watson, Madden, M<sup>r</sup>William, and others.

ABOUT one hundred and forty miles to the S. W. of Fernando Po is Prince's Island, which, discovered by a Portuguese navigator at nearly the same time as Fernando Po, is still in possession of the Crown of Portugal. The point of land nearest to it on the African continent is Cape St. John, about a hundred and five miles to the eastward; and perhaps this may have been a reason for its not being introduced into the Madrid treaty of 1778. It is situated in lat.  $1^{\circ} 25' N.$ , long.  $7^{\circ} 20' E.$ , and was styled Ilho da Príncipe, after a prince of the blood royal of Portugal, who existed at the time of its discovery — whether by Santarem or Escobar\* is of little

\* Juan de Santarem and Pedro Escobar, with Fernando Po and Bartolome Diaz, were the chief geographical explorers of the Portuguese nation in Africa towards the end of the fifteenth century.

consequence to its present rulers and its present inhabitants.

Nearing the north-western part of the island, we could observe the trees growing down to the very water's edge where no beach existed. The isolated rock, the "Dutchman's Cap," forms a prominent object of attention; and with it two large mounds of stone, one perfectly circular and cylindrical, resembling an enormous cauldron, such as is seen in a soap manufactory or in gas-works at home, the other the rock called "Parrot's Bill," both clothed with verdure to their very summits.

To the westward at Agulhas, or West Bay, is a little town inhabited by Portuguese negroes, and consisting of about a dozen houses, overtopped by a larger one occupied by the superintendent of the place, and from whose balcony the colonial flag of Portugal floats when vessels approach. From this you can steer round by Church Bay, the point of Mai-Marta, and past the small islet of Bombon, to the harbour of San Antonio, the capital.

It is situated on the N. E. side of the island. You enter, passing by the dilapidated fort of Sta. Anna, with the church of Sta. Anna on the top of the hill, at the northern side of the bay, and the Fort da Point da Mina on the opposite shore, in an equally helpless condition. White houses on the beach, white houses on hillocks higher up, white houses on the brow tops, over all, presented a very pleasing scene. Our gig was but half-way in when we were met and stopped by two



Portuguese officials in a boat, having the colonial ensign at the flag-staff. This was to demand our papers for the custom-house officers, to ask an account of our intentions in visiting the island, the amount of our cargo, and its species, the number of our crew and passengers. These preliminaries being settled, and one of the officials having remained on board to prevent illegal intercourse with the shore, we again proceeded towards the beach, and landed at a jetty opposite the house of Monsignor Carnero, one of the most extensive merchants in San Antonio, and from whose verandah a number of slaves gazed down upon us as we passed. His house and that of Madame Ferreira, for extent and durability, resemble those I have seen at Cape Coast.

Over a small river which falls into the sea here is erected a neat little bridge, across which I had to pass to get into the town, first by the custom-house, outside of which were a few individuals in Portuguese military costumes, whom I took at a glance for boys training for a pantomime, marching indolently backwards and forwards. From this I proceeded into a wide space, where three chapels confronted me, into one of which I walked. Its neatness and absence from the tawdriness recognisable in the chapels of Madeira surprised me very much, and the more so, as every house and street around seemed receptacles for filth and decay. There were about a score of people in the building, whose devotion did not seem to me to be very great—perhaps because the heat of the day was sufficiently oppressive. I learned that there are six such chapels in the

town, and as many more at different posts over the island.

From this, about the distance of a few hundred yards, to the governor's house—to whom we felt in duty bound to pay our respects—the place has all the appearance of a deserted village; houses untenanted, some roofless, some windowless, more with broken walls. Even those which are inhabited, and are roofed with draining tiles, placed in alternate rows of the convex and concave surfaces uppermost, have a chilly filthy air of poverty about them, that makes them seem only fit tenements for reptiles and crawling things. No shops, no business, no signs of life or energy amongst the population. But I am wrong! There is a shop or two! Here, for instance, is one little gloomy cell—for traffic, I suppose—hard-by the governor's house, but with such a contracted entrance that I am sure a ray of blessed sunshine never crosses its doorway to dazzle the moths and spiders in their damp retreats. If I had a portable gas lamp, or one of Drummond's lights, I might make out what is in the shop, if the individual standing inside the door, who appears an embodiment from the "Mysteries of Udolpho," or the "Castle of Otranto," would allow me. Not furnished with either of these, and unwilling to test the spirituality of the ghoul-faced man, I plod on to the governor's, and find another chapel before me. The governor and his secretary were at home, and received us very graciously.

Our progress was no further than the governor's

house, for the streets had all the same blue-mouldy appearance; and after scrambling down the governor's crazy staircase, gazing for a few minutes on the peak that rises inland, with a dell between it and the hill behind the town—a place for jollity amongst the Hamadryads—I turned backwards to Madame Ferreira's mansion, to which we had been invited to dinner, and which is nearest to the sea of any house in Porto San Antonio.

Prince's Island is about seven leagues in circumference, and contains a population of from four to five thousand; whereof San Antonio, the only town, contains more than two thousand. And the population is evidently diminishing, as the number of deserted houses can testify. I cannot agree with Dr. Daniell in his opinion that "Prince's Island has acquired a better sanitary reputation than can be justly ascribed to it," for the experience of Dr. Nunez, the colonial surgeon, during a four years' residence, is more to be relied upon than the observations of any one who has paid only a flying visit to the locality. From a few hours' conversation with this gentleman, carried on in French, as he could not speak the English language, I believe him to be conscientious and intelligent. The topographical features of the island go also to corroborate his opinion of its salubrity as reported to me; for there is not a square inch of swampy land upon its whole surface. Intermittent fevers of the daily and tertian type are the only forms of the disease known here;

remittent, yellow, or typhoid never having occurred in his experience. The intermittents, too, are of the mildest form in their attacks. Dysentery sometimes prevails amongst the negro population. There are two wet seasons here, as up the African rivers; and during these periods the inhabitants suffer very much from pulmonary disease. A large quantity of palm-trees is found over the island; but the oil is manufactured only for domestic use, not for exportation. The other products are cotton, coffee, cocoa, cassava, yams, and all kinds of intertropical produce.

With these, geese, turkeys, ducks, and fowls abound; and there may be seen, wandering about the streets, many descendants of that ancient family of pigs, recorded by Carleton as being extinct in Ireland, "with sharp backs and long noses, that were used throughout the country in the hunting season, when dogs were scarce."

Stretching away from the Point da Praia Sulgada, which is outside the Point da Mina, the site of one of the old forts, the lights of a number of fishing-boats gave quite a glowing appearance to the sea at night—now fading into dim sparks, now bursting out into a vivid corruscation, as if from an electro-light; I watched their movements (as the boats were not stationary) for more than an hour after dark on our poop.

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None but those who have battled through the disagreeables of life on board a ship, — more especially one of the trading genus out here, — can at all appreciate or understand the new pleasure that is infused

into the mind, on turning one's back to Africa for a homeward return, after a prolonged absence from England. The earliest pleasure which I enjoyed on my first ascent up the Old Kalabar river was to gaze on the palisading of bright green mangroves on either side of that noble stream,—which, after a three months' monotonous voyage at sea, seemed so regular in their outline, so refreshing to look at, that it can be considered no wonder for a landsman like me to have felt a longing desire to rub my face against the leaves, to smell them, and to climb amongst them! A few pelicans musing on a patch of sandy beach,—paddlers in their canoes, chanting merrily as they passed us by,—parrots flying over head, and chattering gaily,—the murmur of the insect world in the impenetrable bush,—the water flowing down so gently,—all these influences made me feel my former notions of the country removed as by the wave of an enchanter's wand.

And taking a view from the deck of a ship in the Old Kalabar river, near its mouth, with all these associations I have enumerated,—with the peaks of Kameroons and Fernando Po,—the Qua and Rumby range of mountains in view, that seem, to use the words of Captain Owen, “like the tombstones of a past earthquake,”—no scene in the world can be so sublimely different from what is generally conceived of the features of an African landscape. I have no doubt that similar sensations are felt in like cases by many persons, whose sense of sight is so long strained to pierce beyond the horizon's

boundary, by the first view of living verdure on a foreign shore.

Sailing ships on their homeward voyage go much to the westward of the course taken by steamers, and out of sight of land ; but the student of nature can find much to wonder at and admire in the vast meadows of *Fucus natans*, or gulf-weed, that adorn the Saragossa Sea ; in the droves of porpoises that come tumbling past the stem or stern of the ship, as if they were running away from angry creditors, or bound on a voyage of discovery to the other end of the world ; in the numbers of Medusæ, of the Portuguese men-of-war or girdle of Venus species ; in coming again to the region of flying fish, benitoes, and albicores, with the exciting change of an occasional cry of "sail ahoy !" or the still more agreeable one of now and then speaking a ship outward bound, which always bears with it an odour of home and home's comforts.

Many a night have I spent, on my first passage out, as well as on my return, in observing the profuse display of the great Architect's handiwork in the many constellations that adorn the tropical skies ; but no inhabitant of a country at the other side of the equator, ever experienced more pleasure in beholding the Southern Cross than I did on the first night that the Polar Star beamed on our progress, when returning to England in a sailing vessel. "In the solitude of the seas," writes Baron von Humboldt, "we hail a star as a friend from whom we have long been separated ;" and I deeply felt the truth of his remark, as night after

night made it appear more elevated, save when perplexing calms and contrary winds stood in the way of our progress.

As we neared the Azores or Western Islands, Fayal and Pico were sighted, and our ship stood in for Terceira, as she was in want of repairs, which it was deemed expedient to obtain before she attempted the angry sea that lies between these islands and England.

Angra, the capital of Terceira, is the residence of the governor, and the only town I had a glimpse of when passing, as fearful squalls prevented our getting into harbour. This group consists of nine: St. Mary's, St. Michael's, Terceira, St. George's, Graciosa, Fayal, Pico, Flores, and Corvo. They were discovered in the middle of the fifteenth century, about forty-three years before the discovery of America by Columbus. It is said that Joshua Vanderberg was, on a voyage from Bergen to Lisbon, driven by stress of weather into one of the Azores. He is reputed to have been the first man who trod the soil, for they are of recent volcanic formation. They belong to the crown of Portugal.

Looking into Angra between Mount Brazil and the Cabra islets, over as great an extent of country as was visible, white houses seem very thickly dotted outside the town, with here and there the towers of a convent, or spire of a church overtopping all. Fields divided by dykes or ditches showed a superior style of agriculture to what is practised in Africa; whilst peaks and fissures over the land pointed out the localities of former volcanic convulsions. The town of Praya, which is to the

north and east of Angra, was destroyed by one of these eruptions so late as the year 1841.\*

A description of the Azores has been written by Captain Boid† of the Portuguese navy, in which he depicts them as so many gardens of Eden, but represents their inhabitants, male and female—lay and sacerdotal—as very low in the scale of morality.

It is unnecessary to revert to any facts connected with my return home—on three successive voyages, and in each of them with renewed health—save those which are connected with the chief cause of this work appearing before the public—namely, to give the results of my experience as to the most effectual means of removing the erroneous impressions that prevail with respect to Western Africa, and of setting forth my own ideas as to the future prospects of that country's commercial relations with Great Britain.

#### AFRICAN MALARIA.

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

\* For particulars, see an article in the “Nautical Magazine” for September, 1841, by Mr. Hunt, then British consul at St. Michael's.

† A Description of the Azores, or Western Islands. By Capt. Boid, late of Her Majesty's Navy. London, Churton, Holles-street, 1835.

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



green vegetable substances is an enemy and opponent of all contagion and miasma." In my earliest 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.

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 person who has once penetrated that region. At certain seasons of the year, as soon as we come within the sphere of the germination of malaria, our olfactory nerves frequently make us sensible of its presence. Walking along pathways through the bush-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 an 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 Biafra, 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 Harrowgate—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  $\frac{1}{1500}$ 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 expeditions previous to that of the “Pleiad”—to increase with the ascent of the rivers, and not to be absent from countries very distant from the sea-shore. 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 1841-42, there was a mortality of 48 out of 145—only 15 escaping the river fever, which did not make its appearance till the ships were at Iddah, above 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 exist. 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.  $4^{\circ}$  S., long.  $44^{\circ}$  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 sixty miles from the river's mouth. "It is very strange," observes Dr. M'Cormack\*, "that, 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

\* Methodus Medendi, p. 29.

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 Akra, although no mangrove swamps are there, as marked in their characters 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 Harrowgate.

Fifthly. — Because my own experience does not justify my placing faith in Professor Daniel's experiments. When I was stationed in the Old Kalabar river, on board the "Magistrate" in 1851, and on board the "Loodinah" 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 forty-five miles from the bar, in lat.  $4^{\circ} 57' 30''$  N., long.  $8^{\circ} 9' 15''$  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. McWilliam, in his register of experiments upon the waters of the 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 specimens were tested by solution 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.

The specific gravity of the water used in my analysis varied from 1019 to 1260, the temperature from  $76^{\circ}$

to 80°, according to the seasons or the time of the day at which it was taken up.

In this explanation of Professor Daniel's, I would also ask any disciple of his to observe how he makes this theory conflict with the opinions of the celebrated Professor Dumas.\*

“Wafted away by the wind, sulphuretted hydrogen soon meets with vegetable remains, in the humid pores of which it is again converted into sulphuric acid and sulphates. The sea contains sulphates, and feeds mollusca, the secretions of which absorb the oxygen of the sulphates, and they are changed to sulphurets, from which hydro-sulphuric acid is constantly disengaged.”

So that here are opinions of two eminent chemists, tending to opposite results in their explanation. If Professor Dumas be correct, we know that this change is taking place every day where mollusca exist, as they do over all the intertropical ocean. Moreover, an ordinary knowledge of chemistry teaches us that sulphur is constantly returned to the earth from the sea, through the atmosphere, thence the soil and to plants; yet this process does not produce malaria elsewhere than on the western shores of Africa.

“I have applied the tests † which were sent to me,” said Mr. J. Peters, assistant-surgeon, of H. M. S. “Pluto,” in his evidence before a parliamentary committee on Western Africa, “to all the waters of the

\* In an opening lecture delivered at the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, Nov. 16th, 1846.

† The tests similar to those used by Professor Daniel.

different rivers, and it is farcical in the extreme. There was nothing of the sort, or the least approach to it. The waters were no more sulphuretted than pure water would be from a well in England." This latter statement is a little hyperbolic; for the waters of all the African rivers contain mud and vegetable decompositions; but there is no evidence from chemical analysis of the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

In another paper of Professor Dumas \*, on the same subject, he writes: "We all know the deleterious effect of the disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogen gas in certain marshes, where it is caused by the decomposition of sulphate of lime. This salt acting on the organic matters, which are found there, is converted into sulphuret of calcium, which the carbonic acid in its turn decomposes into carbonate of lime and sulphuretted hydrogen. Its appearance is always indicative of great danger, especially if we find the locality of its manifestation to have been overflowed with water, and that whether we consider this gas to act by itself (*which is least probable*), or *whether it be regarded as a mere vehicle of organic miasmata*."

So that, after all this polyglot of scientific palaver, we arrive at the conclusion that the cause and origin of malaria are still in embryo as much as they were in the time of Lancisi, an Italian physician, who wrote a work on the noxious effluvia of marshes about the year 1695—the first book known to have been penned on the subject of malaria.

\* Vide "Medical Times," No. 380, Jan. 9th, 1847 p. 273.



Pursuing the subject, however, 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 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

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

† Op. cit. p. 735.

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."

Malaria is known to be absorbed by its passing over water as well as by its attraction to the foliage of lofty umbrageous trees. It is also stated to have no influence 2000 feet above the surface of its germination; and one or the other causes acting so as to modify its influence on the human economy, no limit can be placed to the period of its development. Dr. Johnson writes, "It often requires eighteen, twenty, or even thirty days to bring on fever." Dr. Jackson says, "It is not limited to two months." Dr. Bancroft allows it even nine or ten. I have known a person residing for fifteen months on board a ship up the Old Kalabar river, never having had an hour's illness during his stay there, yet three months after his return to Liverpool — his voyage home likewise occupying three months—he had two very severe attacks of intermittent.

Dr. Johnson, in his "Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions," takes more trouble than appears to me to be necessary to contradict the ridiculous idea, that "the stomach is the medium through which the matter of contagion acts, and, by analogy, that marsh miasmata take the same road." The mucous membrane of the stomach has its share, of course, in the general absorption; but the Schneiderian (or

membrane lining the nose) and the pulmonary mucous membrane have much the larger part of the work. The quantity taken in by the stomach cannot affect the nervous system primarily as it is done by the combination of its influence on the other functions just named.

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. Whenever there is a hot and humid atmosphere, and an uncultivated country with 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 earthy 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 likewise 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 1841-42; "The sickness of the coloured men on this occasion, shows, 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 Caucasian race, emigrating from one

\* Parliam. Rep. p. 88.

nation to another in Europe, require to be acclimatised before settling in foreign countries for their residence; or if it can be demonstrated that the peculiar narcotic "steam vapour" written of, is generated in any inter-tropical 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.

## CHAP. XV.

Malaria continued. — Best Means of neutralising its Influence. — Indispensability of Quinine. — Awnings to Ships. — Clothing, Diet, and moral Influences. — Prevention of Fever. — Administration of Quinine. — Treatment of Fever. — Symptoms of African Endemic. — Objection to Venæsection and Salivation. — Suggestions for removal of irregular Intermittents. — Division of African Fever. — No acclimatising Fever in Africa. — Enumeration of exciting and predisposing Causes. — Facts opposed to Salivation. — Paralysis supervening on Prostration caused by frequent Attempts to excite Vomiting. — Unruly Symptoms of a perplexing Case. — Removal of Patients into a different Atmosphere. — Mr. Boyle's Sol-lunar Influence. — Its true Explanation by Mr. Milner and Dr. Lardner. — Dysentery.

LEAVING, however, the organic composition of malaria still as an uncertainty, enough has been ascertained of it to prove that sulphate of quinine is the best prophylactic to its influence, aided with such hygienic measures as were adopted so successfully in the "Pleiad's" voyage. With these I believe the cultivation of the soil to be the most effectual antagonist to its future generation.

Previous to our ascent of the Niger in 1854, I received from Dr. Bryson a paper of suggestions, in the most of which there is a perfect unanimity of opinion between the respected author's views and my own.\*

\* Vide Narrative, p. 226. London, Longman, Brown and Co., 1855.

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 quarter-deck 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 serenading of the blood-thirsty mosquitoes. I consider a fixed awning to be indispensable on board any ship intended for exploration of a West African river.

The vessels moored in the African rivers for trading purposes present to unaccustomed eyes a very singular appearance. Their lofty rigging is all taken down, and from stem to stern a bamboo roof stretches over the decks, impervious alike to the intense heat and the heavy rains of the climate.

There are few things that conduce so much to health in Africa as keeping up a uniform temperature of the body, and changing one's clothes as often as comfort will suggest. This is one of those trifles which many people pass heedlessly by, but its importance cannot be over-estimated. The few trivial cases of fever we had when up the "Tshadda-Binüe" were, I believe, owing to the neglect of this rule. The climate of Africa is so variable that one does not know when the thermometer may rise or fall eight or ten degrees; and therefore the careless throwing aside of flannel leaves the body unguarded against these vicissitudes. Dr. Coombe mentions his

being told by Captain Murray, that he was so strongly impressed, from former experience, with a sense of the efficiency of the protection afforded by the constant use of flannel next the skin, that on his arrival in England, in Dec. 1823, after two years' service amid the ice-bergs of Labrador, the ship being ordered immediately to sail for the West Indies, he directed the purser to draw two extra flannel shirts and pairs of drawers for each man, and instituted "a regular daily inspection to see that they were worn." These precautions were followed by the happiest results. He proceeded to his station with a crew of 150 men, "visited almost every island in the West Indies, and many of the ports of the Gulf of Mexico; and notwithstanding the sudden transition from extreme climates, returned to England without the loss of a single man, or having any sick on board on his arrival." Sir James McGregor states that when in India he witnessed a remarkable proof of the usefulness of flannel in checking the progress of the most aggravated form of dysentery in the 2nd battalion of guards. All who go to Africa, whether medical men or otherwise would soon find it a different climate, if by these and other suggestions they become imbued with the very old axiom, that "prevention is better than cure."

The experience of eight years has impressed me with the necessity of attending to such precautions; of taking care to avoid wetting, and, if this be inevitable, of changing clothes as soon as possible. It is important to make 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, screwing the debilitated system out of the abyss of adynamia. Hitherto I had only known it to be used in the treatment of fever and ague, in the pyrexial as well as the powerless condition. From the day before we crossed the bar, in the "Pleiad's" voyage, I commenced giving quinine solution to all the Europeans on board. Not having a 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 into taking 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

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

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 fever, 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 was 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 Governor Lynslager, of Fernando Po.

There is one point not alluded to in Dr. Bryson's 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 value 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 course of a minute, a quantity equal to thirty-three ounces in twenty-four hours; that 2500 are the number of square inches over the body of a man of ordinary height and dimensions; 2800 the average number of pores in a square inch, constituting a length of 700 inches; that these multiplied show 7,000,000 of pores, and 7,750,000 perspiratory tubes—that is, 145,833 feet, or 48,600 yards, or nearly 28 miles! and enough to teach us the necessity of keeping the skin in a healthy condition.

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.

To this may be added a further calculation of Lavoisier's, that eight grains of perspiration per minute amount to a quantity of thirty-three ounces in twenty-

four hours. If a man would imagine his body plastered over with two pounds weight of mud during each day and night of his life, a little more attention would be paid to the function of the skin.

A very absurd idea prevails with some people that prickly heat (*lichen tropicus*) must be driven into the system from the skin by washing in cold water, and so may cause fever or dysentery. Cold water properly applied, that is, by a few douches or scrubs of the body with it, only causes a stimulus to increased action of the skin, and thus rather obviates fever and dysentery than promotes them.

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 anything else contributed to the disastrous results of former voyages, particularly to that of the government expedition in 1842.

In his "Medical History of the Niger Expedition of 1841-42," (at p. 15), Dr. McWilliam writes: "Moral impressions are intimately connected with the maintenance of health, as well as with the production of disease; a conviction that the ship herself is sweet, that there is nothing in her to germinate disease, will, I am persuaded, go far to fortify men against the evils of the coast climate." I should rather say that the *absence* of "moral impressions" may be put down to the credit of the "production of disease," and I should be very

sorry to bind my ideas of moral influence to the single fact of sailors' "convictions" on the "sweetness" of their ship, and the absence in her of anything "to germinate disease;" chiefly because I know it is a thing they never inquire into, and because my ideas on the matter of "moral impressions" are a little more latitudinarian than to confine them to any isolated hygienic fact like this. The "moral impressions" of permitting sailors to have an occasional walk on shore, where the ground is dry and elevated, as it is up many of the African rivers, instead of keeping them, as I know them to be kept in some places, cooped up beneath a bamboo roof on board a ship for a period often of two years at a spell—the "moral impressions" caused by allowing them to participate in public worship wherever missionary stations exist—the "moral impressions" of permitting the joke and the song to circulate amongst them when their day's work is over,—and more especially as in our ascent of the Niger, and Tshadda-Binuë—at sight of lofty ground, bringing back to recollection the mountains associated with their childhood—these are the "moral influences" that produce the most salubrious effects, both mentally and physically, in exploring voyages as well as on board stationary trading vessels.

Another subject which this seems to me to be an appropriate place for introducing, is that of the use of spirituous liquors as beverages in Western Africa. And I deem it the more necessary to do so, because medical men who are looked up to as practical authori-

ties have advocated a system to which all experience teaches me to be opposed.

Mr. Boyle, formerly colonial surgeon at Sierra Leone, has published\* a medical work upon Western Africa, at p. 75 of which he writes: "However much the assertion may be at variance with the conclusions arrived at by some other writers and observers, it may be confidently stated that the absolute 'water drinker' is in as dangerous a predicament when once seized with fever as the 'absolute drunkard.'"

The opinions of all the physiologists of our time, and the records of mortality up every river as well as at every station on the coast of Africa, speak directly contrary to this "confident statement." I believe there are few more powerful, and I fear not to add, more frequent predisposing causes to African fever than the inebriety of Europeans at all these places. The pathology of the disease should teach us also, that when patients get into an adynamic condition of the system, which appears to be an invariable symptom of all phases of African fever, the stimulus of spirituous liquor, which is then required to keep them from sinking, cannot be as powerful in its influence on those who have been in daily use of it as on water drinkers. For Europeans to indulge in strong drinks beneath an intertropical sun—even apart from malarious influence—is like trying to put out a fire by heaping coals upon it.

\* "A Practical Medico-Historical Account of the Western Coast of Africa," by James Boyle, M.R.C.S.L., Colonial Surgeon at Sierra Leone, Surgeon, R.N. London, Highley, Fleet Street, 1831.

Mr. Boyle tries to modify this statement by stating that "the man who lives as nearly when abroad as circumstances will allow up to his general habits when at home, has infinitely a better chance of recovery than the absolute water drinker or the absolute drunkard." This safe medium theory is perfectly erroneous, for a man to drink or abstain from water — to drink or abstain from brandy, under the impression that either practice will indemnify him against taking fever, is an absurd delusion, and almost the certain way to catch it.

"I do not look upon Africa as the deadly continent it is the fashion to describe it," writes Lieut. Forbes. "Men enter Africa determined to have fevers, and like the phantom's story in the Persian fable of Cholera, fear kills them. Less cant on the subject of African diseases would materially assist to stop the slave trade, and render African enterprise more genial."\*

Hence it is the predisposing cause of fever that is the fatal agent in such cases and not any debility ensuing on over-indulgence in water drinking.

Another medical authority, Dr. Atkin, considers the African fever most fatal amongst persons of intemperate habits, in which I agree with him; but he adds, "Of twenty persons coming to Sierra Leone, ten of them practising total abstinence and ten moderately indulging in the use of wine and spirits, preserving the medium between temperance and excess, the chances of life would be greater amongst the latter." This I deny

\* Forbes's "Dahomy and the Dahomans."



in toto, because I believe Dr. Atkin cannot define to any prescribed limit a *ne plus ultra* between moderate indulgence and excess.

Dr. Madden went to the coast "a practical believer in the advantage of total abstinence from all kinds of liquors," and only became converted to the contrary doctrine, because he found the necessity of using wine during his protracted convalescence after a recovery from fever on the Gold Coast — when it was administered medicinally, and when of course it would be of most use to him. Even his case does not in the slightest degree ratify the opinions of the two former-quoted medical authorities; and I fear not to assert, even against Dr. McDonald's observation, that "total abstinence, unless from water, will never answer here." All my experience goes to the contrary. The Europeans whom I have known to be the best acclimatised men in Africa — to sleep the most soundly — to have good appetites and clear heads — to get over attacks of fever most lightly, were men who never indulged in spirituous liquors, and who only took wine in conjunction with quinine, after opening their bowels on an accession of headache or other febrile disturbance.

The embryo of the *Dracunculus* or Guinea-worm being supposed to be contained in the fresh water obtained at Cape Coast and Akra may be advanced as an objection to my principle there. But I believe the nuclei of these animals, if they exist in it, can be destroyed by boiling and filtering the water.

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 anything 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 bears over the civilised 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 anchored, some for

six, others for twelve, and many from eighteen to twenty-four months, in the very hot beds 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. Bailey and Wills of Horseley Fields, Wolverhampton, prepare a vinous solution of this drug with proper directions for its administration. I may here state I am of opinion that daily washing the decks of a ship stationed in an African river is anything 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.

#### AFRICAN FEVER.

African fever may be divided into the continued, the remittent, and intermittent — the first being the rarest, and the last two the most frequent. Continued and

remittent have some times degenerated into typhus icterodes, and as the 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 acclimatising fever in Western Africa, the following extract from Dr. Bryson's\* work strengthens my opinion on this subject:—"In the report 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 acclimatised, 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 acclimatised, it is most effectually accomplished without fever; but, very frequently, 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

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

causes of debility, and fortifying the system, we walk with comparative security amid surrounding pestilence.”\* A good constitution may become acclimatised by abstinence from ardent spirits, unless used medicinally, by attention to 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 garments — heavy wetting without changing clothing — over fatigue — constipation.

And these causes being allowed to produce their effects, either singly or in combination, by inattention to the rules prescribed in the preceding pages, we have to consider the fact of fever before us.

From the first case of fever which I treated in the Old Kalabar River, in the beginning of 1851, to the present time, I have entertained similar ideas to those of Dr. Bryson, and followed out this line of practice invariably — discarding the abuse of calomel as a ptyalist,

\* Dr. Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic, p. 17.

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, McCullagh, McWilliam, and other intertropical writers, and which has prevailed 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, whereby it should come, acting as an alterative, ought to teach any one its hurtfulness. 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 expedition of 1854 there was no case in which extraordinary treatment of any kind was required, and were the principle of neutralising malaria before it becomes developed 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, containing a drop of oil of peppermint;—if the head ache or delirium be present, cut or shave off the hair, and apply cooling lotions;—the tongue foul, and nausea existing, give an emetic of tartarised 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 show a mortality of four out of the sixty—about six 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 have faith in the medicine being a useful one when properly applied; it is only against its abuse that I contend.

To emetics frequently administered, I have a decided objection; and I would recommend them only to be employed when the accession of 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 Kalabar, 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. London). 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 could anything 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 rapidly. I have observed it seize a sick man in the middle of his pyrexial condition, hurrying 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 predisposing cause.

The purgative I have most generally used contains three grains of calomel, two of extract of taraxacum, and five of compound extract of colocynth, made into two pills with a little oil of peppermint. Taraxacum, combined with calomel, seems to me 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 tea-spoonful 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 prefaced 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 Pharmacopœia, 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*, it is my opinion that change of air, being known to be more beneficial in all maladies in a miasmatic country than in a healthy one, will be found to be equally so out here. Cases have come within my cognisance 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. McCulloch, 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." 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 shows 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.

In the same work of Mr. Boyle's, from which I have quoted, and at the same page, are these remarks, the erroneousness of which I deem it my duty to demonstrate: — "Sol-lunar influence is powerful in the produc-

tion of fever on the western coast of Africa, and, indeed, in all parts of the tropics. Many instances have been known of men, whilst at work under the rays of the sun, dropping down as if shot, and that without any previous symptom or habit of indiscretion; and also men who, to avoid the closeness sometimes experienced in sleeping between decks, have slept on the upper deck without the knowledge of the officer on watch, thus exposing themselves to the apparently harmless beams of a brilliant moon, have often been known to be suddenly affected with fever. The rapidity of the latter attack precludes the thought that they were attributable to damps or dews that might be falling in the night, and which indeed are also common causes of fever, but not so immediate in their consequences."

The *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning of this is completely put aside by remarks on the same subject in Milner's "Gallery of Nature," page 481. "A preceding statement, that in temperate climates, dew is never observed upon the naked parts of a living and healthy human body, is not true of tropical countries where, after the high temperature of the day, under a perfectly clear sky, the earth radiates heat with great rapidity. This is the probable solution of some cases of physical injury sustained by persons sleeping in the open air with the face exposed, commonly supposed to be the effect of moonlight. Now the circumstances under which these effects transpired, a clear tropical moonlight night, are precisely those favourable to the production of dew, which promotes the putrefaction of

animal matter, and renders it deleterious, and the injury sustained by the parties sleeping exposed to the moonbeams—not a solitary example of such an occurrence—was far more probably caused by the cold and moisture produced by the immense radiation of heat, consequent upon a cloudless night sky after a hot day, than by moonlight, which all scientific examination shows to be innocuous, uninfluential.”

This opinion is further confirmed by Dr. Lardner, who states that “the skin being, in common with the leaves of flowers and of vegetables, a good radiator of heat, will, when exposed in a clear night, sustain a loss of temperature.” This must, therefore, arise from a constant lowering temperature of the skin by radiation\*, and would seem to me to be similar to what Dr. Johnson calls “a stroke of the land wind in India.”

\* Vide Appendix C.

## CHAP. XVI.

Report on the Peculiarities of Trade up the Rivers in the Bight of Biafra.

—Geographical Position of the Bight.—Enumeration of its Rivers.—Table of latest Returns of Palm-Oil.—Of the existing Condition of Niger and Tshadda Trade.—Varieties of Currency.—Mode in which Trade is carried on at the different Stations of Brass, New Kalabar, Bonny, Old Kalabar, and Kameroons.—Contrast between the present Production of Palm-Oil and that of Twenty Years ago.—Necessity of non-interference of Supercargoes with the Laws and Superstitions of the Natives.—Progress of the Slave Class in Trading Operations.—The peculiar Condition of African Society as at present constituted.—The Slave Class the future Producers of their Country's industrial Resources.—Dr. Livingstone's Observations on Free Labour at the Mauritius.—The true Plan of civilising Africa.

THE Bight of Biafra extends from Cape Formosa, in lat.  $4^{\circ} 21' N.$ , long.  $6^{\circ} 10' E.$ , to Cape St. John, in lat.  $1^{\circ} 15' N.$ , long.  $9^{\circ} 30' E.$ ; a coast extent of nearly 300 miles.

According to the latest Admiralty survey, the position of Cape Formosa has been placed between the Nun and Sengana outlets of the Kuorra.

The Bight of Biafra therefore contains the Nun, the Brass (or Bento), the St. Nicholas, the St. Barbara, the St. Bartholomew, the Sombrero, the New Kalabar, the Bonny, Andony, Old Kalabar, Rio del Rey, Bimbia, Kameroons, Balimba, Boreah, Kampo, Bati, St. Benito,

and Bassakoo; constituting nineteen rivers that have their embouchures into this Bight.

The following table comprises the latest returns of palm-oil exported from those places within this Bight engaged in the trade:—

Date.	Name of River.	Amount of Tons.
From Jan. 1, 1855 to Jan. 1, 1856 -	Brass - - - -	2,280
,, July 1, 1854 ,, July 1, 1855 -	New Kalabar & Bonny*	16,124
	Old Kalabar - - -	4,090
,, Jan. 1, 1855 ,, Jan. 1, 1856 {	Bimbia - - - -	96
	Kamerooks - - -	2,110
	Fernando Po - - -	360
	Total	25,060

Independent of this, in the rivers Malimba, Boreah, and Kampo, palm-oil is bought by coasting vessels, chiefly American and French; and from all the rivers ivory, ebony, and redwood are brought home in nearly every ship. Moreover some oil is taken by each of the African Steam Company's vessels. Out of Kamerooks there are from six to ten tons of ivory yearly exported. In the Old Kalabar and the Kampo, ivory is also produced; and from the Benito, redwood, india-rubber, wax, ivory, and ebony.

Up the rivers between Benin and Brass, as well as between Brass and Bonny, there is no legitimate traffic

\* These rivers are placed together because they have a common embouchure, and trade is carried on in both by the same agent.



yet established; but from observations in our late exploration of the Niger and Tshadda-Binuë in the S.S. "Pleiad," I believe the elements of a great mart to be waiting development through the countries interior to those streams. At Aboh, Iddah, Oloturo, Igbegbee (the confluence of the Tshadda and Kworra), Yimmaha, Gandiko, and Zhibu are the chief trading stations in this river, which bears various titles in different localities, the Niger-Kworra, the Tshadda-Lihu-Nu, and Binuë. The articles obtainable in the countries adjacent to its banks are palm-oil, shea-butter, cotton, lead ore, red pepper, camwood, and indigo. No doubt but that in time other industrial resources will be developed. The goods that are prized most by the natives in exchange for these products are cowries, cloth, and salt. Cowries are the shells of the *cyprea moneta* of Linnæus, procured in the islands of the Pacific, and in Zanzibar, as well as in other parts of Eastern Africa. Their *ad valorem* worth is generally a "string" of 40 for a penny, a "common head," or 5 strings (200), for 5 pence; a "head" of 50 strings (2000) one dollar; a "bag" of 10 heads (20,000) 10 dollars. At Igbegbee, about 300 miles from the sea, British manufactured goods, which are brought up from Bonny, Brass, and Benin, as well as across the Yoruba country from Lagos, are exposed in the market for sale; and they have also here glass beads of a double pyriform shape that are carried over the continent from Mecca; for the system of traffic and barter seems to be the prominent one in the African temperament.

At Rogan Koto, where the Tshadda is called Lihu, the natives have a currency of iron plates of this shape, the handle being about five inches long, and the base of the triangle about four inches in breadth. It is called *Akika* (in the Doma and Tuka), *Ibia* (in the Mitsi), and *Agelemma* (in the Houssa languages). For the purchase of a slave, thirty-six of these are given; but I could not ascertain their commercial value in other respects. They are also used by the blacksmiths for making knives and similar utensils.\*



Salt is so valuable at Ototouro, a few miles above Iddah, that 10,000 cowries (5 dollars' worth) are given for a bag of that article weighing twenty or thirty pounds. This salt is brought from the palm-oil rivers. Farther up the country, they dig salt from earth pits in the dry season, which at a place called Ojogo, about 130 miles above the confluence, is exchanged at from 300 to 400 cowries' worth of goods, for a small matted bag not containing more than one pound in weight. That valuable vegetable product, shea-butter, with me-

\* Dr. Baikie, in Appendix B, p. 416, to his Narrative of the Exploring Voyage of 1854, mentions this kind of money as being probably of indigenous origin, and gives the following extracts to prove the existence of a similar currency in other places: "In Moko they have coined money made of iron in the form of a roach, the rundle as big as the palm of a hand, with a handle about an inch long."—*Ogilly's Africa*, fol. 1670, p. 482.

"The money of Moko is of iron in the shape and figure of a thornback, flat, and as broad as the palm of the hand, having a tail of the same metal of the length of the hand."—*Barbot's Description of the Coasts of South Guinea*, in *Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. v. p. 380.

tallic ores, and other industrial produce not obtainable elsewhere in the Bight, can be obtained up these rivers, and the natives are as anxious to barter as any to be met with on the coast.

The mode of carrying on trade in the different rivers of the Bight of Biafra, varies as follows:— In Brass, New Kalabar and Bonny the representative currency is called “bars;” in Old Kalabar, it is entitled “coppers;” in Kamerouns it is “bars,” “coppers,” “crews,” “big tings,” and “little tings,” terms constituting an *ad valorem* representation, whose meaning I fear I shall be unable to make myself understood in endeavouring to explain.

With reference to the “bars” in Brass and Bonny, they were formerly represented by “Manillas,” and are so still in some degree. Those cost three pence each, and twenty of them, amounting to five shillings, signified a “bar” in the olden time. They are pieces of copper of a horse-shoe form, about four inches in the measurement of the circumference of their circle, and about half an inch in that of their density; being terminated by two lozenge shaped ends facing one another. There are five different patterns, and though a casual observer could scarcely discriminate between them, yet the practised eye of the natives does it at once, and cannot be deceived. The “Antony Manilla” is good in all the interior markets. The “Congo Singolo”\* or “bottle-necked,” is good only at Opungo

[ \* This is also styled the “Nango Ward,” or Long Ward, from a tall gentleman of that name, who, I believe, first introduced them.

Market; the "Onadoo" is best for the Eboe country between Bonny and New Kalabar; the "Finniman Tawfinna"\* is passable in Ju-ju town and Qua market; but it is only one half the worth of the "Antony," and the "Culla Antony" is valued by the people at Umballa. A piece of cloth, whatever it costs, is charged at five "bars;" a gun, a puncheon of rum, or half a barrel of powder; and similar articles at so many "bars" of a fixed price.

Articles bartered at Old Kalabar, are represented by the term "coppers," the origin of which was a copper rod, about a yard in length, value for a shilling. Now, however, brass are substituted for copper rods; though the name still remains. For cloth and fancy articles here, so many "coppers" are charged, according to the profits required on the invoice price, or as the peculiar species of goods are in demand amongst the natives.

In Kameroons the currency is known by the terms "bars," "coppers," "crews," "big tings," and "little tings." The native traders carry on all their dealings with the interior country by "bars," and with the European traders by "crews." A crew varies in price from ten to twenty shillings sterling, being a measure of palm-oil which contains twelve and a half imperial gallons, and therefore, the value of this is another apocryphal representation of barter currency. "Big tings" mean powder and guns, and the remaining

\* "Finniman" is the native name for Ju-ju-town, and "Tawfinna" means permanent in, or peculiar to.

heterogeneous mixture of cloth, rum, hardware, crockery-ware, and so forth, come under the category of "little tings."

When a vessel arrives at the mouth of any of these rivers, its master is expected to send up for a native pilot. At Bonny 150 "bars" must be given to the pilot for conducting a ship in, and 250 for bringing one out, no matter what her tonnage may be. If the pilot be not sent for, and the master takes in the vessel himself, he has, nevertheless, to pay half the sum for pilotage.

In Old Kalabar the whole must be paid, whether the pilot be employed or not. There it is twenty-five coppers per registered ton of a ship. One "crew's" worth is paid for every three feet of the vessel's draught, if only from Cape Kameroons to the anchoring place up that river; but if for a further distance, a "crew" or two extra are generally paid.

Before a ship is allowed to commence trading, her supercargo is expected to pay to the king or chiefs a "comey," or custom bar, similar to port dues at home. At all the rivers it is levied in goods, such as are brought out for barter with the natives.

In Brass the "comey" amounts to the value of two puncheons of oil for each mast a ship carries, and it is divided between two chiefs, thus:—

A three-masted ship paying six puncheons value: four of these are given to Keya, King of the Obullum-Abry territory, and two to Arishima, King of Bassam-

bry, the opposite side of the river. In Bonny and New Kalabar, the "comey" is five "bars" per register ton of each ship; and in the former river, this is divided between Manilla Pepple, Ada Allison, and Illolly Pepple, who constitute the present governing power styled the "Regency." In the latter river, it is paid to King Amakree. Beside this "comey" for Bonny, there are two others demanded here; one a "custom bar" for each puncheon of oil sold, which is deducted from the native trader's money, and is levied by the chief under whose auspices the supercargo may have placed his ship for trading; the other, a "work bar" of three hundred for every twenty puncheons bought, and which is claimed from the supercargo by the representatives of the house to whom the trader belongs. In Old Kalabar the "comey" is twenty coppers per registered ton, two-thirds of which are paid to King Eyo, and one-third to Duke Ephraim. In Kameroons it is at the rate of ten "crews" for every hundred tons of the vessel's register.

At Old Kalabar and Kameroons the system of giving out goods in trust prevails; and as there is no legal mode of recovering debts from the natives, this gives rise to much unpleasantness as well as to many abuses.

The circle of exchange in all the palm oil trading countries being so extensive, may be advanced as a plea for the trust system. But, it should be remembered, that in a place where commerce is yet in its infancy, it is impossible to realise a defini-

tion of this principle, as thus explained in a "Discourse on Commercial Morals" by an accomplished writer\*: — "Credit is essentially a reliance upon character during the currency of a transaction; and with the cycle of the transaction it should ever be susceptible of close."

The natural indolence of the natives, and their want of appreciation of the value of time, with the indispensability in most of the trust rivers, of changing British goods into country currency, render the closing of agreements at a given time an impossibility.

Hence it appears to me to be a matter of ordinary caution to restrain trust within certain limits, and to make a proportion of credit given out in correspondence with the yearly produce of each locality and the yearly average of trade carried on at each station. Else, unrestrained, it is impossible to foretell the time of social retribution to those who will shut their eyes against common prudence in speculation.

No more cogent illustration of the success of legitimate traffic to put down the slave trade could be given than a record of the fact, that during the past year 2,280 tons of palm oil were exported from Brass river, and the chiefs of this place have never received a farthing from Her Majesty's Government for the suppression of the slave trade. When I state also that in 1836, only twenty years ago, 13,850 tons were the whole amount of palm oil imported into England

\* Martineau.

from all Western Africa; whilst, from July, 1854, to July, 1855, more than 3,000 tons above that amount have been sent from Bonny and New Kalabar, it may be seen how the commerce of this part of the world is increasing.

In the list of ninety-nine ships entered out from Liverpool to the Western Coast of Africa from 24th Sept. 1854, to 24th Sept. 1855, the tonnage amounted to 43,346 tons. As nearly all these are entered under the head of "Africa," it is impossible to ascertain what was the amount respectively to any of the rivers. But the importance of the Bight of Biafra traffic may be learned from our knowledge that, between the same dates, there were imported into Liverpool, 50,672 casks of various sizes, of which nearly one half, 23,830, were brought from Bonny, and 2,850 from New Kalabar.

As corroborative of the importance of the Bonny trade, I may mention that on the occasion of an official visit there in April, 1856, there were twenty-six vessels in both rivers, forming an aggregate of 13,216 tons.

When it is added, that in Dec. 1855, there were upwards of forty vessels employed in the African trade from the port of Bristol, comprising an aggregate of about 10,000 tons, it is needless to point out how commercial operations in the Bight of Biafra are advancing. In Fernando Po, the palm oil export might be increased to 4000 or 6000 tons per year, for the island is covered with palm trees. But the Aboriginal Fernandians are too lazy to do anything; and so the palm nuts fall down to rot on the roads leading to their



towns. A few millions of yams in the year are reported to be produced from Fernando Po.

The trading operations in the rivers of the Bight of Biafra need a very serious change before they can be said to assume a condition that promises well for the commercial prosperity of each locality. It is my opinion, that Europeans coming out solely to barter legitimately for the country's products, ought not to interfere in matters of local government, local prejudices, or superstitions. The short interval that has elapsed (say thirty-six years), between the slave trading of former times and the legitimate commerce of our day, has not allowed the social and moral condition of the people to be changed *pari passu* with the progress of that commerce. This is, unfortunately, overlooked by our commercial representatives, that men who before were liable to be seized and sold any day in the market, as a puncheon of palm oil is disposed of now, are becoming independent traders, though not allowed to purchase their own freedom. Thus the kings and chiefs wishing to keep these men down, and they not seeing why they should not reap the benefits of legitimate traffic in their own country, the despotism of African monarchs is thereby sometimes called into operation, more especially when the kings observe that those who were formerly slaves, and are still unenfranchised, are the most active and honest barterers to be found in the oil markets, as at Old Kalabar, Bonny, and Kameroons.

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 hence 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 prevails. Educated from his childhood to look upon his slaves, not as his own flesh and blood, but as so many household chattels, the master regards them in the same light as our farmers do their cattle, to be sold or used to their advantage. And we must not wonder at this, because these men, in 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, in 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 their master's property, that they have no right to themselves, and that they can be sold and torn from their

parents—sent to the uttermost 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 indigenous to African soil, to effect its final overthrow. Nations, the most civilised of which the world's history gives us a record, have not grown to manhood in a single epoch. Hence, 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' legitimisation of the slave trade.

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

On all parts of the coast, or near the outlets of rivers, the British squadron, which has been actively engaged here for thirty-seven years, finds very few slave trading vessels to chase after or capture now. The

Portuguese and Spaniards to the north of Sierra Leone, and in the neighbourhood of Lagos, are the only powers engaged in it, and with them its importance and consequent profit are daily diminishing, so closely are they watched by Her Majesty's cruisers. In the Bight of Biafra, as recorded of Angola by Dr. Livingstone, "the time of the slave trade may be spoken of in the past tense."

Nevertheless, it would appear, that the external as well as internal slave trade will only be effectually 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 then 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 evidence, 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,

\* "To deal and traffic, not in the labour of men, but in men themselves, is to devour the root instead of enjoying the fruit of human diligence."—BURKE.

will clearly disprove the fallacy that the native Africans are averse to labour. At Sierra Leone, at Akra, at Lagos, and at Old Kalabar, I have met negroes thirsting for the knowledge to turn the resources of their districts into the proper channel, but, unfortunately, no aid is nigh to give instruction to these aspiring men.

No stronger evidence of the advantages of free labour need be given, than that deduced by the observations of the celebrated traveller, Dr. Livingstone. In a letter to the "Times," on the occasion of his recent visit to England, he writes:—"The idea that the Africans could not produce cotton enough for the supply of England on their own soil, I very much suspect, is a Yankee notion too. Look at the insignificant island of the Mauritius, 35 miles by 25 broad, a great piece of volcanic rock, with so little soil, that the boulders which covered it, must be placed in rows, as dry stone dykes, in order to get space for the sugar cane; the holes are made for the cane between the rows, and a little guano added, for without that there would be no sugar; and when that part is exhausted, the dykes must all be moved on to the intervening spaces. The labour must all be brought by colonial money from India, and then English enterprise produces sugar equal in amount to one fourth of the entire consumption of Great Britain. The population of this wonderful little island, 200,000, is entirely free: the labourers, happy and comparatively free from the influence of caste, feel more friendly to Christianity and civilisation, and often return home as such men to spend

their after life in ease and quiet. Indeed, it is free labour which here, as in Angola, produces the large supply of the articles we need. The latter country contains a population of 600,000 souls, and only from 5 to 7 per cent. are slaves."

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 the voyage up the Tshadda-Binuë, in 1854, 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, showing 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.

All our anti-slave trade cruising operations, all the treaties for the abolition of the heinous practice of bartering human beings, will prove of no avail in delivering the great Laocoon of Africa out of the grasp of those two enormous serpents, Ignorance and Superstition, with their attendant barbarity, under whose power she is struggling, till Christianity and civilisation work hand in hand for her delivery. Not the civilisation—too much of which I regret to believe is in existence—calculated to create distrust on the part of the natives towards Europeans; but a spirit of commerce founded upon equity, and joined with conscientiousness, that will induce the untutored African to

believe there is a reality in our Christian professions. Such a system alone will realise the development of peace, comfort, and happiness to them, as well as lead in time to the commercial prosperity of Great Britain.





## APPENDIX A.



THE information communicated to me in the following letter, concerning the countries interior to Lagos, is from the pen of the Rev. Samuel Crowther, a missionary of the Established Church.

My first acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Crowther, whom I feel a pride and pleasure in calling my friend, was in our fellow-passengership on board the S.S. "Pleiad," in the Niger Expedition of 1854; and his mild and gentle bearing, with his enlarged Christian views and manly intelligence on all subjects he conversed about, made me at first inclined to believe the history of his having been liberated from a slave ship by Capt. Leake of H.M.S.S. "Myrmidon," in 1822, when he was only thirteen years old, as something akin to a fairy tale.\*

I do not know any one who is a more perfect illustration of Mrs. Stowe's † idea of "the wonderful and beautiful development locked up in the Ethiopian race," than the Rev. Mr.

\* Vide *Abbeokuta, or Sunrise with the Tropics*, by Miss Tucker. London, Nisbet and Co. 1853.

† *Dred*, p. 17.

Crowther. The observations and opinions in this communication are well deserving of serious thought with all persons who have an interest in the development of the industrial resources of his country. And I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that it is chiefly men of the race and qualities to be found in the Rev. Mr. Crowther that are the best helpers to this work, and the most likely to commence it successfully, be such an epoch at hand or in the womb of futurity.

*Peculiarities of the Countries interior to Lagos.*

Lagos, September 10th, 1856.

My dear Sir,

\* \* \* \* \*

This part of the country, of which Lagos in the Bight of Benin is the seaport, is generally known by the name of Yoruba country, extending from this Bight to within two or three days' journey to the banks of the Niger. This country comprises many tribes, governed by their own chiefs, and having their own laws. At one time they were all tributary to one sovereign, the King of Yoruba, including Benin on the east, and Dahomey on the west, but are now independent.

The principal tribes into which this kingdom is divided, are as follows. The Egbados: this division includes the Otta and Lagos near the sea coast, forming a belt of country on the bank of the lagoon in the forest, to Ketu on the border of Dahomey. The next division is Ketu and Shabe, on the border of Dahomey on the west; then the Ijebu on the east, on the border of Benin; then the Egbas of the forest, now known by the name of Egba of Abbeokuta; then come

Yoruba Proper, northward in the plain; Ife, Ijesha, Jjamo, Efou, Ondo, Idoko, Igbomna, and Ado near the banks of the Niger, from which a creek or stream, a little below Iddah, is called Do or Ido River.

Water facility for conveyance of goods and produce from the interior, is rather rare in the Yoruba country, but there are some streams, if properly surveyed, which would prove of immense advantage to commerce.

I would first mention the rivers Iyewa and Opara, both of which fall into the lagoon, the former a few miles above Badagry, which was partly navigated by the Landers when they started from Badagry on their journey to the Yoruba country and the Niger. If explored, this river might be navigable for boats and canoes to some distance inland towards the industrious Egbado tribe, through whose district it runs at the back of one of their villages, called Ijakaoke, where it is crossed as one goes to Ketu. It was about three feet deep in the dry season when I crossed it. The Opara runs between Ketu and Dahomey, and is navigable for canoes and boats to some distance inland westward; from all I could gather by information it runs through a country abounding with palm trees, by which hundreds of tons of palm oil and other produce might be floated down to the coast instead of slaves, as it is now used by the King of Dahomey.

Besides the Ogun River, on which hundreds of tons of palm oil, cotton, and other produce are floated down to Lagos, there is a similar river eastward of Lagos in the Ijebu country, known at the entrance into the lagoon as Palma River. It is crossed in the Yoruba country, where it is called Osun, and if explored might prove a valuable facility from Yoruba Proper through Ijebu country, as the Ogun River is through the Egba country. It is said the

natives, through superstition, never navigate this water except crosswise, which necessity compels them to do. Judging from the point it is crossed in the interior on the way to Ilerin, upwards of a hundred miles above its mouth, this river, which has been washing its waters into the lagoon undisturbed, enshrouded in the bosom of thick forest through which it runs to the coast, if explored, might give a new impetus to commerce in this Bight. The advantage of exploring this river has of late engaged the attention of some enterprising persons, if encouraged to carry it out.

The people away from slave trading influence on the coast are very industrious; their chief occupation is farming and trading. The male population attend to the former and the female the latter, but a large portion of men do give part of their time to trading also, and others pursue it altogether as their chief work. They have no means of carrying their produce to the coast except on the head, and that from a distance of one to two hundred miles from the interior. Since the opening of the Ogun River from Abbeokuta to Lagos, this drawback to conveyance of goods has been removed in a great measure, and great impetus has been given to the palm oil trade through that channel. If the Palma River can be made use of in like manner, what an increase of trade would be encouraged in this Bight from the interior!

For want of better means of conveyance than men's heads, immense tanks, unportable by human strength, have been cut into pieces to facilitate their carriage to the coast from the interior. There are a great many horses in the country which cost only at an average of 10*l.* to 15*l.* each. With a small outlay, cart and waggon roads can very easily be made from one principal trading town to another, and we may infer from the readiness with which the people load canoes with oil and

other produce from Abbeokuta to Lagos, that a cart or waggon company would very readily recover their outlay, and make a handsome profit on such an enterprise. The facility with which carriage roads can be made in this country is another inducement. The country being undulating, makes a few small bridges necessary, and this among forests of timber trees; but to a very great distance the road runs through level plains; nothing is wanting but to widen the path, and the cart road is made. In this way one might travel with facility from Abbeokuta to the banks of the Niger in a few days, and thus a chain of connection will be formed both by land and by the River Niger, making Rabba the upper trading establishment, in addition to that at the confluence of the Kworra and Tshadda rivers below. Thus a highway would be opened in this country by land from Abbeokuta through Ijaye, Ago, Ogbomosa, Ilorin, and to Rabba, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles.

From the great interest the native chiefs take in trade, if employed, they will expedite the work, and consider it a great favour to be thus employed. Jealousy and fear of each other prevent their moving to do anything of themselves, however desirable they may see the thing to be. The present time is most favourable, since they have the missionaries to back them in making peace with one another. Those who had such a disposition, but dared not come forward for fear of others, have been emboldened through them to put in practice what otherwise they would have been afraid to speak of. So it is in the case of road improvement. Abbeokuta would not do it, Ijaye would not do it; but no sooner was it proposed by the missionaries, and some remuneration was promised to the labourers, than it was at once agreed upon by the chiefs of both places. How

much more will they not be likely to join hand in hand when the subject is proposed to them by higher influence, and shown to them that it is for their own interests.

The best way to draw out the resources of this country would be the *exploration* of those streams leading to the interior, and the *improvement* of the roads for traffic to the banks of the River Niger, *making Rabba the upper establishment*, in addition to that of the confluence.

The chief produce of this country is, red palm-oil, made from the red pulp of the palm-nuts; the palm-oil made from the kernel, shea-butter from nuts of shea-trees, ground-nuts, beniseed, and cotton in abundance, and ivory: all these are readily procured for European markets.

The religion of the country is heathenism, but Moham-  
medanism has been making rapid progress among the people since the kingdom has been split into independent states through slave wars. A portion of the Yoruba country is governed by Mohammedans, and subject to the sultan at Sokoto. Their principal town and capital is Ilorin, whence they travel into different parts of the country making prose-  
lytes, at the same time carrying on active slave wars and slave trade all over the country.

The idolatrous worship of the heathens is similar throughout the country. There is an established religion connected with government, which is the worship of the dead, or their deceased ancestors, — the secret of which every male is acquainted with, and is bound to keep the female ignorant of, on pain of death on its being revealed to the weaker sex. Thus it has become a law sacred to be observed by all the male population throughout the land. Notwithstanding their national enmity against each other, yet this religious law is observed inviolate during those times of bitter rancour and

revênge, at the time of slave wars which depopulated the Yoruba country.

The people are very superstitious ; besides the worship of their deceased ancestors, they worship the gods of thunder and lightning, the devil, snakes, rivers, some particular trees, the white ant hills, and rocks with caves, in which they suppose the spirits of the gods dwell. To these objects of worship sacrifices of bullocks, goats and sheep, fowls and pigeons are made, and sometimes human beings also. Since the last ten years Christian missionaries have directed their efforts to the conversion of the heathen population, which have been attended with encouraging success.

The present seat of the King of Yoruba is Ago, otherwise called Oyo, after the name of the old capital, which was visited by Clapperton and Lander.

A king is acknowledged, and his person held sacred ; his wives and children are highly respected. Any attempt of violence against the king's person, or of the royal family, or any act of wantonness with the wives of the king, is punished with death. There are no written laws, but such laws and customs as have been handed from their ancestors, especially those respecting *relative* duties, have become established laws.

The right to the throne is hereditary, but exclusively in the male line, or the male issue of the king's daughters.

The government is absolute, but it has been much modified since the kingdom has been divided into many independent states by slave wars, into what may be called a limited monarchy, as the king is assisted in making laws and deciding matters by the elders, of whom six are the principal leading men, called Iweffa. The same is observed nearly in all the petty states.

The building of the king's palace is thrown upon the nation, who yearly contribute materials for this purpose. The king is not supported by any fixed or standing revenue, except in fees, custom, and tribute paid by his subjects. It was the king's prerogative in old time to make war, and that every third year; and a certain portion of the slaves and spoils taken in such wars were due to him. He employs some of his people in trade, and others in agriculture.

Murder is punished with death; manslaughter, if well attested as accident, may escape with heavy fine. Serious theft is punished with death; petty thefts with whipping and fine, and if it becomes habitual, the thief is liable to be sold away out of the country,—something like banishment.

An unchaste young woman is branded with disgrace, and her character suffers for ever. Adultery is fined with a heavy sum of cowries.

Parents are respected by their children, by whom they are cared for and provided in their old age; they think their duty towards their parents is not completed till they can give them honourable burial after death.

The system of pawning is prevalent in this country. In case of distress for cowries, one or more members of the family is pawned for a certain sum, from 20,000 to 60,000 cowries, according to the age and ability of the person pawned to work his time, as the interest for that sum; or by fixing the interest, if paid in cowries, at 200 cowries every fifth day, 400 every ninth, or 800 cowries at every seventeenth day, for every sum of 20,000 cowries principal in loan. When the principal advanced is paid, the interest by labour or cowries ceases.

During the time of pawn service, the person so pawned, though he may reside in the house of his pawnee, if a young



person, is not looked upon as the property of the lender of the money. In time of sickness, or if he commits any crime, he is sent over to his relatives, who are responsible for the money due, and who also must bear the consequences of the state of his health and of his bad conduct. This makes a great difference between a slave and a pawn.

The system of pawn, as it is practised in this country, has proved beneficial to thousands of families since slave wars broke out with unbounded fury.

It is very often the case that after war has destroyed a town, not only all the property is lost, but a large portion of a family is also taken captive to be sold into foreign slavery. Those who fortunately escape being caught, have no other resource to ransom their captured relatives, but this expedient, — to pawn a certain number of the family for as many cowries as they need to ransom their captured relatives from going into foreign slavery. Thus thousands have been kept from being removed out of the country.

By conjoint persevering labour, they will soon pay the loan, and free themselves from their debts. Hence originated that significant proverb among the Yorubas, under the word *Ete* in my Yoruba vocabulary, which runs thus: — *Aimete aimero ni imu enia meffa isingba egbaffa*, “Want of consideration and forethought made six persons pawn themselves for six dollars;” whereas, instead of taking six loans of one dollar each, if one of them had been put in pawn to work the interest of the loan of six dollars, the remaining five persons would have put their energy together to work out, and soon pay the principal.

The system of saving clubs is universal in the Yoruba country. The cowries so saved are not hoarded up, but put into immediate use. For instance, if there is a club of 50

persons, each member has to contribute at the rate of 10 strings, or 400 cowries, every seventeenth day, at which time 500 strings, or 20,000 cowries are collected. This sum is at once delivered to a member of the club who is most needy, to make use of as he desires. Thus it is continued till all the members have taken their share, and the round of 50 is wound up; this is a great inducement to industry, and the prevention of waste and infrugality.

Sometimes the members may consist of men and women; but most commonly each sex form separate clubs of themselves.

Since Lagos has ceased to be a slave port, trade has greatly increased; large farms have been cultivated; many persons have become much better off than they were during the time the slave trade prevailed in the country. Were the coercive measure adopted since 1851, to put an end to the trade on this coast, followed up, nothing more would have been heard of it now in this Bight; but it still exists, and is carried on at Pato Novo, Whydah, and Little Popo, westward of Lagos. Those chiefs with whom treaties have been made by Her Majesty's Government, are not faithful to their engagements; they consider the papers they signed as if they were mere waste paper; hence the slave trading portion of the inhabitants of the country are using every possible means to unsettle the minds of those who have given it up through the influence of the British Government. Not long ago the King of Dahomey sent large presents of slaves and other things to the Yorubee of Ijaye, Ago, and Ilorin, to ask their combination with him against the destruction of Abbeokuta, because it was through that place the white men have got a footing in the country, and the progress of their slave traffic has been obstructed;

hence the destruction of Abbeokuta would insure again the revival of the slave trade, which they now so much miss. This was the substance of his wicked message, but the people of Florin being of better mind, betrayed the message and the messengers to the King of Abbeokuta.

If these slave ports above mentioned had been effectually stopped, the King of Dahomey would be less heeded in the interior; in fact, he would have no room for such insinuations to poison the minds of the better part of this country.

I hope these brief notices will be of some use to you in the execution of your work, in which I wish you all success and popular sympathy.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL CROWTHER.

S: J. Hutchinson, Esq,

H. B. M. Consul.

## APPENDIX B.



ALL those who have regarded with interest the commercial advancement of Africa during the last twenty years, will have observed that, up to this period, the cultivation of cotton has not manifested as marked a feature of that progressive condition as might have been expected from what is known of the capacity of the soil for its culture.

Up most of the rivers within my jurisdiction — these rivers forming the main outlets from Central Africa — it is very partially tilled; and at those places only for domestic use. Indeed, it cannot be said to be raised in any territory where the natives have access to British traders to exchange their palm oil for British manufactured goods. Hence, in these localities, the chiefs do not understand the mode of setting about its culture; nor can they appreciate its money value in the market; though the soil in their territories is as suited to its growth, and the means of transit for the produce by water power more available, than it ever can be at any seaboard port like Lagos.

With the opinion of Lord Palmerston in a late debate on African affairs in the House of Lords, I fully coincide, when his Lordship observed: "It is quite evident, that if pains

were taken by the capitalists and merchants of England to obtain a supply of cotton from thence, Africa would, in a short period, become quite as prolific a source of supply as any other part of the globe."

I confess myself as anxious as any person for the arrival of that time anticipated by a writer in the "Manchester Courier," July 19th, 1856; that "It would be a proud position for the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire to be placed in to be able to say: 'We are importing cotton from the coast of Africa by means of our own enterprise, and we shall become, in the course of a few years, less dependent upon the American cotton, which competes with our manufacturers in its own market.'"

Hopeful as are the expectations of some gentlemen in Manchester, as to Lagos becoming a successful location for the exportation of cotton, I regret to say that my opinions on the subject do not at all coincide with theirs. Not that I have any doubts of the industry or superior knowledge in the process of cultivation attained by the people of Yoruba. But it is a judgment founded upon general as well as my own observations of Lagos, that if every man, woman, and child in the large districts of Abbeokuta, Ibadan, Ijaye, Ago, Ogbomoso, Ilorin, and others, all in the Yoruba country interior to Lagos, were to produce and prepare 100 bales of cotton every day, the Lancashire market could not depend upon its being shipped securely from Lagos during a period of more than three or four months of the year. A surging tide is ever breaking across that bar, even in the calmest weather; and we are constantly hearing accounts of canoes upsetting, and their occupants being devoured *instantly* by the remorseless sharks.

The first point being established, that the soil and climate

on every part of the west coast of Africa are fitted for growing cotton, the next to be considered is, what are the obstacles to be overcome in attaining the object of having our cotton cultivated in a country where, with its culture, other blessings of civilisation may be introduced, and a system of education brought in, that will be the surest mode of eradicating the slave trade, by employing the superabundant serfs of Africa in tilling their own land? If such a condition of improvement be expected to arise amongst the people themselves, from the fact that the Yorubans, the inhabitants of *one* district, are active in its nurture, many ages will pass away before any healthy change such as wished for may take place so as to be considered universal. The people, as a general rule, are not averse to labour. Their natural indolence may be attributed to the combination of facts already stated.

Any one who has studied the peculiarities of the native African will see that, beyond all uncivilised tribes of whom ancient or modern history gives us a record, his character is pre-eminently commercial. Even the Krumen, with whom slavery has never been known to exist, except in one shape, make that—I blush for them in writing it—a financial consideration. The more wives a Krumen is able to buy from neighbouring nations, the higher is he looked to as a stock-exchange model, after his country fashion.

The palm oil manufacture being established on the exterior at the mouths of the rivers, it is from the inner countries that for many years the cotton must be expected to come. The majority of nations interior to the Niger understand the cultivation of the plant, but they do not know its market value, nor the mode of preparing it for

exportation to England. King Eyo Honesty of Old Kalabar is most anxious for some one to go to his country and teach him the cultivation of cotton and sugar-cane, for the production of both of which his territory is adapted, as well as palm oil.

Whether it be for present or future benefit, I consider this a very suitable opportunity to lay before the public a synoptical account of a paper given to me by Mr. James Lees, formerly of Southport, and now of Eastbourne in Sussex. It is entitled — “1st. On the Six Months’ Courses of Seasons in the Tropics. 2nd. Their Astronomical Cause. 3rd. Their Effects upon Animal and Vegetable Life. Also, appended thereto, 4th. Some Suggestions upon the Culture of the Cotton Plant in Western Africa.”

The essay is too lengthy for insertion, *verbatim et literatim*, in this work. Of the first three parts I can only give an analysis, as proving how they bear on the fourth, which I purpose to lay before the reader in full.

Mr. Lees, in his preamble, notices the fact of two fruit-bearing, as well as two flower-bearing seasons occurring in tropical countries during the year. This is proved by early writers, as well as by more recent authors, English and French writers on astronomy. My chief reason for directing attention to it is, that, Mr. Lees’ theory being correct, it will, when cotton cultivation comes to be an established fact in Africa, prove the possibility of double crops in the year, from the existence of two seasons.

In the second part he sets out by showing the incorrectness of the present mode of making a meteorological partition of tropical seasons, by dividing them into wet and dry. He writes, “It is by astronomy, and not by meteorology —

by the position of the sun, and not by the state of the weather, that the year must be divided, if we would correctly determine the courses of the seasons, either within the tropics, or in any other part of the earth."

1st. He proves, by a quotation from the French astronomer La Place\*, that there are six months' courses of seasons within the tropics, and twelve months' seasons beyond them.

2nd. That every six months' course of season begins at a solstice, and so does every twelvemonths' course.

3rd. That the six months' courses of the seasons are only perfectly developed at the equator, their imperfection increasing on receding from it (the equator), until they cease to exist, and merge into a twelvemonth's course at the tropical lines. This explanation is better in his own words, with his own illustration:—

“This main distinction between the twelve months' and six months' courses, proceeds from the fact that, the ascents and descents of the sun's mid-day path in the twelve months' courses of the season, are everywhere equal; that is to say, the ascent is everywhere equal to the descent; whilst the ascents and descents in the six months' courses are not equal anywhere except at the equator. In every other place within the tropics they are unequal. There is a long and short ascent each year, as well as a long and short descent; and these ascents and descents become more and more unequal as the equator is receded from, until the short ascent of one of the two courses in the year, with the short descent of the other, totally disappear; the two six months' courses merging into one twelve months' course at the tropical lines.

\* System of the World (Harte's Trans.) vol. i. pp. 9, 10.



“ The following diagram shows the two six months' courses of seasons in the year at Sierra Leone.

“ Let *P* be Sierra Leone in  $8^{\circ} 30' N.$  lat.

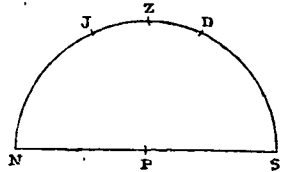
“ *N, J, Z, D, S,* points in the plane of the meridian.

“ *N,* the north point of the horizon.

“ *s,* the south point.

“ *D,* the mid-day position of the sun at the December solstice.

“ *J,* his mid-day position at the June solstice.



“ *z,* the zenith.

“ At Sierra Leone, then, the long ascent of the sun's mid-day path is from *D* to *z*, or from Dec. 21st to April 12th, the day of the first zenith passage; and the short descent is from *z* to *J*, or from April 12th to June 21st; which ascent and descent together constitute one of the two six months' courses of seasons in the year. The short ascent of the sun's path is from *J* to *z*, or from June 21st to August 31st, the day of the second zenith passage; and the long descent is from *z* to *D*, or from August 31st to Dec. 21st; and this ascent and descent together constitute the other of the two six months' courses of seasons in the year.

“ I would here remark, that the effect of the above-named chief distinctive feature of the six months' courses of seasons upon vegetable life will be, that at the equator alone, all trees and shrubs can perfect their two crops of blossoms and fruit every year; in every other part of the tropics there will be imperfection. So that, soon after receding from the equator towards the tropical lines, some of the trees and shrubs will fail to perfect both of their crops of fruit. One of the crops will be inferior to the other; and on receding farther from the equator, the number of those which fail

will increase; and on receding still farther, some of the trees and shrubs will bear two crops of blossoms, but only one crop of fruit every year; in places at or near to the tropical lines one crop of fruit only, without any second crop of blossoms. Moreover, in all places within the tropics, most of the trees and shrubs will yield a superior crop of fruit in that six months' course of seasons in which there is the long ascent of the sun."

Another proof of this ascent and descent of the sun forming the two seasons within the tropics, is given by Mr. Lees, having reference to the sun's midnight path, and of the consequent more intense darkness of summer nights in inter-tropical than in extra-tropical countries.

The solstices, or commencement of summers, are said to begin in June and December.

Of the influence of these seasons upon animal life, as of migration, incubation, and moulting of birds; lambing and kidding of sheep and goat, with other like phenomena, *occurring twice a year*, I do not conceive this to be an appropriate place for comment, as I am not compiling a purely scientific work.

It is to vegetation that I wish to confine myself, and therefore deem the following quotation an apposite one here:—

"The effect of this distinction upon vegetable life will be to make a less interval than six months between the recurrence of the phenomena which take place in the summer, in all places within the tropics, except at the equator; and the interval will be less in proportion as the place is situate farther from the equator. But as regards those phenomena that take place very early in the six months' courses, and so may be said to occur rather in the winter than in the

summer; this distinctive feature will have but little effect upon them; the interval between them will not diminish (for the solstitial points are fixed, and never approach each other as the zenith passages do), and the periods of their recurrence will be six months asunder, even in tropical countries far removed from the equator."

Chiefly from a work entitled "*Hortus Malabaricus*," compiled by Van Rhee, the Dutch Governor of Malabar, Mr. Lees adduces several proofs of the twice-a-year bearing of many vegetables in that part of India. From other writers like proofs are given of the same thing occurring in tropical America, in the West India islands, in Dutch, French, and British Guiana, and in tropical Africa.

The following "Suggestions upon the Culture of the Cotton Plant in Western Africa," I consider of sufficient importance to give in full.

"Notwithstanding the cotton plant in tropical countries, where it is not destroyed by frost, continues to be productive for several years, yet some varieties of it, even in those countries, are cultivated as annuals. But the latter kinds remain under culture, more generally, about three years; so that those most proper to be grown, as articles of export in Western Africa, should probably be so treated.

"A knowledge of the habits of the cotton plant, and of the tropical seasons, enables us to state that the plant when cultivated as a perennial will bear two crops a year in such parts of Western Africa as are suitable for it; and yet, as the cotton plant is one of those tropical shrubs which are not deciduous, but which, bearing upon the new wood, have a constant succession of new shoots, and have always upon them both blossoms and fruit in all stages of growth, its double harvests will run into each other, unless prevented

from doing so by falls of rain. But merely to know the habits of the plant and the seasons of the tropics, is far from being sufficient for the successful culture of cotton in any tropical country; an accurate acquaintance with the state of the weather throughout the year, as derived from long experience, and by which the natives in each particular locality regulate their agricultural practice, and determine the proper times for sowing, as well for most of the other operations of agriculture, is absolutely indispensable. Consequently, the growing of cotton in Western Africa, as the supply of the British market, would be, in all probability, carried on the most successfully by native cultivators.

“ For promoting the culture of cotton for export in Western Africa, the most effectual way would appear to be for merchants, or persons in Britain, and especially those in the manufacturing districts, to stimulate it, by buying from the natives all the superior cotton they grow. As auxiliaries to this method, there might be, in the commencement of the culture, a supplying of the native cultivators with a good kind of seed, and with a proper cleaning implement; but these to be auxiliaries only; and the main thing to be the buying of the cotton at a fair price. In the buying, it may very likely be found necessary to make long contracts; since the natives are so exceedingly poor they cannot afford to sow a plant requiring a three years' culture (and particularly if its produce is unsuitable for home use, as that of a superior cotton plant might be), unless they can be sure of a market for the whole period. Therefore, in order that the culture should be vigorously promoted, the buyers may have to enter into contracts with the natives, to take from them all their superior cotton, at a certain fixed and fair price, for a term of three years.

“That the above suggestion, as to the buying of the cotton in Western Africa, is not made on insufficient grounds, may be seen from what has taken place in another country. In British India, whilst, on the one hand, the Agri-Horticultural Society of Calcutta — by a mere distribution of the best varieties of seed, though continued during many years, but unaccompanied by the buying of the produce from the native cultivators — have failed in making the culture of any of those varieties take root in any part of India, on the other hand, the native cotton manufacturers in the extreme south of India — by buying the produce of a superior variety called the Bourbon cotton plant, the seed of which was introduced into India by the East India Company about the beginning of the present century — have succeeded in making the culture of that variety become rooted in their own neighbourhood, and in obtaining a supply of it from year to year. I will add, I have strong reasons for believing, that if the British cotton manufacturers would only follow a good example, and buy at a fair price in India the produce of the Bourbon plant, they might greatly extend that culture which the Indian cotton manufacturers have already established; and, as the produce of the Indian grown Bourbon plant is superior to that of the native Indian, and even to that of the Indian grown New Orleans, they might thus obtain a supply of an article highly suitable for the general requirements of the British cotton trade.

“Auxiliary to the purchase of the cotton, is the supply of a good kind of seed. Probably the best kind for Western Africa, is that of some superior long-stapled variety of the plant, as the seed of the Egyptian plant, or of the Sea Islands, or, it may be, of some native plant; for, the produce of superior long-stapled varieties has the advantage of

always commanding the highest price in the British market. But whatever kind of seed is selected, it should be such as is suitable for the feeding of cattle; as then the value of the seed will pay for the expense of the cleaning; and, in fact, the seed of some of the cotton that is even now grown in Central Africa possesses this good quality in remarkable perfection; for we are told by Capt. Clapperton, that at Kouba 'Cotton seed bruised is very much used for feeding sheep, bullocks, asses, and camels. These animals soon become extremely fond of it; it is an excellent food for fattening them.\*' Consequently, cotton seed which is so thickly coated with fuzz as that of the New Orleans plant, and is thereby rendered almost unfit for cattle food (and, indeed, is never used, even in the United States, for feeding cattle), is scarcely suitable for culture in Western Africa. Moreover, the seed of which choice is made should produce a seed-cotton, yielding a good per centage of clean cotton; it should yield at the least twenty-eight per cent. There is, then, the further auxiliary of a proper cleaning implement. In truth, the introduction of a better implement into Western Africa than the one in present use, would appear to be requisite. An iron spindle is apparently the only thing now generally used for cleaning cotton throughout the whole of tropical Africa. We are informed by Mungo Park that the Mandingo women 'prepare the cotton for spinning, by laying it in small quantities at a time upon a smooth stone or piece of board, and rolling the seeds out with a thick iron spindle.†' Capt. Clapperton says that the same implement

\* Denham and Clapperton Journal, p. 6.

† Travels, 1799, p. 281.

is used in Central Africa.\* Mr. Charles Johnston found it in use in Abyssinia.† Yet, though this rude implement ought certainly to be superseded, fairness towards it requires the remark that it maintains its ground, and is to this day in general use, under the name of the foot roller, in an extensive district on the table-land of Central India. But it must give way to the roller gin or churka, which is altogether a superior implement, and of which there are many different kinds, from the most expensive of all, with two fly-wheels of iron, as used on the Sea Island cotton plantations of the United States, to the cheapest of all, without any fly-wheel, and made entirely of wood, in common use amongst the natives of the Indian presidency of Madras. - As to the saw gin, it is too expensive an implement to be generally used in Western Africa; besides it has too powerful an action for any kind of cotton except the New Orleans, and particularly for cotton of a long staple, to which it is exceedingly injurious. The necessary use of this costly implement is a great impediment to the introduction of the culture of New Orleans cotton into any tropical country; for the fibre of that variety of the plant adheres so firmly to the seed, as to make the use of the saw gin in the cleaning perfectly indispensable.

“The cotton plant is not an annual. In Western Africa and other tropical places, where it is not destroyed by frost, it continues to be productive for many years. It is one of those tropical shrubs which are not deciduous, but which bear upon the new wood, and have a constant succession of new shoots, and have at all times upon them both blossoms and fruit.

\* Denham and Clapperton Journal, p. 60.

† Travels in Southern Abyssinia, vol. ii. p. 322.

“ It has a tap-root, which it strikes many feet deep into the earth.

“ Its native home is in the tropics, on lands nearly upon a level with the sea, so that the coast lands of Western Africa are a locality highly suitable for it; and on them it will grow most luxuriantly, and will be very productive.

“ With regard to the cultivation of the cotton plant in Western Africa, though it must be in conformity with the above habits, yet it cannot be carried on upon true principles without a knowledge of the course of the seasons.

“ By what has been before stated respecting the astronomical division of the year, there would appear to be in Western Africa two sowing times in the year,—one of them about the period of the December solstice, or perhaps a little earlier, and the other rather before the June solstice—the best time being that before the December solstice.

“ And for the same reason, there would appear to be two pruning times in the year, which times will be at the same periods as those for sowing; for at those periods, the plant is the least productive, there being then the least solar influence. In Western Africa there will be a necessity for pruning the plant, in order to keep it down to a height convenient for picking.

“ The cotton plant evidently requires for its tap-root a considerable depth of light or sandy soil.

“ The seed should not be sown too deep; the depth of an inch and a half is sufficient.

“ The proper distance at which the plant should be sown must be ascertained by experience, for the proper distances between the rows as well as between plant and plant will depend entirely on the size of the plants.

“ It is very desirable that the results of all attempts to



cultivate the cotton plant in any tropical country, on however small a scale these attempts may have been, should be published in Manchester; and it would be well if the publication of these results stated:—

“1st. The number of plants in an acre, or in any proportionate part of an acre.

“2nd. The weight of seed-cotton annually produced in an acre, or in any proportionate part of an acre.

“3rd. The average weight of seed-cotton in a pod. In the United States, as we are informed by Dillne, the planter's quarter-acre is a plot of land 105 feet each way; and the planter's acre, or four of these quarter-acres, is 210 feet each way.”

These observations of Mr. Lees ought to form a handbook for all persons attempting the culture of cotton in Western Africa.

## APPENDIX C.

### THE DISEASES OF THE NATIVE AFRICANS.

IN the majority of stations in the Bight of Biafra, a medical man has very little opportunity of practice in those diseases which prevail amongst the natives. With Pagan as well as Mahomedan races, their chief confidence is placed in the healing power of a ju-ju, fetish, or gri-gri, as the faith of some of our old women at home in charms.

There is very little difference between the organic disorders of black and white men, save in those which affect the skin, and in the intensity of the morbid symptoms by comparison. Hence, the excreting and secreting functions of the skin being more active, stronger stimulants and detergents are required than those used by Europeans. I lay this down as a general rule.

#### *Lepra.*

Of Lepra I have never seen cases, though it is reported to have raged in the gaol of Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1828, and to have been a contagious disease.

*Yaws.*

“Yaws,” to which the title of “Frambœsia” has been given by pathological writers on skin diseases, is a very formidable looking affection. I believe it to arise from want of cleanliness more than from general debility. The surface, when the eruption comes on, seems as if it were daubed over with raspberry jam; and the fungous tubercles which it presents are larger and grow more rapidly in well-fed negroes than in those who are badly fed and thin. If it attacks any part where hair grows, the hair turns white. The period during which it is in progress varies from a few weeks to several months, being much more easily subdued in children than in adults. The natives in some places give for cure the decoction of the bark of certain trees, with which the sores are also washed. It affects the individual only once in a lifetime, and then no remedy can be applied to stop its taking the course of our own pustular and exanthematous fevers. Alterative, aperient, and tonic medicines, with the use of sulphate of copper, red precipitate, or caustic externally, constitute the best treatment.

*Craw-Craw*

Is a kind of purulent scabies. The negroes do not care much about its cure, knowing its non-malignity. The same remedies which are applicable to itch at home, are used in its treatment. The peelings of plantain burned into charcoal and mixed with water, also a paste made of palm-oil and expressed juice of camwood, are applied to it in the Old Kalabar country. Both have seemed to me to be inefficacious. I found compound sulphur ointment to be a very good remedy for this disorder.

*Elephantiasis*

Is one of those diseases upon which a European medical man's opinion is never required by the natives. It is placed by writers on intertropical diseases in the same class as the two former, yet it very certainly affects deeper structures than those of the skin, and is frequently unaccompanied by any breaking of the external surface. Barbadoes leg is the name given to it in the island of that name, which is reputed to be its native place: but I can see no remedy for it save repeated blistering and keeping up a discharge, or the knife; to neither of which the negro will submit.

*Phagedenic Ulcer.*

In Fernando Po, I have seen very bad cases of phagedenic ulcer, many of which yielded to red precipitate and caustic in the early stage, always with the provision that rest and extension of the limb was to be the chief curative element. They are generally found in the neighbourhood of the ankle, internally or externally. The worst case of the kind I ever saw was in a Boobee man, where the ulcer had eaten through both bones, and the foot was retained to the leg only by a small piece of cuticle. I performed amputation about three inches below the knee, and the man soon got stout and recovered, though nearly dead from starvation as well as disease when I saw him. Rest, with extension of the leg is indispensable to make the caustic applications certain in their effect. I have seen extraordinary cases of this affection, indeed cases so bad that several medical men despaired of any remedy but amputation, healed by the application of a decoction of croton nuts, over which slices of the

fresh bitter-orange peel were fastened with a bandage. This was renewed every day, and seemed to possess an astonishing rapidity of curative power.

### *Lethargy.*

The cases of lethargy or "sleepy sickness," which occur in this island, are the most frequent maladies amongst the inhabitants of Clarence, its capital:—a continuous sleeping, and when wakened, showing no return of consciousness. As it is said by Hooper, in his "Medical Dictionary," frequently to arise from suppressed discharge or eruption, it would be well deserving the attention of a medical man, who could devote time to it, to try and ascertain whether those affected by it have ever been afflicted with the previously mentioned disease or other eruption. It most frequently occurs in women, and in many cases coming under my notice I have ascertained it to arise from irregularity or suppression of the catamenia.

Amongst nearly all the members of the negro race, there seems to be a peculiar faculty of lethargy as soon as they are prostrated with sickness; and this communicating itself to their families, no intimation is given to a medical man till the disease becomes a matter nearly of life or death. But in almost all the cases of fever, dysentery, pleuritis, and pneumonia that I have had in my charge, there was no difference in treatment from that recommended and carried out by the medical practitioners in Great Britain.



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