TRAVELS

IN THE

TIMANNEE, KOORANKO, AND SOOLIMA COUNTRIES

IN

WESTERN AFRICA

BY

MAJOR ALEXANDER GORDON LAING

WITH PLATES AND A MAP

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL BATHURST, K.G.,

HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES, THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA

IS BECOMING

PROGRESSIVELY AND RAPIDLY KNOWN;

THIS WORK

IS, WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION, RESPRECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

GRATEFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

ALEXANDER GORDON LAING

ADVERSISEMENT.

It had been Major Laing's intention, on his return to Sierra Leone from the mission related in the following pages, to have lost no time in completing his Journal from the rough notes and memoranda which he had kept whilst in the interior, and to have transmitted it to his friend Captain Sabine in London, who had engaged, on their parting at Sierra Leone in April 1822, to superintend its publication, should circumstances prevent Major Laing from doing so for himself.

The execution of this intention was delayed by the hostilities which commenced between the British Government and the King of Ashantee, in the Autumn of 1822, in consequence of which Major Laing received an order, on his arrival at Sierra Leone, to join his regiment on the Gold Coast without delay. He contented himself, therefore, with transmitting the details of the geographical determinations of the latitude, longitude and elevation of places which he had visited, and deferred the completion of his Journal until a period of more leisure. On his arrival on the Gold Coast, Major Laing was employed in the organization and command of a very considerable native force, designed to be auxiliary to a small British detachment, which was then expected from England. During the greater part of the year 1823, this native force was stationed on the frontier of the Fantee and Ashantee countries, and was frequently engaged, and always successfully, with detachments of the Ashantee army. During this period, in the intervals of active operation, the first five chapters were written nearly as they are now printed.

On the fall of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which took place early in 1824, Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, on whom the command of the Gold Coast devolved, deemed it expedient to send Major Laing to England, for the purpose of acquainting Government, more fully than could be done by despatch, with the existing circumstances of the command. Soon after his arrival in England, *i.e.* in August, he obtained a short leave of absence to visit Scotland for the recovery of his health, which had been seriously affected by so many months of such constant and extreme exposure in Africa, as it is probable few constitutions would have supported.

Major Laing returned to London in October, designing to complete his journal, which had considerably advanced in Scotland, and to publish it in the Spring of the present year. An opportunity, however, unexpectedly presented itself to him, of proceeding under Lord Bathurst's auspices, in the discovery of the yet unknown course and termination of the Niger; an undertaking which, as the reader will perceive, he had long and anxiously desired. It being designed that Major Laing should accompany the caravan from Tripoli to Timbuctoo in the Supper of the present year, his departure from England very early in the year became necessary, and the intervening time was scarcely sufficient for the necessary preparation for the journey. Under these circumstances, he again requested his friend to superintend the printing of the present Journal, with such request, as it appeared the only means of laying before the public much interesting information respecting a country, which is suffering, because so little is known concerning its capabilities and wants, his friend most readily complied.

It has been considered proper to advertize the reader of the circumstances under which the work thus submitted to his notice was written and published, as an apology for defects which may be observed, and particularly for those which would have been remedied, had the whole of the sheets received the advantage of the author's own revision in the press.

Major Laing quitted London for Tripoli on the 5th of February, at which time the printing had advanced to the 144th page: so far, therefore, the reader will have the satisfaction of knowing that the Journal was seen in print by the author; the whole of the remainder, as prepared for the press, was read by him the day before his departure.

CONTENTS

Introduction	Page 1
CHAPTER I Departure from Sierra Leone - Route through the Timannee Country	24
CHAPTER II Boundaries of the Timannee Country - Manners and Customs - Superstitions - Marriage, and Funeral Ceremonies - Agriculture, &c. &c.	68
CHAPTER III Ma-Boom - Detention - Villany of Headmen - Procedure through the Country of Kooranko - Mountains - Picturesque and Mineralogical Appearances - Arrival and Recaption at Kamato	108
CHAPTER IV Stay at Kamato - Costume and Customs of Kooranko - Productions - Employments - Spinning - Weaving, &c Departure for Falaba	161
CHAPTER V Departure from Kamato - Komia - Semba - Konkodoogre - Arrival and Reception at Falaba	211
CHAPTER VI Residence at Falaba - Visit to the Source of the Rokelle River - Arrival of Messengers from Sierra Leone	262
CHAPTER VII The Soolimas	346
CHAPTER VIII Wars of the Soolimas	399
CHAPTER IX Departure from Falaba, and Return to Sierra Leone	420

The term "bar" which frequently occurs in this volume, expresses a quantity of goods, of any description, of a certain exchangeable value. The term originated in the early commerce of Europeans with the natives of Western Africa, when the bar implied an equivalent to a bar of iron; the merchandise which now constitutes a bar at Sierra Leone, is of the average value of 3s. 6d sterling.

Erratum

Page 318, first line of note, for N.E. read S.E.

TRAVELS THROUGH TIMANNEE, KOORANKO, AND SOOLIMANA

INTRODUCTION.

ON the return of His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Charles McCarthy, Governor of Western Africa, to Sierra Leone, in November, 1821, from an absence in Europe, His Excellency learnt with regret that a war, which had commenced a short time previous to his departure, between Amara, the Alimamee, or King of the Mandingo nation, and Sannassee, an inferior Mandingo chief, not only remained as yet unsettled, but that it had gradually assumed a more serious character, and had latterly entirely interrupted the trade between the Mandingo country and the colony of Sierra Leone. The importance of the trade, in respect to its present extent and commercial value, was inconsiderable, compared with the influence which might be expected from it, in promoting the habits of industry, and of settled and civilized life, amongst the Mandingo nation, who had already advanced in these respects beyond the other nations in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone; and, previously to the war, had shown a rapidly increasing desire to obtain the luxuries of Europeans in exchange for the produce of their labour.

His Excellency considered that his mediation might prove beneficial, in producing a reconciliation between the belligerent chiefs; and being desirous, at the same time, to recommend the natives of the circumjacent countries to direct their attention towards the cultivation of white rice, he thought it advisable to despatch a small embassy (of which he was pleased to put me in charge) to Kambia, on the river Scarcies, and from thence to Malacouri and the Mandingo camp; but as its objects were, with one exception, viz., the sentiments of the natives regarding the abolition of the slave-trade¹, entirely of a local nature, and unconnected with general interest, I shall do little more than give a copy of my instructions, and observe that His Excellency was perfectly satisfied with the manner in which they were executed, and with the information he received on the different heads:

Instructions to Lieutenant Laing, of the 2nd West India Regiment, proceeding on an Embassy to Kambia, and to the Mandingo Country.—January 11th, 1822.

The principal object which has induced the Brigadier-General to request Lieutenant Laing to proceed to the Kambia, is, to ascertain the state of the country; the disposition of the inhabitants to trade and industry; and to know their sentiments and conduct as to the abolition of the Slave Trade.

With respect to commerce, Lieutenant Laing will explain to them, that it can only be carried on with honesty; that the means so often resorted to, of reducing the bowl, (the rice measure), can only be attended with ruin to the persons who resort to such

¹ On this subject the native is so reserved, that little real information could be obtained in so short a time. In the course of my journey to Soolimana, some occasional observations may occur, from which (as the subject will not be generally treated of) the reader will be left to form his own deductions.

expedients;—it is also desirable to ascertain, as far as can be done, the quantity of rice now in the country, and the capability of the soil. Lieutenant Laing will take an opportunity to explain to the different Chiefs the advantage their country would derive by encouraging, in preference to all other culture, that of white rice: as that article would find a market in the West Indies—whereas, red rice is only used at Sierra Leone and its neighbourhood.—That next to white rice they should cultivate cotton and coffee; as those articles could be disposed of to great advantage in Europe. He will explain to them the advantage which would be derived by their country, from the encouragement of industry and agriculture, and the benefit of an export trade, by which they could procure, in exchange, all the merchandise of England.

Lieutenant Laing, after a short visit to the Kambia, will proceed to Malacouri and Malageea:—Sannassee, the Chief of the latter town, speaks English, and has seen enough of Sierra Leone to understand the advantage of commerce. In advising him to make peace with the Alimamee, Lieutenant Laing will inquire into the true causes of the war which has lasted for so long a period between them. Lieutenant Laing will further impress upon Sannassee's mind, that having been treated by the Governor as a friend, he ought to prove himself deserving of such distinction, by giving every assistance and facility to the trade of Sierra Leone—that it is equally inconsistent with his interest and his duty as the favoured friend of the colony, to prevent the intercourse, by boats or canoes, with Sierra Leone; that the people who wish to sell their goods may otherwise easily go to Fouricaria by making a circuit, and that as he has undeniable proofs that we have used every exertion to promote his advantage as well as peace with his adversary, we have a right to expect that he will treat us well. From Sannassee, Lieutenant Laing will proceed to Fouricaria, and after seeing the Alimamee, and using every argument for peace, and inquiring into the strength of that Chief, he will return as speedily as possible to Sierra Leone. The same line of arguments as that used to Sannassee will answer, with this only difference, that we have been much less profuse of compliments to the Alimamee, m consequence of several misunderstandings which had taken place between the colony and his country, prior to Sir Charles McCarthy administering the Government.

Amara is represented as being a crafty Mahomedan.

(Signed) C. McCarthy, Captain-General, and Governor-in-Chief.

Having fulfilled the purposes of the mission at Kambia, I crossed the river Scarcies, and proceeded on foot to Malacouri, a strongly-fortified Mandingo town, situated on the banks of the river Malageea, about twenty miles N. by W. from Kambia, where I learnt that Amara had applied to the king of the Soolimas, who had sent a numerous army to his assistance, by whose means he had taken Malageea, the principal town belonging to Sannassee, and had made that chief a prisoner. I also learnt that it was understood to be Amara's intention to put Sannassee to death, after the performance of certain ceremonies.

The Soolima force was stated to exceed ten thousand in number, and to be commanded by Yaradee, a brother of the king, and much distinguished as a warrior. Of the Soolimas little more than the name was known at Sierra Leone; they were reported to be a very powerful nation, residing in the interior, at a distance of three or four hundred miles to the eastward of Sierra Leone.

The situation of Sannassee, who had always been on the most friendly terms with the colony, being so critical as to excite the greatest alarm amongst all who knew the unforgiving disposition of Amara, I determined on proceeding to the camp the following morning, notwithstanding a severe attack of fever and ague under which I laboured. About two miles beyond the river Malageea, which I crossed near its source, I fell in with an outlying picket of the Soolimas, consisting of about fifty men, with sentries regularly posted, to whom I was obliged to explain my purpose before the chief of the guard would permit me to pass; another mile west brought me to a stronger guard of about one hundred and fifty men; and a mile and a half further to a large savannah, or plain, where the whole army was encamped. It was now nearly nine o'clock, and being very faint and feverish, I was glad to take refuge from the rays of the morning sun, which in this part of Africa is the most oppressive part of the day, under a few bundles of dried grass thrown loosely upon three sticks fixed apart in the ground at equal distances, the tops being drawn together and fastened after the manner of military triangles. These temporary dwellings, when well constructed, form no bad imitation of, or substitutes for, bell-tents, possessing this advantage, that they can be erected with little trouble and no expense in a short time, wherever an army takes up a position. From this covering I had a view of the whole encampment, which exhibited the appearance and bustle of a well-attended fair, rather than the regularity and discipline of military quarters. Tents, constructed as above described, were to be seen covering the savannah as far as the trees, windings, and other obstacles, would permit the eye to reach; and the distinguishing flags of the various and numerous tribes were every where to be observed waving over the habitations of their respective chiefs. Music, a horrid din of a variety of barbarous instruments, broke on the ear from every direction; while parties of men, grotesquely habited in war-dresses, were here and there descried, brandishing their cutlasses, and capering with the most extravagant gestures, to the time of the various sounds produced. The novelty of the scene attracted my attention for a while,—but fatigue, arising from the ague of the preceding night, at length overcame my curiosity. About noon I was awoke by one of my followers, who acquainted me that Amara was ready to hold a palaver with me, and desired my immediate attendance. In my way to his tent I visited Satin Lai, a designing Mandingo Chief, possessing much power; he had been mainly instrumental in putting Amara on the throne, and was at this time the only staunch adherent to the king, who, by following too implicitly his advice, had lowered himself considerably in the opinion of his head-men, who form the principal strength of an African king. I found Satin Lai a good-looking man, apparently between sixty and seventy years of age, about five feet ten inches in height, affable in his deportment, with a mild and amiable countenance, which is said to be rather at variance with his actions. He was performing the office of a commissary, surrounded by several hundred baskets of white rice, which he was distributing to the different tribes in quantities proportionate to their strength. In one corner of the tent some of his slaves were employed in cooking; in another his horse was feeding, encircled with Moorish trappings, spears, muskets, bows, and quivers.

On appearing before the tent of Amara, I was directed to seat myself under the shade of a large booth covered with cocoa-nut branches and plantain leaves, capable of containing and sheltering from the rays of the sun, upwards of two thousand people: here the king soon joined me, and the war-drum being beat, the booth was shortly filled with a motley assemblage of armed men. Booths of corresponding size, erected at right angles, and parallel to the one in which I sat, so as to form a large square, were also soon crowded with hordes of Soolimas, Bennas, Tambaccas, and Sangaras, in all amounting to about ten thousand men, while the inclosed space was free to such as were desirous of exhibiting in feats of warlike exercises, in dancing, and in music.

As the exhibitions on this occasion were of the same kind as those which I afterwards saw in the Soolima country on similar occasions, and which will be described hereafter, I shall merely observe, that Yaradee, the general of the Soolima army, was particularly conspicuous in exhibiting on horseback the various evolutions of African attack and defence. When their performances were concluded, I had an interview with Yaradee, and obtaining from him an assurance that Sannassee's life should be preserved, I took my leave, receiving many protestations of friendship. A subsequent conversation with Amara, in which I explained His Excellency's wishes, terminated my visit to the camp, which I quitted at sunset, and proceeded direct on my return to Sierra Leone, where I did not arrive till the sixth day, having suffered much inconvenience on the journey, from the effects of increasing illness.

While I was yet convalescent, reports of rather an alarming nature respecting the safety of Sannassee were circulated at Sierra Leone; and the Governor, being anxious for the removal of so large an army from the neighbourhood of the colony, at the same time that he was most desirous to save the life of the unfortunate Sannassee, expressed a wish that I should again visit the Soolimas, which of course being readily acceded to on my part, His Excellency was so kind, in consideration of the state of my health, as to permit an Assistant Surgeon (Mr. Mackie) to accompany me: my instructions were as follows:—

Instructions to Lieutenant And Adjutant A. Gordon Laing, proceeding on a Mission to the camp of the Mandingoes and Soolimas.

Government-House, Sierra Leone, February 1st, 1822.

Sir,

Having perused with attention the Journal which you transmittal to me, it affords me very great satisfaction to return, you my sincere thanks for the zeal and ability you have evinced in the mission I had the honour of intrusting to you; and as notwithstanding the severe attack of illness you suffered during the period you were so usefully employed, (an illness which may be attributed to the fatigue of the journey,) you have expressed your readiness to encounter again the same fatigue, I accept with pleasure and confidence the offer of your services.—The great interest the whole of the colonists take in the welfare of Sannassee—the esteem I personally feel for him, and more particularly the

upright line of conduct followed by that Chief at a former period, when his antagonist, the Alimamee of Fouricaria, showed very hostile dispositions against the lawful trade of this colony, render it a matter of the utmost importance to procure his instant release from captivity.

I mentioned to you, verbally, that in point of economy, and in obedience to the instructions of His Majesty's Ministers, I had the strongest objections to any unnecessary expenditure of public money—and in addition to that sense of my duty, I conceive that it would be highly impolitic, by a profuse donation of presents to the native Chiefs, to strengthen them in the opinion, that they can at all times apply to the Governor of Sierra Leone for presents either to make a war or to end a war; it is indeed necessary it should be explained most explicitly to them, that as every measure that has been followed by Amara, with regard to the present matter in dispute between him and Sannassee, has been in direct opposition to the true interests of the Mandingo country, and to the repeated advice and friendly offer of a mediation on the part of the Governor, the misfortunes which have already been felt by that country, and the consequences which may follow the calling in of so large a foreign force to settle the disputes, must lay at the door of the advisers of such measures. I am inclined to hope, that an appeal to the manly feelings of Yarradee, may cause the release of Sannassee; and I therefore request that you will plainly state to him, the warm interest I feel in that chief's behalf, and how much I shall consider myself under obligation to him, if he will at my request set Sannassee, at once, at liberty, and that such conduct shall meet with a proper acknowledgment.—I think it a matter of importance that the release of that Chief should precede the granting of any material presents; but, in order to enable you to reward Yarradee, in a manner that may be most agreeable to him, I have given directions that you shall receive in addition to the former articles intrusted to your care; one handsome double-barrelled gun, 100lbs. of tobacco, eight pieces of baft, and one barrel of powder:—in the disposal of these articles you will use your own discretion.

I have only to add, that I confidently hope that success will attend your efforts, and that you will derive the most essential assistance from Mr. Mackie, whom I with pleasure associate to your mission.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient Servant, (Signed) C. McCarthy, Captain-General, and Governor-in-Cliief.

TO LIEUTENANT GORDON LAING, 2nd West India Rcgt. &c. &c.

We departed from Sierra Leone on the afternoon of the 3rd February, and at seven P.M. on the 5th, arrived at the site of the once fine town of Malageea, the residence of Sannassee, which had been razed to the ground a few days before, by the followers of Amara. A few natives, who, at our approach, had lain concealed among the ruins, made their appearance, and acquainted us that the camp which I had before visited was broken up, and that the army had made a movement on Boukaria, a town thirty miles N. by E.

from Malacouri, and twelve miles east of Fodi Boukaria, the capital of the Mandingo country, called by abbreviation Fouricaria. Considering, therefore, that our best plan of proceeding would be to reach Fouricaria by water, and from thence make our way to the camp by land, we returned to the boat, and with the ebbing tide retraced our course down the river.

On the morning of the 6th, we found ourselves at the entrance of the Fouricaria river; and although the distance from thence to the town exceeded sixty miles, such was the perseverance of our boatmen, that we came to an anchor before it at half-past ten P.M. We slept in the boat, and next morning, at daylight, went on shore for the purpose of proceeding to the camp, which we reached about eleven A.M.: it extended to the northward and eastward of the town, but the principal head-men were quartered in Boukaria itself. On my arrival, I learned from Amara, that Sannassee had been set at liberty, after the burning of his town, and plunder of his property; I held, therefore, but a short palaver, merely expressing to the various chiefs, when assembled, the displeasure of the Governor at the measures pursued with regard to Sannassee's town. Amara excused himself by holding up the Koran, and saying he had merely done what that book told him, and that he had cried when he found himself compelled by it to act so harshly. Yarradee disclaimed any knowledge of the deed till after it had been perpetrated, and observed, that if he had not interfered, Amara would have put Sannassee to death; that Amara had deceived him, by persuading him to withdraw his troops from before Malageea, which would otherwise not have been destroyed. This charge not being denied by Amara, I considered it true, and commending Yarradee for his good intention, made him a present in the name of the Governor. I then told Amara that I paid little regard to his pretension of having fulfilled the injunctions of the Koran, as I believed that he had rather perverted its meaning, to suit his own purposes. I nevertheless gave him a smaller present than to Yarradee, as his friendship might be serviceable to the colony.

After the palaver, Mr. Mackie and myself paid a visit to Yarradee at his own house, when we were entertained with music and dancing in the Soolima style. His wives were also exhibited; but we could not say much in favour of their beauty, although their various decorations of beads, and large gold ear-rings, may be supposed to have shewn them to advantage. Yarradee appeared highly pleased; every article of our dress was a subject of admiration; observing me pull off my gloves, he stared with surprise, covered his widelyopened mouth with his hands, and at length he exclaimed, "Alla ackbar," he has pulled the skin off his hands. By degrees, and as he became more familiar, he alternately rubbed down Dr. Mackie's hair and mine, then indulging himself in a loud laugh, he would exclaim, "They are not men, they are not men." He repeatedly asked my interpreter if we had bones? In this interview we passed upwards of an hour; when, fearing that we should not be able to reach Fouricaria before dark, we took our leave of the chief, much pleased with our visit, and returning to the tent of Amara, we partook of some stewed fowl and rice, and set off for Fouricaria, where we arrived about dusk. During a short stay of two hours at this town, many of Sannassee's friends came to thank us for our attention to their chief's safety, and to beg that we would communicate to the Governor how much the country was obliged to him for saving Sannassee's life; the same sentiments were expressed at various other places at which we stopped on our way home. We reached

Sierra Leone late in the evening of the 9th February, having been only six days and a half absent; during the whole of which period we were not a single hour under shelter.

I had observed, that many men who accompanied the Soolima army, were in possession of considerable quantities of gold; and having learned from inquiries made among them, that ivory was also abundant in Soolima, I suggested to His Excellency, that the opening of an intercourse between those people and the colony, might be advantageous in a commercial view; that inquiry had led me to suppose that the attempt would neither be attended with much hazard nor expense, and that a great object would be gained in knowing the resources of many countries directly to the eastward of the colony, which were, like that of the Soolimas, known to us as yet only by name.

His Excellency was pleased to approve of my suggestion, and to submit it, without delay, to a meeting of the council; when it was resolved, that I should be permitted to penetrate to the country of the Soolimas, taking whatever route I should consider most eligible for future communication.

More space has, perhaps, been devoted to the detail of the two trifling missions which led to the one, the particulars of which I am about to narrate, than their importance may seem to require; but as 1 shall have occasion to recur to some of the events touched upon in a future part of my journal, their brief recital has appeared the more desirable.

CHAPTER I

DEPARTURE FROM SIERRA LEONE—ROUTE THROUGH THE TIMANNEE COUNTRY.

Falaba, the principal town of the Soolimas, and residence of the king, is situated above 200 miles east by north of Sierra Leone. The route, by which I proposed to traverse the intermediate country, was by the course of the river Rokelle, being governed in the selection, not by the probability of meeting fewer difficulties on that route than on others that might have been chosen, but by its being likely to prove eventually the best line of commercial communication with the interior, by means of the navigation of the river.

At the time of my departure from Sierra Leone, the dry season was near its close, when the Rokelle is not navigable for boats higher than about fifty miles from the sea; but it was understood to be navigable much higher at all other seasons, although the distance to which boats might ascend was unknown. It was my intention to profit by the water conveyance for the transport of the merchandise, which had been placed under my direction, as far as it could be pursued; from whence I should have to depend on the hire of carriers through the countries of the Timannees and Koorankos.

The principal impediments to my progress might be expected to arise from the unwillingness of the natives of the countries through which I was desirous to pass, to permit the establishment of a direct communication between Sierra Leone and the interior, as they would lose thereby the benefits of the intermediate traffic. This endeavour to close the paths, as it is termed, is a general practice in Africa, and is the reason of the comparatively small advantage which the colony of Sierra Leone has hitherto derived from commerce with the interior. The paths had been so entirely closed by the surrounding nations, that the missions, related in the preceding chapter, were the first intercourse which the Soolimas had had with any individual belonging to the colony. The influence of Great Britain has increased so much of late years in Western Africa, that there was no reason to expect that the indisposition of the natives to the opening of the paths, would amount to a determined opposition, or to any act of personal violence; but would rather shew itself in such minor impediments as might retard my progress; and in petty exactions, under the name of presents, for permission to pass through the country; to the latter especially, I was fully sensible that 1 should be continually exposed, as I should be in great measure dependant on the chiefs of the towns for carriers for the merchandise. The difficulties, however, might be expected to diminish, as the distance from Sierra Leone should increase, and would cease altogether as soon as I should arrive within the authority of the Soolimas.

My party consisted of Musah Kanta, a native of Foutah Jallon; two soldiers of the 2d West India regiment; eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof country; and a boy, Mahomed, a native of Sego.

We quitted Sierra Leone on the 16th of April in boats, and ascending the Rokelle, slept the first night at Mr. McCormack's factory, on the Island of Tombo; from whence we proceeded the following morning at day-light, and at four P.M. reached Maharre, a Timannee town, on an eminence on the left bank of the river, belonging to Pa Kombo, the headman of Rokon. According to the custom of the country, we saluted this chief with the discharge of a few muskets, and touching at the town, paid our respects to him, and were much pressed to remain for the night. We continued our progress, however, till seven P.M., when we arrived at a small town named Rosa, where we judged it advisable to spend the night. The headman of this town had served many years as an English sailor, and had been a long time confined in a French prison; he spoke both languages very fluently, as well as a little Dutch. The principal part of the night was spent by the inhabitants of the town, and by my people, in dancing and festivity.

At an early hour on the 18th, we quitted Rosa, and about ten A.M., reached Macabele, a very neat and clean town, situated on a slope, on the right bank of the river, where I was detained by two chiefs, named Tikade Moodo, and Fatima Brima, of Mandingo extraction, and possessing considerable influence in that as well as in the Timannee country, who were very desirous that I should pass into the interior, through what they termed their road². I must allow that they gave good reason to presume, that my advance would be more facilitated, as well as more secure, by the route recommended by them, than by pursuing the one I had myself determined upon; but as by the latter I expected to pass through an extent of country, of which the inhabitants were too weak and disunited to prevent distant and powerful tribes making their way through it to the colony; and as by the former I was certain of traversing the whole extent of the Limbah country, a powerful and warlike nation, constantly engaged in broils with the Soolimas, I deemed it expedient to abide by my original purpose, in order to secure the realization of the true object of the mission, vis., the free and uninterrupted communication of the Soolimas with the colony of Sierra Leone.

Previous to my leaving the town, I accompanied the two chiefs, to pay my respects to Ba Kobala, the principal chief of the part of the Timannee country which is bounded by the rivers Port Logo and Rokelle. I found him a fine, venerable-looking old man, with a long snow-white beard; his raiment consisted of a very full white baft shirt, with a scarlet mantle loosely thrown over his shoulders, and around his neck was suspended a string of alternate coral beads and leopard's teeth. He spoke little, and scarcely shifted his position during the half hour I was in his presence, excepting to present me with a goat, and a large calabash of milk, which latter donation proved very acceptable to my companions and myself, as we had not breakfasted. Leaving Macabele, we crossed to the opposite side of the river, and there disembarked, as the bed became so very rocky as to impede

² I was afterwards so fully convinced of the advantages to be derived in a commercial view from the opening of this road, that, on my return, I had resolved to penetrate by it to the Foulah country, and thereby render the colony independent of the Mandingo, and that part of the Timannee country extending northward from Port Logo, by concentrating the whole of the interior trade in the river Rokon. The Ashantee war, on the Gold Coast, demanding the immediate presence of all officers belonging to the Royal African Colonial Light Infantry, prevented my personally accomplishing this desirable object; but I have much pleasure in stating, that my suggestions to Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, a merchant of Sierra Leone, induced him to prevail upon the above two chiefs, to try it for themselves, in which they happily succeeded, under his advice and assistance, and the road is now thronged by the trading caravans from Foulah and Bambarra.

any further attempt at navigation during the dry season. The remaining part of the day's journey (about four miles) was performed on foot. At three P.M. we reached Rokon, the principal Timannee town of the district which extends along the left bank of the river. In the evening, Pa Kombo came up from Maharre, and that his arrival might be noticed with due respect, he sent to beg that I would fire four carronades, which lay dismounted in directions as various as their number, on a rising ground outside of the town. The salute was accordingly fired; but he was by no means satisfied with the reports, as I had not put in much powder, under the supposition, that from their exposed situation, they might have been honey-combed. On the 19th, at eleven A. M., I was summoned to an audience of the king of the country, who, being aware of my intention to pass through his territories, had come to Rokon in order to get his share of the presents, which, on such occasions, a white man is expected to give. Being informed by Pa Kombo, that the old man was, like himself, fond of a little pomp, I ordered ten of my party to attend me with their firelocks, and three rounds of blank cartridge, for the purpose of saluting him. We had waited about ten minutes in the open yard, where the audience was to be given, when he made his appearance, and was immediately received with a round of musketry, which, to my great surprise, produced a very different effect from that which was intended; for the old man started back a few paces, muttered some angry expressions, bit his lips, gave me a hasty and savage look, then turning round, hurried away in a violent fit of passion. Pa Kombo followed him, and with much persuasion (as I afterwards understood) prevailed on him to return after a lapse of eight or ten minutes, during which period I was left with my guard of honour, standing in the vard, and unable to assign any cause for such strange behaviour. On making his second appearance, he looked about him suspiciously, and regarded me with a very doubtful eye; at length, reaching his chair of state, he sat down with an air of consequence and authority truly ludicrous. His appearance and conduct on this occasion, excited so much merriment among my party. that they would frequently, on a moon-light night, after the toil of a march, amuse themselves by performing the scene; when one of them, who was an excellent mimic, used to personate the king so exactly, as to call forth involuntary applause, even from myself. On his being seated, he wished to know why he had been fired at, and was, with some difficulty, persuaded that it had been done out of honour to him. "Why did you point your guns to the ground?" "That you might see our intention was to shew you respect." "But the pebbles flew in my face; why did you not point in the air?" "Because we feared to burn the thatch on your houses." "Well, then, give me some rum." Having been indulged in this request, he became much more good-humoured, and shaking hands with me, desired me to sit down, that I might hear what he had to say. A palayer ensued, the form of which it may not be out of place to describe, as it will give some idea of the delays which, at every little village, oppose the progress of the traveller, in parts of the country where, in the absence of a supreme authority, every petty chief possesses an independent power.

A Timannee palaver differs from the same ceremony in the Mandingo country, inasmuch as farce and nonsense are displayed in the former, while that of the latter is conducted with great decorum and solemnity. The company being all seated, or perhaps more properly speaking, squatted, an orator, holding in his right hand a rod of dried broom, stept from one of the huts to the centre of the yard, then looking around him, and

uncovering his head, exclaimed several times, "Loanta, loanta!" the closest meaning of which I presume to be (for I could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion), "Save you all," "Bless you all," or "Keep you from harm." Proceeding in his part of the performance, he continued, "I am going to talk a great palaver to-day, such a palaver never has been talked before in Rokon; it is a white man's palaver; what's the reason nobody comes to hear me?" Two or three people came from the huts, and sat down; the orator sat with them, and was preparing to proceed, when he suddenly exclaimed, "This will not do; I must have more people; come out, come out, or I talk no more to-day." About fifty persons now made their appearance in the centre of the yard, and sitting down, acted their part as hearers, now and then entering into a sort of dialogue with the orator, which continued upwards of an hour, at the expiration of which the king, signifying by a nod that he was satisfied, the whole of the assemblage fronted him, and placing the back of their hands upon the ground, vociferated, "Loanta, loanta!" then rising up, they repeated the words and retired. Thus finished the *pro forma* palaver; and such is the invariable manner of conducting these ceremonies in this country; the orator always observing the countenance of the king, to interpret his wishes, and speak accordingly.

The burthen of the orator's speech, on this occasion, was to the following effect:— "The white man is going far; to the hills of Kooranko, and further than that; to countries that Timannee people never heard of; to the country of gold and silver; he must, therefore, pay the king well, or he cannot pass; the king must have guns, swords, powder, fine clothes, and beads, or the white man must go back." On leaving the court-yard, I shook hands with the king, who said, I had an easy palaver to-day, and if I wanted an easy one to-morrow, I must give him plenty of money; that I must bring every thing I had for him, that he might see all before he began to talk the road palaver. I was a good deal annoyed at losing a day in this foolish manner, as I had expected to arrange every thing so that I might depart on the morrow; but subsequent experience taught me, that it was idle to fret at disappointments, which the traveller must lay his account to meet with daily, among a people who set no value on their own time, nor on that of others.

Ba Simera, the principal chief or king of this part of the Timannee country, is about ninety years of age, with a mottled, shrivelled-up skin, resembling in colour that of an alligator more than of a human being, with dim, greenish eyes, far sunk in his head, and a bleached, twisted beard, hanging down about two feet from his chin: like the King of the opposite district, he wore a necklace of coral and leopard's teeth, but his mantle was brown and dirty as his skin. His swollen legs, like those of an elephant, were to be observed from under his trowsers of baft, which might have been originally white, but, from the wear of several years, had assumed a greenish appearance; he carried a staff or mark of office, to which were suspended some large and small bells. In the evening I sent to Pa Kombo the present I designed both for the king and himself, and requested he would assist me in getting every requisite for my departure arranged by the afternoon of the following day, to which he assented. His present consisted of a handsome gold and silver mounted pistol, four fathoms of blue baft, four bars of powder, four bars of tobacco, and four bottles of rum; to the king I gave a jug of rum, a piece of white baft, six bars of powder, four bars of tobacco, also a large plated medal of King George the Third. Every thing appeared to satisfy Pa Kombo, except the pistol for himself, and the medal

for the king; the former he wished to exchange for a gun; and he thought a silver chain should be attached to the latter. To both these requests I refused to accede, having laid down a scale respecting presents, from which I was resolved not to swerve, as I was well aware that the smallest infringement would lead to the most vexatious and tedious results. The report of even the most minute action always precedes the traveller in Africa, and if he omits an item, or makes an addition to the present of any chief or head-man, he is sure to hear of it every where as he advances. I therefore told Pa Kombo, that I had no guns to give away, as those in my possession belonged to the merchants; and that I had not a chain to spare; therefore, if Ba Simera could not wear the medal without a chain, he was perfectly at liberty to return it me. I repeated my desire to proceed on my journey, and assured Pa Kombo that if he did his utmost to assist me, he should be rewarded on my return; but that I neither would, nor could give him any thing more at present. I had scarcely returned to my lodging when a messenger from Pa Kombo brought me the pistol, and said, that I must send a gun for it. I received it back, and returned for answer, that as I found Pa Kombo did not want it, I would keep it myself, for to me it was valuable; but that I could give no gun in return, as I had already told him that I had none to give away.

April 20th. This morning I closed my observations at Rokon, and found my chronometer gaining from forty-three to forty-five seconds per diem. I therefore allowed it 44" in all my subsequent observations for the longitude. Rokon is situated in 12° 25' 30" west by chronometer, and in 8° 37' 40" north latitude by account.

At 11 A.M. I went to the palaver court, when the scene of the day before was repeated, with little variation, but continued for a longer time. The several orators (for on this day there were many) sometimes addressed me—sometimes the king. Those who spoke on the part of Ba Simera observed, "That the present I had offered was by no means sufficient for a king; that I ought to have given twice as much, and a gun besides; that there was not enough powder to shoot a bird, and that the tobacco was only tied up in heads of four leaves³. Did I mean to insult the king by shooting at him yesterday, and offering him a paltry present to-day? If I wanted to open the road, I must take back the present I had offered him, and give him something better." The latter part of this harangue was delivered with great vehemence, and the king, to make the effect more striking, gave the mat on which the goods were displayed before him, a kick with his elephantine foot; but observing that I did not seem to approve this mode of procedure, and that it was likely to produce an effect widely different from that which was expected, the orator again spoke: "The king is vexed; but he is not vexed with the white man; it is not the white man's fault; the whole blame belongs to Musah Kanta, the white man's interpreter, who ought to have known the country fashion better, and should not have told the white man to give so small a present to the king of the Timannee country." My turn for speaking having arrived, I observed, that no blame was to be attached to Musah Kanta, for I had not asked his opinion on the subject; I knew the country fashion very

³ A bar of tobacco in the Timannee country consists of ten heads, each containing four leaves, and a small piece to tie them together. In the Kooranko country, the bar consists of ten heads of three leaves; and in Soolima, of five heads of three leaves. As tobacco is taken from the puncheon, heads are found to contain four, five, six, and more leaves, which the Timannees at Rokon know well.

well myself, and that I had often made presents to kings, but never before gave away so princely a one as this, or so suitable to the dignity of a king; that white men did not get their money for nothing; whatever they possessed was earned by their labour, and the king ought to think himself fortunate in having got the present which lay before him. I understood they were all anxious to open the road; if so, they ought to help me, instead of throwing obstacles in my way. Should I succeed in opening it, the king and the other head-men would be the persons benefited, not I. That the Governor of Sierra Leone had to keep his eyes open, and find out where there was good trade, that he might shew his people, otherwise he could not have it in his power to bestow such presents as I had given in his name today; finally, that if the king wished to spoil his country, I could go another road; if he did not like his present, I would take it back; but that he might rest assured, that if it once came into my hands, he should never see it again." This address had the desired effect; for one of the speakers on the part of the king, having held a few minutes' private conversation with him, returned to the yard, and giving his rod a whisk, declared the palaver done, and that the white man had the king's leave to proceed whenever he pleased.

April 21st. I was detained this day at Rokon procuring carriers, and arranging the merchandise for them, in loads of 35 pounds each.

April 22d. After much trouble and exertion in distributing the loads amongst the carriers, we were on the point of departure, when the king made his appearance in violent rage. The cause of grievance proved to be, that a Jolofman, who attended me, had had the audacity to dress himself in a new red slop shirt, which the king considering a more splendid habiliment than his own, insisted upon having; this the Jolof obstinately refused; whilst the king, who declared it to be the law in his country (a law made by himself at the moment), "That any man dressed better than himself, especially in red, should forfeit his clothes," was as obstinate on his part. I was so fortunate as to settle this new matter of disturbance, by ordering the Jolof to change his shirt, and by giving the king a bar of tobacco and a dram of rum.

Half an hour after leaving Rokon, having traversed about two miles of a beautiful and cultivated country, though by no means so to the extent of its capability, we arrived at a small neat town, named Terre (signifying rock in the Timannee language), so called from the quantity of rock with which it is surrounded; it is principally coarse-grained granite, and mica slate, with occasional large detached crystals of quartz. The town exhibits a cool and pleasant appearance, being encircled with numerous plantain trees, and watered by a rivulet, which ripples over a bed of granite and quartzy pebbles, in a northern direction; another hour, in an easterly direction, brought us to the town of Nunkaba, where we rested a few minutes. The men were absent, being employed at their farms, and the females were busily engaged in cleaning cotton, preparatory to its being spun into thread. After leaving Nunkaba, in a course S.E. by E., we passed through a meadow, about two miles in extent, which had formerly been in cotton cultivation. From the centre of this field, the road to Ba Simera branches off in a direction E. ½ N., forming an acute angle with that to Toma, which runs S.E. by E. We arrived at Toma a little after four P.M., where (although not more than sixty miles from Sierra Leone) I learned that no

white man had ever been before. The first appearance of surprise that came under my observation, was in a woman, who stood fixed like a statue, gazing at the party as they entered the town, and did not stir a muscle till the whole had passed, when she gave a loud halloo of astonishment, and covered her mouth with both her hands. Leaving Toma, a few minutes more brought us to Rodoma, a small village, consisting of about fifty huts, where it had been arranged at Rokon that we should pass the night; a halt was accordingly made, and the baggage was securely lodged in the house appropriated for my reception, a precaution which was never neglected. About an hour after we had composed ourselves, an African, habited in the extravagant manner represented in the accompanying drawing, and calling himself Ba Simera's greegree man, attended by about a dozen men, rushed into the town, and made an attempt to seize upon some articles of raiment belonging to my people, who were, fortunately, however, sufficiently on the alert to disappoint them.

April 23d. We commenced this day's journey by passing over a rugged path of granite and Jaterite, through thick bush, until about eleven A.M., when we arrived at a small village named Mokundoma, where we rested a few minutes, sheltered by the palaverhouse from the scorching rays of the sun, which, on this day, were most intense. Mokundoma, like all other Timannee villages which I passed through, owes its beauty to the natural ornament of the plantain tree, which grows luxuriantly around it. An hour more brought us to Romontaine, where we were detained to hold a little palaver for permission to proceed; and an hour and a half enabled us to reach Balanduco, the only town of consideration since we had left Rokon. We remained for half an hour at a palaver, and were hospitably entertained by the headman, with ground nuts, boiled rice, and palm wine. On departing, I gave him two heads of tobacco, and he presented me with a fowl and a tub of rice.

The women of Balanduco were busily employed in separating the juicy saffron-coloured fruit from the palm nut; in squeezing it into wooden mortars, and in beating it into one common mash, in order that the oil might be extracted more easily and more copiously in boiling. From the extent of the preparation, and the numerous bunches of the fruit which the natives were continually bringing into the town, it might be estimated that they manufactured, on an average, from thirty to forty gallons a day, during the season of bearing.

We left Balanduco about two P.M., and proceeded through a thick wood to Matuko, where we were again under the necessity of waiting till the inhabitants had consulted their greegrees on the propriety of allowing us to proceed; but as the greegrees had no objection, as soon as the headman had got a fathom of cloth, we obtained permission, after an hour's delay, to go on. The route continued through very thick wood; about five P.M. we reached Roketchick, a large town, where I designed to remain during the night. Our course on this day was about E. by S. southerly, and the distance, by estimation, twenty-two miles.

April 24th. I was induced to remain at Roketchick this day, to allow my people rest, as some of them were much fatigued by their loads, as well as to ascertain the longitude of

the place, which I found, by chronometer, $12^{\circ} 11'$ W., and the latitude, by account, $8^{\circ} 30'$ N.

April 25th. Setting off at seven A.M., and proceeding without a single halt in a direction E. by S., we arrived at noon at a small village called Ma Yollo, where we rested half an hour. About three miles beyond Roketchick, the thick bush begins to disappear, and gives place to extensive meadows, belted with thickets of wood, about a hundred yards in breadth. The soil consists of a fine black vegetable mould, covered with most luxuriant pasture; but the natives possess neither flocks nor herds.

During this day's march, we passed over great quantities of quartzy gravel, with quartz in crystallized and compact forms. On the right, at about twelve miles' distance, were two small eminences, from whence the river Kates takes it rise, and running about W.N.W., empties itself into the ocean within sight of the southern boundary of the colony of Sierra Leone. With the exception of those two hills, the country is perfectly flat.

Leaving Ma Yollo, and marching nearly due east, over the same description of country, we arrived, about four P.M., at a little dirty village, named Rokanka, where I was compelled to spend the night, owing to the fatigue of the carriers. During the whole of this day's march, we had been deprived of water; and, to our great disappointment, the inhabitants of this village could not, or would not, spare us a drop; and we did not venture to send parties into the wood in quest of water, as the noise of the purrah⁴ was heard in the neighbourhood.

April 20th. We quitted our miserable quarters at day-light, and after about an hour and a quarter's walking E. by S., we arrived at a fine broad stream, running northward to the Rokelle, and barely fordable. We had suffered so much from a thirst of thirty hours' duration, that at sight of the water we were imprudent enough to neglect the caution which we ought to have preserved, and indulged ourselves in a manner which we had all cause subsequently to repent of; as, on arriving at the town of Ma Bung, situated four miles E. by S. from the stream, the whole party was attacked with the most violent spasms. They lasted with me for twenty-six hours, during which time the torture was most acute, and though they then abated a little, I did not close my eyes for five days. On the sixth day the pain subsided; and the return of my usual good spirits soon affected a thorough recovery, leaving me only to regret the time that had been lost. I intimated, in the afternoon, an intention of holding the palaver for permission to pass the next day, but had I been aware of the trouble which it occasioned, I should have waited till I had gained more strength.

The orators at Ma Bung were more subtle than at Rokon; their demands were exorbitant, and their conduct more overbearing. The head-man, Ba Koroo, appeared an easy, goodnatured person, and perfectly aware of the advantage that his country would derive from an open trade. He was of opinion, that I should be allowed to proceed, if I was inclined myself to go farther, especially as I had suffered so much from sickness; but a hundred

⁴ A description of the purrah will be given in the next chapter.

voices said No; and No was the conclusion in spite of every argument that my interpreter could urge. About an hour after I had retired to my dwelling, a head-man, calling himself second in command to the king, came to visit me, and said, that if I would pay him and the other two chiefs well, they would settle the road palaver for me, and that I should have no farther trouble. I was unwilling, however, to adopt an indirect course, and to form a precedent which might occasion both expenditure and disputes hereafter, and therefore, declined their good offices; upon which they left me in a dissatisfied and disrespectful manner.

In the afternoon, I sent Ba Koroo a present of four fathoms of white baft, four bars of tobacco, four bars of powder, and a gallon of rum, being certain, that if he had authority, he could bear me through, and if not, that he might have the means of bribing the individuals who had most weight in the town. I was not mistaken, as Ba Koroo and three or four of the headmen came to me in the evening, in a friendly manner, and begged I would give them a glass of rum; which request being complied with, they all shook hands with me, and said, the road was open, I might go whenever I chose; but they hoped that I had a little more rum to spare. Two bottles being produced, they went away satisfied.

The town of Ma Bung is of considerable size, standing upon nearly a square half mile of ground, and is better built than the generality of Timannee towns; it may contain about 2500 inhabitants, in the proportion of three females to one male, and two children to one adult: the men are stout, able-bodied, and good-looking, capable of enduring great fatigue, and carrying ponderous burdens, but timid and cowardly; the women are uncommonly handsome in their persons, pleasing in their address, and evince the greatest anxiety to shew attention to strangers, who, by their allurements, are not unfrequently brought into the most serious and awkward dilemmas.

May 3d. In this day's march I was forced to avail myself of a hammock conveyance, as I had not yet recovered strength enough to walk as usual.

We quitted Ma Bung at day-light, and at eight A.M. came to the entrance of an extensive meadow, where we rested for half an hour; at eleven we reached a small town called Ma Yerma, which I had been informed would be likely to prove a very troublesome place, if the inhabitants could find cause to make a palaver. I collected my party, therefore, before they entered the town, and admonished them to keep well together in passing through, and to notice no one. One of the party, however, neglecting the caution, requested a cup of water from one of the inhabitants, who gave him instead a violent push; when a general scuffle ensued, which I had not strength enough to put an immediate stop to. One of the inhabitants snapt his piece twice close to Musah Kanta, my interpreter's head, but Musah, with much patience and good humour, only snapt his fingers in return. I was fortunate enough, by timely interference, to prevent Mahomed, a fine boy of fifteen years of age, who had been with me for a year, from shooting a Timannee who had attempted. to plunder. This act, with several similar ones of forbearance on the part of my followers, restored order, and gave me an opportunity of demanding from the inhabitants the cause of their extraordinary behaviour. This produced a palaver, which was exactly what they had desired; and, as they contrived to throw the whole blame upon my people, I found

myself compelled to pay a bar of tobacco, to settle matters, and to be permitted to pass on unmolested. When ready to proceed, one of the men missed a gun from his load, and as it must have been stolen during the affray, I made a complaint to the head-man, as also to my guide from Ma Bung, who was bound by the custom of the country to see the property safe. The guide insisted upon seeing the greegree man of the town, which demand being acceded to, after very violent opposition, a man (dressed as is represented in the accompanying drawing) made his appearance. He was less disguised, though more hideous to look at, than Ba Simera's; his head supported an enormous canopy of sculls, thigh bones, and feathers, and his plaited hair and beard, twisting like snakes, appeared from beneath it. His approach was notified by the tinkling of hawk's bells, and jingling of pieces of iron, which, suspended to his joints, kept time with his actions. He made several circuits round the assembly, and then approaching the middle, demanded the cause of his summons, with which being made acquainted, he waved his rod several times in the air, and made his way into the bush, where he remained nearly a quarter of an hour. On his return, he spoke at some length, and concluded by naming the man who had stolen the gun, but was sorry that it could not be recovered immediately, as the thief was by this time half way to Ma Bung with his prize. I gave the greegree a head of tobacco for his skill, and furthermore gave him credit for fabricating the whole story; but in this respect I was wrong; as, on my return from the interior, I found the gun which had been recovered from the man in question, waiting my arrival. At half-past twelve P.M., we were happy to find ourselves outside of Ma Yerma, and on our way to Ma Yosso, which we reached about four P.M. This is the principal town on the eastern frontiers of the Timannee country, in lat., by account, 8° 28' N., and long., by chron., 11° 54' W.; it is considerably larger than Ma Bung, although recently razed to the ground by fire, and is much cleaner and healthier, being situated upon a rising ground, on the right bank of the Kamaranka river, called here Kabanka, which flows past the town in a direction W. by S. The river is from fifty to seventy yards broad, and is navigable for the largest canoes. During the dry season the stream is moderate, but is said to be exceedingly rapid when swelled by the rains. The inhabitants of Ma Yosso appear superior to the generality of Timannees; they are much more hospitable, more open in communication, and more friendly in their manners. On entering the town, we were not viewed in the suspicious manner which had hitherto taken place on our arrival at a strange town; but were cordially greeted by both sexes and all ages, and plentifully supplied with presents of yams, plantains, and rice; the only remuneration desired or wished for being a sight of the white man. Many superstitious customs, which appeared at their height in Ma Bung, were little practised here, and were understood to be discountenanced by the king, Ba Yosso, who is a welldisposed and sensible man.

May 6th. The palaver for permission to pass was easily settled, as no one offered the smallest objection. The king was much pleased with his present, but wished to have a medal to wear round his neck, like Ba Simera and Ba Korro, in which I readily gratified him. He advised me to be on my guard in passing through the country of the Koorankos, whom he represented as a very treacherous people.

May 7th. My party did not quit Ma Yosso until half-past two P.M., when we were accompanied, for the first mile, by numbers of the inhabitants of the town, anxiously

repeating their good wishes. We arrived at Ma Boom a little after sunset, having walked about nine miles due north.

Ma Boom consists of an old and new town, about 300 yards apart from each other; the former inhabited by Timannees only, and the latter by Koorankos, and a few Mandingo families.

I took up my abode in the Kooranko town; and, as I had now passed through the Timannee country, I propose to relate, in the next chapter, the particulars concerning the customs of the Timannees which I was able to collect.

BOUNDARIES OF THE TIMANNEE COUNTRY—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS — SUPERSTITIONS —MARRIAGE, AND FUNERAL CEREMONIESAGRICULTURE. &c, &c.

The extent of the Timannee country, from east to west, may be computed at ninety miles; and its breadth, from north to south, at about fifty-five miles. It is bounded on the east by Kooranko, on the west by the colony of Sierra Leone, part of Bullom and the ocean, on the north by the Mandingo and Limba countries, and on the south by Bullom and Kooranko. The whole country may be considered as divided into four nominal districts, governed by head-men, who always arrogate to themselves, and are sometimes complimented by others, with the title of king; a title to which neither their wealth nor their power would appear to give them a claim.

A chief named Famaré considers that part of the country which extends on either side of the river Scarcies, and about thirty miles inland, as belonging to him; Ali Karlie claims the ground between Famaré's southern boundary and Ba Kobalo's northern boundary, and extending eastward as far as Limba; Ba Kobalo possesses the lands on the right or north or south bank of the Rokelle, and Ba Simera those on the left.

1st. Famaré may be considered as a mere cipher in his part of the country; which bordering, without any definitive boundary, on that of the Mahommedan Soosoos, generally called Mandingoes, is much more under their influence than under his; many of the most wealthy and powerful men, even in the town of Kambia the capital of the district, being of that nation. Without the presence and interference of Lamina Kumra, a chief from Kookoona, no palaver can be settled; and another Mandingo, named Bali Brahima, has publicly declared himself the chief of the Mandingo part of the town, and is now acknowledged as such; while Famaré is satisfied with the nominal title of chief of the Timannees, and with being allowed to receive a small portion of the presents given, and dues demanded, upon holding palayers. For these humble privileges even, he is indebted to the Mandingoes, because, through their interference, the claims of Belaissa, chief of Robanko, who had disputed the right to the sovereignty of the district with Famaré, were set aside. Amongst those, who are at present inferior chiefs, is a young man named Sedi Banki, who, from his bravery and warlike qualifications exhibited on many occasions, is equally respected by his cotemporaries and feared by his elders. He is the chief of a town called Massuma, on the left bank of the Scarcies; and at the time of the dispute between Famaré and Belaissa, was offered the supremacy by the Timannees and Mandingoes conjointly; but being at that time very young, he wisely rejected it. He is at present acquiring experience and extending his influence, by serving under the banners of various chiefs of great power, whom his services may hereafter entitle him to call upon for support. I met him at the camp of the Soolima general Yarradee, where his talents and conduct were highly and deservedly esteemed. It is not improbable, that should Sedi Banki live, he will unite the country which is now divided amongst so many chiefs, under his single authority. He is a Timannee.

This district is particularly fertile in rice, and supplies more for the Sierra Leone market than the other districts of greater magnitude. In consequence of the presence of the Mandingoes, it is also a great place of resort for Mahommedans from distant parts of the interior, who prefer that road of communication with the colony to any other which has yet been opened.

2nd. The Logo, or Loko district, is so called from being inhabited by a tribe of Timannees of that name. They are more united among themselves, and pay more deference to the mandates of their chief than the Timannees of the other districts, and consequently both the person and property of a stranger are in a comparative degree of safety amongst them. Their present ruler is named Ali Karlie, or Father of the People, an old man of small stature, but of great strength and activity; he has held his situation since the year 1816, when he was chosen by the unanimous voice of the people, after having slain in battle Brimah Kenkoure, a Mandingo chief from Malacoure, who had obtained much authority in the country. Previous to this event, the Lokos, like the rest of the Timannees of the present day, were not united among themselves, and afforded easy access to the entrance and settlement of Mahommedan strangers among them, who becoming gradually powerful, at length established an authority which enabled them to compete with the native Pagan chiefs. Brimah Kenkoure had, in this manner, got a strong party in his favour, and might have been at this day chief of the Lokos, had he not began at rather too early a stage of his power to exercise authority, which produced a combination of the head-men against him, and proved his downfall.

The line of policy in regard to commerce which Ali Karlie adopted on becoming the chief of Logo, and which he has since pursued, of exacting heavy dues and customs on merchandise passing through the district over which his authority extends, has been one of the principal impediments to the trade of Sierra Leone; nor are the exactions limited to merchandise passing through the district, but they are also imposed on the trade of the inhabitants of the district itself in the produce of the land.

The soil is, for the most part, composed of argillaceous clay, with here and there a fine black alluvial mould, both of which are extremely fertile, and would produce rice in abundance, both for home consumption and export. The growth at present is for the former purpose only, in consequence of the heavy impositions levied on its export.

Port Logo, the residence of the chief, (or Beka Logo, as it is sometimes called) received its name from its being in former times the port of communication between the Europeans and this district of the Timannee country. It is a neat town, more cleanly than the generality, and is rather picturesque in its appearance, extending along the elevated banks of a creek formed by the rivulet Logo, and shaded by the wide-spreading branches of the majestic cotton tree.

3rd. The territories of Ba Kobalo, although not exceeding fifteen miles at their greatest breadth, are comparatively extensive, as they lay along the right bank of the picturesque Rokelle for more than sixty miles; they are also fertile in the extreme, and being industriously cultivated, enable the natives, by the quantities of rice they export, to

furnish themselves with many European luxuries. Ba Kobalo is old, and, I believe, much beloved by his people. His authority is principally exercised under the direction of two clever Mandingoes, named Tikade Moodo, and Fatima Brimah, the latter a relative of Brimah Kenkoure, who was killed by Ali Karlie; their influence extends through Limba, even to the confines of Foutah. The principal town of this district is named Macabele.

4th. I now come to that part of the Timannee country of which Ba Simera is the acknowledged ruler, and which is more immediately connected with the subject of this journal, being that which I travelled through; but as I have, at different periods, paid occasional visits to the districts which I have already noticed, it will be understood that the observations I offer respecting the Timannees, are derived from longer experience of their character and habits, than a transient journey could have enabled me to possess. This division of the Timannee country is the largest, being about eighty miles long, by perhaps twenty in breadth; it is extremely populous, and contains larger towns than any other of the districts; it has, likewise, the superiority over the others in point of natural productions, the advantages to be derived from which, with common industry and reasonable profits, would soon raise its inhabitants to opulence⁵.

Owing to the number of rivers and navigable creeks which intersect the country, the men, with few exceptions, and in many instances the women, are well skilled in the management of canoes, a qualification which secures employment among the whites to as many as are desirous of obtaining it. These people, who generally emigrate in the first instance, owing to the consequences of a palaver, after a short intercourse with Europeans, throw off their barbarous habits, and adopting the European dress, seem desirous of conforming with all the customs of civilized life which come within the reach of their pecuniary ability. Those of them who have resided for some years among Europeans, and who are in a manner weaned from the habits of their native country (habits which, after leaving off, they invariably despise), are particularly docile, and in general much attached to their employers; but notwithstanding these favourable traits, I regret to state, that I never yet met with even a solitary instance of a Timannee embracing the Christian faith.

I could perceive no traces of a characteristic costume amongst those resident in their own country; every individual, according to his fancy or ability, clothes himself after the fashion of other tribes. Most of the head-men were habited in the Mandingo shirt and trowsers, with a cap of red or blue cloth; others wore the shirt, with a pair of trowsers of satin stripe, reaching as far down as the ancle, and nearly as tight as pantaloons; some the

⁵ The eagerness with which the Timannees entered into the laborious and fatiguing work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone, is a convincing proof of their readiness to engage in any employment where they can get a reward, however small, for their labour. It is well known, that during the time that the timber trade was in activity, several native towns were formed on the banks of the river, and many natives came from a distance in the country to engage in it. Timber was cut at the termination of the largest creeks at Port Logo, and even so far as Rokou, and floated down to Tombo, Bance Island, and Tasso.

shirt only; but such is the poverty (arising from indolence) and rude state of the greater proportion of the inland population, that trowsers or a shirt of any kind are articles of rare occurrence, few possessing more than a small square piece of coarse cloth, or woven bark attached to a string, and tied round the middle. This tegument, scanty as it may be, was, I apprehend, the only covering used by the whole of the Timannees previous to their acquaintance with Europeans, as the manufacture of country cloth among them is very limited, being even now only known to a few individuals, who possessing more energy than their neighbours, have ventured to the country of Kooranko, where they have learned the art⁶ of weaving. The women, with the exception of those contiguous to the water-side, are as deficient in the article of raiment as the men, and many of them more so. I never beheld a man in this country without some sort of covering, however scanty; but I have actually, in some few instances, seen great over-grown women, mothers of families, as naked as when born, and quite unconscious of the disgust which their appearance excited. The dress of the females, near the waterside, is simple enough. They wear before marriage a narrow piece of cloth, called tuntunge, or a covering of beads called a patie, fastened before and behind to a strip of cloth, or to strings of beads, encircling their loins; fter marriage, the patie and tuntunge are laid aside, and the more decent attire is adopted of two yards of blue baft, wrapt round the body like a petticoat. They are fond of decorating their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles with beads; those most prized by them are the small coral, and a yellow pound bead, known among them by the name of masarabunto.

Courtship does not employ much time in this country; if a man forms an attachment, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, takes a fancy to a girl, it is not considered at all requisite that he should learn whether or not the attachment is mutual. He carries to her parents a jar of palm wine, or some rum if he can obtain it, and breaks to them the object of his visit; should his suit be approved, which it generally is if the party is worth a few bars, he is invited to return, when another jar of palm wine, some kolas, a few fathoms of cloth, and some beads, generally terminate the negotiation; the marriage day is then fixed, and the bride informed who her intended husband is to be. If the parents object to the worldly means of the suitor, he departs; and, leaving his home, will work till he can procure a sufficiency to satisfy their demands; but should any person in better circumstances step forward in the meantime, the girl may be betrothed away before the gallant returns: neither despondency nor chagrin, however, associate themselves with these mishaps. The marriage ceremonies are neither remarkable for their peculiarity nor splendour. At an early hour in the evening dancing commences, in which the bride and

⁶ Kooranko is the first country to the eastward of Sierra Leone, where the manufacture of cloth is common, but it is in general of a coarse quality. As the traveller advances eastward, he finds the natives improve both in the texture of the cloth and size of the loom. In the country of Sangara, very handsome and large cloths are manufactured, which are highly prized, and form an important article of trade among the interior nations. I have seen cloths similar to those of Sangara on the Ivory and Gold Coast. To the eastward of the Volta, country cloths have been known to sell as high as 121. sterling. I should presume the art of weaving lias been introduced from the eastward, and not invented by the interior nations.

bridegroom join; on their departure to the nuptial couch a discharge of musketry takes place, after which, a scene of complete riot and revelry ensues, which is kept up sometimes for several days, if the parties are in circumstances to afford it.

The superstitious customs previous to burying the dead are conducted with much pagan ceremony; and various methods are pursued to appease the wrath of the evil spirits, when a death takes place. While I was at Ma Bung, a young girl died rather suddenly; and previous to her interment the following practices were observed. The moment that life fled from the body, a loud yell was uttered from the throats of about a hundred people, who had assembled to watch the departing struggles of nature; after which, a party of several hundred women, some of them beating small drums, sallied through the town, seizing and keeping possession of every moveable article which they could find out of doors; the cause or origin of this privilege I could not ascertain. A few hours after the death of the girl, the Elders and the Greegree men of the town assembled in the palaverhall, and held a long consultation or inquest as to the probable cause of the death. It was inquired whether any one had threatened her during her life-time, and it was long surmised that she might have been killed by witchcraft. Had the slave trade existed, some unfortunate individual might have been accused and sold into captivity; but its suppression in this country from vicinity to Sierra Leone, permitted the Magi, after a tedious consultation of three days, to decide that the death had been caused by the agency of the Devil. During the two first nights of those days, large parties paraded the town, velling, shouting, and clapping of hands, to keep away the wrath of the Greegrees; and on the third, being the night on which the body was interred, considerable presents of rice, cassada, cloth, and palm wine were deposited at the Greegree houses to appease the evil spirits, and to beg they would kill no more people. At midnight, five or six men, habited in very singular and unsightly costumes, made their appearance, and taking away the presents, intimated that all the evil spirits were satisfied, and that nobody should die in the town for a long time. Dancing and revelry then took place, and continued till long after daylight.

Charnel-houses, in which the remains of the kings or headmen are deposited, are generally to be found in Timannee towns. They are never opened, but small apertures are left in the walls, through which cooked provisions and palm wine are occasionally introduced; the Timannees being impressed with an idea that they are actually necessary for, and consumed by, the dead, of whose spiritual existence they seem to be satisfied; supposing them spirits of a good or bad tendency, according to the character which they bore when alive.

The Timannees before eating or drinking, invariably consign a small portion of that which they are about to consume to the dead, by throwing it on the ground. This practice is, however, not peculiar to them, but seems to be general among the pagan tribes of Africa, particularly the Fantees, Ashantees, and other nations on the Gold Coast. Small houses containing shells, sculls, images, &c, are always placed about three or four-hundred yards from the different entrances to the towns, which are supposed to be the residence of the Greegrees, who take care of them: this practice is common among all Kafir nations that I have visited, as well inland, as along the Ivory and Gold-coast; but no

where is it carried to such an extent as in the Timannee country, where almost every house has its protecting spirits, which are frequently invoked in a manner that is calculated to excite the commiseration of the European spectator, and is viewed with the sneer of silent contempt by the bigoted Mahomedan.

A man belonging to my party had unconsciously committed a trifling indignity upon the supposed grave of a Timannee's father, who immediately brought a palaver against him: the man charged with the offence protested that he was ignorant that the ground on which he had stood had covered the remains of any one, as there was no apparent mark to distinguish it from other ground, and that had he known it, he should have been more circumspect; but the apparently-injured Timannee insisted on satisfaction, and according to the custom of the country, demanded a fine of two bars, one of cloth and the other of rum; these I immediately paid, being always desirous to conciliate (as far as I could) the good will of the natives; the Timmanee, however, being ignorant of the motive, and supposing by my easy compliance, that I might be still further imposed upon, made an extra demand of two additional bars, on the ground that if a poor man would be obliged to pay two, the follower of a rich white man, ought to pay four: with this additional demand I not only refused to comply, but took back the fine which had already been paid, stating that I had no objection to conform to their customs, but when I saw that the object was extortion, and not satisfaction for a supposed injury done to the dead, I would give nothing; being well convinced that no man belonging to my party would do any wrong in the country, intentionally. The head-men who were judges of the palayer, were satisfied, and gave their voice against their own countryman, who on retiring, went to his household Greegree, and making a sacrifice of a fowl, and some palm wine, addressed it for more than an hour; requesting that it would kill the man who had defiled his fathers grave; "If he eats, make his food choke him; if he walk, make the thorns cut him; if he bathes, make the alligators eat him; if he goes into a canoe, make it sink with him; but never, never let him return to Sierra Leone." This curious address was sung to a sort of tune so pathetic, that had I heard its mournful intonation, accompanied by the earnest gesticulation of the Timannee, without knowing the cause, it must have excited my most sincere commiseration; as it was, I regretted that the powers of mimickry with which these people are gifted, should aid them so much in the art of dissimulation, as to enable them frequently to impose even upon one another. The appeal had nearly turned the tables against me, and, I dare say, would have done so effectually, had not a Greegreeman come forward, and declared the whole affair an imposition, fabricated for the sake of procuring money, for he knew that my man had never been near the grave of the supplicant's father.

White fowls, sheep or goats, are considered ominous of good luck, and are consequently sacrificed to appease the evil spirits, or presented to strangers who are considered welcome visitors. Particular pieces of ground (generally eminences covered with thick wood) are consecrated to the Greegrees and held sacred: I have always seen those enclosures approached with reverential awe, and have been informed that the smallest encroachment upon them would subject the aggressor to the most awful punishment from the Purrah, an institution which is much dreaded by the whole of this unhappy country; their power supersedes even that of the head-men of the districts, and their deeds of

secrecy and darkness are as little called in question, or inquired into, as those of the inquisition were in Europe, in former years.

I have endeavoured in vain to trace the origin, or cause of formation of this extraordinary association, and have reason to suppose, that it is now unknown to the generality of the Timannees, and may possibly be even so to the Purrah themselves, in a country where no traditionary records are extant, either in writing or in song.

In the early ages of the slave trade, (which particularly prevailed in this country^{7*},) every nefarious scheme was resorted to by the head-men, for the purpose of procuring subjects for the markets. It may be conjectured, that where liberty was so insecure, concealment not difficult, and the means of subsistence easy to be procured, and when the power of the headmen did not extend beyond the limits of their own town, many individuals, whose safety was endangered, would fly to the woods for protection; and as their numbers increased, would confederate for mutual support, and thus give rise to secret signs of recognition and rules of general guidance. It may further be supposed, that in a country divided amongst numerous petty authorities, each jealous of the other, such a confederacy may soon have become too powerful for any probable combination against them; and being possessed of power, would at length employ it in the very abuses to which it had owed its own origin.

The head quarters of the Purrah are in enclosures situated in the woods; these are never deserted by them entirely, and any man, not a Purrah, approaching them, is instantly apprehended, and rarely ever heard of again. The few who have re-appeared after several years of secretion, have always become intermediately Purrah men themselves; those who do not again appear, are supposed to be carried away to distant countries and sold⁸. The Purrahs do not confine themselves always to the seizure of those who approach their enclosures, but frequently carry off single travellers⁹, and occasionally whole parties, who are imprudent enough to pass from one town to another in certain districts, without applying for an escort from the body: to ensure safety, one Purrah man is sufficient, who, while leading the party, blows a small reed-whistle suspended from his neck. At the advice of Ba Kooro, I procured one of these persons as a guide from Ma Bung to Ma Yasoo, the intermediate country being thickly inhabited by the Purrah; as we passed along, they signified their vicinity to us, by howling and screaming in the woods, but although the sounds denoted their close neighbourhood, no individual was seen.

⁷ The ruins of a slave factory still appear upon Bunce Island, near the mouth of the Rokelle, which was distinguished during the existence of that diabolical traffic, for the numbers of unfortunate victims which it sent to the western world. The island is now the site of an extensive timber factory.

⁸ There is reason to believe that the slaves sold (chiefly to the French illicit traders) at the Gallinas, include the supply from the Timannee country, furnished by the Purrah.

⁹ A man, who came from Ma Yosso to see me, when I was at Ma Bung, was seized on his return by the Purrah, and had not been heard of when I returned, six months afterwards.

The Purrahs frequently make an irruption into towns in the night-time, and plunder whatever they can lay their hands upon, goats, fowls, cloths, provisions, men, women, or children: on such occasions, the inhabitants remain shut up in their houses, until long after the plunderers retreat. During the time that I was in the interior, I always had a sentry over my quarters at night, for the protection of the baggage. One night, the town in which we slept was visited by the Purrah, and my sentinel remained firm at his post. When the Purrah came up, an attack was made upon him, but the application of the bayonet kept them at distance until I made my appearance, when the Purrah, uncertain of their power over a white man, scampered off; they were mostly naked and unarmed, but a few had knives.

The outward distinguishing marks of the Purrah, are two parallel tattooed lines round the middle of the body, inclining upwards in front, towards the breast, and meeting in the pit of the stomach: there are various gradations of rank among them, but I could never ascertain their respective offices; persons said to be men of rank amongst them, have been pointed out to me with great caution, as the Timannees, generally, do not like to speak of them; but I could learn nothing further. Purrah-men sometimes quit their retirement, and associate with the townspeople, following employments of various kinds, but no chief or headman dare bring a palaver against a Purrah-man, for fear of a retributive visit from the whole body. At stated periods they hold conventions or assemblies, and on those occasions the country is in the greatest state of confusion and alarm; no proclamation is publicly made, but a notice from the chief or headman of the Purrah, communicated by signs hung up at different places, with the meaning of which they are acquainted, is a summons to them to meet on an appointed day, at a certain rendezvous. Palavers of great weight, such as disputes between rival towns, or offences of such magnitude as to call for capital punishments, are always settled by the Purrah the headmen of towns not having, at the present day, (whatever power they may have possessed formerly) the lives of their subjects or dependents in keeping; the Purrah may be therefore said to possess the general government of the country, and from the nature of their power, and the purposes to which it is applied, they will probably be found a most serious obstacle to its civilization.

The revenue of the Timannee headmen may have been considerable during the era of the slave trade, but since its successful suppression in the country in the vicinity of Sierra Leone, their income (even those who extract property, by dint of imposition, from strangers) is trifling; the dependents of some chiefs are compelled to furnish them annually with as much rice as will cover the crown of their heads, standing in an erect posture in the open air, and heaped up in a manner similar to a pistol-charge made to cover the ball in the palm of the hand; others have a certain percentage on the produce of the farms of their subjects, together with some trifling imposts, which, from the excessive poverty of the people, are rarely enforced; but there are many chiefs who have no revenue, and are wholly dependent upon the productions of their own grounds. The chiefs are often surpassed in opulence by some one of the commonalty; hence, it is a very usual thing, when a stranger enters a town in this country, to be acquainted by some of those walking chronicles who seem indigenous to every soil, that Pa such-a-one is headman,

but Pa such another is "gentleman past him;"—that is to say, has more money, and consequently more influence. Travellers, in passing through a town, have to pay a small impost, and every animal which is led by a rope is chargeable with a certain duty; to escape which, sheep and goats are generally conveyed to market in baskets, which, hanging down the back, are suspended from the forehead of their proprietors. The spectacle afforded by a dozen or twenty of these market-people, travelling in Indian file along a road, is whimsical enough; and when assisted by the discordant bleatings, which, when one becomes restless, are taken up by the whole, and issue in continued succession from the throats of the, confined animals, is really ludicrous in the extreme.

The agricultural productions of the country may be enumerated in a very short catalogue; they consist of the large Carolina or white rice, which grows in great perfection; red rice, which the natives prefer for their own consumption, on account of the length of time which it will keep; yams; occasional fields of ground-nuts, and here and there a small plantation of cassada; plantains, bananas, and various other necessary articles of consumption grow spontaneously. At their customs, the prevailing feature is intoxication, by indulging to excess in copious potations of palm wine; indeed, to such an extent do they, on all occasions, carry this odious practice, that the strongest men soon manifest its relaxing effects, and many become afflicted, at an early age, with diseases produced by it.

They have no trades among them, not even the necessary ones of blacksmith and shoemaker, which are common to all African countries, except this, that I ever have visited; the only appearance of manufacture which I could discover, was that of the country cloth, the knowledge of which art, as I have before observed, is confined to a very few. The only carpenters tool that they possess, or understand the use of, is the axe, with which, however, they contrive to square wood for doors and windows tolerably well. Their houses are all raised of mud, are square with gable ends, and have a sloping roof of thatch or palmbranches in front and rear, but they are neither commodious nor neat. Their agricultural implements are certainly the simplest, as well as rudest, that I have ever beheld, and I could not avoid expressing the greatest surprise on observing, during my first visit to this country, that it had gained so little by its vicinity to Sierra Leone. The hoe with which they turn up the ground, is made of hard wood; and the instrument for clearing the grain from the husk is merely a small hooked stick, like that used by boys in England at the game of hockey. I must believe that a few hoes, flails, rakes, shovels, &c, would be very acceptable to them, when their respective uses were practically explained; and that they would prove more beneficial both to their interest and ours, than the guns, cocked hats, and mountebank coats with which they are at present supplied.

Dancing is a favourite amusement among the Timannees, but it is accompanied with neither grace nor exertion; the musicians (if they may be so called) stand in the centre, while the men and women, mixed indiscriminately together, dance round them, but with little change of place, as the movements are principally confined to the head and upper parts of the body. The women are not unfrequently indelicate in their attitudes; which, as they are entirely encouraged by the men, is not to be attributed as a fault to them.

Were I to judge from my own experience only, I might describe the Timannees as a very inhospitable race; they would frequently refuse the request of my people even for a calabash of water; nor would they perform the smallest of those services which are generally, in Africa, considered a duty from an inhabitant to a stranger, without a recompense. I shall not, however, be so harsh as to give them the character of inhospitality on this account, for as white men do not traverse the Timannee country every day, they may have been induced to make demands on my people which they are quite unaccustomed to do on ordinary occasions: a practice of imposition, of which numerous examples may be found in countries which boast of civilization.

From the preceding remarks, I fear the reader will not have formed a favourable opinion of the Timannees; and I regret that I have little to offer in their defence which may support them in his estimation. They are deprayed, licentious, indolent, and avaricious. The character of a Timannee man is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labour; and of a Timannee woman for dishonesty. The considerate reader will judge of the degree in which their character is to be attributed to the long prevalence, in their country, of that detestable trade, which strikes at the root of industry, destroys the bonds of social order, and even extinguishes the most powerful natural feelings¹⁰. Inhabiting of the country near the mouth of one of the principal rivers of the coast, and which, until the last thirty years, was one of the principal marts of the slavetrade, their moral and social disorganization and degradation which still subsists, may be viewed as an example of its deep-rooted and pernicious influence. In correspondence with this remark, is the progressive improvement in the social and industrious habits of the population, which is witnessed by the traveller in advancing from the coast towards the interior by the course of any of the great rivers of Africa, which were formerly distinguished as stations for the trade in slaves.

¹⁰ I was twice offered by mothers their children for sale, and abused for refusing them. One evening a clamour was raised against me, as being one of those white men who prevented the slave-trade, and injured the prosperity of their country. The two mothers severally accused their children of witchcraft, and were much surprised at my refusal to purchase; particularly as the price did not exceed ten bars, or about thirty shillings sterling.

CHAPTER III.

MA-BOOM—DETENTION—VILLANY OF HEADMEN— PROCEDURE THROUGH THE COUNTRY OF KOORANKO—MOUNTAINS—PICTURESQUE AND MINERALOGICAL APPEARANCES — ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION AT CAMATO.

Ma-boom consists of two towns, old and new, situated at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from each other; the former inhabited by Timannees, and the latter by a few families of Mandingoes, who emigrated, a few years since, from the territories of the Alimamee Amara. Old Ma-Boom is built in the ordinary Timannee manner, but new Ma-Boom bears a very different appearance: on entering it, the eye is immediately struck by the conspicuous change; the small, miserably-constructed, gable-ended hut, gives place to the large, circular, conical-roofed edifice, neatly studded with ornaments of clay; and the dirty space, in front of the solitary house of each individual, is superseded by the clean and tastily-stockaded yard: the frame work of the doors is made of bamboo, and the pannelling of neatly-interwoven cane. I entered the town about sun-set, and received a first impression highly favourable to its inhabitants, who were returning from their respective labours of the day, every individual bearing about him proofs of his industrious occupation: some had been engaged in preparing the fields for the crops, which the approaching rains were to mature; others were penning up a few cattle, whose sleek sides, and unconcerned looks, denoted the richness of their pasturages; the last clink of the blacksmith's hammer was sounding, the weaver was measuring the quantity of cloth he had woven during the day, and the gaurange, or worker in leather, was tying up his neatly-stained pouches, shoes, knife-scabbards, &c, (the work of his handicraft,) in a large kotakoo or bag; while the crier at the mosque, with the melancholy call of "Alla Akbar," uttered at measured intervals, summoned the decorous Moslems to their evening devotions: the whole scene, both in appearance and sentiment, forming an agreeable contrast to the noise, confusion, and levity, which pervades a Timannee town at the same hour; a contrast which strongly prepossessed me in favour of the inhabitants; but I regret to add, that their subsequent conduct was not such as to confirm the good opinion which I was disposed to form. 8th. I had expected, that a small present to the headmen of the town, and a brief explanation of my intentions, would have been sufficient to give me the privilege of passing through a small town, the inhabitants of which, being strangers themselves in the country, could not be supposed to have much sway; it was, therefore, with much surprise that I learnt, that a number of headmen had been sent for from different surrounding villages, to be present at a palaver, who could not possibly assemble before the morrow: on that day, the 9th, a meeting was held, which was to me a very unsatisfactory one: they treated with ridicule the presents I offered, and dwelt on the dangers of the country through which I proposed to pass; the importance of securing their friendship, and the terms by which it was to be obtained, which far exceeded my disposition or intention to comply with. In vain did I explain to them the advantages they were likely to derive from a free intercourse between the countries of the interior and the

water side; in vain did I flatter them that the good name they would derive from rendering assistance to me, would be preferable to any presents I could make them; that presents were perishable, but that a good name lasted for ever: they neither wanted trade nor a good name, they wanted money; and unless they got it, I should not proceed. Assuring myself that persons who manifested so little interest in the welfare of the country, could have but little power in it, (for I had as yet always met people ready to admit that trade would benefit them, how exorbitant soever they might be in their demands upon me,) I steadily refused to give them more than I had offered, and desiring my people to bring away the presents, I quitted the palaver-hall. This conduct produced the effect which I anticipated, as I was acquainted in the evening, that at the close of the palaver, it had been determined to accept the presents, and to suffer me to proceed.

10th. The head-man of the town, Smeilla by name, paid me an early visit this morning, and recommended me to defer my departure from Ma Boom till the day following, as there had been a heavy fall of rain that night, and there was every reason from the lowering state of the atmosphere, to expect a continuance of it; adding that the distance to Kooloofa, my next stage, was very great, and as the people who inhabited the intermediate villages bore the worst character, it would be better to pass them by daylight, and not to be obliged to rest a night at any of them; this information I afterwards found to have been totally incorrect, the recommendation so kindly given by Smeilla being the commencement of a chain of arrangements, entered into by that crafty and designing person, to deceive and detain me till such time as he might have it in his power to deprive me of my property.— The day cleared up about eleven A.M., and being desirous to view the surrounding country, which from the large masses of granite scattered about, I suspected to be mountainous, I ordered three of my party to attend me in an excursion into the woods. Having walked at a brisk pace towards the N.W., for about two hours, I was agreeably surprised, on arriving at a small neat town, called Ma Biss, to find the river Rokelle flowing past it in a W.b.S. direction at the rate of nearly three miles an hour: it appeared about three hundred feet across, and very deep in the centre; the head-man of the town informed me that during the rains, they built canoes and floated them down in four days to Rokou, but he could give me no idea from whence the river sprung, farther than that it came through Kooranko. The banks of the river, which are composed of argillaceous schist, or clay-slate, with here and there stupendous granitic blocks protruding their rugged heads, are on either side from thirty to forty feet in height. In returning to Ma Boom, I took a more circuitous route, and passed through several farms industriously cultivated. At length ascending a gentle acclivity, at the base of which were scattered several gigantic masses of compact granite, I beheld towards the eastward the blue mountains of Kooranko bounding the horizon from north to south, as far as the eye could reach.'

The soil around Ma Boom appeared principally of a vegetable origin, being a rich black loam, mixed with a little clay and fine sand, the debris of granite washed from the Kooranko hills.

In the evening I sent to Smeilla to acquaint him of my wish to depart early the next morning, and to request that be would furnish me with the guide whom he had promised the day before, but, to my great surprise, he positively refused; saying his heart was not pleased, and that I had not treated him well by giving him so small a present. I had certainly great reason to be dissatisfied at his conduct, but being desirous to leave no enemies in my rear, I sent again to inquire the cause of his heart's displeasure, and to know if it lay in my power to satisfy him. Two bars of powder were demanded, which I instantly gave, and then received fresh protestations of this deceitful man's friendship.

May 11th. I was again refused a guide, and fresh demands were made; but as I declined to comply any further, Smeilla positively declared that no road to Kooloofa lay through his town. In my anxiety to get away from this troublesome place, I sent to him to say that if one bar more would satisfy him he should have it, provided he furnished me instantly with a guide; but if not, that I would return that day to Ma Yasso, in which case he might suffer more from his perverseness than he at present calculated upon. This proposition was acceded to, and the bar (a fathom of white baft) accepted; but he no sooner got it in his possession than he asked for a gun, and refused to open the road without it. I immediately quitted his presence, without deigning to expostulate, and gave orders to my party to get themselves ready to move, being resolved to return to Ma Yosso, and there make arrangements for adopting another route. I was just on the point of departure, when a Mandingo man came to me, and said that Smeilla had no objection to my proceeding to Kooloofa, but that I must go without a guide; this I might have done before, and declined now, as I apprehended treachery. I had therefore actually left the town, when one of the head-men, who had followed, gave me an assurance that if I would return and wait till morning, he would accompany me in the quality of guide himself. Being very unwilling to retrace my steps even for a short distance, I assented to the proposal, and agreed to give one trial more.

Whilst preparing for my departure, soon after day-break, Musah Kanta made his appearance with a most sorrowful countenance, and stated, that the man who had promised yesterday to accompany me to Kooloofa, now refused to go without the permission of Moodi Smeilla, but that the man had gone to try if he could obtain it. Hearing no tidings of him at the expiration of two hours, I went to the house of Moodi Smeilla myself, with whom, after some difficulty, I obtained an interview. After stating very briefly the disappointment and dissatisfaction which I had received since my arrival in his town, I acquainted him with my determination of returning to Ma Yosso, and demanded that the presents I had given him should be returned; observing that I should otherwise consider myself as plundered, and would tell the whole country so. "White man," he replied, "if you only wait one hour, this man (pointing to the Mandingo who had caused me to change my intention the day before,) shall accompany you." "Not a minute," I rejoined, and turned round to make good my threat. "Stop, stop, white man, stop," he called after me in a manner of entreaty, "stop, and you shall go to Kooloofa this instant. You white men are too hasty; you want to run through the country like a horse, and will not take time to settle business properly. This man shall accompany you directly, but you had better wait for the head-man of new Ma Boom, whom I shall send for, he will be of great use to you, as you have several Timannee towns to pass through." Although at a loss to guess the cause of such complacency, I agreed to the arrangements, so far as to say I would wait half an hour for the Timannee chief, who, however, did not

make his appearance till ten o'clock, when we immediately began our march, and I had, at length, the satisfaction of turning my back upon Ma Boom.—I wanted to shake hands with Smeilla in the town, but he insisted upon walking with me a short distance, during which time he appeared so uncommonly attentive and friendly, as to incur my suspicion; he advised me among other things to cover up all my property in mats, for I was going through a country of rogues, whose hearts began to dance, the moment they saw merchandise, and would not be at rest till they got it all. I smiled to observe the earnestness and fidelity with which this man delineated his own portrait, and shaking him by the hand congratulated myself, at length, in his riddance. After walking for about a mile, musing on the strange conduct of Smeilla, I bethought myself of communicating my suspicions to Musah; I observed that, yesterday, permission to depart towards Kooloofa, was absolutely forbidden, unless I gave a gun;—that this morning I had been detained a long time, while our Mandingo guide had been closeted with Smeilla, and I could not persuade myself that the fear of my spoiling his name merely, (as the natives emphatically term it), would have induced a man of his character, so suddenly to alter his demeanour; I therefore, thought that all was not right, and that some trick was in agitation.—" You are not mistaken," said Musah, "but, Alla Akbar, I know it all, and we have it in our power to prevent it; an old woman to whom I used to give snuff at Ma Boom, overheard Smeilla and our guide in conference, and has acquainted me with the whole of their plans. It was Smeilla's intention, if some people whom he had sent for, had arrived in time, to have fallen upon us, and taken all the baggage during the night, but as they did not make their appearance, and being afraid to attempt the seizure of it himself. he has ordered the guides we now have, to carry us to a town called Ma Bentane, the head-man of which, is a very bad character, and has plenty of people at command to carry his purposes into execution." "Then, Musah," I replied, "we shall not enter Ma Bentane, be the consequences what they may.— Do you try to bribe our Mandingo guide to carry us to Kooloofa, at once; and if you cannot overcome his scruples, by a liberal promise, I must try what threats will do, for the instant I learn that we are near Ma Bentane, Madde Serra, (which was the guide's name), shall receive his death from my hands." I finished this sentence by slipping a ball into my fusil, on which Musah Kanta looked serious, and advanced to the front to communicate with the guide.

The town which I had just quitted, being the only one that I met with in the course of this journey, inhabited by regular Mandingoes, I shall take the opportunity of introducing a few remarks on their history, and customs.

The Mandingoes are a very shrewd people, and superior to any who inhabit the extent of Western Africa, from the boundaries of Morocco, to the southward; they are not of ancient residence on the water-side, having emigrated, not more than a century since, from Manding, a powerful country, situated near Sego, about seven hundred miles eastward of the coast, where abundance of gold is found, and which, in the quantity it produces of that precious metal, yields to Boore alone¹¹*. The first emigrants settled in the countries surrounding the Gambia, but detached parties found their way,

¹¹ * The gold found in Manding may be always known by its red copper-coloured hue, while that of Boore is yellow.

subsequently, both to the northward and southward, for they are of an unsettled migratory disposition and are to be found traversing Africa, for the purposes of trade or" war, from Tangiers to the American settlement at Cape Mesurada¹².—Those with whom I am most acquainted, are a tribe which settled in the part of the Soosoo country, of which the capital is Fouricaria, and of which I have already made some mention in the introduction to this Journal: they were originally few in number, but from the circumstance of many tribes of Soosoos, among whom they sojourned, becoming proselytes to their religion, and assimilating to their manners and customs, they became numerous and powerful; until factions were formed, caused by the disputes which followed the accession of Amara to the throne, which have produced the almost total disorganization of the country.

Amara had received his education in Foutah Jallon, where he was considered one of the best Koranic scholars in the country. Presuming on this reputation and on a good understanding with the Foulahs which he industriously cultivated, he commenced his reign by a system of oppression, which has occasioned the greatest discontent, and has left him, at the end of a few years, without a single follower, except the crafty and designing Satin Lai, at whose instigation he has committed many cruelties, and has been guilty of flagrant breaches of justice. To ingratiate himself with the Foulahs, whose assistance he expected on all occasions to command, he waged war at an early period of his reign with the inhabitants of Kondeeah, a town founded about the year 1756, by a large body of slaves, who had risen upon, and revolted from, their masters, the Foulahs: and having fortified themselves in a strong position, had declared an independence, which their former masters had often endeavoured to overturn, but without success. Amara laid siege to this town, but was soon convinced of his error, by being compelled to retire hastily with the shame of a signal defeat, and the loss of his right-hand man, and general, Satin Lai, who was taken prisoner, and afterwards redeemed at a very exorbitant ransom. His war with Sannassee has already been noticed; after the destruction of the town, and pillage of the property of that unfortunate chief, he followed the Soolima army into the country of the Beana Soosoos, expecting that Yarradee would assist him against a rebellious chief named Ansamana Boogaroo, whose destruction he meditated; but being disappointed in this project, he was compelled, after a fruitless sojourn in that country, to return in a manner not the most honourable to his capital, the safety of which seemed to be insecure from the vengeance threatened by many of his former adherents, who, indignant at the shameful treatment of Sannassee, had united to attempt the overthrow of their monarch. It may be difficult to predict the probable issue of a contest of which, the result depends upon so fickle a race of people as the Mandingoes; but it appears reasonable to anticipate that peace will be a stranger to the country, while it is governed by Amara. The various disputes which for some years have agitated this country, have rendered both the persons and property of individuals very insecure, on which account

¹² t When I visited Mesurada, in December, 1822, at which time I had the satisfaction of terminating the misunderstanding between the natives and the American settlers, then at war with each other, I learned that the natives had been joined by a tribe who had come from a great distance, and who, from the description given of their dress, habits, and mode of fighting, I immediately recognised to be Mandingoes.

many emigrations of families have taken place, and among others, those whom I found established in New Ma Boom: with them was an old man, whom I learned to be the father of Lamina Kumra, chief at Kambia on the river Scarcies; they had long been without tidings of one another, and I enjoyed the double gratification of acquainting the father with the prosperity of the son, and of informing the son on my return of the safety and welfare of his father.

The costume of the Mandingoes is extremely plain, simple, neat, and becoming; consisting of a cap, shirt, trowsers, and sandals. The cap is composed of blue or red cloth, is conical in shape, and neatly worked with different coloured threads; the shirt, which hangs loosely over the trowsers, is truly simple in its construction, being formed of about a fathom or more of blue or white baft doubled, with a small hole cut in the top to admit the head; the sides are sewed up about half-way, leaving sufficient room for the play of the arms; trowsers of the same materials reach merely to the knee; they are made very wide, and gatherered round the loins with a strong piece of tape. The width of the trowsers is a great mark of distinction among the Mandingoes; hence the common expression among them, Koorté Abooniato, "large trowsers," which is synonymous with "great man." To such an extent indeed do they carry this fashion, that I have known a headman with a whole piece of baft, being about twenty yards, made into one pair. The females wear a pang cloth of baft about a yard in width around the waist, impending as far as the calf of the leg; and a shawl or some fancy cloth suspended from the head, and covering the neck and shoulders, if they are not at work; with this cloth they also conceal their faces, if required to eat or drink in the presence of a man.

A Mandingo, unless he is a Nyimahalah^{13*}, seldom walks abroad without his gun; and every man carries with him a cutlass or knife, suspended to his right thigh, which instrument serves for many purposes: *viz*. to cut his way through the wood; to chop his cassada; to defend himself against an enemy; and to assist in cutting up a bullock at a feast; this last operation he performs in a skilful manner, for there are few Mandingoes who are not excellent butchers.

There are four trades or professions, to which conjointly is given the appellation of Nyimahalah; they rank in the order in which they are enumerated, and consist of the *fino*, or orator; the *jellé*, or minstrel; the *guarangé*, or shoemaker; and the *noomo*, or blacksmith; all of whom are high in the scale of society, and are possessed of great privileges. They travel throughout the country unmolested, even in war; and strangers, if of the sable hue, are always safe under their protection. The guarangé and noomo earn their livelihood by the exercise of their respective trades; the fino by his oratory and subtlety as a lawyer; and the jellé by singing the mighty deeds and qualifications of rich men, who, in his opinion, have no faults. Like the minstrels of old, they are always at hand to laud with hyperbolical praise the landlord of a feast, and headman of a town.

The distinctions of rank, although kept up among the Mandingoes more than among the generality of African tribes, are nevertheless few. The priests and teachers of the Koran are held in estimation next to the king or ruler of a country; the respect which they shew

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¹³ Explained m the next page.

to learning is a trait in their character much to be admired: the next in order to the priests and teachers, are the subordinate chiefs and head-men; then follow the Nyimahalahs, (no matter from what country); after them, dependant freemen; and, lastly, slaves divided into domestic, or those born in the country, who are not liable to be sold contrary to their inclinations, and those taken in war, or enslaved on account of debt, or by way of punishment; this division resembles that of the ancient Romans.

"Servi aut nascebantur, aut fiebant." The subject of slavery, however, has been fully written upon by Mungo Park, and I shall only casually observe, in reference to the concluding part of his chapter, *viz.*, "That the suppression of the slave-trade would not be attended with so much advantage to Africa as many wise and good men seem to think (I quote from memory,) that I have not been able to perceive any thing during an intercourse of many years with the natives, and a close examination of African policy, to warrant such a remark.

A destitute old man is unknown among the Mandingoes; a son considers it his first duty to look after, and provide for, his aged father's comfort; and if he is unfortunate enough to have lost his own, he perhaps looks for some aged sire, who, being without children, requires the care and attention of youth. There is no nation with which I am acquainted, where age is treated with so much respect and deference.

The appearance of the Mandingo is engaging, their features are regular and open; their persons well formed and comely, averaging a height rather above the common.

Their education in general consists in learning to read and write a few passages of the Koran, and to recite a few prayers. During their education, a period of three or four years, they are under the care of, and perform menial offices for the priest or maraboo who instructs them, and to whom the parents pay occasional instalments in the shape of presents, until a certain sum is made up, nor can the youth be taken from the hands of his master till the education money is made good. The hours of precept are generally in the evening, after sunset; when, seated round a blazing fire, the children read aloud their task, which is written with a pen or reed upon an oblong white painted board. Every boy reads at the same time, and as quickly as he can, but the master becomes so well accustomed to the sound of their several voices, that a mistake is instantly corrected. The religion is Mahomedan, but they are not rigid in its observances; they pray five times a day, viz., at sunrise or sungofoo; at 2 P.M., or soolufaná; at 4 P.M., or lahansarra; at sunset or sungomané; and at 8 P.M., for which time I cannot recollect that they have any particular name. They keep the fast of Rhamadan while the sun is above the horizon. They repeat a short prayer and make a rotatory motion with the forefinger, on first beholding a new moon; the appearance of which they calculate with precision, reckoning her age from the time of her becoming visible. They draw many omens from her phases, beyond which and the wearing of greegrees or saphies, (small prayers written by maraboos and cased in stained leather) as antidotes to evil, their superstition does not appear to extend. They commence and terminate all palayers by prayer, the whole assemblage repeating to the final sentences—" Amena," our "(Amen,") in a manner truly decorous and impressive.

The country around New Ma Boom is thickly wooded, but their farms are well cleared from the brushwood, which, when cut down, is collected in heaps and burned for manure. Their pasturages are rich and well stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats; and the sons of the chiefs, like the offspring of the patriarchs of old, are to be seen tending them with the greatest assiduity and care.

The principal vegetable productions are rice, cassada, yams, ground-nuts, and the plantain; for the latter of which they are indebted to nature. Rice with honey constitutes the principal part of their food; and those who can procure it, chiefly drink milk. The honey in most countries in Africa is procured in a wild state, but the Mandingoes induce the bees to hive around their farms, and thereby procure that luxury without the trouble of searching for it in the woods. The hive which they use is of very simple construction, being merely a piece of hollowed bamboo placed horizontally upon two forked sticks; the extremities are closed up with clay, and a small hole is perforated in one of them to give free egress and ingress to the bees. When the honey is ready, the bees are expelled in the same manner as in England.

Having thus laid before the reader the few particulars which I have been able to procure concerning the Mandingoes, I resume my Journal to Kooloofa. About half an hour after Musah had gone to the front for the purpose of sounding our guide, he returned to acquaint me that it was not the wish of Madde Serra to carry us to MaBentane, and that the only difficulty in conducting us to Kooloofa at once, was the presence of the Timannee chief, whom Smeilla had appointed to accompany us. I therefore determined upon taking the Timannee into my own charge, and knowing his foible, (as he had been plaguing me for rum the whole morning,) I sent to offer him a dram, and plied him with the liquor until he was completely drunk, when we were under the agreeable necessity of leaving him at a small hut on the road. We pursued our route without molestation, and arrived at Kooloofa about four o'clock in the afternoon, much astonished to find the distance so trifling compared with the magnified accounts given by Moodi Smeilla and others. The route was as follows:—One hour E. by N. to Ma Koom; one hour and a half to Doopoola (at this town a great concourse of people were assembled doing custom over a dead body, which they left, and followed me for nearly two miles on the path, begging that I would let them touch my skin, hear me speak, &c.); one hour N.E. to Matuko; one hour E. by N. to Madibi (towns inhabited by Koorankos and Timannees); and half an hour E. by N. to Kooloofa. After a rest of an hour, I went to pay my respects to the chief of the town, who is named Be Kumma, or Massa Kumma; I found him a most respectable-looking old man, and received from him a most cordial welcome; "he was extremely happy to see me; he had heard of my approach long ago, and was glad to find I had got through the town of Moodi Smeilla, who was a great rogue, and had no regard to character or good name; had I not come forward that day it was his intention to have sent his own people for me the following day. Moodi Smeilla," he added, "will soon get his town burned, and be expelled the country, because he does ill to every one; he often brings palayers upon people going through Ma Boom, and if they have no money to pay he sells them." After a short time spent in the interchange of mutual civilities, I returned to my hut much pleased with my first interview with this chief. About nine in the evening I retired to rest, and in a very few minutes closed my eyes in slumber, which the good

inhabitants of Kooloofa were determined I should not long enjoy; for, out of compliment (as they informed my boy) to the first white man who had ever set foot in Kooranko, they commenced such a din of drums, flutes, and various other instruments, accompanied with dancing and singing, which was kept up all night, that sleep was banished from my pillow till daylight.

May 13th. A. On making inquiries respecting the Kabanka Pampana, I was informed that it was not more than three miles to the southward, and having walked that distance, I fell in with it, meandering along a deep channel about 200 feet in breadth, in a mean direction from N.E. to S.W.—The banks are lofty and picturesque, being overhung with trees of luxuriant and various foliage, among which the Camwood is the most numerous. On my return to Kooloofa, I found the head-men belonging to the town assembled, and waiting my arrival, to begin the palaver.— It was an agreeable one to me, as I found them unanimous in their desire to forward my views; they, one and all, thanked God for my appearance among them; they said they could not live without trade, and on that account, if for no other, they were glad to see a white man come into the country to open a good road.—Massa Kumma thanked me for what I had given him, (the usual present of ten bars,) and said I should have been equally welcome if I had only given him a single leaf of tobacco, for he saw I came for the good of his country, and he had the good of his country at heart; then shaking me by the hand, he said, "White man, go, the road is before you, and you shall have all the assistance I can give." To various assurances of friendship on the part of the chiefs, I, of course, made suitable replies, and shaking them by the hand, returned to my hut, well satisfied with the proceedings of the day.

14th. At ten A.M., having settled with the men whom I had brought with me from the Timannee country, and hired others to go to Seemera, the capital of the south eastern district of Kooranko, I bid Massa Kumma adieu, and left Kooloofa with the best wishes of a numerous crowd, assembled to witness my departure. Proceeding due North, we traversed a beautifully diversified country, having, as it occasionally opened, a view of the picturesque hills of Kooranko before us, from the base of the loftiest of which, named Bottato, issue many rivulets which join the Kabanka Pampana; in two hours we reached a large village named Kooloofa Tabessa. Two hours more, N.E. by E., quick walking, brought us to a large well-built town, called Soobo Sumboonia, where we were obliged to wait half an hour for a palaver; the chief of the place, who is named Yoofo, being desirous that I should remain there all night, but the objection was overruled by a little argument on the part of a Fino, who had volunteered himself into my service, and we were allowed to proceed. Soboo Sumboonia is very romantically situated at the bottom of one of the hills which form a chain from N. to S. for sixty miles, and run to the N.E. through the whole of Kooranko: a delightful view of the hills is afforded from this spot, the circumjacent country being tolerably clear of brushwood, and only requiring the hoe which is in use in this country, to weed, and render it fit for cultivation. The hills are clothed at their base with the camwood tree, and in places where it has been cut down, the sterile appearance produced by the multiplicity of stumps, is finely contrasted with the livid green of the smaller herbage and grass, which, interspersed here and there with a lovely palm tree, cover them even to the summits. A rivulet, about ten yards broad, crosses the town from N.W. to S.E., and after a course of about thirty miles, joins the

Kamaranka, or Kabanka Pampana, a little above Kooloofa. Leaving Soboo Sumboonia, and walking an hour and half, N. by E., we reached Seemera a little after 4 P.M., having passed on our left a conical-shaped hill about 200 feet in height, from the steep sides of which many lofty palm-trees rise in stately grandeur, while its summit exposes a venerable bald surface of granite, bleached from exposure to the destructive operations of a tropical climate. The soil we passed over in this day's march was chiefly a black rich mould mixed with a little sand; we met with many extensive beds of granite, intersected with veins of quartz about a quarter of an inch in thickness, and in many places the rock was found in a rapid state of decomposition. I had scarcely been a quarter of an hour in Seemera, when the king, whose name is Be Simera, came to visit me, and commenced with presenting two country cloths just taken from the loom, a fine goat, a large calabash full of white rice, and another filled with milk: his manner was much the same as that of the headman of Kooloofa; "he thanked God that he had seen a white man, and would do any thing in his power to help him, as he was sure he could have no other object in coming to the country than to do good."—He is a fine-looking man, about fifty years of age, and dresses very becomingly in garments made of cloth manufactured in the country: he invited me to accompany him to his premises, and took much pleasure in showing me his cattle, and two large crown birds, which he told me had been sent to him by one of the kings of Sangara. At parting, he sent his griot or minstrel to play before me, and sing a song of welcome: this man, of whom I give a sketch, had a sort of fiddle, the body of which was formed of a calabash, in which two small square holes were cut to give it a tone; it had only one string, composed of many twisted horse-hairs, and although he could only bring from it four notes, yet he contrived to vary them so as to produce a pleasing harmony; he played at my door till I fell asleep, and waking at day-break his notes still saluted my ears, when finding that his attendance would not be discontinued without a douceur, I gave him a head of tobacco, and told him to go home and thank his master.

May 15th. The palaver for opening the road was held this morning; it lasted nearly three hours; the speech of the king, which he delivered with much energy, occupied full an hour and a half; he took a very comprehensive view of the advantages which his country was likely to derive from a free communication between interior nations and the waterside; and astonished me by the wisdom and good sense with which he spoke. "He expressed himself happy that a white man should come from a distance to open the road; he thanked God for it, and hoped the white man might be rewarded for his trouble. He inveighed strongly against Smeilla for detaining me so long, and for the sake of a little money attempting to frustrate my designs. As far as regarded himself, he thought that a Black man ought to think himself well paid in the sight of a white man, for the people of this country had never seen one before; but they had heard that white men did good wherever they went. He wished (if I had no objection) to send for Smeilla, and put him in irons, for having dared to stop a stranger on the borders of Kooranko; he knew that without trade with white men he could have nothing that was good, for his country produced nothing but rice and camwood." In my reply, (which was very brief,) "I much applauded the sentiments of the king, and thanked him for his kindness. I told him that no country had every thing within itself; that the inhabitants of all countries were obliged, if they wanted any thing that another country produced, to give something which they

found in their own in exchange. I was also happy to find that he viewed my visit to his country in the proper light, for my object was solely to encourage trade, and to show them how to get the fine things from the white man's country. I told the king he had more to exchange than rice and camwood; I had seen quantities of gum-copal exuding from the trees as I had passed along, and if he would set his people to gather and send it to Sierra Leone, he would get money in exchange." The palaver was closed with the king presenting me with a fine fat cow, which I killed for my party. In the evening, the king informed me that it would be necessary that I should tarry in his town the day following, as he was anxious to consult with his head-men about the most desirable road for me to pursue; to this, of course, I could make no objection; but I expressed my hope that every thing might be so arranged that I should have it in my power to proceed the day after.

May 16th. A day of rest.—About nine in the evening the town of Seemera was visited by one of the heaviest tornadoes I ever recollect to have experienced; the house in which I slept being very badly thatched, my apartment was illuminated through the holes in the roof and crevices in the wall, by the repeated and vivid lightning, whilst the rain found its way in torrents into the apartment, and gave me the full benefit of a shower-bath.

Seemera, though the capital of this part of Kooranko, and the residence of the king, does not contain above a hundred houses, and those, with the exception of the chief's dwelling, are miserable habitations, consisting only of one circular room, badly constructed of interwoven twigs roughly plaistered with clay, and crowned with a very carelessly thatched conical roof. From the disagreeable practice of making large fires in the houses for culinary purposes, and the quantity of smoke which ascends and is never allowed egress, the inside of the roofs are covered with a black tapestry, which, being permitted to hang free and unmolested till loosened by its own gravity, is continually dropping, and adhering to whatever it falls upon. The morning after the tornado, I appeared in consequence more like a half-scrubbed chimney-sweeper on a May-day, than the white stranger of Kooranko.

May 17th. A great quantity of rain fell this morning, which, together with a palaver concerning a woman (founded on an accusation brought against one of my party.) detained me this day at Seemera. In the afternoon Be Simera paid me a visit, to express his regret that I should have been prevented from going forward on account of .the palaver, which he could not prevent, as it was the long-established usage of the country; and to acquaint me that he had ordered some of his people to dance for my amusement. In a few minutes, a man beating a big drum with his right-hand, and playing with the thumb of the left, armed with a thimble, upon a conical-shaped piece of hollow iron slung from the fore-finger, and followed by a crowd of women, entered the yard; when commenced a most grotesque kind of dance, in which there was more action than elegance, and more labour than grace. The dancers scarcely moved their feet, but made up for their deficiency in that respect by twisting their bodies into attitudes completely serpentine, and giving a continual motion to their heads; they brandished in the right-hand a large knife, and in the left a tomahawk, with great dexterity. They were followed by successive couples, each displaying their activity in a manner which was rather distressing than agreeable to witness; the female by-standers encouraging them by clapping their hands, and evincing

by acclamation and gesture their unqualified approbation. The amusement was kept up with unabating vigour till the close of day.

18th. We departed from Seemera this morning at ten A.M., attended by the king and ten of his wives, who, with the carriers, formed a numerous procession. On leaving the town, we immediately struck off due east, and continued the whole day's march in that direction, the path varying a little occasionally towards the N. and S., owing to the passage over the mountains, which we now began to ascend; they appeared in the short march of this day to extend from W. to E., in a very regular manner, and permitted me to traverse the intermediate valleys without much difficulty. The valleys are picturesque and fertile, and are watered by numerous rivulets, which, running from N. to S., collect behind the lofty hill of Botato, and contribute their assistance in swelling the river Kamaranka. I was frequently induced to stop to contemplate the lovely scene around me, consisting of extensive meadows clothed in verdure; fields, from which the springing rice and groundnuts were sending forth their livid green shoots, not inferior in beauty and in health to the corn-fields of England in March; interspersed here and there with a patch of ground studded with palm trees: while the neighbouring hills, sometimes clothed with rich foliage, sometimes exhibiting a bold and weather-beaten appearance, formed a noble theatre around

Two hours easy walking brought us to a neat well-built town, named Boondayia, the head-man of which is called Bondakavia; it is large and magnificent compared with Seemera; and many of the houses cover about thirty square feet of ground. We sat down about half an hour, and held a short palayer, when I gave the head-man a bar of tobacco, with which he did not appear satisfied, and got up to express himself to that effect; but the words had hardly escaped from his lips, when Be Simera, smarting from his seat, exclaimed, "Any man who says the white man has not done him good, is not my friend. Do you expect a white man to come to open a road for your good, and pay you besides?" This caused the head-man to alter his tone, who now thanked me, and professed his readiness to assist my progress. We arrived at Nyiniah a little after three, having made, during the day, about ten miles due east. Nyiniah, which is also called Konkofeel, is larger than either Seemera or Boondavia; the houses are large, commodious, and wellbuilt; the spacious yards are nicely swept, and the town altogether reminded me much (though on a larger scale) of Medina, on the Bullom shore, the residence of a most respectable chief and friend to Sierra Leone, named Dalla Moodi. Nyiniah is environed by lofty mountains on every side, except on that which looks towards the West, where a most beautiful valley, with numerous herds of large red cattle, and flocks of sheep, opens to the view.

May 19th. The civility of the headman of Nyiniah forced me much against my inclination to remain this day at his town. He paid me a visit early in the morning, attended by his chiefs and his principal griot, the latter of whom sung loudly the praises of his master, whom he represented as the richest and most hospitable man in the whole country. He sung "of the white man who came out of the water to live among the Kooranko people; the white man ate nothing but fish when he lived in the water, and that was the cause of his being so thin. If he came among black men, he would get fat, for they would give him

cows, goats, and sheep to eat, and his thirst should be quenched with draughts of milk." The song being concluded, I was presented with a fine young bull, which, being thrown down and ready for slaughtering, was encircled by a crowd of people; those nearest the animal placed their hands upon him, and joined in a short prayer which a Mahomedan repeated aloud, the purport of which was, "that I might get safe to my journey's end, and home again among the white men, and that God might long preserve my life." The moslem then took a sharp knife in his right-hand, and repeating aloud "Bissim Alla Hi¹⁴," with one cut divided the windpipe of the victim. Every knife being now drawn and employed, so much execution was displayed, that in the course of ten minutes the animal was cut up and portioned off. On occasions of this kind, certain parts are claimed by different people, so that when the whole are provided, the breast is all that is left to the person to whom the present is made. The maraboo who slays the animal is entitled to the head, neck, and feet; the guarange expects the hide, liver, and other parts of the inside; the head-man of the town receives the right hind-leg for his portion; and the blacksmith, fimo, and jelle, all come in for a share, which is theirs by right of ancient usage and custom.

May 20th. Although I had expected to leave Nyiniah this morning at daylight, I was unable to get my party in motion before nine A.M., owing to the delay occasioned by the carriers whom I had hired, who did not make their appearance till half-past eight. The trouble and difficulty in procuring people to carry the merchandise now became great, and the detention I experienced on that account proved a great source of vexation and annoyance to me during the remainder of my journey; so perplexing at times was the situation I was placed in, from the circumstance of my having more baggage than my own people could carry, that I had more than once very serious intention of destroying the greater part of it by fire. On quitting the town, we took leave of king Be Simera, and immediately ascended one of the hills which rise towards he eastward; having walked about an hour and three-quarters we gained the summit, and, in our descent on the opposite side, on clearing a thicket which had previously obstructed the prospect, a view, quite panoramic, broke upon the sight; an extensive valley, partly cultivated, and partly covered with long natural grass about five feet high, (the cultivated part being newly sown); lines of stately palm-trees as regular as if laid out by art; with here and there a cluster of camwood-trees, their deep shade affording a relief to the lighter hue of the smaller herbage; these, with a murmuring rivulet meandering through the centre, exhibited the appearance of a well-cultivated and tastily-arranged garden, rather than a tract amid the wilds of Africa; whilst in the distance, mountain towered above mountain, in all the grandeur and magnificence of nature. After passing along the valley from W. to E., we again commenced ascending, and continued to do so in a south-easterly direction for about two hours, when we arrived at an extensive plain covered with short thin grass; traversing this plain, in a course nearly N.E., we crossed two rapid streams or rivulets running from the S.E. tributaries to the Rokelle, and finally halted for the day at a neat town called Neta Koota, which is sheltered by mountains from the N. and E. About a mile from Nyiniah, we fell in with the source of a fine stream which joins the Kamaranka; the spring forms a basin of ten yards in diameter, embanked with masses of granite, and, overhung with lofty trees, clad with a foliage so thick as to bid defiance to

¹⁴⁶May God enable you to bear what is going to happen to you."

the piercing rays of even a vertical sun. The mountains which I crossed in this day's march, consisted of very micacious granite, and mica slate, the strata running from E. to W.; in the valleys I picked up pebbles of red and white quartz, and some flat stones so strongly impregnated with iron, as to draw and repel the needle at the distance of several inches. In this day's ascent the barometer fell forty-two hundredths of an inch.

May 21st. Although the head-man promised that he would furnish me with carriers, and accompany me himself early in the morning as far as Kaniakoota, I found him inclined to disappoint me, for on sending to him at day-break, he informed by messenger that he had changed his mind, and did not intend going forward till next day. Having no object to detain me in this town, I went to him myself, and explained, in mild language, the impropriety of breaking a promise, and the want of confidence with which any white man would in future view him; and thus succeeded in inducing him to consent to set out that morning. It was nearly ten o'clock, however, before we commenced our march, and then at a pace which was disagreeably moderate, as the carriers who were furnished were mostly women, it being alleged that the men of the town had all gone to their farms in the supposition that I should remain another day.

A few miles N. by E. from Neta Koota, we crossed the river Ba Jafana, which, running to the N.W., unites with the Rokelle after a course of fifteen or twenty miles. The bed is about fifteen yards in breadth, although only .about three miles from its source, and is filled with granitic and quartoze pebbles, with abundance of laterite and other stones of a ferruginous quality. It springs from a mountain named Belakonko, situated in the S.E., where the natives procure the camwood in great quantities; the banks of the river are also lined with this wood, which grows to the height of about sixty feet. On the opposite side of the river I found people employed in extracting the iron from the laterite, which is done in the following manner:—'

A quantity of charcoal is placed in two earthen furnaces, A. A., constructed according to the accompanying sketch; over the charcoal is placed a layer of the iron-stone, then



charcoal again, and stone, alternately, till the furnace is full. The fire is kindled by several pairs of bellows applied to some small holes in B., which connects and communicates with the furnaces A. A. When the fire is sufficiently kindled, the bellows are removed, and the holes plugged up to prevent the current of air causing the fire to consume too rapidly. As the iron in a state of fusion escapes from the stone it drops into the receivers C. C.; the dross (which is used by the guarange for dying leather black) remains at the top. The bellows are the same as those used by the country blacksmiths, and are in general employ over all known Africa. They are noticed by Mungo Park, and by Captain Lyon; by the latter of whom the whole apparatus is thus simply described:—

"A small mud or clay wall is built to the height of a foot or eighteen inches; a hole is then made even with the ground, and an iron pipe¹⁵* introduced. To this are attached two skins, which open at the upper end by the means of two sticks, having a small leather-handle on each; the thumb is passed through one of these, and the fingers through the other; so that the hand easily opens and shuts the skin. The mouth being closed up, the skin is pressed down, and throws a strong blast through the pipe. It is again opened and lifted up, when it is once more ready. Thus, alternately with each hand, the current of air is kept up to the fire which lies over the pipe."—Lyon's *Travels*, ch. I, p. 48.

One hour N. by E. brought us to Sooeya, from which village a path strikes off to Sangara; an hour and a quarter N. to Foodayia; three-quarters of an hour to Walloduki; and two hours to Kaniagama, which I reached with much difficulty at five P.M., as the women who carried the loads were so much fatigued as to lay down their burdens several times, and refuse to proceed. Between Foodayia and Kaniagama, we crossed the Tongolelle, a noisy and rapid stream about thirty yards broad, dashing with violence over rocks of granite and beds of quartzy .gravel; it runs from S.E, to N.W., and is tributary to the Rokelle. The inhabitants of the four last-mentioned towns are much afraid of the Soolimas, (although they have never been attacked by them.) and have fenced themselves with strong and high palisades of hard-wood. The towns have only two entrances, both of which lead into a circular fenced vard in the centre, where strangers are received, palavers held, and festivals kept, At each entrance is a greegree-house, which must be passed through both on entering and in going out of the town. The geological appearances exhibited in this day's march were granite much stratified from the quantity of mica which enters into its composition; mica slate shelving from S.W. to N.E.; laterite strongly impregnated with iron; veins of quartz, with glittering mica separating the granite. The scenery became more confined, but more rugged and bold than hitherto. A heavy tornado of an hour's duration set in about nine P.M., and the rain poured in torrents during the whole of the night; but I had the good fortune to be better sheltered than at Seemera. Kaniagamo is a small wretched-looking village, the inhabitants, not excepting the head-man, having scarcely sufficient covering for decency. I compassionated their condition so much that I tore up several fathoms of cloth into small strips, which I gave to the females; my liberality was not, however, requited as it ought to have been, for they would not even fetch us a drop of water, or lend us a vessel to carry it in ourselves, without a reward of beads, with which I found they would rather decorate their naked persons than cover them with decent raiment.

¹⁵ I have generally seen a piece of the barrel of an old musket used for the pipe.

May 22d. I could not procure a single carrier here; I therefore rested my hopes of proceeding forward this day on the chief of Kaniakoota, a town a little further to the eastward, to whom I had sent a messenger the day before; no arrival having taken place at ten o'clock, I took my gun and two attendants to ascend, from curiosity, a mountain which rose abruptly to the northward of the town. The ascent occupied an hour and a half, and its steepness occasioned a good deal of fatigue, but on reaching the summit I was amply rewarded by the extensive view which it commanded. I could distinctly trace the course of the turbulent Tongolelle from the eastward, for a distance of about twelve miles, until it receded from the view behind a chain of hills to the westward. The lands below appeared about one-eighth cultivated, including the valleys, and the brows of some of the lesser hills. In the course of the ascent we noticed many herds of chattering monkeys and squirrels. Returning to the town about one P.M., I found the people from Kaniakoota in waiting, and immediately commenced the day's march. The course to Kaniakoota was about east-half-south along the banks of the Tongolelle, and occupied nearly three hours, during which we experienced a tremendous tornado.

May 23d. We remained this day at Kaniakoota to get our clothes washed, and to prepare for the journey of the morrow, which we were informed would be very long, and over a bad path. During the day some of my people shot several Guinea fowls of a larger species than the one domesticated in England; they frequent the mountain-wood in this neighbourhood in great numbers. In the evening we had another heavy tornado.

May 24th. I was unable to muster the party before nine o'clock, when we proceeded on our route. We had not walked more than half a mile when we arrived at a few straggling hovels, beyond which the carriers pretended they could not advance without consulting a greegree-man who lived there. The greegree-man would not make his appearance unless he was first gifted with a head of tobacco, which being given him, he came out, and exhibited a little ugly dried-up frame, covered with a piece of netting: as the affair had been arranged at Kaniakoota, the inhabitants of which 'town were very different people from what I had supposed them, the greegree-man played his part and retired, giving advice to the carriers not to go one step further on a path which was so much infested with leopards, unless the white man gave them each a couple of charges of powder and shot. As the day was advancing, and I expected a very unpleasant bivouac if the carriers held out, I ordered them to be provided with the quantity of ammunition which the greegree-man had recommended, and was well pleased to see them afterwards take up their loads, and trudge along with apparent good-will. Our course was much chequered, varying from E. to N.E., sometimes through almost impenetrable thickets, sometimes over lawns of Guinea-grass shooting from small patches of soil, held together by the rough inequalities of the indurated clay, with which the whole face of the country in this day's march was covered. After walking about fifteen miles, we arrived at the source of the Tongolelle, which, by its murmurings, (for it had now dwindled into a stream) gave us frequent notice of its vicinity; it takes its rise in a sort of basin surrounded with thick brushwood, and gives birth to a rich and luxuriant growth of wild canes in its centre, affording a cool retreat to the leopards which infest this part of the country; to such an extent are they dreaded, that the natives will not travel the path unless in parties, and well

armed; indeed so furious and rapacious are they, or, at all events, in such terror are they held, that .not a single village is to be met with in the whole path, an extent of five-andtwenty miles; and I observed the sites of several towns now in ruin, the inhabitants of which had been forced to move to the westward, to avoid their attacks. The knowledge of these circumstances lulled for a while any suspicions prejudicial to the people who were with me, which I might have formed in consequence of the demand they had made of the powder and shot, but they were strongly awakened, on our arrival at the foot of a lofty eminence called Sa Wollé; nor did I know until the following day, how much I had been justified in forming them, or how thankful I ought to feel for our providential escape. About three P.M., we had cleared a thick and tedious wood, and had arrived at the foot of the eminence, in a fine plain covered with long grass, and hemmed in on all sides, excepting towards the acclivity, with dark dreary-looking thickets, when the carriers complaining of fatigue, they, one and all, laid down their loads, and began to look about them in a mysterious manner; a few even left me, and going towards the wood made signals, which my people said was with an intention of bringing somebody from the bush. —Suspecting treachery, I ordered my bugler to sound the assembly, and collecting the baggage into a heap, and stationing my party round it, I told the interpreter to order the carriers to come forward and take up their loads, otherwise I would drive them before me like sheep: perceiving my determination, and that I had force enough to carry my threat into execution, they looked around them, gave a holla, and waited a few seconds, when hearing no answer, they advanced in the most abject and servile mannner, and obeyed my commands. I should, even now, be at a loss to explain their conduct, at which we all marvelled much at the time, had it not been for a disbanded soldier of the late royal African corps, who being a native of Kooranko, had returned to his country at the breaking up of the corps, and had gained celebrity as a Jelle; this man came to visit me at Worrowyah, the town at which I next stopped, and acquainted me that a plan had been laid to attack me, which he had had the good fortune to prevent. The men of Kaniakoota, with the exception of the few who had accompanied me as carriers, and some old men who had been left to take care of the town, were absent at the siege of Saducko on the confines of Limba, whither the head-man of Kaniakoota sent to acquaint them of my presence in the country, with such a quantity of money as never had before been heard of, and that they had only to lay wait for me to enrich themselves for ever: in order to enable them to effect this with little risk, he arranged to send me by a lonely, unfrequented, and circuitous path, so that by the time I should arrive at the foot of Sa Wolle, where they were to be in ambush, I should be so fatigued that I could offer little resistance. Tamba, the disbanded soldier, having heard of the plot, and being desirous of preventing the destruction of a white-man, and perhaps some of his old comrades, accompanied the party which was selected for the purpose; and when they sat down to rest, contrived to beguile the time, and detained them so long in listening to the extravagant accounts of white men's riches, which they were shortly to possess, that they arrived too late at the appointed spot.—It was their intention to have slain me, and to have made prisoners and slaves of my party; but they would have found the attempt attended with more difficulty and hazard than they had expected; for men such as those who were with me, long habituated to freedom, which they enjoy as purely at Sierra Leone, as if they breathed a British atmosphere, would have shed the last drop of their blood, before they would have suffered themselves to have been made slaves.

At 4 P.M., we reached the summit of Sa Wolle, when the barometer stood at 27.90, being about 1,900 feet above the level of the sea: from this situation I enjoyed one of the grandest and most extensive views I ever recollect to have beheld; a capacious circle of nearly two degrees in diameter, only interrupted by a hill to the eastward which rose considerably higher, presented a landscape of the most rich and varied scenery. Three lofty hills, which bore from me N.-by-E. E., marked the situation of Ba Fodis, the most eastern town of the Limba country; a little to the eastward of them I could barely discern (what I was informed to be) the hills of Tamisso; but the sight which gratified me most, was the lovely Rokelle, rolling its serpentine course across the landscape from N.E. to S.W. Woorowyah lay below me, bearing N. by E., and I expected to have reached it almost immediately, but we had to pass through so many deep ravines, (which being filled with trees, were not observed from the mountain,) that it was nearly seven P.M., when we arrived; fatigued, not so much from the length of the journey, as from the trouble and vexation occasioned by the carriers, and from the roughness of the indurated clay which we had walked over, and which caused our feet to swell considerably.

May 25th. We remained this day at Woorowyah to recover from the fatigues of the preceding day, and to procure fresh carriers, as the head-man informed me that I could not get them till evening, in consequence of the whole of the inhabitants being absent at their farms. In settling with the people who had accompanied me from Kaniakoota, I told them of my knowledge of the plot which their head-man had formed for my destruction, and desired them to say that I forgave him for it, and that I was happier on his account than on my own that it had not succeeded. I concluded by giving his son a present of some beads, a little tobacco, and a bar of powder, which was a generosity he so little expected, that tears came into his eyes; he expressed a hope that I would not curse him in my heart, for he said that all black men were rogues a little bit, and he was not the worst of them.

May 26th. I learned this morning that the inhabitants of Saducko, having got information of the departure of a considerable portion of the force which was besieging their town, (that portion which was sent to intercept me and my fifteen men,) had fallen upon the remainder and gained a complete victory over them, putting the whole to flight; I therefore thought it prudent to wait another day at Worrowyah, till I could learn if the path to the next town could be travelled in safety; being satisfied on that point, I set off the next morning at half-past eight. The course averaged N.E., about eight miles; the country being very uneven and intersected with many rivulets. We entered the town of Kania about noon, and found it particularly neat and clean, the outsides of the houses whitewashed, and the premises neatly enclosed with wicker-work; there were very few people in the town, except old men and females, as the males, who were able to bear arms, were absent at the war. About two P.M., several parties of armed men, being part of the force which had been defeated at Saducko, entered the town, and I had the satisfaction to learn from them, that hostilities were not only at an end for the season, but that the war-men, belonging to all the different towns, had returned home. I was also happy to learn that the battle had not been a bloody one, the only loss sustained being that of the general himself, a Kamato chief, who had been shot at the beginning of the attack

by some one lurking in the bush; when the whole took to their heels. The history of this war is short and soon narrated. The town of Saducko, which had been subject for many years to Kamato, and had acknowledged its dependence by the payment of annual tribute, at length becoming powerful, shook off its allegiance in 1819. The chiefs of Kamato laid siege to the town in the following year; but after repeated encounters, were forced to retire with considerable loss. Chagrined at the want of success, the Kamato chiefs induced Yarradee, the Soolima general, in the year 1821, to assist them, who defeated the people of Saducko, brought away many prisoners, and compelled them again to acknowledge the power of Kamato; for which service he received a pecuniary reward, and the daughter of Dinko, (one of the chiefs who afterwards accompanied me to Sierra Leone,) in marriage. In the beginning of 1822, the people of Saducko pretended to have a palaver with another town, and sent to Kamato for help, when the war-master went to their aid with two hundred men, who, on the night of their arrival, were treacherously attacked and put to flight by the Saduckoes. The Kamatoes, indignant at this breach of faith, collected together the strength of all the towns tributary to them, and laid the siege which was raised in consequence of the events already detailed.

May 28th. The remainder of the people arrived from the war this day, but there was no possibility of hiring a single carrier; as every one gave way to such lawless mirth, and committed acts of such extravagance, that a spectator who only knew that they came from a battle, must have attributed their actions to the pride of success and victory, not to the shame of defeat and ignominious flight. The head-man begged me to remain, and he would not only procure me carriers on the following day, but would accompany me himself, and I was forced to consent, although I could not obtain provisions either for myself or party¹⁶. In the evening dancing commenced, accompanied with songs from the females, the tenor of which did not entirely please me. They sang" of the white man who had come to their town; of the houseful of money which he had; such cloth, such beads, such fine things had never been seen in Kooranko before; if their husbands were men, and wished to see their wives well dressed, they ought to take some of the money from the white man." I am not certain how this might have terminated, if Tamba, who still accompanied me, had not mixed with the singers, and being well known among them, answered them by a counter song. He sung of Sierra Leone; of houses a mile in length filled with money; that the white man who was here had nothing compared to those in Sierra Leone; if, therefore, they wished to see some of the rich men from that country come into Kooranko, they must not trouble this one; whoever wanted to see a snake's tail must not strike it on the head." Tamba's song was listened to and applauded, and my money remained unmolested.

29th. I had more difficulty in procuring carriers at this town, than at any place before; and I suspect the occasion to have been a belief that if I could get nobody to carry the loads, I should be obliged to leave some of them behind. At half-past eight A.M., having applied in vain for assistance, I ordered my people to take each a double load, and taking up the last myself, we left the town, and gaining, with much trouble, an open piece of ground at a little distance, I had begun to pile such articles as were least valuable, with an intention

¹⁶ The war had interfered so much with cultivation in the last two years, that the town was absolutely in a state of destitution.

of setting fire to them, when I was joined by the head-man, who seeing me determined in my resolution of proceeding to Kamato that day, was fearful of the consequences that might ensue from the chiefs of that town disapproving his conduct, and had therefore brought with him twelve carriers. One hour due N. brought us to Yarra; three hours N.E. to Sande; two hours N.E. to Kasikoro; and two hours nearly N. to Kamato; having left two towns, named Mori Funde and Mori Kunda, (so named from their being inhabited by Moslems,) on the right. As far as Sante the road is bad, and very fatiguing to the traveller, who is obliged to pass over a succession of deep ravines; but after leaving Sande the country becomes more flat and regular. In this day's journey we crossed many rivulets, among which was the Manere, flowing into the Rokelle, and one (the name of which I omitted to note in my memorandum-book,) which runs to the eastward along the bottom of the hill on which Kamato stands, and disembogues into an extensive marsh, or swamp, the waters of which evaporate during the dry season; I was informed by the natives that the marsh increases every year, and I think it not improbable that in time it may become a lake, which by overflowing its embankments towards the southward, may ultimately unite with the Kamaranka. We entered Kamato about four P.M., and found the whole of the inhabitants crying and howling most bitterly, being the commencement of their custom on the death of the chief who was slain at Saducko.

CHAPTER IV

STAY AT KAMATO—COSTUME AND CUSTOMS OP KOORANKO—PRODUCTIONS—EMPLOYMENTSSPINNING—WEAVING, &c —DEPARTURE FOR FALABA.

The lamentable howling of the mourners was continued all night, and at daylight was superseded by music, which lasted with little interruption during the whole of the day and succeeding night; some of the instruments were skilfully handled, and sent forth most melodious sounds; and the vocal performers, who I learned were Jelle men from Sangara, far surpassed the uncouth squalling of any of the attempts I had hitherto heard on the part of an African. The deep tones of a large Ballafoo resounded through the still morning air in a manner truly solemn; I awoke early and lay listening for upwards of an hour with pleasure to the music which rung on my ears like magic, and I might have been thus entranced much longer, had it not been for the unpleasant sensations of a parched skin, headache, and chilliness, too faithful harbingers of the approach of fever, which attacked me with severity about nine A.M. I was under considerable apprehension that the attack might have occasioned a longer confinement than actually proved the case, particularly as it was accompanied by dysentery; but I succeeded by the use of solution of arsenic in putting a stop to the former, and by the application of a tepid and vapour bath in abating the inflammation of the latter, at the expiration of five days. The bath I used was a large wooden bowl filled with warm water, in which, when seated, I was immersed as far as the loins, and a blanket being thrown over, retained, and gave me the benefit of the vapour. On the evening of the 4th of June, being the 5th day of my attack, when I was rejoicing in the prospect of being soon able to resume my journey, a party arrived from Falaba with two horses, sent by the King of the Soolimas, who had received an intimation of my approach, and was anxious to see me within his territories; one of the party had been at the camp in the Mandingo country, and on recognising me leaped for joy, saying, "It is true, it is true, he is the white man from the water-side; he is the white man who promised Yarradee that he would come to the Soolima country; he is the white man who said he would walk to this country, and he has kept his word." They pressed me to proceed on the following day, by saying that it was not far to the next town, and that the horse would carry me safely, which combining with my own inclination to make no further delay, induced me to send for the head-man of the town to my room, and giving him the presents which I intended for him, and with which he was pleased, I received his permission to pass.

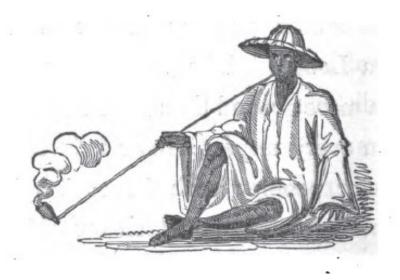
The Kooranko country which I had merely skirted, and which I now left for a time, covers a large extent of ground, but is not powerful in consequence of its numerous divisions into small and separate states; it is bounded on the W. by the Bullom, Limba, and Timannee countries; on the N. by Limba, Tamisso, and Soolima; on the E. by Kissi, the river Niger, and by countries yet unknown; and on the S. by the countries bordering on the ocean. The capital of south-western Kooranko is Seemera, and that of north-western, Kolakonka, where Ballansama, the present king, resides; he is a man of considerable influence and property, and is the most powerful chief between his country and Sierra Leone; his authority extends as far as the banks of the Niger, and his capital is

visited by the natives of Sangara for the purposes of trade. The kingdom of Kooranko must extend a long distance to the eastward, as the natives of the district through which I passed could give no definite idea of its extent in that direction; merely stating that I could not reach the end of it in one moon, but having neither personal nor received information on which to ground the assertion, for no one that I have ever met had ventured to travel far among their countrymen to the eastward, whom they described as savages, without clothes, cruel and barbarous in their habits. The next town in rank and importance to Kolakonka in north-western Kooranko is Kamato, which was built in the reign of the Foulah king, Alifa Salu, about forty years ago: it is a large town, containing about 1000 inhabitants, built upon the pinnacle of a hill, and quite inaccessible, except by its two entrances: these are thickly stockaded on their sides with strong palisades, and guarded by double and massive gates of hard wood. It is governed by three brothers, who are at present on good terms with the Soolimas, although Ballansama and the Soolima king are at variance. Kamato was once besieged by the Soolimas, who were unable to make any impression upon it, owing to its strong position and defence. The Koorankos in language and costume, are closely assimilated to the Madingoes; but they are by no means so handsome or so intelligent a race of people, nor are they followers of the prophet. A few solitary instances are occasionally to be met with of individuals offering up their prayers with their faces turned towards the direction of the rising sun; but the greater portion of the population are Pagans, whose manners bear a stronger affinity to the Timannee than the Mandingo. They have unlimited faith in Greegrees, and like the Timannees, have houses consecrated to them at the entrances of their towns; but they do not usually go so far in superstition as to dress up figures to personate them; I saw only one instance of the kind, which was at Kaniakoota. They are very partial to hawks' bells as ornaments, with which all classes and ages, and especially the dancing people, are decorated. The language, excepting a few words which have suffered a little from corruption, is the same as that spoken by the Mandingoes; the corruptions are few, and not so conspicuous as to be much observed, or to render the meaning unintelligible to the Mandingo. The shirt and trowsers are the same as those worn by the Mandingoes, with the difference of the former being a little shorter, reaching only to the hip; they are principally made of the cotton cloth manufactured in the country, dyed either in indigo which grows spontaneously, or in the bark of the neta-tree, which gives it a yellow tinge; but there are many individuals in the Kooranko, as well as in the Timannee country, who, from poverty, are not overburdened with raiment. The head-men are clothed in the long Mandingo gown, trowsers, cap, and sandals. The costume of the females resembles that of the Timannees, being merely a tuntunge or patie of beads before marriage, and a cloth more scanty than that used by the Timannees after marriage; this cloth or pang is wrapt round the middle, and only impends as far as the ham of the leg. They are great proficients in the art of dressing hair, and ornament each other's heads with great skill. The front part of the head is left plain, the hair or wool being combed back, and gathered into large balls, one over each temple, the summits of which are decorated by a cowry, or a bead of mock coral; from these balls a succession of neat plats are suspended round the back of the head, to the ends of which are attached beads or cowries, and among the dancers hawks' bells. They file their teeth to a point, and are ornamented on the breast and back with various devices burnt into the skin, a practice which is in high estimation amongst them. The manner of courtship among the Korankos is exactly the same as

among the Timannees; but it is a remarkable fact that a young woman is seldom united to a mate of corresponding years, as marriage is merely an affair of business, and the men possessed of most property, who are generally the elders of the town, have the undisputed choice of the youth and beauty, whilst the younger men are compelled to put up with the reversion of them at the death of their hoary spouses; for although a female, when under the control of her parents, is forced to unite herself to the man who will pay most for her, vet at the death of her husband, when she becomes her own mistress, she generally evinces her dislike to her former contract, by choosing for herself, as a partner, some young man, whom she tends with the most affectionate care and regard. The manner of spinning the cotton into thread is ingenious and simple. The cotton is first cleared of all loose particles by being placed on the string of a small bow, which is repeatedly pulled and slackened in the manner used in shooting an arrow; the cotton is then wrapped round a distaff, which is held in the left hand, while the right is employed in alternately drawing it out into threads, and in giving a rotatory motion to a sort of spindle, around which the thread winds itself. The only employments of the men are sewing and weaving, for a knowledge of both of which arts they are, probably, indebted to Eastern countries. The cloth manufactured in Kooranko is very narrow, the loom being only about nine inches broad: the weaver sits under an open shed, from the roof of which are suspended two frames of equal breadth with the woof, nicely divided with perpendicular strings; these are made by a motion of the feet to cross one another alternately, and the shuttle is, at each motion, cast through. In this manner they will work with great dexterity; and, if not obliged to stop for want of thread, will complete five vards in a day; but a woman can only spin as much thread in a week as will make a fathom of cloth. The staple article of trade is Camwood, for which, on this side of the country, Seemera is the general place of barter; it is carried from thence to Ma Bung, and so to the Rokelle, down the stream of which it is floated to Rokon, where various articles, but principally salt, are procured in exchange; the Camwood which is cut further to the southward, is sent down the Kamaranka, a circumstance which gave rise to a supposition, long entertained at Sierra Leone, that those rivers were connected together. There is also a considerable advantage derived from the extensive manufacture of cloth, which ever meets with a ready market; but the natives who reside near Sierra Leone, through whose country it passes to the market, gain in a threefold degree more than the manufacturers. They purchase tobacco at the water-side for about one shilling and sixpence per pound; and travelling into Kooranko, will barter one hundred pounds, or bars, of that commodity for two hundred country cloths; returning to Rokon, they exchange their cloth for rice at the rate of one cloth, or nine-pence sterling, for a tub of rice, the average price of which used to be at Sierra Leone, from five to six shillings; it has been of late, however, considerably reduced, by the prudent measures, adopted by the late lamented governor, for diminishing the public expenditure, and extending the colonial export. The expenses of the traders are small, as five shillings worth of beads are amply sufficient to supply a man with rice for a month, and even occasionally to allow him the indulgence of a fowl; although I was considered by the natives to live like a prince, my whole expenditure, including lodging and washing, did not average more than four-pence per day, or ten shillings per month.

The principal vegetables produced in Kooranko, are rice, plantains, yams, wild spinage, ground nuts, and cassada; they have also an abundance of delicious pines and bananas.

More pains is taken by them in the rearing of cassada than by any people I have met with, and it is quite usual in speaking of Kooranko to couple it with cassada, as Kooranko nye Bartara, Kooranko and cassada^{17*}. The beds on which the shoots, or slips, are planted, are raised in the manner of an English hot-bed; and the slips, being put in the ground in triangles, support each other, when grown up, by inclination, as muskets when piled; but as they are allowed to grow large, and as quantity is studied more than quality, the root is rather fibrous, and by no means so delicious to the taste, as that reared by the liberated negroes in the villages in Sierra Leone. The Koorankos cultivate much more ground than the Timannees, and are in every respect a more industrious and superior people; each house has its own enclosed garden, in which are raised cassada, spinach, small onions, and tankara, a herb which, when dried and beaten, serves as a substitute for snuff, with those who cannot afford the article itself. They are great smokers; the pipes are about five feet in length, and the bowl, or receptacle, for the tobacco, is made of burned clay about three inches in depth, by one in diameter; it rests upon the ground while they sit and enjoy the fumes thus.



Africans have usually great volubility of tongue, but the Finos, who are common to the Mandingo, Foulah, and Kooranko nations, are particularly famed for their eloquence, and will talk for hours with the greatest fluency in language sufficiently impressive to engage the implicit attention of their hearers. Their eloquence does not consist in fine language, or in elegantly-rounded periods, but in familiar expressions, striking similies, and quaint remarks, accompanied with continued, and oftentimes vehement action and gesticulation,

The Koorankos bury their dead the day after demise; and the night of the funeral is spent in dancing, the exhibiters brandishing in both hands, hatchets, or spears. If the deceased happens to have been a person of consequence, musicians and mourners are hired; sheep

¹⁷This custom of designation is common in North-Western Africa; and most countries are named in conjunction with some articles for which they are celebrated; as *Foutah nye Cosson*, Foutah and milk; *Soolima nye Figga*, Soolima and ground-nuts; *Timannee nye Korokolo*, Timannee and rice; *Fooroto nye nafola*, white-man and money.

and oxen are killed; and feasting and crying is kept up for several days. They have no external worship, but believe in the existence of a Deity; as is evidenced by such expressions as the following, which are very common: "Thank God for it—I will if it pleases God—May God bless you for that—This is not man's work, it is the work of God." Their laws are few, and very inartificial. Murder is the only crime punishable with death, and even that can be got over, if the murderer has property enough to satisfy the demands of the friends of the slain, who, according to their laws, are the only people entitled to redress; the injury done to society is a matter, as yet, unthought of by them: if a slave suffers death at the hands of a freeman, his value is all the satisfaction which the owner claims; in default of the payment of which, the freeman himself is sent into bondage: all other injuries, claims, or litigations, are settled agreeably to equity.

Dancing is a prominent feature among the amusements of the Koorankos, and every man of note has three or four of its professors on his establishment, who, like those described at Seemera, are more remarkable for their agility than grace. At great festivals the hired dancers, fancifully dressed out, parade the town during the day, and visit all the head people in succession, whom they amuse by their dexterous movements for a time, when they receive a present and depart. At sunset the drum (taballe) summons all to the dance: the musicians, like those of the Timannee country, are in the centre, and the company dance round them at a side step, the whole facing inwards. The time is something like one, two; one, two; one, two, three, four; and so on for hours. I have seen a dance of this kind kept up, without intermission, for two days and three nights, the places of those retiring being immediately and constantly filled up.

These few remarks are all I have to offer respecting the Koorankos, being such as came directly under my personal observation; their ignorance on every subject of either local interest or history, prevented me from gaining much by inquiry; I shall only observe, before concluding the Chapter, that the succession to the highest authority in the two districts of the country which I visited, did not appear to belong to any one as a matter of right; but that sometimes the richest, sometimes the oldest man in the country, according to his influence, is chosen by the people.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE FROM KAMATO —KOMIA—SEMBAKONKODOOGORE—ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION AT FALABA.

On the morning of the 5th of June, although in a very weak state, I got my party in motion, and mounted one of the horses sent by the Soolima king for my conveyance to his capital. I left the town without any of the confusion and annoyance, to which I had been so long subject in the procurement of carriers, as the king had sent a sufficient number of men to convey every load, without imposing trouble upon my own party. In an hour and a half after leaving Kamato, and having gone about N., we reached the summit of an eminence, along sort of curve, so that the effect is like that of walking on a slack rope; a ladder of cross branches is affixed to the trees at the extremities, so that the traveller mounts about forty feet before he steps upon the Nyankata; but when he reaches the centre of the river, he is not more than ten feet above its level. This Nyankata, for I must call it by its native name, having none of my own, was the first indication I had met with since I had left Sierra Leone, of cooperation in works of public utility, and I hailed it with pleasure as a symptom of progressive improvement. It took upwards of an hour to get my small party across the stream; the horses swam over, and stemmed the current in a manner which shewed they were accustomed to such adventures. We proceeded towards the N.E., and in an hour arrived at a fine clean town called Komia; this is the most southerly, as well as the first town we entered, in the Soolima dominions, and we should have observed the difference if we had possessed no other index than our reception, which was characterized by every thing that was hospitable. Komia stands upon more ground than Kamato, but is by no means so populous, the houses being very much scattered. Although a considerable quantity of rain fell daily, and the skies were in general enveloped in clouds, I was fortunate enough in the evening to get a meridian altitude of the moon, which enabled me to correct the latitude by account, and to ascertain the true latitude of Komia to be 9° 22. The whole day of the 6th was spent in feasting, a bullock having been killed for my party, and one for the townspeople; and the night in dancing, an exercise in which both old and young participated to the lively and sweet music of the ballafoo; the airs were soft and wild, and excited within me so strong a remembrance of early days, that I wanted but a very trifling inducement to have joined the merry throng. Musah, whom I had always considered in the most strict sense of the word a Mahomedan, could not resist the temptation, and springing up with an alertness quite unusual to him, actually surprised me by the grace and agility of his motions. A pantomimic performance by two of the natives may deserve to be especially noticed: when the dancers began to rest from excessive fatigue, and merriment seemed for a moment on the decline, two men sprang forth to the centre of the yard, the one brandishing a cutlass, and the other tossing about a musket with as much ease as if it had been a walking cane. They eyed one another for some time with looks apparently most ferocious, each cautiously watching an opportunity of attack; at length the one with the cutlass made a spring at the other, who attempting to fire his piece failed by its flashing; he, however, eluded the grasp of his assailant, and retiring to a corner, fresh primed his piece, the former shaking his greegrees in token of their great power in protecting him from gunshot wounds; these and similar actions were repeated for some time, when at

length the person with the cutlass succeeded by a dart like lightning in securing the other, whose musket went off in the air; the ceremony of cutting his head off was then pretended to be performed, and the exhibitors retired from observation, the air ringing loud with applause.

June 7th. We set off at half-past seven for Semba, which report stated to be a large, populous, and rich town. At ten, having gone N.E. by E., we reached Tomba, and pursuing the same course, arrived at two towns situated close to each other, named Sambamba and Laiah; from the latter of which, a deputation, attended by a band of music, came forth to request, in the name of the head-man of the town, that I would stop all night, and he would honour me by killing a bull; but I excused myself on the plea that I had already been too long on the road, and assured them, while thanking them for their civility, that I would not fail to acquaint the Soolima king of their good intention towards me. At two P.M., we reached Kaniako; and at four, by a course N.E., Kallakoyah, a large town; and at five we entered Semba, the importance of which, report did not appear to have magnified. We were met outside the gates by a band of music, consisting of two drums, one ballafoo, and two flutes, which preceded us to a large vacant piece of ground, about fifty yards in diameter, in the centre of the town, where I was met and welcomed by about 700 well-dressed personages. I made the ceremony of shaking hands with them, and of receiving their service in return, as short as possible, and retired to the quarters assigned me, much fatigued and very hungry, having tasted nothing except a little milk since the afternoon of the preceding day; of the latter grievance, the hospitality of the inhabitants soon relieved me, by presents of eggs, milk, and fowls.

June 8th. Semba being a town of some importance, I was obliged to pay the headman the compliment of holding a palaver, for the purpose of acquainting him officially of my intention in visiting the country; when he made a present of a bull to the men composing my party, who now began to get very fat as well as happy, from the ease and good living to which they had been lately accustomed. In the course of the day I received messengers from the Soolima king, who expressed great impatience to see me, and hoped that I would hasten to his capital with as much speed as my strength would admit; for, added the messengers, "the king wants to see you very much, but he dont want to see you sick." I replied, "that I should soon be with him;" and, in token of my respect for his majesty, sent him a snuffbox, and ten heads of tobacco, which, the messenger said, was "a very fine letter." Semba, like Kamato, is situated upon a very lofty eminence, and is higher than any other town which I visited during my journey, being 1490 feet above the level of the sea. It has only two entrances, and is stockaded all round, but is by no means a strong place, as the hill on which it stands is perfectly clear from thickets 19.

June 9th. We took our departure from Semba at seven A.M., in the midst of a disagreeable drizzling rain, which cleared up in about an hour. Our course was N.E., through spacious fields of long grass, the growth of which was so luxuriant, that it overtopt my head when on horseback by several feet. At half-past five P.M. we arrived at

¹⁸ Barometer 28, 34 inches; therm. 78°.

¹⁹ The thicket is a protection from attack, in the mode of warfare practised by the natives in this part of Western Africa.

Konkodoogore, a slave-town belonging to Falaba; it is very spacious, and contains between three and four thousand inhabitants. The head-man of the town is a most respectable and venerable-looking old man, bent almost double with years; although himself a slave, he is the owner of many slaves, and much other property; he was almost beside himself with joy when he heard of my approach; and, to do honour to the king's stranger, sent a band of music and fifty armed men to precede our entrance into the town. When I shook hands with this old man, he solemnly took off his cap, and lifting his aged eyes to heaven, fervently thanked his Creator for having blessed him with the sight of a white man before he died. He gave me three white fowls, a dozen fresh eggs, eight calabashes of rice, six bunches of plantains, some ground-nuts, and two calabashes full of milk; no bad present in the interior of Africa to a set of hungry travellers. Hospitality was not confined to the head-man, for we received kindness and attention at the hands of every one; and were literally loaded with presents of fowls, eggs, and vegetables.

June 10th. I had intended to have gone on to Falaba this morning, but was prevented by the arrival of one of the sons of the king, who entered the town about nine A.M., on a fine prancing steed, attended by several war-men well mounted; he had been sent by his father to give me service, and to request that I would rest myself one day at his slave-town, which I was glad to do, and was presented with a bull for my men in the name of Assana Yeera, the king. For several miles around Konkodoogore, (which is so called from being situated among hills, Konko being hill, and Doogore country in the Mandingo language,) the ground is in a very high state of cultivation, and exhibits a knowledge of agriculture superior to that possessed by the inhabitants of the countries I had hitherto passed through. I was particularly struck with the clean appearance of the ground, and the great care bestowed by the husbandmen in freeing it from weeds; at the large plantations of young rice and ground-nuts; and at the regularity and the beauty of the beds of alternate yams, cassada, and corn; large flocks of sheep and numerous herds of cattle were grazing in the fertile pasturages.

June 11th. We were in motion this morning by daylight, every one being eager to see the town of which we had heard so much; I sent the baggage on before, under charge of two of my people, and the remainder were provided with a few rounds of blank cartridges, that they might salute the king on first beholding him. This honour was the more necessary, as I had no fine articles of dress in which to set myself off before him; as, on leaving Sierra Leone, I had given perhaps too little consideration to my wardrobe; my whole stock consisted of a blue camblet jacket and trowsers, three flannel shirts, one pair of flannel drawers, and a straw hat; my jacket and trowsers were now rather the worse for wear, and with my long beard, (for I had never used a razor since the day of my departure,) my appearance would not have been the most respectable in the eyes of an European, Musah, himself, dressed in a clean Mahomedan shirt, and adorned with his sapphies nicely cased in stained leather, appeared almost ashamed to follow so shabby a master, and approaching me respectfully, begged that I would wear a fine sword which I was carrying as a present to the king, and significantly hinted that he had a handsome Mandingo shirt in his kotokoo or bag, which I might wear if I pleased; Musah's suggestions, however, were not attended to, and he retired not a little chagrined.

As we moved along very leisurely, I had ample time to admire a fine fertile country, diversified by hill and dale; and on approaching Falaba, I was particularly struck by the bold rugged appearance of three lofty hills, one shaped like a punch-bowl, the other two conical. These hills are truly picturesque, rearing their bleak sides of perpendicular granite, washed into various shades by the impetuous torrents, which rush during the rainy season over the precipices, and crested by a few small trees, the roots of which have held together a portion of soil, which otherwise would long since have contributed its assistance to enrich the already fertile valleys; their bold appearance naturally arrests the traveller's eye, and leaves him at a loss which to admire most, the barren grandeur, or the bountiful verdure of nature. About two miles from the town, we fell in with a party commanded by the son of the king, the same who welcomed us the day before at Konkodoogore; he ordered a large blunderbuss, mounted on a swivel, to be fired, that notice might be given of our approach; then vaulting into his saddle, and putting his steed to a hand-gallop, gracefully led the way.

About ten o'clock we came in sight of this long-looked for town, which covers a large extent of ground in a beautiful valley, hemmed in on all sides by gentle acclivities. We descended upon it from the S., but were conducted to the Northern gate, through which we were ushered into the capital of the Soolima nation. We passed along a street, or defile, of about half a mile in length, to a spacious piece of open ground, which stands nearly in the centre of the town, in one corner of which we found seated upwards of 2,000 men, armed with muskets, bows, and spears; on my entrance I was saluted by a heavy and irregular discharge of musketry, which, unfortunately, put my horse on his mettle, and as I had neither whip nor spur to teach him good manners, I was obliged to resort to jirking him with the curb, of the severity of which I was as yet ignorant; in consequence he backed among the armed assemblage, who, by this retrograde movement, were thrown into some confusion, and certainly not impressed with much opinion of my horsemanship. Having recovered the awkwardness of my first appearance, I ordered the salute to be returned with three rounds from my party, and then alighting, shook hands with the king, who put into my hand two massive rings of gold, and made a motion to me to sit down beside him. I found him a good-looking man, about sixty years of age; his countenance mild, agreeable, and inoffensive in its expression; he is rather taller than the generality of Soosoos, being about five feet eleven inches in height; and his plain loose garment of black country cloth became him well. I was scarcely seated when my old friend, Yarradee, (habited in rather a more costly manner than when I first beheld him at the camp in the Mandingo country) mounted on a fiery charger, crossed the parade at a full gallop, followed by about thirty warriors on horseback and 2,000 on foot, the latter making a precipitous rush, and firing in all directions. After a lapse of a few minutes the party on horseback returned, and performed various movements and evolutions for about half an hour, much to the amusement and admiration of my party, several of whom had been with the late unfortunate Major Peddie, and subsequently with Major Gray in Boondou, and who declared it to be a shew passing any thing they had ever before witnessed. Yarradee now alighted from his horse, and seizing his bow, pulled the string to the full extent, affecting to shoot an arrow at some distant object; he appeared to watch it on tiptoe with eager expectation till it reached its destination, when he gave a leap and a smile of satisfaction; then striking his breast with, his right hand, and distorting his

naturally ugly visage into a most hideous grin, he beckoned his war-men to follow, which they did with a shout that rent the skies; after advancing a few paces they stopt short, and watching Yarradee, who, with the eye of a hawk, was intent on the motions of the supposed enemy, waited his direction to discharge their arrows; and having done so, each individual appeared to trace the flight of his own arrow, and betrayed signs of satisfaction or disappointment t its supposed execution or failure; a discharge of musketry followed



the flight of arrows, after which the spears and cutlasses were put in requisition to hack and cut to pieces the discomfited foe. While these warlike movements were going forward, another set of people were by no means idle; consisting of above one hundred musicians, who playing upon divers instruments, drums, flutes, ballafoos, harps of rude workmanship, with many other kinds which it, would be tedious to enumerate, kept up a din sufficient almost to crack the tympanum of ordinary ears, and which compelled me to fortify mine with a little cotton; two fellows, in particular, with crooked sticks, kept hammering with provoking perseverance, and with the violence of blacksmiths at the anvil, upon two large drums which stood about four feet high, in shape similar to a chesscastle turned upside down; their only desire appeared to be that of making a noise, and in that I suppose the chief art consisted, for the harder they beat the more applause they obtained. A nod from the king at length put a stop to this clang of steel and din of drums, and I was flattering myself with the hope of being permitted to retire to the apartment allotted for me, but my motion was interrupted by the king, who said I must hear something more. Being again seated, a Jelle, or singing man, elegantly attired in the Mandingo costume, his wrist and elbows ornamented with bells, and beating on a sweettoned ballafoo, the notes of which he ran over with taste and velocity, stepped out, and

after playing a sort of symphony, or prelude, commenced a dialogue in song with some persons who did not appear at first, but who afterwards joined him.

Jelle.—There is a white man come from afar, come from the very salt-water, that a Soolima man has never seen. Let us do him honour, for he has come to shake hands with the great Assana Yeera, the powerful in war. Let us do honour to Assana Yeera, and shew the white man that he is great, and that his people love him, because he is good. Where are my wives to join me in the song?

(Voices answering of the Wives, who had not yet appeared.)

We are here, but we fear the white man's skin; we fear his greegrees will kill us, if we dare to look upon him; none but men can behold him; the woman fears him too much²⁰.

<u>Jelle</u>.—Come out, my wives, and see the white man, come out and do him honour; his greegrees are strong, it is true, but then he is good, and has walked to this country to do us good.

Wives entering.—Then we come, but we must shut our eyes, for we never yet looked upon a man with a white skin; we come to do him honour, we come to sing to him of the great Assana Yeera, renowned in war; and of the heroic Yarradee, his valiant brother.

The Jelle man was now joined by ten women, fancifully dressed out in fine cloths, bracelets of party-coloured beads encircling their wrists and ancles, and having their hair ornamented with shells and pieces of cloth; drawing up behind Yarradee, the Jelle began a lively air in praise of that chief, in which he was joined by the females, who bawled till every vein in their throats was distended with blood; in my life I never heard the female voice raised to such a pitch; it was absolutely terrific; I expected every moment that a blood-vessel would burst, especially when the measure was long, and the attempt to continue vociferous to the last without drawing breath, brought blood enough into the throat to have almost created suffocation; I was much distressed, and certainly not amused, and was happy when the clamour ended. The words which they sung were the following, and, as I was informed, are rehearsed on all public occasions before Yarradee, to commemorate an advantage gained by that warrior over his inveterate enemies the Foulahs, at a time when an army of 10,000, headed by Ba Demba, laid siege to Falaba.

SONG.

Shake off that drowsiness²¹, O brave Yarradee! thou lion of war; hang thy sword to thy side, and be thyself.

Dost thou not behold the army of the Foulahs?— Observe their countless muskets and spears, vying in brightness with the rays of the departing sun! They are strong and

²⁰ The Soolima females conceal their faces when they either eat or drink in the presence of men; they never venture to take even the smallest unauthorized liberty.

²¹ Yarradee is remarkable for natural listlessness and inactivity.

powerful, yea, they are men; and they have sworn on the Alkoran, that they will destroy the capital of the Soolima nation.

So shake off that drowsiness, &c.

The brave Tahabaeere, thy sire, held the Foulahs in contempt; fear was a stranger to his bosom. He set the fire-brand to Timbo, that nest of Islamites; and though worsted at Herico, he scorned to quit the field, but fell, like a hero, cheering his war-men. If thou art worthy to be called the son of Tahabaeere,

Shake off that drowsiness, &c.

Brave Yarradee stirred; he shook his garment of war, as the soaring eagle ruffles his pinions. Ten times he addressed his greegrees, and swore to them that he would either return with the sound of the war drum,²² or with the cries of the Jellee²³ The war-men shouted with joy—" Behold! he shakes from him that drowsiness, the lion of war; he hangs his sword to his side, and is himself again."

"Follow me to the field," exclaimed the heroic Yarradee, "fear nothing; for let the spear be sharp or the ball swift, faith in thy greegrees will preserve thee from danger. Follow me to the field, for I am roused, and have shook off that drowsiness. I am brave Yarradee, the lion of war; I have hung my sword to my side, and am myself."

The war-drum sounds, and the sweet notes of the balla encourage warriors to deeds of arms. The valiant Yarradee mounts his steed, his head-men follow. The northern gate²⁴ of Falaba is thrown open, and a rush is made from it with the swiftness of leopards. Yarradee is a host in himself. Observe how he wields his sword. They fall before him—they stagger—they reel. Foulah men! you will long remember this day; for Yarradee "has shook off his drowsiness, the lion of war; he has hung his sword to his side, and is himself."

While the Jelle and his wives were vociferating these words, (for I can hardly call it singing, as although the air played on the ballafoo was both melodious and in good time, the voices kept neither time nor measure,) Yarradee proudly threw himself into various pantomimic attitudes, suitable to the expression, and at the conclusion giving a loud shout, made a rush forward, and being followed by his war-men en masse, represented the part which he had performed in reality with so much success among the Foulahs about fourteen years before. This part of the performance being finished, he stepped forward singly, and with sword in hand opposed himself to twelve musketeers, who made repeated attempts to fire at him, but in vain, the priming always burning in the pan, Yarradee at the same time laughing and shaking his greegrees in token of defiance; at length overcoming them all, and making them kneel at his feet, he commanded them to discharge their muskets in the air, which to my great surprise they did, and not a single

²² In triumph

²³ The Jelle people are always employed to sing at the death of any great man.

²⁴ The gate which looks towards Foulah.

musket missed fire. I of course knew that they had some slight-of-hand method of stopping and opening the touch-hole at pleasure; but although I witnessed the same performance repeatedly, I could never detect them, so expert were they in the management of the deception. This last exhibition of Yarradee's closed the sport of the morning, and the various chiefs who had been engaged in them now came to pay their respects to the king, which they did by bending forward and touching the ground, first with one extremity and then the other of whatever weapons they happened to be the bearers. Yarradee was the last who paid his homage to his royal brother, having first come to me and shook my hand with a cordiality and force, which my then weak and fatigued state could have well dispensed with, although inwardly gratified at the welcome given me by my old acquaintance. He addressed himself to the assemblage; he said he was a proud man that day, the first day in which a white man had ever been in the Soolima country; the king and the Soolima people should all thank him, for he had been the cause of bringing the white man to Falaba. The king ought to thank God, and do the white man good for making him a greater king than his father or grandfather, or than any king that had ever before reigned over the Soolimas, &c. &c, with many other sayings in the common style of African compliment. I now received the attention of the chiefs in rotation; after which I begged the king's permission to retire, as I felt all the symptoms of an approaching attack of fever. The horse on which I had rode from Konkodoogore had sunk with me in crossing a marsh, and having fallen on his side, in the struggle to get upon solid ground, I had been precipitated into the water, which brought on me an unpleasant chilliness, as my clothes afterwards dried in the morning sun. The king was unwilling to allow his white stranger to go out of his sight so soon; but, observing my impatience, and being told that I was unwell, he entreated a promise from me that I would visit him in the evening, and saying "Bisim Allah," (an expression which astonished me, as coming from the king of a Kafir nation,) he waved his hand in token of permission. The distance to the house which was allotted for my residence was fully half a mile, to gain which I was obliged to walk through a whole defile of wondering women and children, to whose repeated salutations of "Konja mamma," I had of course to make the most courteous replies; and I believe I was more than once addressed by the curious, in order that they might hear me speak, for when I answered "Alla Baraka," they would shout, "Kumulo, Fooroto Kumulo," "He speaks, the white man speaks." These annoyances, which at any other time I should have delighted in, fatigued and fretted me so much, that by the time I arrived at my dwelling I was quite overcome; and as soon as a mat was spread, I threw myself upon it, and immediately began shivering with a smart attack of ague. I had not lain long, when the Kungana (for so Yarradee is generally called in Falaba) entered the yard, preceded by a band of music; he came to give me service, and by making his people dance for my amusement, to welcome me to the town; but finding me sick, he expressed his sorrow, and saying that he would visit me on the next day, withdrew. When left to myself, and permitted to remain quiet for a short time, I found the violence of my fever subside, and towards the afternoon I was so far refreshed as to be able to sit under the thatched piazza in front of the house. The news of my appearance was soon spread abroad, and the yard was forthwith crowded with dancers, musicians, and singers; among the latter of whom I was not a little annoyed to behold the females whose stentorian lungs had so stunned me in the morning, and I was obliged not only to submit to a repetition of Yarradee's war-song, with their diabolical chorus, (which

is a favourite air among the Soolima musicians,) but to pay them for their trouble; otherwise, according to Musah, I should have had a bad name amongst them, and nothing is more dreaded by an African than a bad name from the Jelles. The sound of the balla was beautiful, as also the recitation by the singing men, but the din of the chorus roared forth by the women was savage in the extreme. After the war-song of Yarradee, they sung for nearly half an hour of the wars between the Soolimas and Fouahs, a few sentences of which were translated to me as they were caught by my interpreter; and are as follows:—

SONG.

The men of the Foulah nation are brave.—No man but a Foulah can stand against the Soolimas.—The Foulahs came to Falaba with 30,000 men; they came down the hills like the rolling of a mighty river; they said, Falaba men, pay, or we will burn your town. The brave Yarradee sent a barbed arrow against the Foulahs, and said you must slay me first. —The fight began; the sun hid his face; he would not behold the number of the slain. The clouds which covered the skies frowned, like the brow of the Kelle Mansa²⁵.—The Foulahs fought like, men; and the ditch around Falaba was filled with their slain.—What could they do against the Soolima Lion?—The Foulahs fled, never to return; and Falaba is at peace.

As soon as the Amazons had finished their song, a droll-looking man, who played upon a sort of guitar, the body of whichwas a callabash, commenced a sweet air, and accompanied it with a tolerably fair voice. He boasted, that by his music he could cure diseases; that he could make wild beasts tame, and snakes dance; if the white man did not believe him, he would give him a specimen; with that, changing to a more lively air, a large snake crept from beneath a part of the stockading in the yard, and was crossing it rapidly, when he again changed his tune, and playing a little slower, sung: "Snake, you must stop; you run too fast, stop at my command, and give the white man service." The snake was obedient, and the musician continued: "Snake, you must dance, for a white man has come to Falaba; dance, snake, for this is indeed a happy day." The snake twisted itself about, raised its head, curled, leaped, and performed various feats, of which I should not have supposed a snake capable; at the conclusion, the musician walked out of the yard, followed by the reptile, leaving me in no small degree astonished, and the rest of the company not a little pleased, that a black man had been able to excite the surprise of a white one. On my retiring to the interior of my dwelling, the dancing commenced, the noise of which deprived me of rest till a late hour; and on my awaking in the morning, I found, by the sluggish beat of the fatigued drummer, that some, more reluctant than others to break up an amusement which daylight alone puts a stop to among Africans, had not yet discontinued their exertions.

June 12th. I arose much refreshed, and was well enough during the day to receive the compliments of the head-men of Sangooia and Moosaiah, two large towns belonging to the Soolimas. They appeared in war dresses, and were mounted upon horses decorated with greegrees, bells, and feathers, on which they rode about for some time, exhibiting,

²⁵ The Kelle Mansa, or war-master; the title of the general of the army.

with much dexterity, their various warlike exercises. They presented me with a bull for my party, and gave me an invitation to visit their respective towns which I promised to do as soon as I had been a short time in Falaba. On taking leave of them, I felt the fever returning, and on my arrival at home the paroxysm was more severe and of longer duration than the one on the preceding day, so that it was morning before I fairly recovered from it.

June 13th. I was still feverish, and unable to rise till the afternoon, when I found myself very weak and giddy.

June 14th. I was greatly pleased at finding myself in better health and, tolerable spirits this morning; as, on getting up, I learned from the son of the king, who came to give me good morning, that it was to be a grand gala-day in Falaba. The inhabitants of the town are bound, by the custom of the country, to give the king three days' labour in the year, one to sow his rice, another to weed, and a third to reap it; this was the day on which his ground was to be hoed and sown, and the sound of the chieftains' drums was already heard in different parts of the town, summoning their slaves and dependants to muster under their respective banners. My breakfast of ground rice, made into a sort of burgoo, was soon finished, and being desirous to see what was going forward, I followed Soolimana, the king's son, to the royal residence, where I found the king with a large assemblage of his head-men waiting to receive me; the palace-yard being crowded with their neighing steeds, pawing the ground, as if impatient of restraint. The king appeared a more humble character than any of his suite, being habited in a plain brown shirt, trowsers, and cap; his feet were cased in a pair of stout Moorish shoes, and he carried in his left-hand a bow, and in his right a couple of poisoned arrows. He put his hand to his mouth on seeing me, (a token of . surprise among the Mandingoes,) laughed heartily, and beckoned me to him, when, shaking me by the hand, he expressed his happiness at seeing me well, said "I must get sick no more, unless I wished to make him angry;" then pointing to a horse nicely caparisoned in the Moorish style, took all his chiefs to witness that he gave it me. The Jelle men immediately exclaimed "Kaase, Kaase," "Tis true, 'tis true," and sung loud and long to the praise of the king's liberality; they made him out to be the greatest potentate upon the earth, except the king of the white men, who, they admitted, had more money, but not so many horses, nor so fine a country. The king did not wait to listen to these hyperbolical praises, but desiring me to mount my horse and see if I liked him, he turned on his heel, and walked out of the yard, followed by his chiefs on horseback, he being the only pedestrian. I followed in the train, and was not a little pleased, on getting outside of the town, to find a fine open country break upon my view. We rode about a mile, when we arrived at an extensive plain rising gradually to the base of a mountain, which formed the back-ground, and terminated the prospect. The bushes had been lately burned, and the kale produced from their ashes was strewed far and wide, indicating a surface prepared for the reception of the grain. Groups of people, in number about three thousand, marshalled under flags of various devices, were parading about, like recruiting parties at a fair; drums, ballas, flutes, guitars, horns made from the tusks of elephants, saluted the ear in savage melody; while parties of dancers, first keeping time to one tune and then to another, as their exertion and the wildness of the motion hurried them into different attractions, presented a scene of extravagance, which

is the delight of an African, and the surprise of an European. The king's arrival on the spot was marked by repeated discharges of musketry, shouting, blowing of horns, and beating of drums, and by parties of horsemen galloping at full speed, and exhibiting feats of almost matchless dexterity. On a signal from the king, silence and order were restored, when the king's Fimo stepping forth, harangued the multitude at considerable length; he exhorted them all to work hard, and to water the ground with the sweat of their brows, as their king was so good to them; he pointed to Falaba, the town in which they were all protected; "That town," he observed, "was built by the present king's father." He then pointed to three fat bulls, which were tied under the shade of a cotton-tree. "These," he said, "were to be killed by the king for his people; therefore, those who would eat beef let them work." At the conclusion of the Fimo's speech the parties broke off, and in less than a quarter of an hour were arranged in order of work, and with a degree of method, which actually astonished me; they were drawn up in two lines, the first consisting of about 500 persons, and the second perhaps of more than 2,000; the business of the first line was to scatter the seed, and of the second to cover it with the hoe; in this manner they advanced regularly, and with such rapidity, that the work appeared more, like magic than human performance; the music of the Jelle men, without whose presence and cheering song nothing is effected, in work, festivity, or war, accompanied the labourers in their toil. While these matters were going forward, I sat with the king and a large party of his headmen under the shade of a tree; they appeared highly delighted at the interest I took in the scene, and every now and then congratulated the king on his great name, which had induced a white man to travel from the water-side to see him; at this the king would smile and turn his head to one side, which a Jelle man observing, commenced a song, the purport of which was the power of the Soolima nation, and of its great chief, Assana Yeera; he sung, "that the Soolimas were working to day for their king, but they would rather fight for him. Why did he not lead them to battle? They were men like their forefathers." A cloud passed over the brow of Assana, he frowned, bit his lip, and called out "Atto, Atto, have done, have done; you would make me as bad as Yarradee. You have made him a fool, and spoiled my name when you advised him to burn Malageea. Allah, allah, my brother has no sense; your music spoils his head. Where is Malageea? Where is Sanassee? You will sing of war, and spoil my name by it—Atto, atto." The king appeared very angry, and the Jelle, although a privileged character, was glad to steal off. As I was unwilling that my presence should involve any further trouble, I requested permission to return to the town, and mounting my horse, soon regained my quarters, which I found well-stored with presents of goats, fowls, vegetables, butter, and milk. About an hour after noon, the king sent to acquaint me that he was ready to hear what news I had brought from Sierra Leone, or in other words to talk my palaver; I therefore ordered my party to prepare six rounds of blank ammunition, and singling out the presents intended for him, I repaired to the palaver-hall, where the king, with a few head-men only, were present, the whole remainder of the population of Falaba being in the fields. Feeling again the unpleasant sensations of approaching fever, I acquainted the king with it, as an apology for briefness, and proceeded to explain the objects of my mission, being the desire of the merchants of Sierra Leone to have a free intercourse of trade; and the anxious disposition of Sir Charles McCarthy to cultivate a good understanding with them, and with all the nations of Africa. I then produced the presents, with which he was much pleased; they consisted of the following articles:

A gold ornamented double-barrelled gun A handsome sabre in a velvet scabbard Two long Dane guns A fowling-piece Two quarter-barrels of powder Two pieces of blue baft, and two pieces of white baft Three pieces of taffeta Ten bunches of mock coral beads Twenty bunches of small coral beads Forty bunches of pound beads Twenty bunches of coomba bajor beads Two sastracondees (pieces of printed cotton) Six pieces of red handkerchiefs One thousand flints Two thousand cowries A cocked hat with a gold band A laced coat A medal of King George IV. and a silver chain.

As soon as every thing had been displayed, the Finos stept forth with their long wands, and proceeded to extol the great value of the presents, the riches of white men, and the power of Assana Yeera. We appeared to be fairly set in for a long harangue, when the king, who saw I was uneasy, called out "Stop, stop, you have said quite enough, for the white man cannot wait to hear your long palavers; those men would talk till sun-set—but it shall not be so.—I have heard that white men are not like black men, fond of long palavers." Then turning to me, he said, "White man, I thank you for your heavy presents, I thank you very much; every thing you wish shall be done; and now the palaver is at an end, you may go home whenever you please, for I see that you are sick." This passport was most grateful, for I felt extremely uncomfortable, and I was by no means tardy in returning to my hut, not even waiting for my party, whom I left at the palaver-hall to pay that respect by firing, which my indisposition rendered me incapable of. On my arrival, I threw myself upon my mat, which I did not quit till the 24th of the month, having suffered a most cruel illness. I endeavoured to combat with disease for the first day or two, but with no success, for I never could procure a proper remission. At length, on the 17th, the strong determination of blood to the head produced delirium, in which state I remained for three days, unconscious of every thing that was passing around me. On the fourth day, the dawn of returning reason broke, and I awoke in uncertainty whether I was existing in the present or in a changed state; the room, from which daylight had been excluded, was dimly illuminated by the dying embers of a fire which was expiring in its centre, and by the dull and sullen glimmering of a bees-wax candle, which a native held close to my head, while several others were standing round with their anxious eyes fixed upon me in melancholy silence. As my reason returned, and I was made acquainted of my situation by my faithful boy Mahomed, the struggles of recollection were truly distressing and painful, and are yet remembered by me with horror. I found, as I became more collected, that the operation of cupping in the temples had been performed by one of the

country doctors, an operation which, by removing the cause of delirium, must have been the means of restoring my faculties. Their manner of cupping is simple and ingenious; they first scarify the skin with a sharp razor, and then apply to the part a small callabash gourde, from which air has been expelled by fire. The determination had been so great, and the duration of such continuance, that the operator could only succeed in extracting blood in a coagulated state, so that I have every reason to presume, that had the operation not been performed, suffusion and dissolution must have been the inevitable consequence. I lost no time in humbling myself before my Almighty Creator, to acknowledge my gratitude for a delivery from such imminent danger.

I took up the date of the month from my interpreter, who informed me of the number of days I had been insensible, and on my return to Sierra Leone, I found the reckoning correct; but, during this illness, my meteorological observations ceased, and it was with a grief bordering on distraction that I thought of my chronometer, which, as nobody could wind but myself, had unavoidably gone down. I had not been able to take a single observation at Falaba, and had procrastinated from time to time the examination of its rate, which I had reason to think was altering, and which I had expected to ascertain at this place. On winding it up, and taking future observations, I found it gaining 46", and had this been the previous rate, I must have been considerably further to the eastward than I have supposed myself.

CHAPTER VI

RESIDENCE AT FALABA—VISIT TO THE SOURCE OF THE ROKELLE RIVER—ARRIVAL OF MESSENGERS FROM SIERRA LEONE.

From the period at which the last chapter concluded, I gradually recovered strength, and was able, on the first of July, to write a few lines, though with considerable difficulty, to acquaint my friends at Sierra Leone of my arrival at Falaba; and that I hoped soon to find myself sufficiently recovered to proceed even farther to the eastward. Two men, natives of Soolima, who had been left behind by Yarradee, when in the Mandingo country, and had found their way to Sierra Leone, had accompanied me from that colony, and now volunteered to be the bearers of my despatches, and to return to Falaba as speedily as circumstances would allow; I provided them with a small quantity of tobacco, cloth, and beads, to pay their expenses, and thus equipped, they left Falaba on the first of July, intending to pursue a direction nearly west, and to reach the water-side at Malacouré.

On the 11th of July, I found myself so far recovered as to take a ride to Sangooia, a very large town on the borders of Foutah Jallon, and ten miles distant from Falaba. I mounted my horse at six in the morning, and took with me my interpreter, Musah, with a guard of eight men; four of whom were Soolimas. After a pleasant ride of about four hours, in a N.N.W. direction, over a country in a very high state of cultivation, and possessing an agreeable diversity of hill and dale, we arrived at Sangooia.

This town is famous for having been besieged in the year 1820 by an army of 10,000 Foulahs, headed by Alimammie Abdulkhadur in person, when the Foulahs were repelled with considerable loss. It stands upon a large plain, environed with hills rising gradually. The town, which is built with considerable regard to air and cleanliness, occupies fully a square mile of ground; it is surrounded by a lofty and strong wall, built of clay, and perforated with loop-holes for musketry; upon the whole, it appeared a place capable of making a good defence against enemies who have neither cannon nor scaling ladders, and who place more dependence upon individual bravery than united effort. We entered the town about ten A.M., and rode through the lanes or denies for ten minutes before we reached the yard of the chief or Sutigge, who, on our arrival, received us with due ceremony. The second in command is a fine young man, six feet two inches high English measure; he is named Edrissa, and from his great influence, I am of opinion, that should the present chief live much longer, Edrissa will become impatient, and take the government of the town from him, more especially as he is a great favourite with his master, the king of Falaba. Edrissa is by far the richer man of the two, and more liberal in his donations, which is the first quality, in the estimation of an African; his name therefore stands high among the Jelle men, who never omit occasions of lauding him, knowing well the price which he pays for empty sounds. From this man, my party and myself received the greatest attention; he presented us with a sheep and goat at Sangooia, and many other articles after our return to Falaba. In the afternoon I walked over a great part of the town, which is built with much taste, but I particularly admired the yard of Edrissa. It consists of two circles of houses, the one within the other, and having entrances covered with fine sweeping archways. The outside walls of the houses are

tastily ornamented with hieroglyphic figures in clay, and white-washed; the doors are of carved wood, and secured by padlocks. His wives, neatly habited in clothes of satinstripe, or blue baft, were industriously employed at their domestic duties; some were beating rice in large wooden mortars, to free it from the husk preparatory to cooking; others were pounding ground-nuts into flour, and kneading it with honey into a sort of native bread called Kannia; a third party were breaking up wood to make the evening fire; the prattling children meanwhile, in nature's vestments, imitating their busy mothers, and occasionally stealing a handful of rice to feed the sheep, goats, and poultry, which were on the eager watch for any stray particles, exhibited altogether a very pleasing scene of simple domestic felicity. Edrissa, as well as the Sutigge, pressed me much to stay a few days with them at Sangooia, that we might be better known to each other; but as I saw no advantage likely to accrue to the mission from my acceptance of their invitation, and as I had planned sufficient employment for myself at Falaba, I declined; and as it was my intention to be on the road at daylight in the morning, I took leave of them in the evening.

July 12th. At dawn in the morning we were in motion, and expected to get out of the town unobserved; but my surprise was great on clearing the gate, to meet the Sutigge and Edrissa with a considerable number of the inhabitants of the town, who immediately commenced an irregular discharge of musketry, performing at the same time feats of agility in the true style of African compliment. They followed me across the whole plain, shouting, hallooing, and firing; at length I shook hands with the chief, and thanking him and his people for their courtesy, promised to send them a present: Edrissa being mounted, accompanied me half way to Falaba. The country being enveloped in a dense fog, I put my horse to his speed, and leaving my people to follow, found myself at the gates of Falaba by eight A.M. This capital, I now felt, had all the charms of home for me, for I experienced on entering it, after the absence of a single day, that sort of contented happiness which men feel on approaching the comforts of their own homes. I may attribute this feeling in great measure to the kindness of the good people of Falaba to me during my illness, to which, under Providence, I owe my life; and am both satisfied and proud in acknowledging that I spent with those uncultivated people and their neighbours, many happy days, without casting a longing thought towards more refined society, or towards the enjoyments of England. The King of Falaba, as honest-hearted a man as ever existed, welcomed me back with sincerity, and expressed his happiness at my speedy return; he had entertained some fear that I might not have been treated well at Sangooia, but being satisfied of the contrary, he desired me to go home and eat my breakfast, as he had no wish to see me sick again. My hut was again loaded with presents of the fat of the land.

July 13th. My strength was now returning fast, and with it my desire of proceeding eastward; I knew that the source of the Niger could be at no great distance from Falaba, and I was anxious to make my way to it, that, by ascertaining its height above the level of the sea, I might be satisfied if it had elevation enough to carry its waters to the Mediterranean through the channel of the Nile; I therefore, for the first time since my arrival in Falaba, sounded the king on the subject, saying, that I understood there was a large river a little further to the eastward, and that I should like much to look at the

country from whence it came; I observed, that as a man of great power he might give me a guide to take me to that place. The king exclaimed "Allah Akbar!" and after gazing at me for some time, at length shook his head, and said, "White man, it is impossible; I am at war with the people of Kissi, the country from which the river comes, and if they were to know you came from me, they would that moment kill you." To this objection I replied, that as the loss of life would be my own loss, I would run the risk of that, provided he would give me leave to pass through his country, and furnish me with a guide as far as his authority extended: finding that I produced no impression, I left him a little dissatisfied, but being resolved not to give up the point for a single repulse, I tried him again in the afternoon, and on the following day, but with little better success. Before I parted from him on the second day, however, we came to an understanding which promised something; he engaged to despatch two of his people to a head-man named Usuf, who was in alliance with him, and whose town was contiguous to the Joliba, and if Usuf would send his son for me, he promised that no obstacle should be thrown in the way of my going; for, added he, "You are my stranger, and I must look after your safety." On the 15th, I proposed to the king to set off at once for Usuf's town, who being a friend of his, would of course treat me well; and I assured him, that if Usuf should think it imprudent in me to venture further, I would at once abandon the idea and immediately return to Falaba; I wished to do this in order to gain time, for it was now the second month of my stay in the Soolima country, and I had not much more time to spare. The King smiled at my impatience, and coolly replied, that I must wait; and that when his messengers returned, he would say more to me on the subject. I had some difficulty to conceal my chagrin, for my disposition to activity had returned with the increase of bodily strength. When travelling through Kooranko, I was informed by two natives of Sangara, whom I met there, that the source of the Joliba was only three short days' journey from Falaba; at Semba, I was told, in answer to my questions, that it could not be reached before the sixth day; and now the best-informed persons of Falaba declared it to be a journey of twelve days, by a very circuitous route. I wished to set off, lest by a longer delay they might be inclined to magnify the distance to a still greater extent, which might damp my inclination to undertake the journey; the bad state of the weather, (being the height of the rainy season,) the scantiness of the time allowed by my instructions for the absence of the mission, the weak state of my health, and the untoward circumstances stated by the king, were already combinations enough to discourage me. I passed my time till the 28th in such reflections; in occasional conversations with the king on the subjects of trade and slavery; in taking a survey of the town; and in collecting from the best sources all that could be learnt of the history of the Soolima nation. On the 28th, the messengers whom the king had despatched to Usuf returned, bringing with them three guides, who were to escort me to the town of that chief. By a meridian altitude of the moon on the evening of the 29th, I made the latitude of Falaba 9° 49' N.; and as Timbo lies only three short days' journey N. 1/2 W. from the former, I am under the necessity of placing Timbo thirty miles further to the northward than it is laid down in the map of Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom.

July 30th. Having at length received the king's sanction to proceed to the Niger, I busied myself all this day in making preparations for setting off early on the morrow, and in asking questions of my guides respecting the route; I learnt that there was no direct road

through the Soolima country, nor had there been for many years, therefore we should be obliged to go to the southward first, and then wind round to the northward through Kooranko, which would occupy a space of five days; whereas, if we had had it in our power to pursue a direct course, we might reach our destination in two days. About seven A.M. I waited on the king to thank him for his kindness, and to shake his hand on parting; I came upon him unawares, and interrupted him at his devotions; he appeared confused, and begged me never to tell any of his people that I had seen him pray, for it was against the law of the nation which he ruled over. I now learnt, for the first time, that he had received his education at Labi in Foutah Jallon, and had been brought up strictly in the Mahomedan faith with Abdulkhadur, the Alimammee of that country; and that he only wore greegrees to please the Soolimas, as he had no confidence in them himself: this discovery also explained his dislike to the Jelles. I informed him of my intention to set off early in the morning, and receiving his best wishes, I departed highly delighted at the prospect before me of penetrating further into the interior of this vast continent. After a sleepless night, as is usual with me when in a state of anxious expectation, morning broke on my eyes with a sensation of delight which I cannot well describe. Soon after day-break I set off with a party of four of my own people, but we had not proceeded far when a messenger from the king overtook us, and acquainted me of his master's wish to see me immediately. Although much disappointed at this mandate, opposition was vain, I therefore ordered my people back to quarters being certain that some obstacle had opposed itself to my journey for the present, and with a mind not the most tranquil, I repaired to the king's house. On my entrance the king laughed immoderately, and appeared to treat the matter with more levity than the disappointment would permit me to do; at length, perceiving that I was in a serious mode, he changed his manner, and desiring me to sit down on a sheep-skin, said, he wished to ask me a question or two. We sat for several minutes in silence, the king occupied in telling over his rosary, and I marvelling at his conduct; at last he asked, "What are you taking with you on the road to pay your expenses?" I enumerated the articles.— "What," said he, "have you no tobacco?" "No." "No salt?" "No." "Alla Akbar! to think of travelling through Kooranko without tobacco and salt! they would turn you back, and would give me a bad name; they would say, I sent a white man to make fools of them; no, my white stranger, you cannot walk that country without tobacco and salt. I appeal to Usuf's own people. Do I speak true or do I not?—" True, true, the king speaks the truth," they replied. "Then, I presume," said I, "that I am never to go; if so the sooner I turn back the better, for I have staid long enough in Falaba; I have kept my promise with Yarradee, in opening a road from the waterside to this country, therefore let all who wish to go down with trade, get ready to accompany me." "Stop, stop," says the king, "you are too quick, you shall go to the Joliba, but not to day; we must get salt for you, and some tankara instead of tobacco, then you shall go like a proper white man; you must wait my time, and I shall get every thing ready for you myself; when you return from the Joliba, the traders, both here and from Sangara, will be ready to go with you to Sierra Leone.' With this assurance the conversation ended, and I went back to my old quarters, to resume my employment of inquiring among the old men and Jelles into the history of the country.

August 3d. A caravan of upwards of sixty merchants arrived this day from Kowia, a town situated on the banks of the Falico, a branch of the Niger; they brought with them a

considerable quantity of ivory and gold, to barter for powder, tobacco, beads, and cloth. Having held no direct communication with Falaba for upwards of forty years, they had experienced much difficulty in cutting a path through the thick bush, and had several times lost their way in the long grass; but, notwithstanding the difficulties, they had managed to effect the journey in three days. I obtained much information from these merchants respecting the source of the Niger, which two of my informants had visited some years before, whilst accompanying an invading army; they acquainted me that it might be easily reached from Falaba in three days, if the Kissi people were not so dangerous to travel amongst; but that no one could venture into their country without a very strong escort, as they never quitted their own boundaries, and either made slaves of or murdered all strangers who encroached upon them.

The people of Kissi have no trade except in slaves, which they sell to the people of Sangara for salt, tobacco, and country cloth; and, in such a savage state of wretchedness and barbarism are they, that without the least compunction they will dispose of their relatives, wives, and even children²⁶.

The route from Kowia to the Niger is as follows:—

To Bombokora 6 hours Kuemande Bokora . . 6 hours 6 hours Berreba Worrobabba 4 hours Yarankorra 2 hours Nerrekorro 2 hours Mensakoolako 3 hours Mamboia and to the) 3 days

Source of the River)

are humane and beneficent.

Total 32 hours in 3 days

When the people of Kowia had satisfied me respecting the different matters on which I questioned them, they wished to know something about the white man's country, and were much astonished at some of the answers they received, although I will not venture to assert that they put implicit confidence in what I said. When I told them that the longest grass in England would not reach to a man's middle, they asked, significantly,

²⁶ Several hundred natives of this savage country, who have been liberated from slave ships by the humane exertions of Great Britain, are established in a beautiful village, named after their own country, about four miles from Freetown, at Sierra Leone; where, at the expense of the British government, they have been clothed and fed until able to support themselves by their own industry, and where they are now settled in the enjoyment of full security of person and of property. Under the same protecting influence, and by means of missionaries, supplied by the Church Missionary Society, they have been educated as Christians; and all are instructed in reading and writing. These are benefits conferred on Africa by British interference and protection, of which an Englishman may well be proud; and which are rapidly obtaining for Great Britain an influence" in this vast continent, of a far deeper character than that which arises from temporary convenience or subjection. When the capabilities of Western Africa are duly considered, for producing, by its native population, the articles of immense consumption which are at present supplied from other countries, under the far greater cost of forced labour, such measures will appear as politically wise as they

how then do you cover your houses 1 and when I drew the shape of an English gable-ended house, and told them they were covered with a kind of thin stone, they appeared very suspicious; but a piece of mica slate, which I shewed them a few days afterwards, in some measure removed their doubts, by bringing the matter more within their comprehension.

August 8th. A grand meeting of the chiefs and elders of Falaba was held this day in the palaver-house, to inquire into the propriety of marching an army against Limba; it appeared that the king (of Falaba) was in want of palm-oil, and of a few slaves, to pay some Mandingoes who brought him presents; and, as Limba could supply both slaves and palm-oil, they were to be compelled, as the weaker power, to furnish the king with such a portion as he chose to demand. It was agreed, after a long consultation, that the measure was absolutely necessary; and Yarradee was forthwith proclaimed commander-in-chief of the war, having Bokari, his younger brother, and Soolimana, one of the king's sons, as generals of division. Falaba was to furnish a body of 3,000 men; Sangooia 2,000; Moosaiah, Semba, and Kowia, 2,000 more; and the orders for the marching and assembling of the different divisions were issued with a degree of regularity and method, which clearly shewed that the occupation was not unfrequent. Some of the arguments advanced by the Finos for the purpose of stimulating the Soolimas to war were truly amusing: they extolled at great length the peculiar virtues of the palm-oil, its nutritious and excellent qualities in cooking, its inestimable value in affording light at all times, when even the sun refused his light; but, above all, its wonderful efficacy in preserving and softening the skin; it possessed the quality of removing the dry and withered appearance of old age; it beautified their wives, whose skins without it would crack like the plastering of a wall. They appealed to all around whether they would wish to see their wives handsome or not; if they did, the means lay within their reach, for in Limba there was plenty of palm-oil. God had not, indeed, allowed palm-trees to grow in the Soolima country; but He had made the Soolimas powerful, so that they might walk to the place where the trees did grow, and take as much of the oil as they pleased. The greater part of the day was spent in harangues of this kind, the king, chiefs, and people listening with attention to all that was said; and it was not till a late hour that the warlike proceeding was finally determined on.

On the 10th of August I rode to Kolia, a village consisting of about a hundred houses, and containing perhaps about double that number of inhabitants; it is situated about six miles S.E. of Falaba, in a rich and well-cultivated valley, surrounded by picturesque hills. To the southward of this village rises a mountain called Baba Tamba, the summit of which presents a bare superficies of weather-beaten granite, composed principally of mica and felspar, with a small proportion of quartz: from the surface of which a gradual succession of lamellar scalings appeared to be in constant progress, and is daily adding to the richness of the valley below. Small trees, shrubs, and brushwood surround its base, and creep about one-third up its steep sides; when they give place to a sort of wiry or spear grass, which I never, recollect to have seen before, and regret that I am not botanist enough to class. I ascended this mountain on the 11th, and from its summit commanded an extensive prospect of rich and variegated scenery; spacious and fertile valleys lay before me, clad in the deep green vesture of the rice and ground-nut leaf; pasturages of

luxuriant guinea-grass, on which the countless herds enjoyed their fattening meal; extensive lawns, decorated with occasional clumps of trees, whose foliage appeared woven into a solid mass: villages and farm-houses were scattered abundantly over the expanse. The air on the hill was exceedingly keen, being 72° of Fahrenheit at noon, and enabled me to do justice to the hospitality of my Soolima landlord, who, to manifest his happiness at seeing a white man in his village, killed a fine young bull for myself and party, and according to the established usage of the country, which entitles the king to the right hind-quarter of every animal killed within a day's walk of his capital, that part was sent to him by express.

August 15th. This day the Soolima troops moved out of Falaba in three divisions, under the command of Yarradee; and from the deserted aspect of the town after their departure, as no one remained but the old men, women, and children, I am led to suppose that its population cannot exceed 10,000 souls, about 3,000 of whom are able to bear arms; nevertheless the king, by the sound of his war-drum, can always muster, within the space of a week, a force of 10,000 warriors.

August 16th. Having drained all the granaries of information within my reach, regarding the history of the Soolimas, I began to feel very impatient to commence my long-hopedfor journey to the Niger. I had hitherto awaited the return of the messengers from Sierra Leone, whom I had expected to have seen long ere this time, and to have received a supply of tobacco by them, which I should have applied to the exigencies of the journey. I was also desirous of their arrival, for other reasons no less cogent; my stay in the country had so much exceeded my original intention, as to have completely exhausted my wardrobe, and being under the necessity of substituting the native costume for my tattered garments, I was obliged either to walk without shoes, or to lacerate my feet with the Mandingo slipper, which awkwardness rendered any thing but a preservative. The arrival of the messengers would have set me at ease in the latter respect, as I had been prudent enough to request a friend to send me a few pairs of shoes; the anticipation of the continued lameness from which I must necessarily have suffered, had they not arrived. did not conduce much towards the tranquillization of a mind naturally restless. With the setting of this evening's sun my hopes of seeing them departed; I therefore determined to urge the king once more to permit me to endeavour to make my own way; and having an opportunity of speaking to him in the afternoon, I observed, that as the weather was now fine, and as I had purchased a quantity of tankara and salt to pay my expenses, I was desirous, with his permission, to visit the large river, more especially as it was my intention very shortly to return to Sierra Leone. As usual, the king threw out many objections; but at length seeing (to use his own phraseology) that I had set my heart on the water, he reluctantly gave his consent to my departure on the 19th inst. On the next day he conversed with me at much length on the subject of my journey, and gave me some good counsel, which it was, however, ordained, that I should not at that time reduce to practice. He said, that on my arrival at Usuf's town, I should remain quiet for at least two days, without appearing to take the smallest notice of the river; that when I did speak of it I should only at first inquire its name; after that I might ask where it came from; and on being informed, I might say in a careless manner, taking heed that I betrayed no anxiety, that I should like to see that country: if Usuf should then offer to accompany me,

I should be safe in going; but that I must rather put up with the disappointment than press the matter, for if the people were once led to suppose that I was eager in the pursuit of that or any other object, I should be exposed to considerable danger, from their supposing that I wanted to make some greegree at the river's head, to let the saltwater in upon their country. I had often before had cause to observe how quickly the suspicions of an African may be excited, and to be impressed with the caution with which a traveller must proceed to avoid creating difficulties in his own way; and I could not fail to be struck with so remarkable a confirmation of my previous experience, from one of their own chiefs, whose exemption from the ordinary prejudices of his countrymen, and whose facility in comprehending the advantages of a state of society essentially different from his own, stamped him as a person of much thought, and strong natural understanding. His honest and useful advice was not thrown away upon me; and although I had no opportunity of benefiting by it at that time, I trust the period will arrive when I may.

August 19th. I was prevented from setting out on my journey this day, by the delay of a lazy guarangee, or shoemaker, who was endeavouring to manufacture a kind of shoe to guard my feet against the inconveniences of the path. In the afternoon the king took an opportunity of using every possible argument to dissuade me from my purpose, but without effect, as he found me ready to combat every difficulty which he opposed to me. "How will you cross the large rivers without a *Nyankata*?" "I suppose I must swim across them upon gourds." "Alla ackbar! there are deep swamps on the way, in which you will sink to the neck; how will you pass over them?" "I must do as the people of the country do; if that will not answer, I must fell trees, and laying them across, scramble over their branches; but I tell you, once for all, Assana Yeera, that even a river of fire shall not deter me, if you are kind enough to give me your passport." "Alla howla!—taha." "God is powerful !---go." So saying, he got up and left me. Towards nightfall he made another endeayour to prevent my leaving his capital through a less direct channel. Two men were sent to me, who stated they had just arrived from Sangara, and that having acquainted the king with the difficulties they had encountered on the road, he had desired them to come to me and apprize me of them. They asserted that a serious war was waging between two towns on the path which I had to pursue; that the inhabitants made prisoners of every one upon whom they could lay their hands; and that they would most certainly detain me, at all events, until I should give them some powder and arms to carry on the war. If I had attached credit to this story, I should most certainly have acquiesced in the wish of the king; but as I looked upon it as a made-up tale, (which I still have every reason to presume it was,) I merely thanked the men for their information, and sending a messenger to wish the king good night, acquainted him that my intention of quitting Falaba at daylight in the morning was unchanged.

As usual, upon such occasions, sleep was a stranger to my eyes, and I was on the move with the earliest dawn of morning. As I sallied through the avenue leading to the gate from which I was to emerge upon an expedition so congenial to my wishes, I could not but congratulate myself on the prospects before me. The accounts which I had received as to the distance of the source of this far-famed stream were certainly so vague, indefinite, and contradictory, that I did not see my way very clearly before me; but I was satisfied, that if unopposed by Assana Yeera, these doubts would soon vanish by personal

observation. Endeavouring, therefore, to banish from my thoughts the possibility of recall, I took the road with a firmness of pace which, I was fain to persuade myself, betokened absence of care, and a considerable degree of resolution. The party moved forward at a brisk pace for five hours, in the direction of S.E., when, reaching a Soolima village, named Kanasina, on the extreme confines of the country, we halted for the day.

August 20th. Whilst swallowing a hasty breakfast of ground rice, a messenger from the king of Falaba was ushered into my hut, who, after giving the usual salutation, said, "The king has sent me to see how you have slept, and to give you morning's service." I thanked his majesty for his attention. "The king wants to know whether you dreamt of any thing last night?" The question was a strange one, but I answered in the negative; "For," continued the messenger, "the king- has had a very bad dream about you, and he has sent me to bring you back to Falaba. The king is in very much trouble, and sent me away this morning before daylight." Remonstrance was vain; and although in hesitation for some time, I at length ordered the three men who composed my party, to get ready to follow me back to Falaba; the greatest misfortune I ever experienced in life, did not give me so much concern as this mandate; I returned at a sluggish pace, and did not reach the town till a late hour in the evening; when, after resting for a few minutes, I was ushered into the presence of the king. I found him seated with his confidential Noomo, both wearing the most serious countenances, and having been apparently in earnest conversation. I sat down, but not a syllable was spoken, until I commenced by asking the king what his commands were; he commenced, as usual, with an Arabic exclamation, expressive of the power of the Almighty, and replied, that he had had a very troubled dream, and that he was very uneasy about me, for the Saduk²⁷* had told him, that if he allowed me to go to the head of the big river, he would never see me again; he had been further strengthened in this belief, by finding one of my own people at his door long before morning, who told him a dream such as he had himself dreamt, and had entreated him on his knees to stop the white man before it was too late; a regard for my safety and nothing else had induced him to send for me, till such time as his armies returned from the war, after which, he would give me a strong protecting party. In vain did I endeayour to persuade him, that dreams were only a recurrence of thoughts whilst asleep, which had occupied the attention during the day. In vain did I remark that white men considered dreaming to go by contraries; he persisted in the persuasion which he had expressed, nor do I think he wished to be undeceived, for seeing me strongly bent upon the attempt, he avoided the point by asking me what answer he should give to the white men, if any accident befel me? I answered, that as my life was my own, the palaver would die with myself, and that Sierra Leone would be friendly with him quite the same; to this he replied that I must not be too hasty, but must wait his time. As this was his usual expression when he wished to conclude a conversation in which he found himself pressed, I rose to guit his presence, with a countenance expressive, I suppose, of considerable annovance and disappointment; for, as I reached the door, he exclaimed to his Noomo in Jallunka, supposing my interpreter did not understand him; "These white men are extraordinary people; here is one leaves me disappointed because I save his life, by preventing him from going to a set of savages, among whom I would not venture with the half of Falaba

²⁷ A quantity of fine sand being spread on the ground, a number of hieroglyphic figures are marked on it at random; these are examined by the elders, who pretend to be enabled thereby to foretel future events.

at my heels." Disappointed as I was at this second failure, I did not yet abandon the hope of overcoming all untoward obstacles, and during my morning visits still touched upon the subject, to the great annoyance of the king, who, at last, reluctantly gave a reason, and, I believe, the true one, why he objected; he stated, that he was at variance, though not exactly at open warfare with some of the states through which I had to pass, but particularly with the people of Kissi, who were his sworn enemies ever since an attempt which he had made to invade their territories when he first ascended the throne; he said, with great emphasis, "When the Kissi men meet my people, they cut their throats; and when my men meet the Kissi people, they cut their throats in return; nobody is safe going into that country from me, that is the truth; and I am ashamed to have been so long in telling it you. I see you have set your heart upon Tembie, and had I not wished to appear great, I should have told you at first that I had not the power to send you there." Chagrined as I was at this information, I must acknowledge that I felt considerably relieved by it, as soon as the effects of disappointment began to subside; for my mind had been extremely harassed for some - weeks past by the state of suspense in which I had been kept, and my health had began to suffer in consequence. Although I was now obliged to abandon the hope of actually viewing the source of the Niger, I must nevertheless express my opinion, that if time, and the party who had accompanied me from Sierra Leone, had been entirely at my own disposal, I can have little doubt but that I should have succeeded in overcoming the obstacles that presented themselves. The endeavour to accelerate an undertaking in Africa, is almost certain to occasion its failure; and although well aware of this fact, yet my time was so limited, that I was compelled to act contrary to my judgment in that as well as in several other points. I had already exceeded by two months the period allowed me by Sir Charles McCarthy for the performance of the journey; and, upon that account, nothing short of positive certainty could have justified me in making a longer stay; further, I could not have induced, nor could I reasonably have expected, men who had been hired at a small expense to carry loads from Sierra Leone to the Soolima country only, to have exposed themselves to danger, for what they would deem little better than idle curiosity in me; and it was my own duty to remember, that the mission on which I was employed was not intended to be one of discovery, but had been arranged at my own suggestion, for the purpose of extending the connexion, and enlarging the commerce of Sierra Leone, with countries supposed to be rich, but hitherto known only by report. I ought not, therefore, in justice to the merchants of that colony, who had intrusted to my care merchandise to a considerable amount, and who, of course, looked for some present return, as well as the subsequent extension of trade, either to have unnecessarily exposed myself in uncertain enterprise, or to have delayed much longer in the country; I accordingly made the king acquainted with my intention of setting out on my return to Sierra Leone in three weeks, to which he consented, shaking me by the hand, and promising that the traders and every thing requisite for the journey should be ready by that time.

August 24th. I had lately looked with a longing eye towards a lofty sugar-loaf hill called Konkodoogore, situated about four miles south of Falaba, and the highest in the Soolima country; I had been desirous of ascending this hill, and observing the country from its summit, but hitherto I had been deterred from making the attempt, fearing that I had not recovered strength enough for the undertaking; I this day ascended its almost

perpendicular sides, exposed to occasional difficulty as well as danger, from the frequent obstructions opposed by protruding blocks of granite; when about half way from the summit a large serpent, apparently a boa constrictor, about six or seven inches in diameter, crossed the path, and blocked it up for some time; an event which so terrified my two Soolima guides, that I had to make use of great persuasion before I could prevail on them to proceed further; they were close, they said, to the great greegree of the country, pointing to a large exposure of granite, beyond which no Soolima had ever attempted to pass. On arriving at the highest point of the hill, which occupied us three hours, I was enabled from the clearness of the day, to take the following bearings:—

Loma, a lofty hill from which the Niger springs S.E. Southerly Timbo, the capital of Foutah Jallon N.

Source of the river Mungo

Tamisso, country of

Limba

Kooranko

Sangara

K.S.E. to S.W.

Sangara

E.S.E. to E.N.E.

Kissi

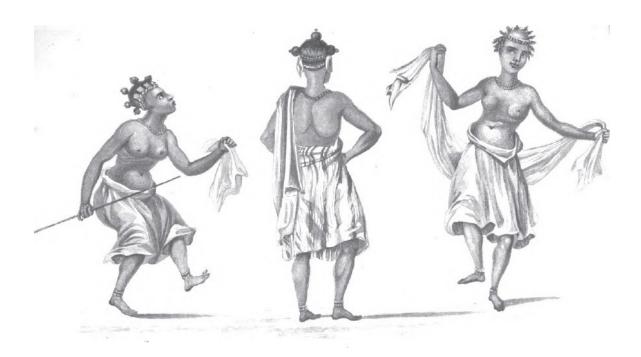
S.S.E. to E.S.E.

The river Mungo, which is better known by the name of the Small Scarcies, (but improperly, being a more considerable river than the Great Scarcies,) takes its rise from three hills, which commence a chain running to the westward, and separating Tamisso and Jallonkado from Foutah Jallon; from thence it passes through the Soosoo country, and extends to the water-side.

August 28th. Preparations had been making for several days past, for a grand festival, which was to be held this day; I was not surprised therefore when I heard the earliest dawn of morning ushered in by the firing of musketry, the shouting of the soldiery (many of whom had obtained leave to return from the war on this joyful occasion) and the songs of the Jelles. About daylight a numerous procession, preceded by music of every denomination, from the sweet balla to the rattling gourd, passed through the yard in which my house stood, and in a few minutes afterwards the king himself, accompanied by a few of the elders, followed; at this moment I had just made my appearance abroad, and being invited by signal from the king, joined in his train. I could not but admire the unostentatious simplicity of this respectable chief, who, although he desired to see his people enjoy themselves with the parade and pomp so dear to Africans, carefully avoided it himself; on no occasion did I ever see him with an ornament about his person, nor could I ever induce him to clothe himself in any of the rich garments, which I have often observed hanging in his houses; he appeared more like the humblest individual in his country than the sovereign of it, and desirous as he was, that his country and its power should appear consequential, he had no personal vanities to gratify. On emerging into an open field from the S.E. gate of Falaba, the king was received by loud shouts from a large assembled multitude of men, women, and children, followed by an irregular discharge of musketry, which served to complete the compliment intended for him; by that time he had gained a small rising ground in the centre of the field, where, having commanded

silence, he, with the elders, went through the Mahomedan form of prayer with much decorum, and afterwards read a few passages from the Koran; this done, he returned to the town with the same absence of ostentation as before. On these occasions only, three times a year, did this good man offend his people (for it was a great political offence) with his prayers; at all other times he appeared and acted in public as a Kafir. As soon as the king had disappeared, the firing recommenced; the equestrians put their horses to their speed, exercising and performing various evolutions in the Moorish manner; and the Jellemen began to laud with the most sycophantic and exaggerated hyperbole, the dexterity of such as they knew were able to reward them; I left them at these occupations, and, returning to my house, made an ample breakfast of milk, eggs, and kannia²⁸, which had been supplied by the abundant bounty of the king. During the whole of the day the festivities continued; bulls, sheep, and goats, being sacrificed at various quarters of the town; in the evening the men paraded about, evincing, by disgusting tokens, that they were saturated with food, and loading with praises the names of such chiefs as had extended their liberality towards them. The females were to be seen in groups ready decked for the evening dance; but as nothing in their appearance was deserving of particular notice, except their head-dress and the ornaments of their legs, I shall confine my description to those parts of their attire. The wool, or hair, was divided, and arranged into a number of small balls, which were tipt, or surmounted, by beads, cowries, and pieces of red cloth, the interstices being smeared nearly an inch thick with fresh butter, a most disgusting practice, adopted as a substitute for palm-oil; the ancles and wrists were beautifully ornamented with strings of pound beads of various colours, laced tightly together in depth about fifteen or twenty strings. The public dancing and singing women were distinguished from the others by the profusion of their head ornaments, their large gold ear-rings shaped like a heart, and rich silk or taffeta cloths and shawls, the latter of which, suspended from the shoulders, and supported on the arms, were brought into graceful action in the dance. About sun-set the dancing commenced on the part of the professionals in the royal yard, the king himself looking on, and awarding presents to such as exhibited peculiar proficiency; the music was lively and in good time, consisting of six single, and one double ballafoos, played on by the most skilful musicians in the country, who were elegantly decorated with feathers, bells, and party-coloured cloths for the occasion. Only one dancer was permitted to exhibit at a time, who would continue till abruptly stopt, and led off by the master of the ceremonies, or some other person who might take earlier compassion on her exertions. The first part of the exhibition consisted in describing a circle as in waltzing, the party throwing herself into attitudes by no means ungraceful, to which the shawl and arms materially contributed. The second was made up of a variety of puzzling steps, more difficult in their execution than elegant in their effect, the body and knees being bent in the shape of a Z, and the same front preserved as in the setting of a Scotch reel; exertion seems to be substituted for grace in the dancing of all uncivilized nations, and, in this instance, the perfection appeared to consist in beating time with the feet to the sound of the ballafoo, which kept graduating to a celerity really distressing to behold. It is the point of honour in a dancer never to acknowledge fatigue. and the poor female will, consequently, exert herself till she drops, unless borne away in the manner already mentioned. The king closed his ball about eight o'clock, after which the mass separated; but were to be found afterwards in groups, dancing by the light of

²⁸ A sort of bread made of pulverized ground-nuts, pepper and honey, kneaded together.



the moon till an early hour in the morning. So fond are the Soolimas of this amusement, that they will stand in crowds and for hours looking at a few performers; and, although a pretty large circle may at first be formed, it is generally soon compressed, and frequently so much so, that the dancers have barely room to stand; on such occasions the musicians act as whippers-out of the ring.

September 1st. The Niger had ceased for a time to have its usual influence on my thoughts, but as I had still a fortnight before me previous to departure, I directed my attention to that part of the Rokelle which yet remained to be explored; and, having learnt from inquiry that it took its rise at no great distance from Falaba, I prevailed on the king, with some difficulty, to give me permission to visit it, and a guide to conduct me: I was, however, enjoined to preserve the strictest secrecy, and was recommended to give out that I was about to take one of my usual rides to a neighbouring farm the next day; the reason assigned by the king for secrecy, was a suspicion that if his enemies, the Foulahs, became acquainted with my intention, they might send a party to intercept his people.

September 2d. About seven o'clock this morning I set off, accompanied by Musah Kanta, my boy Mohamed, Demba, a Foulah belonging to my party, and two Soolirnas, who were appointed as guides, and were, I believe, the only persons in Falaba, excepting the king and myself, who knew where I was going; Musah and Mohamed were not informed till the end of the day's march, when halting at a village called Sacotia, about ten miles E. by S. from Falaba, I made them acquainted with my intention. We arrived at Sacotia about two P.M., and, although the distance was so short, I nevertheless was more fatigued than I had ever recollected to have been before, owing to the rugged state of the road, and the wounds to which my feet were exposed in wearing the country shoes.

September 3d. I was summoned from my mat at an early hour this morning by my principal guide, who said it was necessary to take the road early, as it was far, and the

greater part of the way was in a wood without footpath, through which we should have to cut our way; he informed me that there was not a man in Falaba but himself who knew the Sale²⁹ Kungo, (the Rokelle head,) and that it was familiar to him on account of its being only a few miles from the scite of a town now destroyed, which his father had governed; he often had gone to it for the purpose of shooting elephants and buffaloes, which abound in the bush and jungle where it takes its rise; and from his knowledge of the country had obtained the fame of being the best huntsman in Soolima. I listened to my guide's account of himself whilst I dressed, and having finally performed that operation, which did not occupy a longer time than the perusal of the account has done the reader, I sallied forth with lighter footsteps than the fatigue of the preceding day could have led me to expect; I threw aside the country slipper, and invested my feet in a pair of old shoes, with hardly the vestige of a sole to them, which (although my last pair) I had thrown away upwards of a month before as perfectly useless, but which had been picked up and worn by my boy since that time; they were now superlatively old, and they fairly dropt off my feet before I had walked many miles. On leaving Sacotia, we proceeded east, a little northerly, for a distance of ten miles, through a very thick wood, interwoven with long grass and brushwood, and as the path appeared to be but rarely frequented, our progress was considerably retarded by a thousand petty obstructions; at length ascending a small rising ground, comparatively free from these obstacles, the country opened upon our view. Here our guide proposed to halt for a while, and pointing to a piece of clear ground, about a mile in diameter, at a short distance from us, he informed me that the Soolima town of Berria stood there about nineteen years since; it was a large place. inferior in importance only to Falaba itself, but the present king had entirely destroyed it, in consequence of some of the old people, who had become Moslems wishing to put themselves under the protection of the Foulahs. This was the town which had been governed by the father of my guide. "The king," he continued, "is a good man, and I suppose only did what is right; they were too saucy, and gave him too much trouble." The tears trickled down his cheek as he repeated a short prayer, to which Musah Kanta solemnly said, Maraage Mena, or Amen. In the distance, the lofty hills from which the Mungo springs, bore from us N. by E. nearly, and the Foulah town of Beilia³⁰ due north.

We descended from the eminence at half-past one, and immediately entered an almost impenetrable wood, choked up with jungle, and strongly interwoven with creeping plants. This wood had been long a stranger to human footsteps, and such was the difficulty with which we advanced, being frequently so entangled as to be cut out by each other's assistance, that although we had only to proceed about eight miles, the sun had nearly sunk below the horizon before we reached the bottom of the hill from which the river emanates. There being little time to spare before dark, I desired my followers to cut some branches, and make a temporary covering for the night, and to collect as much wood as possible for the purpose of keeping up a fire; after which necessary precautions, I

²⁹ Sale is the native name for the Rokelle; it is the only river in Africa with which I am acquainted, which bears one name from the source to the sea.

³⁰ This town bears from Timbo two journeys ,N.E. and is the place where Musah Kanta and Tuft (the messengers from Governor Maxwell to the King of Foutah) were left by Alimammie Abdulkhadur, when that chief went to make war upon Sangara. He crossed the Niger on the morning of the second day after leaving Beilia, and returned on the sixth, having destroyed many towns, and carried off much property and many slaves.

proceeded to examine the source of the Rokelle, which, with some difficulty, I traced to the foot of the hill; where, springing from under a large rock, and shaded by a thick foliage of date-trees, it bubbles up and scatters itself over a wide surface of red clay, in appearance like a stream formed by the bursting of a water-pipe in the streets. About a hundred vards or more below the source, the water collects into a channel of about a foot in breadth, and runs off rapidly to the S.S.E., which course it continues for some miles, and then making a circuitous sweep, shapes its course to the S.W., between Setacolia and Tigiatamba; by which time, having received considerable tributary assistance, it assumes a more respectable appearance, and is barely fordable. Were it not for the gratification I derived in having traced to its very source the river so important to the colony of Sierra Leone, and of which little had been previously known beyond the town of Rokon, I should have enjoyed little satisfaction by any corresponding association in the circumjacent scenery, there being nothing either picturesque or agreeable in the view: we were surrounded by a dismal, melancholy, cold-looking wood, the only cleared spot of which had been made by ourselves, excepting the occasional tracks of the bulky elephants, many of which, as well as those of the buffalo, had been crossed during our walk, and who continually apprized us of their vicinity by their noise. Fatigued by the march, with my feet and ancles sorely bruised and cut by the sharp rocks, thorns, and creeping plants, the latter of which had made gashes as severe as if they had been effected with small wire, I seated myself under the temporary covering of branches made by my people, in a more depressed state of spirits than I ever remember myself to have been in before. Having roasted a small piece of goat's flesh at the fire which we had made for the purposes of cooking, and of affording protection from cold and the wild beasts, and having made my humble supper, I placed myself in the horizontal position, and although it rained hard, was soon asleep.

About three in the morning I was awoke by the bright beams of the moon, which had crossed the meridian about an hour before, and now penetrated through the deep consolidated foliage; my party being still asleep, I rambled about the wood for half an hour, taking care not to lose sight of the fire, the drooping embers of which, I had previously excited to a blaze. I became now very sensible of the influence which the state of the spirits exercises on the impressions which are associated in our minds with places that we have visited; the spot which had appeared to me at sunset, When depressed with fatigue, gloomy and comfortless, being viewed after the refreshment of sleep and in the excitement of the morning air, gave rise to, and associated itself with, feelings of a far different character. From the source of the *Rokelle* my thoughts passed insensibly and naturally to that of the *Niger*, and in reflecting on the success which had attended my first essay in African Discovery, I ventured to anticipate a period when the course and termination of that mysterious river might be known to me as assuredly as its source was now.

I slept no more that night but returning to my bivouac, in silent and admiring contemplation of the beautiful works of an all-wise Creator, I breathed a prayer of gratitude for the great mercies I had received at his hands, in being permitted to reach in safety this sequestered spot in the wilds of Africa. I had suffered much from fever, but through His kind providence I was now restored to a state of health, superior to that in

which I had left Sierra Leone; and, in dependance on the same support hereafter, I looked forward with confidence to the event of more extended opportunities.

As soon as the morning broke, I awoke my attendants, and after partaking of a little rice-soup, made from goat's flesh, we ascended the little hill, at whose base we had spent the night; on reaching its summit, my delight was great to behold the hill of Loma bearing from me S. by E. ½ E., about twenty-five miles distant; it is the highest ground in its neighbourhood, and seemed, as it raised its crest in dark and swarthy greatness, to frown on the surrounding country. The point from which the Niger issues was now shewn to me, and appeared to be about the level on which I stood, *viz.*, sixteen hundred feet above the level of the Atlantic; the source of the Rokelle, which I had already measured, being fourteen hundred and seventy feet³¹. The view from this hill amply compensated for my lacerated feet.

I had but one ungratified wish, which was the power of visiting the source, to lay down its position accurately; one good day's march, if the country had been favourable, would have enabled me to have reached it! How truly then did I lament the obstructions which were thrown in my way: having ascertained correctly the situation of Konkodoogore, and that of the hill upon which I was at this time, the first by observation, and the second by account, and having taken the bearings of Loma from both, I cannot, however, err much in laying down its position in 9° 25' N. and 9° 45' W.

Regarding a river of such importance as the Niger, which is looked upon in the negro world as the largest river in the universe, there are naturally to be found, amongst such superstitious people, many extraordinary traditions; it is said, that .although not more than half a yard in diameter at its source, if any one was to attempt to leap over it, he would fall into the spring, and be instantly swallowed up, but that a person may step over it quietly without apprehension of danger; also, that it is forbidden to take water from the spring, and that any one who attempts it will have the calabash wrested from his hand by an invisible power, and, perhaps, lose his arm; but the enumeration of all their absurd fictions would be tedious. The river at its source bears the appellation of Tembie, which, as I learnt, signifies "water" in the Kissi language; it runs due N. for many miles to Kang Kang, the course being marked by a ridge of hills, which branch off at right angles from the chain running eastward from Sierra Leone; of this northerly branch Loma forms a part; and the continuation is, in all probability, the mountains of Kong, the position of which has been so long doubtful. On entering Kang Kang, the river takes a more easterly direction, and loses the name of Tembie, being known by the synonymous appellations of Ba Ba, and Joli Ba, "Large River," which it carries to Sego, Jinne, and Timbuctoo, after which the name of Joliba is lost amidst a multiplicity of designations, real and conjectural.

Descending from the hill, we were once more enveloped in the wood, which we did not succeed in clearing till ten A.M., having mistaken our way, and gone by a circuitous

Sept. 3d, at 10 P.M., 28.50; therm. 73. Sept. 4th, at 6 A.M., 28.50; therm. 72.

route, less troublesome than the one by which we had entered, as it was already beaten into tracks by elephants. At four P.M. we reached Sacotia, where finding myself knocked up, I was compelled to remain, and send to Falaba for a horse, as the bruises and cuts on my feet incapacitated me from further exertion in walking.

September 5th. A horse having arrived during the night, I mounted at eight in the morning, and passing round the Baba Tamba hill, reached Kolia at ten, where I stopt to breakfast at the invitation of one of the wives of Bereba Kola, my late hospitable entertainer at that place; and reached Falaba a little after dark, where I found those of my party whom I had left behind, ready to receive me.

September 6th. I was seized this day with a pretty smart paroxysm of fever; but, in that respect, I was not singular, as every one who had accompanied me was more or less ill, not excepting even my Falaba guide, who was so seriously indisposed as to be desirous of having white man's medicine; he remained in a weak state for some days, but I fortunately escaped with only one accession.

September 7th. The king sent for me this morning in great haste, saying that he had something of importance to communicate, and, when I appeared before him, asked me if I would like to hear news from Foutah Jallon; on my answering in the affirmative, he desired me to meet him in half an hour at the northern gate, but to say nothing to any one; "You see, white man," he observed, "I conceal nothing from you, I let you know every thing that goes on in my country." I was punctual at the appointed time, and did not wait long before the king made his appearance, attended by his confidential Noomo on foot, and preceded by three horsemen; he invited me to follow, and took the road towards Foutah Jallon. We proceeded about ten miles due north, when, having arrived at a hut on the border of a deep thicket, we took up our temporary abode; the Noomo hanging at the entrance the rich sabre which I had presented to the king. We had not been seated long, before two men, habited as Moslems, came into the hut, and prostrated themselves before the king, who addressed them by name, and desired them to rise. They were Soolimas, belonging to the town of Berria, the inhabitants of which had twenty years before claimed the protection of Foutah Jallon; those men were now deputed to implore forgiveness for themselves and for the rest of their townsmen, who, they said, were eager to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge their legitimate prince. To many interrogatories from Assana Yeera, they answered, that Ali Bilma, the prime-minister of Foutah, died on the night the moon was dark³², and that Abdoolkhadur, the late Alimammee, had been dethroned by Bakari, the son of Ba Demba, that chief's predecessor; that Abdoolkhadur had retired to a town on the opposite side of the river Herico, where he was collecting a force, having a strong party which might yet assist him in recovering the sovereignty. Assana listened attentively to the answers given by these men, and addressed them thus— "You have been my subjects, and I shall be happy again to acknowledge you as such, but not just now: you must not leave Abdoolkhadur in adversity. Go back to him, and assist to place him again on his throne; I shall help you with powder, lead, and flints, for I am at present strong with my white stranger. If you cannot make head against the enemies of Abdoolkhadur, bring him here, he shall be safe in Falaba: as king of the Foulahs he was

³² There was an eclipse on the 2d of August.

my enemy, but we were at school together, and now that he is in distress I must be his friend. Go to him, I say, and when any thing occurs, whether good or bad, let me know: before midnight my slaves shall bring you as much powder, lead, and flints, as I can spare, therefore wait here till they come; I go to send them quickly, quickly." So saying he walked forth from the hut, and mounted his horse. Having given the Soolimas from Foutah a small present, and exhorted them to remain firm in their intention of returning to their allegiance, I followed the king to Falaba, who frequently exclaimed on the road —"Allah Ackbar! ah Foorotoo kyahana, Assana tilli aboonyato."— God is great! Ah, amiable white man, Assana is a great man to day!"

September 9th. Although my thoughts were now directed wholly towards Sierra Leone, seeing the impossibility of attempting further enterprise from want of means and time, I was, nevertheless, highly pleased on learning that the messengers whom I had sent to the water-side had arrived, and that a person from Sierra Leone had accompanied them; this person was a black man, named "Jack le Bore," the anecdotes of whose life, if collected, would prove very interesting; he was originally a native of St. Domingo, and having entered into the French army as a trumpeter, was present at Austerlitz, and many other of the important victories of Buonaparte; the regiment to which he belonged was subsequently employed as marines, When he was taken prisoner in a French line-of-battle ship off the island of St. Domingo, by Sir Alexander Cochrane; after his exchange, he served in almost every country in Europe, and, at the peace, made his way from Denmark to England, whence he volunteered for the late Royal African Corps, in which he served as bugle-major. On Major Peddie's undertaking a mission to the interior of Africa, he volunteered to accompany him; and subsequently attended Staff-surgeon Dochard to Sego, where he remained nearly two years, and had returned to Sierra Leone a few months before I quitted it. Le Bore entered the apartment in which I was seated, and in which there was a general muster, without taking any particular notice of me; at length, having asked for the captain, and one of my party pointing to me, he looked attentively for nearly a minute, and then exclaimed, "Mon Dieu, je pensois que vous etiez Arab," so much had my late illness, and the native costume, altered my appearance. Le Bore had left Sierra Leone on the 3d of August, and would have reached me a week sooner, had he not been detained at Gololia by Amarah, the restless Mandingo chief, whom I have already noticed. I have taken much pains in ascertaining his route from Malacoure, agreeably to the following detail; the track may be perceived on the map³³:

Malacouré	Hours.
To Mola	4
Kafu	4
Tasin	4
Laiah	4 N. by E.

³³ Le Bore has accompanied Major Laing on his present enterprise.—E. S.

Crossed a branch of the Scarcies:	
Senaia	6 N.E.
Koofoona	16 E.
Gangia	6 E.
Gololia	12 E.
Kissolia	12 E. by N.
Kotto	6 E. by N.
Crossed the river Kabba:	
Yamberré	12 E. by N.
Dubia	12 E. by N.
A march through the bush	36 E. ½ N.
Crossed the river Yanga:	
Another march through the bush.	
Crossed the river Mungo:	
To Mousaiah	12 E. by N.
Crossed the river Kiffa:	
To Falaba	12 E.N.E.

158 hours 13½ days

I will not detain the reader by attempting a description of the delight with which I perused the contents of the packet, conveying tidings and good wishes from my friends at Sierra Leone. It is not in fact to be described, how much the ordinary satisfaction of such tidings is enhanced, in proportion to the distance and the difficulty of conveyance³⁴*. Besides the kind letters of my friends. I received some more substantial proofs of their consideration, in tobacco, sugar, a little brandy, (which soon disappeared among the Soolimas,) and though last, not least, two pair of good shoes, a luxury to which my feet had been for some time unaccustomed. I was also furnished, through the kindness and humane consideration of Dr. Barry, Staff-Surgeon at Sierra Leone, with a lancet and two glass plates of preserved vaccine virus, with which, on the 13th inst., I was permitted to inoculate a number of children, commencing with those of the king himself, who had so much confidence in me, that I believe he would have permitted me to have attempted the most extravagant experiment upon any of his own family. I had desired to have employed the virus on the very day on which I received it, but was prevented, owing to the difficulty experienced at first in overcoming the prejudices of the principal chiefs, and in obtaining their acquiescence; on the 13th, however, they came forward with alacrity, and had I possessed sufficient virus, I might have inoculated all the children in Falaba. The vard was absolutely crowded with old men and women, holding young children in their arms, and forming a group worthy of the pencil of a West or a Rubens. As I left Falaba

³⁴ It is most painful, in writing the above sentence, to reflect, how few of those who congratulated my arrival at Falaba, have been spared to read this acknowledgment of the gratification which their letters gave me. Long will it be ere Western Africa will see an union of so many men, deeply interested in her improvement, and with equal capabilities of advancing it, as those who fell with Sir Charles McCarthy, in the endeavour to maintain, by gallant exposure, but with inadequate means, the security of the British possessions on the Gold Coast.

on the third day after the children had been inoculated, I am uncertain whether the pustules, which were in several instances beginning to form, wore a healthy appearance or not; but it is in itself an interesting fact, that a nation so far in the interior of Africa, should have so readily submitted, at the instigation of a white man, who was almost a stranger to them, to an operation against which so much prejudice existed for so many years in the most enlightened and civilized countries in Europe! When the general prevalence of superstitious fear from greegrees and fetishes is duly considered, this fact presents a strong proof of the confidence which the natives of Western Africa repose in the measures of white people to benefit them; and affords a no less strong presumption, that their other superstitious notions might soon be found to give way in like manner to the labours of the missionary; and their present barbarous habits of obtaining slaves for trade by force of arms, to the more rational proceeding of cultivating the soil for articles of commercial exchange³⁵.

I set aside the evening of this day for the purpose of exhibiting some fireworks, sent from Sierra Leone for the gratification of the king and his people, as the town was now full and lively, owing to the arrival of the troops from the war on the preceding day; about eight P.M., a large assemblage being collected in the king's yard, I placed a one-pound rocket in an oblique direction, and fired it across the town: the effect was truly admirable; and while it drew forth the applause of some, excited a most alarming degree of apprehension amongst the multitude generally; many ran out of the yard in dismay, others unconsciously laid hold of their defensive weapons, the women screamed, the children roared, and the confusion and consternation was for some minutes almost indescribable. The Greegree Mansa, or head greegree man, over whose house the rocket had taken its course, ran breathless into the yard, and ignorant of the cause which had created the alarm, shouted to the king—" Assana, did I not say so; did I not tell you that something would happen from the white man's going to Konkodoogore; did you not see the greegree fly over the town from the Konkodoogore Rock? I told you that the greegree would be angry; you will believe your old Greegree Mansa another time."

This appeal produced much merriment at the expense of the poor Greegree Mansa, who was desired by the king to wait, and he might soon see another greegree, which he requested me to fire off. I first burned a blue-light, which excited universal admiration, and was thought more beautiful than the moon itself, to which it was compared. I then lighted a port-fire, and putting it into the hands of the Greegree Mansa, desired him to put it out; he endeavoured in vain to smother it by burying it in the ground, and by immersing it in water; but finding it still blaze, he cast it from him at last in disappointment, acknowledging that the white man had put him to shame; still, he said, he had not seen the greegree in the air, and if the white man could show him that he would be Greegree Mansa no more. I accordingly fired a rocket perpendicularly, which was followed by his astonished eye till the rocket burst; when, making a start, he ran out of the yard, followed by the laughter of the whole assemblage.

³⁵ Major Laing has taken with him, on his present journey into the interior of Africa, an abundant supply of vaccine virus, prepared in several ways, to give a greater probability of its preservation.—E. S.

14th and 15th September. These days were spent in discussion with the king regarding the number of traders who were to accompany me, and in the formation of arrangements for future intercourse; they were not quite so satisfactory as I had anticipated, for I could plainly perceive that it was not the intention of the king to permit any of the people of Sangara to go down, nor even many of his own subjects; alleging, as an excuse, that he feared to send away many of his people at a time when he apprehended an attack from the new king of the Foulahs, who had sent him a threatening message a few days before; and although I could not but admit the excuse, I could perceive by it his disinclination to open a passage for the Sangaras to the water-side, and a desire to keep the trade of their country to himself, as it indeed formed the principal part of his revenue. I could also discern by it, a better reason than any he had before advanced for the obstacles which he had thrown in the way of my visit to the Niger; he had evidently hesitated for some time in the wish to oblige me, and to that cause are to be ascribed the various subterfuges to which he applied, until at length being satisfied, that the insight which the natives of Sangara would get into the trade of the waterside by my presence amongst them, would be prejudicial to his own interests, he decided on a direct refusal.

On the 16th, I paraded the town with my party, and paid complimentary visits to all the chiefs, who had flocked in from the country to do me honour previously to my departure, and in the afternoon received their farewell visits in return, every one bringing with him a present of some kind. About seven P.M., I gave a grand entertainment and ball to the ladies, who appeared in their gayest attire, and enjoyed themselves in the merry dance with my people, and with some of the principal beaux in the place, till an early hour in the morning. This grand entertainment, for which I received the most unqualified and general approbation, cost me about seven and sixpence sterling; and with this brilliant event I shall close the chapter of my residence in Falaba.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOOLIMAS.

Before my final departure from the Soolima country, in which I had resided for a period exceeding three months, I shall make a short retrospect, to describe such particulars regarding the country and its inhabitants, as may be considered of sufficient interest; and in order not to fatigue the reader, upon whose patience I have already trespassed so much, the detail shall be as brief and concise as possible.

Soolimana, which is the proper country of the Soolimas, is about sixty miles in breadth from north to south, and extends from the present site of Falaba to the left bank of the Joliba or Niger; the country, however, which they occupy, is a strip of land in the Kooranko territory, bounded on the south by the river Rokelle, on the north by Foutah Jallon, on the west by Limba and Tamisso, and on the east by Kooranko and Soolimana, which latter, since the wars with Foutah Jallon, is merely used as farming ground, and resided upon only temporarily. The face of the Soolima country is picturesque in the extreme, being diversified with hills, extensive vales, and fertile meadows, belted with strips of wood, and decorated with clumps of trees of the densest foliage. The geological features, like those of all countries in Western Africa, are of no particular interest; the hills are of primitive formation, composed of a light whitish granite, being principally mica and feldspar, with occasional strata of red and blue mica slate imbedded on the granite. The valleys consist of a rich vegetable and mineral soil mixed with sand, formed by the constant decay of the former, and the debris of the latter annually washed down by the sweeping torrents incidental to the climate. This soil is remarkable for its fertility, and requires little labour preparatory to the reception of the seed: it is not so in the Timannee and Kooranko countries, where trees must be felled and shrubs burnt, a labour of some weeks before seed-time; but in Soolimana the weeds are merely rooted out by the hoe, and being collected in divers heaps, are permitted to decay; and although the ground receives no manure, the crops are richer and more luxuriant than those in the other countries, where the soil is enriched by the potash of the burnt shrubs. When the ground is cleaned, the seed is scattered over its surface much in the same manner that corn is sown in England; it is then gone over with the hoe, which implement of agriculture first turns up and then smooths the ground, supplying the place of both plough and harrow: the hoe resembles in shape a carpenter's adze. After sowing, which is generally before the 15th of June, the Soolima leaves the farm to to the care of his wives until October, who in the early stage of growth bestow some attention in keeping the crop clear from weeds. Early in October, the harvest takes place, when they mutually assist each other in getting it in. The rice -is cut with a small knife, shaped like a reaper's hook, and being tied into small sheafs or bundles, is suspended for some days with the head downwards, from the stumps of trees or from stakes driven for the purpose: the seed, when perfectly dry, is beaten from the straw by a stick with a knob and crook at one end; it is then scalded in hot water, spread out to dry for a few days, and at length deposited in the granary, where in this state it will keep perfectly sound for a season. If they desire that the rice should be white when beaten in the trough in which it is always prepared for use, they dry it in the

sun without the operation of scalding; but so prepared, it does not keep so long, nor does it beat so well from the chaff, as much is lost in powder. The small rice, or funde, goes through the same process, and is used principally as a sort of sauce or soup to eat with the other. The yams are planted as potatoes are in England, and the ground-nuts as field-peas. The country does not produce many fruits; the principal and most plentiful are bananas, pines, and oranges; the first only in any degree of perfection. I have already noticed the numerous herds of cattle which are to be seen adorning the face of the country: in addition to these the Soolimas rear sheep, goats, and poultry; the latter of a very diminutive sort: they have a few very fine horses, which have been brought from Sangara and other inland countries, but they are not indigenous to Soolimana, and every attempt made by the present king to breed them has failed. The wild animals, though numerous, are confined to few genera: these are the elephant, buffalo, a species of antelope, monkeys, leopards, and wolves, all of which I have seen, except the latter.

The principal towns belonging to the Soolimas are all situated in Kooranko; these are Falaba the capital, Sangouia, Semba, Mousaiah, and Konkodoogore, containing in all about 25,000 souls. Falaba appears to have been built in the year 1768, by Tahabaeere, the father of the present king, as a strong place of protection for his people against the Foulahs. It derives its name from the Fala Ba, or river Fala, on which it is situated, and is a town of considerable extent, being nearly a mile and a half long, by a mile in breadth, and closely built, when compared with the generality of native towns in this part of Africa. It contains upwards of 6000 inhabitants when all are assembled, but this seldom happens except on festivals, as a great part are generally absent on warlike excursions, or at the neighbouring farms. Falaba appears to have been well chosen as a place of defence, being situated on a gently rising eminence, in the centre of a large plain: the ground in the immediate vicinity is a complete swamp during the wet season; it is surrounded by a strong thick stockading of hard wood, which is of sufficient strength to oner effectual resistance to any warlike engine less powerful than artillery; it has seven well protected entrances or gates, and the whole is encompassed with a ditch twenty feet deep by as many broad, which renders it quite impregnable, according to the system of warfare in use among the Africans. When Falaba was attacked in 1805 by Ba Demba, king of the Foulahs, the Soolimas, like the Scotch at Bannockburn, covered the ditch with branches of trees and long grass, upon which the Foulahs rushed in their eagerness to attack, and before they could recover themselves, many were precipitated into the ditch, where they were slain. From the strong tendency to vegetation, the stockading, although of the hardest wood, has taken root in many places, and grown up into large trees, among the branches of which the Soolimas, during the siege, occasionally stationed themselves, and under cover of the thick foliage, picked off the assailants. The town is of an oblong shape, containing about 4,000 circular houses or huts, which, though built of clay, and covered with pyramidical roofs of thatch, are extremely neat, clean, and, in many instances, elegant. The palaver or court house stands on an open piece of ground towards the southern extremity of the town, and is a place of recreation as well as of business. In the centre of the town, a large piece of ground is left vacant for the purposes of exercise, of receiving strangers, and of holding great palavers; here, on such occasions, old Assana Yeera sits on the root of an old tree for his throne, its branches serving as his canopy, as simple in his appearance and pretensions as the humblest of his subjects. Some of the

elders and the king himself being Mahomedans, whilst the younger part of the community are Pagans, a check is afforded to excess on either side; consequently there are neither mosques nor fetische houses in the town, excepting at the southern gate, where Yarradee has been permitted to erect a small clay hut, dedicated to his protecting greegree.

The Soolimas are much accustomed to war, and are well calculated by their form to endure fatigue and privation, being short and muscular in stature; they average in height from about five feet six to five feet eight inches; in battle they use the spear, musket, sling, and bow; the first more for ornament than use, as they rarely come to close quarters; the second more for noise than mortal effect; but in the use and management of the two latter they are most expert. Although they appear to have been a warlike people from their earliest annals, at least from the earliest recorded in their songs, and although warlike exercises and representations form a great portion of all their public rites and amusements, they appear to have made very little progress in reducing their mode of fighting to a system. Their attack and defence are alike desultory and irregular; and a chief is applauded, not in proportion to his talents or skill, but to the fearlessness with which he faces danger. Where their predatory habits do not interfere, their disposition appears mild and inoffensive; and they exercise the greatest possible hospitality to strangers who visit them as traders.

The king, like the pacha of Egypt, monopolises the whole trade of his country, as no barter is allowed to take place without his knowledge and actual presence. Strangers, on arriving within his dominions, send every article of which they wish to dispose to the king's trading house who makes it known publicly that such and such goods are for sale, when those who may wish to purchase make their own bargains with the sellers, and are responsible to the king for the payment. When the strangers express an inclination to go away, the king collects the debts, and retaining his per centage or custom, gives the residue, and a present proportionate to the extent and value of the merchandise, to the stranger, with permission to depart. The trade is chiefly with the Sangaras on the one side, and with the Mandingoes on the other. The Mandingoes supply cloth, powder, flints, beads, and other merchandise brought from the water-side, for which the principal return is slaves captured in war; a part of the goods obtained from the Mandingoes is again bartered with the Sangaras for horses and gold.

The Soolimas have no other article of export than slaves and a little ivory, which a few of the more enterprising procure by hunting the elephant. In many parts of Africa that stupendous animal is taken in pits, and despatched without much peril to the hunter; but in Soolima he is attacked in the fair field, and killed by a spear with an iron head, shaped like an equilateral triangle, and fired from a long Dane gun. Should the hunter be inexpert, and miss his aim, or only wound the elephant, his situation becomes one of great danger, and escape by flight is the only chance, which is successful if he can reach a wood, otherwise it is very doubtful.

In domestic occupations the men and women appear in many respects to have changed sexes; with the exception of sowing and reaping, the cares of husbandry are entirely left

to the females, while the men look after the dairy and milk the cows; the women build houses, plaster walls, act' as barbers and surgeons, while the men employ themselves as in Egypt in sewing, and not unfrequently in washing clothes. The dress of both sexes is similar in make to that of the Mandingoes already described; but they will wear no cloth which has not been dyed black with ditch water and iron ore, or yellow with the bark of the neta tree. Before their rupture with the Foulahs, they dressed as Mahomedans; but since that occurrence, it has been the fashion to appear as different to their enemies as possible, in dress as well as in religion; the women wear the gold ear-ring in the left ear only, in which they will sometimes carry two and even three, in order to shew that it is not poverty but purpose, and as a distinction from the women of Foutah Jallon. In other respects, the females dress as in Kooranko, the cloth or pang being a little larger. When young, they are in many instances exceedingly beautiful; but the hard labour which they commence as soon as they enter the married state, and which may be regarded as a kind of bondage, soon destroys the charms with which nature may have gifted them, and they become at an early age even disgustingly ugly. Like all other African females, they are loose in morals, as I could perceive from the numerous palavers which were brought before the king; but I must in justice give them credit generally for a modest demeanour, for during the whole of my residence, and whilst receiving the greatest kindness and attention at their hands, I never perceived any of the wanton looks or indecent conduct which characterizes and disgusted me with the females of the other countries through which I had passed. I treated them always with respect, and they appeared so much pleased with it, that it was obvious they only required to be placed in their proper rank in society, to conduct themselves in such a manner as would adorn and improve it. The warlike and predatory life of the men, which however consonant it may be to the natural state of man, has certainly, in their case, been fostered and confirmed into habit under the excitement of the trade in slaves, has had its usual tendency in destroying all the better feelings towards women. I could not but observe, that love never forms the subject, or even enters into the composition of any of their songs.

Having been struck by the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of ancient Rome, I was induced to note them down from time to time in my memorandum book; and I give them in the succession in which they occur, premising that I infer nothing more than that the resemblance is accidental.

The elders are always consulted by the king on matters of moment, and are addressed by him as "Fathers."

The palaver-house, like the Roman forum, is in the open air, and all persons are entitled to the privilege of hearing the debates.

A Soolima general is called Kelle Mansa, or war-master; and, in returning from war with his army, is not permitted to enter the gates of the town, till he has sent to ask, and has received permission; on his entry he loses the title and office of Kelle Mansa, and is addressed by his own proper name.

In the palavers of the Soolimas, an orator may harangue an assembly from sunrise to sunset, without the smallest opposition from those who differ from him in opinion; and his antagonist will, from memory, reply to every part of his speech the next day, as regularly as if he had kept notes. When opposite sentiments are delivered, the Soolimas signify their concurrence by gestures, and frequently by exclamations; as of assent, "True, good, he speaks the truth or of dissent, or disapprobation, by the very expressive word "Fane, fane;"—" a lie, a lie." But, if any man takes up the time of the meeting idly, or in discussing matters foreign to the purpose, the king interferes; on which occasion his usual exclamation is "Atto, atto;"—"have done, have done."

The Soolima orators have a set form, both in commencing and in concluding their speeches.

Every palaver is written out and registered by the Foulahs, and committed to memory and sang by the Jelle men in Soolima.

All men are addressed in public as boys till the beard has assumed the hoary whiteness of age.

Surnames, from particular circumstances or occasions, are common.

Two daughters have the same name, with the addition of an equivalent to major and minor.

Men become slaves by being taken in war, by sale, by way of punishment, or by being born so.

Fathers are maintained by their sons.

A Soolima contracting a debt which he is unable to pay, and being cited before the king, becomes the slave of his creditor.

A Soolima cannot marry his slave without the consent of the king; and, on the night of marriage, she becomes free.

Ground where a body is buried becomes greegree, or sacred.

The reader acquainted with the early history of Rome will have no difficulty in recollecting the parallel customs.

Murder is the only crime punishable with death, and their mode of trial appears extremely fair, assimilating nearly to our trial by jury. I was once present at the trial of a man who stood charged with the murder of his wife; the evidence was carefully and impartially sifted by the elders who acted as jurors, and after a long investigation, in which the crime of murder from violence was clearly proved, though the violence was inflicted with no malice propense, or intent to kill, all which was duly considered, the elders pronounced

him guilty, and the king sentenced him to strangulation with the bow-string on the following day. In the morning the elders begged the king on their knees to forgive the criminal, as there were many mitigatory features in his case: the king, however, appeared inexorable, and so deaf to entreaty, that Falaba was quite cast down, when the culprit was led forth to the place of execution: the fatal string had encircled his neck, and the ends were held by four strong men, who only awaited the nod of the king, when to the surprise and joy of every one, he was observed to relent, the cord was slackened, and the prisoner set at liberty. For all other crimes—fines, stripes, or slavery, are the penalties incurred, and I could perceive in the sentences a strong desire to decide with justice.

The infidelity of the women is a never-failing source of litigation here, as in all other countries, where, from want of being treated with due respect, they have no character to uphold: they have one privilege, however, which, as far as I could learn, is peculiar to Soolima; they may leave their husbands for the sake of their gallants, provided they can repay the amount originally given for them to their parents. If infidelity is proved, and they are unable to satisfy the injured party in this respect, their heads are shaved, and they are held up to ridicule and scorn; whilst the paramour becomes the slave of the husband. The marriage ceremonies resemble those of the Timannees already described; and their courtship is merely the ascertaining and payment of the sum demanded by the parents, accompanied by the king's consent, who receives his tithe.

The dead are followed to the grave, and committed to the ground in perfect silence. A day is fixed within a month after interment, to make custom for the deceased; when a party, proportionate in extent and in the mode of entertainment to the consequence of the family, assemble in the yard of one of the relatives, and spend the day in merriment of the most extravagant nature; the men by dancing, shouting, and firing guns; the Jelle men by playing and singing; and the women by dancing in groups: it is a very remarkable circumstance, that on these occasions, and on these only, the women are permitted to exhibit indecent gestures.

The manner of salutation is extremely becoming, and cannot fail of instantly attracting the attention of a stranger: after placing the palms of the right hands together, they are carried to the forehead, and from thence to the left breast, signifying that while the head is right, the heart will be sincere. In approaching a man of rank or an elder, they take off their shoes previous to salutation; and respect to the king is shown by a bend of the left shoulder.

They are passionately fond of music, and fonder still of flattery, which is lavishly bestowed upon them by the Jelle-men, when they have liberality and means enough to pay for it. The Jelle-men appear to answer the description of the Gallas of Abyssinia, who amuse the rich people in the morning and evening, and exaggerate their merits. The principal instruments used are the kora, in sound and shape resembling a guitar; the ballafoo, which I have already described; different-sized drums; and a flute with three notes, which is only used as an accompaniment to other instruments, and is sometimes introduced with tolerable effect.



The diseases to which the Soolimas are most liable are intermittent fevers, generated by the swamp around the town; and consumption, arising, I presume, from neglect of the precautions requisite to subdue a periodical cough, or influenza, with which the whole town is afflicted annually. It generally makes its appearance about the middle of August, and continues till the termination of the rains. All my party were attacked by it, and there were few besides myself in the whole town, who had the good fortune to escape. Small pox is a prevalent disease, though not very fatal in its consequences: when I arrived in Falaba many cases were to be met with; one of my party, a soldier of the 2d West India regiment, caught it, but suffered little more than inconvenience, having been able to walk about during the height of the distemper. I met with one case of St. Vitus's dance, and patients without number afflicted with elephantiasis and hernia, also with leprosy, and with a kind of cancerous disease which gnaws off the fingers and toes. Incubus, or nightmare, arising from gluttony, is very prevalent, and will serve to complete the catalogue of diseases which came under my notice. I think it is Park, who describes the Mandingoes as being excellent surgeons, but bad physicians; here the case is reversed: the Soolimas possess many herbs of strong medicinal qualities, with the nature and uses of which they appear intimately acquainted; but their attempts at surgery, beyond the operations of bleeding and cupping, are wretched, and cruel in the extreme.



The country of Sangara, which is situated on the opposite side of the river Niger, is one of considerable extent, and is rich in cattle, horses, pasturages, corn and rice-fields. The inhabitants, who are subdivided into numberless petty tribes, are as warlike a race as the Soolimas, and far surpass them in enterprise; so that the Soolimas must have become their tributaries, had the Sangaras been a united nation. They are so fond of war, that the Soolima king can be reinforced at any time, with a month's notice, by an army of 10,000 men from Sangara: they are taller and better-looking men than the Soolimas, whom they resemble in their costume, the chiefs only declining to disfigure themselves with the ditch-dyed cloth. They are famous for their manufacture of cloth, which is exchanged at Boure, near Sego, for gold; a large quantity of which precious metal is brought by them to the Foulah and Soolima countries, and exchanged for articles procured at Sierra Leone, which, by the time they get into the hands of the Sangaras, have risen nearly 200 per cent, in value. The bow and spear are their principal warlike instruments, few muskets having been permitted to cross the Niger. It was my desire to have shown the Sangaras the way to Sierra Leone through Soolimana, but in this I did not succeed; I was, however, more fortunate in my return homewards, having met with traders in Kooranko, whom I induced to accompany me, and who have since been instrumental in showing the way to numbers of their countrymen.

Assana Yeera, the present king of the Soolimas, is a man apparently about sixty years of age; but, according to his own account, nearer seventy, having been born in the year in which Farabana was attacked. He is about five feet eleven inches in height, of a strong make, with a countenance of agreeable expression, though far from being handsome: he

is accounted both in his own dominions, and in general report, a man of strict probity; and from the pains he bestows in inquiring into and settling the grievances of his subjects, is universally beloved; his habits are extremely regular, and as each day is spent by him much in the same manner as the preceding, the routine of one may serve as a general description. He rises at day-break, and gives his first attention to domestic concerns; he then sees the food prepared and sent off to his guests and slaves, and gives audience to all people who are about to quit the town upon a journey, and grants or refuses permission, according to circumstances. At nine he makes his appearance in the palaver-house, where he administers justice till three in the afternoon, during which time he is accessible to every one; at' three he returns home to dinner, which is a simple meal of rice, and a little soup to dip it in, and render it palatable; in common with the whole of his subjects, he is a stranger to the luxury of a spoon, nor would he use one, although I presented him with several. After his dinner, it is his usual custom to walk, attended by a single confidential slave, to a particular pond, where he keeps a tame alligator, and where he performs his ablutions; he then strolls about his farms till sunset, when he returns to his house, and is secluded for the rest of the evening, part of which, I have reason to suppose, he passes in religious duties.

Assana was educated at Labi, in Foutah Jallon, under the great priest Salem Gherladoo, who is well reputed in the three Foutahs for having brought up some of the best bookmen in the country, amongst whom Alimmamee Abdulkhadur, of Foutah Jallon, and Assana, of Soolimana, are distinguished. When hostilities broke out between the Foulah and Soolima nations, he was about the age of thirty, and although closely watched, contrived to make his escape to Soolimana, after the battle of Herico; since that period he has never quitted his own country, except on warlike excursions among the circumjacent tribes; in overcoming whom he has proved himself a skilful as well as a brave general, having been always successful, and oftentimes severely wounded.

Assana was very ambitious to be considered to possess good information, and was highly delighted, when I manifested surprise at the intimate acquaintance he displayed in regard to our establishment at Sierra Leone. He understood a good many English words, but pronounced them with a very singular tone and accent, as he had never before heard an Englishman speak. His teacher was a Mandingo, who had been a short time at Sierra Leone, and at the desire of the king, who had a singular presentiment that he should one day see a white man, imparted to him the extent of his own acquirement; this was written by the king in the Arabic character, and referred to as occasion required. He called a snake, *soonake*; a horse, *hause*; a stocking, *setokin*; an elephant, *alfa*; so that it was not easy to understand him. He reckoned correctly as far as ten, beyond which, he always proceeded *ten one*, for eleven; *two ten one*, for twenty-one; *ten tens*, for a hundred.

The following circumstance may serve to exemplify the king's liberality, and freedom from the usual bigotry of Mahometans. It was my custom, whilst I resided among the natives, to be particular in the observance of the Sabbath-day, and I found that I gained general respect in consequence, not only from the Kafirs, but from the Mahomedans themselves. I had requested and received a promise from the king, that some of the best dancers in Soolimana should be sent to my yard before I left the country, that I might see

their proficiency; unfortunately, the day which the king had arranged, without consulting me, for the fulfilment of his promise, was on a Sunday, and the dancers were accordingly ushered into the yard, with all the din and grotesque attitude which accompanies exhibitions of that kind in Africa. I thought it had been done purposely, and retiring into my house, I sent to acquaint the king that this was my Sunday, and that much as I desired to see the dancing on any other day, I did not then wish to be disturbed. The dancers were immediately called away, and after they had left the yard, which they did with the greatest quietness, I was waited upon at the request of the king by some of the oldest men in Falaba, to express his regret at the want of consideration, which had caused him to forget that it was the day on which his white stranger prayed to his God.

Strong as were the king's prepossessions in favour of war, as being the constant practice of his forefathers, whose steps he considered himself bound to follow, he would, nevertheless, lend an attentive ear, when I endeavoured to point out the advantages he might derive from legitimate and honest trade. There were times, when after revolving in his mind what I had advanced, he would appear almost inclined to give way to my opinion; but the recollection of his forefathers would recur, and prove too powerful for his half-formed resolutions. His inclinations, however, to think seriously of peace, agriculture, and commerce, were so strong, that one morning on my entering the -palaverhouse, he exclaimed aloud, before all his elders and other people assembled, "Ah, white man, I thought of you all last night; your palaver is a good one. If I go to fight, I waste powder, I waste life, and sometimes I get nothing; if I get any thing, I do ill to other people, and the book says that is not right. If I make trade, I do myself good; I do other people good; I hurt nobody. I must try what you tell me for one year, and if I get money, I shall not fight for slaves again." When I learned that he was about to carry war into the Limba country, (as noticed in the sixth chapter,) I inveighed strongly against the measure, and inquired what the Limbas had done to induce such a step; for some time Assana was silent, and held down his head; at length, with a mixture of shame and embarrassment, he replied—" They have done me no harm; I tell you true, they have done me no harm, and I have no right to fight them; but white man, I am not a fool; it is not the song of a Jelleman who has made me do this. I have too strong reasons; I have too many people who have nothing to do, and if I cannot find employment for them till harvest-time, many will leave me, and others will plague me with their palavers. You know, white man, you have told me an idle man will work mischief, and what am I to do?" I pointed out various ways of employing his people to his own profit and with advantage to themselves; in which, although he acquiesced for the moment, he again broke off, and observed, "I have in my town a number of Tilligiggomen (people from the west) who have brought me money, and wish for slaves in exchange; I have none at present to give them, unless I take them from Limba; let me only get these men away, and I shall endeavour to find some other mode of keeping my people employed." On another occasion, I detailed to him the horrors of a slave-ship, the misery entailed upon the unfortunate people, whom he and other African chiefs sold into captivity; the sufferings undergone during a trans-atlantic voyage; the confinement, starvation, filth, flogging, bad air, and all the miseries to which they are exposed; and I operated so powerfully upon his feelings as to bring forth tears, and induce him to protest that he never would fight for slaves again. "Ah," he exclaimed, "you English are good people; you do not wish to see black men in trouble; you walk

long journeys into the country for nothing else; you do not come for money, we have got nothing good to give you; you come because you wish to help us; you keep ships to take the slaves from the bad white men, and you do not sell them; you put them down at Sierra Leone, give them plenty to eat, plenty to drink, plenty of cloth, and you teach them to know God. Governor McCarthy must be a good man; I must be good friends with him." He would frequently, however, dwell on the strong temptation to continue the trade in slaves, whilst white men could be found to purchase them; because he said, money was got for them so easily and certainly, whilst new modes were doubtful until tried, and might take much trouble to establish.

The strong natural understanding and reflective habits of the king enabled him generally to comprehend, and often to an extent which surprised me, the advantages of a state of society and policy of government, with which his only acquaintance could be from the representations which I was able to make. It was curious to observe, that the point on which he appeared to feel most difficulty, in the practical application to his own country, was as to the policy of permitting individuals among his subjects to become as rich as their exertions and industry could make them, if the monopoly of trade were not retained in his own hands. He had been always accustomed to view equality in wealth as leading to rivalry in power; and his perception was not so clear of the means by which, if he parted with the monopoly, his own wealth and consequence would increase proportionately to his subjects' wealth, as to give him confidence in its being his own interest to introduce the change. There were times, however, when even upon this subject he appeared to see his way much more distinctly than at others.

Should the life of Assana Yeera be spared for a few years longer, his life may yet be sufficient to accomplish a great and important change in the habits and happiness of his people. The country is capable of growing, in its greatest perfection, rice, coffee, cotton, (these are already in cultivation) and ultimately every article of tropical produce: the labourers are on the spot to the fullest extent which the soil may require; the knowledge of European goods, and the desire to possess them, already exist, and may be safely confided in as a sufficient excitement to labour; the market is open, and a safe communication with it established; that communication is, moreover, by the course of a river, navigable at certain seasons of the year, for a great portion of the distance. The military power of the Soolimas is abundantly sufficient for the protection and security of their farms, and for the maintenance of their free communication with Sierra Leone; they have been hitherto, in fact, the disturbers of the countries around them, and the new direction which may be given to their enterprise for providing the means of purchasing European goods, will leave their less powerful neighbours in a tranquillity to which they have been long unaccustomed, and under favour of which they may be expected to follow the steps of improvement, of which the advantages would be made obvious to them by example. Encouraged by the friendship, and aided by the advice of a British governor, such as was the late lamented Sir Charles McCarthy, the few remaining years of Assana Yeera might be sufficient, to give a permanent impulse to the civilization and true prosperity of his country. In this, as in how many similar respects, is the death of Sir Charles McCarthy deeply to be deplored; the great personal reputation which he had

obtained amongst the natives of Western Africa, gave a peculiar weight to his suggestions; and their improvement was the cause which he had most at heart.

I will venture to conclude this chapter with a few remarks on a subject intimately connected with the advancing civilization of the Soolimas, and which is of too much importance to be passed unnoticed, however much I may wish it was in more appropriate hands. The present state of religion amongst them appears singularly favourable for the introduction of Christianity. The king being a Mahometan, whilst his subjects are principally Pagans, a system of toleration is established, which is rarely found where all are united in opinion, especially when that opinion is Mahometanism. I have already noticed the freedom of the king from the usual bigotry of the followers of the prophet, and of the people from the more gross superstitions in which the other pagan countries, through which I passed, are sunk. I had reason to know, indeed, that amongst those of the Soolimaswho are still in profession Kafirs, there are numbers who hold the belief in greegrees, and such other superstitious notions, in the same contempt that the Mahometans do. These would, probably, have adopted the religion of the king, had it not been also that of their inveterate enemies, the Foulahs, from whom it is their first ambition to be as different as possible. The respect in which the character of a white man is held amongst the Soolimas is general, and borders almost on veneration; I may hope that my residence amongst them did not, in any respect, diminish it: but it is at present higher than it is likely to be after they have had much intercourse with Sierra Leone; and the Missionary at the present moment would find it ensure him a patient and attentive consideration, with a disposition to profit by his discourse.

The strangers from the interior who visit Sierra Leone, carry away with them a strong impression certainly of our ingenuity and riches, but by no means a favourable one of our manners, customs, or religion. The Mahometans, who are generally of a serious and reflective character, view with pity, and frequently with disgust, the levity of the whites, whom they consider as a people highly favoured by God, but very regardless of his bounty³⁶. The Kafir, whose view is less influenced perhaps by prejudice, but who never knew what it was to have a serious thought, is lost in wonder at a people so dissimilar in complexion, in dress, and in every other external respect; accustomed only to the indolence and monotony of a native village, he is utterly unable to comprehend the activity and routine of business of a commercial town; the contrast is altogether too great to give rise to a supposition of the possibility of imitation; and he returns to his village and to his idle life, in the persuasion, if he thinks at all, that the difference is because the one is a white man's town, and the other a black man's town; and that these can never be alike. Were he to visit the towns of liberated Africans (which, as they are situated in the mountains, is a circumstance of very rare occurrence,) he might, indeed, see his fellow blacks clothed like Europeans, attending at the church, or at school; but these are all the symptoms of their civilization that he would see, because these are all they have been

36

³⁶I remember on one occasion to have listened to the conversation of several Mandingoes, who were seated under the windows of the colonial mess-room, in which a large party were at their wine after a public dinner. They were surmising what the white men could mean by the huzzaing which took place at certain toasts. They did not, indeed, arrive at any satisfactory conclusion; but all concurred in one remark, which was thus expressed—" Allah Ackbar! Kabri allah anda Foorotoo Kafir m' agi!"—" Great God! since my birth I never saw such Kafirs as the white men."

taught; and, as he would know the church and school-house to be the work of white men, so would he deem the attendance at them to be in obedience to white men's orders; and such is, in fact, the very general belief.

The example of one free interior nation, which should voluntarily adopt white man's laws, white man's habits of industry, and white man's religion, (and such might be the Soolima nation by proper missionary exertion,) would prove far more beneficial to the general cause of African civilization and conversion, than all which we either have, or are likely to accomplish at Sierra Leone.

It would be essential, however, that the Missionary to the Soolimas should be a person of good common sense, and of respectable knowledge in the affairs of the present life; and that his conduct should be strictly agreeable to his religious profession; because he would not find himself, as at Sierra Leone, placed in authority by the British government, nor obtain, as the organ of its bounty, the respect which would not be given to him independently of his station.

I am aware of the exertions of the Missionary Society to obtain suitable persons for their missions, and of the difficulties which they experience in so doing; I am also aware that, without their missionaries, the towns of liberated negroes established by the government, would have had no teachers whatsoever; I rejoice in the good which they have accomplished, although I am far from thinking that so much has been done, as might and ought, under the very efficient support and large expenditure of the government, and particularly under the continual and anxious personal attentions of the late governor. But I cannot but be sensible also, and so must every one who has been at Sierra Leone, of the evil occasioned by the necessary inefficiency of a private society to fulfil the office of a national church, in the supply of proper persons for the religious instruction and superintendence of the government-towns. It has happened to myself to have seen one missionary lying drunk in the streets; to have known a second living with a negress, one of his parishioners; and a third tried for the murder of a little boy whom he had flogged to death: in spite of precaution, such accidents as the mission of improper persons will occasionally happen; but that system does not work well, in which the removal of such individuals requires a representation from the governor of a colony to the secretary of a private society, who becomes the judge whether the governor's objection shall be acquiesced in or not, This inconvenience is the more sensibly felt, when the objection is on the ground of incompetency, rather than on that of immorality. The disposition and qualifications which fit an individual for preaching the gospel to the heathen, are not precisely the same as those which are most suitable in the superintendence of settled and already educated Christian communities. The formation of social habits, and the preservation of social order; the encouragement and direction of industry³⁷; the establishment and duties of magistracy, require a different class of persons from the missionaries, who, upon principle, concern themselves only with the considerations

³⁷I do not here allude to the growth of the few articles which an African needs for his immediate support, and which require no exertion of his industry to procure; but to the cultivation of exportable produce, on the lands which government has annexed to the respective towns, which will enable the individuals, by the possession of property, to rise in the scale of civilized life.

which directly regard another world. For the objects mentioned above, and which are essential to the permanent good order and well being of a community, there is as yet no adequate provision.

The distinction between the offices of the missionary, and of the superintendents whom these towns would appear now to require, may be illustrated by that which exists between the person who first reclaims land from its state of nature, clears and reduces it in order for cultivation, and the more regular farmer by whom he is succeeded: the labour of the first is excessive, and his privation great; his crops are abundant, because, and only because, the soil is new; but it is the enclosure and fencing of his successor in protecting, and the more systematic cultivation, in preserving from deterioration, which enables the land to yield its annual produce, in each successive year, with undiminished fertility.

It is greatly to be wished that government could receive the co-operation of the national church in carrying into effect objects, so worthy of a Christian nation, so interesting to humanity, and for which their annual expenditure is so liberal; but which does not, at present, produce the good, either in extent, or in the promise of permanency, which might be expected from it, under a more regular mode of administration.

If the towns of liberated Africans, which have been altogether founded and supported by government, which have churches, parsonages, and school-houses built at its expense, and of which the number of inhabitants already exceeds 12,000, were supplied officially with clergy by the national church, the Missionary Society, relieved of an office which, with all its exertion, it can fulfil but very inadequately and imperfectly³⁸, would be at liberty to direct its attention to its more peculiar undertaking, that of carrying the knowledge of Christianity to the heathen nations in the vicinity. Considering the special purpose for which the colony of Sierra Leone was originally formed, the length of time that has elapsed since its formation, and the influence it has acquired amongst the nations of Western Africa, it is a remarkable fact, that not a single missionary is to be found beyond the precincts of the colony; and that even within the peninsula itself, on which Freetown is built, are several native villages, in a peculiarly deplorable state of barbarism, which have never had the advantage of even beholding a missionary³⁹*.

³⁸It cannot be doubted that there are many clergymen who would have no objection to go abroad under the regular administration of the church, or as government chaplains, but to whom it is an objection to go as missionaries under a private society, however respectable. The missionary is also for life, because a private society cannot afford retirements after a certain number of years' service, on the principle of other civil offices which are under the government: in such a country as Africa, this forms almost an insuperable difficulty to persons of competent qualification.

³⁹In proof that the disposition of the natives to civilization and improvement is beyond the means which are furnished for their instruction, I may mention the following circumstance:—When I commanded the fort at Annamaboe, in 1823, and had obtained considerable influence amongst the Fantees, I succeeded in persuading the chiefs of that nation to send their children to Annamaboe to be educated; and about the end of the year 1823, I enjoyed the happiness of seeing several of them, at my instigation, place their children in the hands of the late Sir Charles McCarthy, who promised that they should be taken care of. The deeply-regretted event which so soon followed, prevented any arrangement being made for their benefit; and I regret to add, that by a letter recently received from the Gold Coast, I have been informed, that the children, who have been since maintained at my expence, and still continue to be so, are under no competent superintendence, and that their education is entirely neglected, because there is no individual on whom it can devolve.

CHAPTER VIII

WARS OF THE SOOLIMAS.

A Narrative of the wars of uncivilized nations possesses usually but little interest to the general reader; but when those of Western Africa are duly considered, as having been in many instances primarily excited, and in all principally maintained, by causes originating in the avarice of Europeans, it may not be uninteresting or uninstructive to show by a brief narration, the frequency of the wars in which a great interior nation has for many years been engaged, actuated alone by the motive of acquiring riches by the sale of their less powerful neighbours; when, had no such nefarious traffic been permitted to exist on the part of Europeans, there is no reason why they should not long since have devoted their attention to agriculture, and to such commerce as would have been beneficial to themselves and to all around them; and have thus attained and enjoyed a state of comparative comfort and sociality, and have made considerable advances in the civilization, which, under British auspices, at length dawns on this long troubled country.

Under this impression solely, I have ventured to give a history of the wars of the Soolimas, collected as copiously as possible from the songs of the Jelle-men, (their only mode of tradition,) arranged into order by the help of the elders of the country, and chronologised by the assistance of a Maraboo of Foutah Jallon, who, knowing the leading events in the history of both countries, enabled me, by comparing the one with the other, to give more correct dates than I otherwise could have been able to have done.

The first king of the Soolimas with whose name I found them at all familiar, was Geema Fondo, in whose reign, about the year 1690, they waged perpetual wars against the Kissi and Limba people, and made large captures of prisoners; all of whom were sold to the Mandingoes and Soosoos, who brought goods to exchange from the water-side.

Geema Fondo was succeeded about the year 1700, by his son Mansong Dansa. About this time a large party of Foulahs under the command of a chief named Mahamadoo Saidi, emigrated from the north with a view of propagating the Mahomedan religion, and received permission from the Soolimas to establish themselves in that part of Jallonkadoo⁴⁰, which is now known by the name of Foutah Jallon. At the death of Mahomadoo Saidi, who was of short life, the Foulahs appointed Musah Ba his successor, and dignified him with the office and appellation of Alimammee, or king. Musah Ba, shortly after his installation, ordered a great feast, and inviting to it all the head-men of Jallonkadoo, explained to them the nature of the Mahometan faith, and told them that the Foulahs had come to settle in their country with a desire only to do them good, and to show them the true road to happiness. He then ordered a large loaf of Country bread and a bleeding sheep to be placed before him, and invited all those who wished to be instructed by the priests of Foutah Jallon, to place their hands on the bread, and touch the sheep, which all the head-men did, actuated by a love for the mild and engaging manners

⁴⁰Jallon, signifies strong liquor; Jallonka, is a man who drinks strong liquor; Jallonkadoo, signifies the country of the people who drink strong liquor.

of the Foulahs, as well as impressed by the plausibility of their arguments in favour of their religion.

Mansong Dansa was succeeded, about the year 1730, by his son Yeena Yella, who reigned about twenty years, in terms of friendship with the Foulahs, then governed by Alifa Ba; sometimes joining them in their wars, sometimes carrying war against the Limbas on his own account.

He was succeeded, about the year 1750, by his son Yella Dansa, who joined the Foulahs in active warfare against the rich country of Sangara. During the first year of the war they destroyed the towns of Bantoo, Setacota, Maradoogo, Sandangkota, and Manyerai, and returned with a rich booty of cattle and prisoners. The year following, the Foulahs, headed by Alimammee Souri, (Alifa Ba being dead,) and the Soolimas by Tahabaeere, (then kelle-mansa, or war-master, and father to the present king,) marched to Saindoogo, a town about five days north of Labi, situated near the country of Goobo, which they razed to the ground, and then returned to their respective homes. The year following, they attacked Beereko, a country situated to the eastward of Sangara, and after spending four months in laying it waste, and in the capture of prisoners, they retraced their steps with a rich booty. In the year 1754⁴¹, they carried their arms against Farrabana, a large and populous town, about two days south of the Boundoo territories, and after besieging it for three months, returned without making any impression upon it. At this time Yella Dansa died, and was succeeded by his son, Tahabaeere.

Farrabana was again attacked in 1755, but with as little success as before. In 1756 the slaves of Foutah Jallon revolted, and declaring themselves free, left the country in great force, and proceeding towards Foutah Boundoo, built and established themselves in a strong town called Koondeeah, which was repeatedly attacked by the Soolimas and Foulahs without success, and was at length permitted to remain unmolested, the slaves being left to the enjoyment of their freedom. About this time, a powerful chief of Kooranko, named Sowa, father of Balansama the present king of Northern Kooranko, observing the rising influence and power of the Foulahs, and being alarmed for the safety of his country, rose up, and declared he would pray no longer; an example which was followed by many others, all of whom, however, soon suffered for their temerity; for the Foulahs marched a large army into Kooranko, attacked and destroyed their towns, and put all the chiefs to death.

About the year 1760, the Soolimas carried war into Kissi, the country in which the Joliba takes its rise, but were obliged to. retire from it in disorder, being beaten, and having suffered great loss; but invading it in the year following, with a larger force, they laid waste a great part of the country, and took many prisoners, all of whom were sold to the people from the water-side. In 1762 the country of Wassula, the head-man of which was named Konta Brimah, was attacked by the joint forces of the Foulahs and Soolimas with the greatest success, Konta Brimah being always beaten wherever he hazarded an engagement; but the rains setting in earlier than usual, compelled them to return before they could finally destroy the country; and as they retired in disorder, they were followed

⁴¹In this year, Assana Yeera, the present king, states himself to have been born.

by Konta Brimah, (who appears to have been an active and persevering general,) and harassed on their march as far as Balia, where they rallied, and gave him battle, in which they received a signal defeat, and were put to an ignominious flight. Konta Brimah still pursuing them, they rallied again at a brook called Daimooko, where, having collected more men, they waited for Konta Brimah, who, coming up, defeated them a second time in a hard-contested action.

About this period, the Foulahs had begun to assert an authority over the Soolimas which was felt to be very irksome, and made them think seriously of breaking an alliance which they began to feel too much resembled an allegiance; they therefore became backward in affording assistance to the Foulahs during their reverses with Konta Brimah, in consequence of which, the Foulahs cut off the heads of all the old Soolima chiefs who were in their country; and it was with some difficulty that Assana Yeera, the present king, who was at that time educating in Foutah Jallon, escaped to his country. After the massacre of the Soolima elders, which took place a few days subsequent to the defeat at Daimooko, the Soolimas declared war against the Foulahs; and joining Konta Brimah, marched with him to Timbo, the capital of Foutah Jallon, and completely destroyed it.

In 1764, they murdered all the Foulahs whom they found in Soolimana, and carrying war into Foutah Jallon, burned Sacca; still marching to the eastward, they were met and beaten by the Foulahs, near a town called Saholia. In the year following, Tahabaeere again attacked the Foulahs, and having overcome them in a severely-fought action, burned and destroyed several towns, took 1300 prisoners, and returned to Soolimana with triumph and a rich booty. The next year he took and burned Moundai, Footaba, Tomania, Harnaia, and Bokaria, and laid waste a vast extent of country; driving the Foulahs before him, wherever they made their appearance. In 1767, the Soolimas advanced beyond Timbo, and attacked the town of Fegumba, the place where the Alimammees of Foutah are crowned, but were expelled from it with great loss, the Foulahs gaining a complete victory over them. Returning from this war, they made an incursion into Limba, whence, after burning the town of Bambouk, they brought away 3500 prisoners, who were sent to the Rio Pongas and sold. In the year 1768, the town of Falaba, the present capital, was built.

Until the year 1776, the Soolimas and Foulahs were engaged in constant warfare, with various success: the most extraordinary circumstance which took place during these conflicts, was the invasion of Foutah Jallon by the Soolimas, and of Soolimana by the Foulahs at the same time, neither party being aware of the intentions of the other. Falaba fell into the hands of the Foulahs, who took possession, but were driven from it, after a hard contest, by the Soolima army on its return, after having destroyed a great number of Foulah towns. At length the Soolimas, tired of a mode of warfare which yielded no profit, made an arrangement with Konta Brimah to bring a grand armament against the Foulahs, and, if possible, to annihilate them at one blow: accordingly, about the year 1778, they marched with a very large force towards the territories of Foutah Jallon. The Foulahs collected all their tributaries and allies, and patiently waited the approach of their enemies, on a large plain on the banks of the Herico river, several miles to the eastward of Timbo. The hostile armies waited at their encampments for some months, before an

advance was attempted by either side; the Foulahs being advantageously posted, and determined to risk nothing by a change of position. At length the combined Soolima and Wassula forces approached Herico, and a most sanguinary battle was the consequence: it was long and gallantly contended on both sides; but Tahabaeere, king of the Soolimas, and Konta Brimah, chief of the Wassulas, being killed nearly at the same moment, their troops were thrown into confusion, put to the rout, and scattered in all directions, pursued by the victorious Foulahs. Since that period, the Soolimas have acknowledged their inferiority, and have not attempted to contend in open field against the Foulahs.

As soon as the death of Tahabaeere was known at Falaba, Dinka, his younger brother, offered himself, and was proclaimed king, and Oosoman, his cousin, was elected kellemansa, or war-master. They carried war into the country of Kooranko, and attacked Kellima, Brimah's town, which they burned, putting to death the chief, and taking many of its inhabitants prisoners; they then proceeded to Soobayah, which having also destroyed, they returned home with their prisoners and booty. Next year the Soolimas made war upon Limba, and laying siege to Dangkang, burned it after a sharp resistance, killed its headman, and made many prisoners. About the year 1795, Falaba was attacked by Alifa Salu, then king of the Foulahs, who was beaten off in three days. In the year 1800 Dinka died, and the present king, Assana Yeera, son to Tahabaeere, ascended the throne. He commenced his reign by carrying war into the Limba country, attacking Kori, and afterwards Mori, both of which he destroyed, and made their inhabitants prisoners, bringing them to Falaba, and selling them to the Mandingoes. In the year 1805 his attention was directed to the safety of his own country, which was invaded by a large Foulah army, which laid siege to Falaba. This army was commanded by Ba Demba, who had just succeeded to the sovereignty of Foutah Jallon, and thus early betook himself to war, in consequence of the following circumstance:—

Some strangers from an interior town called Kambarana had paid a visit of friendship to the king at Falaba, and, on their return homewards, were stopped, upon some frivolous pretext, by Kootoforo, headman of Dentilia, a Soolima town, which had thrown itself a short time before under the protection of Foutah Jallon. This contempt of his authority much enraged Assana Yeera, who attacked the town, without, however, materially injuring it. The people of Dentilia, considering themselves entitled to the protection of the Foulahs, complained to Ba Demba of this outrage, who, in consequence, laid siege to Falaba with an army of ten thousand men, composed of Foulahs, Balians, Tamissians, and Soolimas, the latter of whom came to be revenged on their king. They fought for nineteen days, during which period the losses on both sides were considerable. The Foulahs and allies lost nearly 2000 men, and the Soolimas, although so well protected by their stockading, lost upwards of two hundred; the king received a ball through his right cheek, which, in its progress through his mouth, carried away his front teeth; he also received a ball in the calf of his leg, which has never been extracted. Yarradee, the kellemansa, performed feats of valour, made several successful sorties from the town, and was wounded in nine places. After the departure of the Foulah army, which took place on the 20th day, Assana collected a large force, and destroyed all the Soolima towns which had placed themselves under Foulah protection; some of their inhabitants fled to Foutah, where they were permitted to establish themselves by Ba Demba; others

returned to their allegiance, and, coming to Falaba, settled there. Those who fled to Foutah were closely pursued by the king, who, coming up with them on the frontiers of that country, where they were joined by large parties of Foulahs, gave them battle, and completely defeating them, put many to death who fell into his hands.

The Foulahs and Soolimas now seemed to be tired of fighting each other; for since that period no hostile attempts have been made by either side, with the exception of an unsuccessful attempt upon Sangooia, in the year 1820.

The remainder of the wars of this nation, up to the period at which I met them encamped in Mandingo, in 1822, consist of incursions among their neighbours the Koorankos and Limbas, for the purpose of procuring slaves, in all of which I could understand they had been successful, excepting once, when attacking Boto, a town in the Limba country; at that time, by some accident, the Soolimas took alarm, and fled in despite of the efforts of Yarradee to rally them, who, in his attempt to do so, staid too long upon hostile ground, and was made prisoner, on which occasion he was pinioned and threatened with death; but by the mildness and good-nature of some of the chiefs into whose power he had fallen, his life was spared, and he returned to his country as soon as a proper ransom had been paid. During the latter end of the year 1821, Alimammee Amara, chief of the Mandingoes on the water-side, having sent to Assana for assistance, to terminate the war which he had carried on for upwards of six years against Sanassee, Yarradee was despatched to that country with 10,000 men, Soolimas, Koorankos, and Sangaras; furnished with positive orders not to permit the town of Sanassee to be destroyed, nor allow of hostilities of any kind, but to act the part of a mediator, by reconciling the contending parties, and inducing them to depart quietly to their respective residences. The perusal of the introductory chapter will have shewn, that this injunction was neglected by Yarradee, who was led astray by the flattering songs of the Jelle-men, by strong potations of rum, and above all, by the protestations of Amara, who he found out, when it was too late, had deceived him. When Yarradee returned to Falaba with the spoils of Malageea, and apprized the king of the burning of that town, Assana was much grieved; such indeed was his indignation and displeasure at this act of disobedience on the part of Yarradee, that he would have put him to death, but for the intercession of the elders and principal Jellemen of the town. He, however, would not receive the presents sent him by Alimammee Amara, nor would be permit Yarradee to appear in his presence until my arrival in Falaba.

CHAPTER IX

DEPARTURE FROM PALABA, AND RETURN TO SIERRA LEONE.

Agreeable to the arrangements which I had made with the king, the 17th of September was appointed as the day on which I should quit Falaba on my return to Sierra Leone. On the 16th, the king sent for me to the room in which he kept his riches; and, after expressing his thanks for the good I had done him, and the number of presents I had given him, he said "It is now my turn, white man, to give you something;" and producing various ornaments of gold, of which the sterling value was about seventy pounds; twelve large elephant tusks, and some very beautiful Sangara cloths, said, "Take these; it is a small present compared to that which I should wish to give you, but I give it with a free heart; now come to the door; there is your horse; you must ride home to Sierra Leone upon him; and here is his saddle; it is the best that my best guarangee can make." I expressed my thanks in suitable terms to the king for his liberality, and accepted all his presents except the horse, which I returned, as I should have have had more trouble than benefit from him on the way, owing to the badness of the road. I kept the saddle, however, as a specimen of Soolima proficiency in working and staining leather "*."

I departed from Falaba at noon on the 17th, having sent on my party at an early hour in the morning. The king accompanied me several miles from the town, and I was followed for a considerable distance by a large concourse of people, the females making most extravagant demonstrations of grief; about a mile beyond the summit of the eminence which looks down upon Falaba, I parted from all except the king, who accompanied me into the valley on the opposite side, on the road to Konkodoogore. At length the old man stopped, and said, he was now to see me for the last time; the tears were in his eyes, and the power of utterance seemed to have forsaken him for awhile; holding my hand still fast, he said, "White man, think of Falaba, for Falaba will always think of you; the men laughed when you came among us, the women and children feared and hid themselves; they all sit now with their heads in their hands, and with tears in their eyes, because you leave us. I shall remember all you have said to me; you have told me what is good, and I know that it will make my country great; I shall make no more slaves:" then squeezing me affectionately by the hand, and turning away his head, he gently loosened his grasp, and saying, "Go, and return to see us," he covered his face with his hands. I felt as if I had parted from a father: such remembrances impress themselves too deeply in the heart to be effaced by time or distance, and establish a permanent interest in the welfare of a country, which may have a material influence on the after-life of the individual who entertains them.

Having proceeded about a mile, I was overtaken by Bakari, the king's younger brother, who was sent to assure me, that the road I had opened should be free to all who should desire to pass through Soolimana on the way to Sierra Leone. I was fully assured of the sincerity of the king's intention in making this promise; and thanking Bakari for his courtesy, journeyed onwards; but, as I was well aware that it was made at the expense of

⁴²It is now in the possession of James Bandinel, Esq., with many other implements of African ingenuity and workmanship.

what was generally deemed the policy of the country, I determined to let slip no opportunity which might present itself, of opening a second and more certain route from the Sangara country to Sierra Leone.

The day was exceedingly sultry till three P.M., when the sky became suddenly overcast; which was followed by a torrent of rain. I had been exceedingly warm from the exertion of walking during the heat of the day, and fearing bad consequences from the sudden check, I quickened my pace, and wading through a complete pond of water, which the whole country had become, I reached Konkodoogore at five.

As many of the Soolima traders were to follow me on the day after I had quitted Falaba, I rested during the 18th, and again received the kind attentions of the venerable Sutigge, or town-master. On the 19th, we set out for Semba, which town the greater part of the caravan reached by six in the evening, after a very fatiguing march, rendered so by the quantity and duration of the rain, by the long grass which for many miles impeded our progress, and by the general badness of the path, being oftentimes under the necessity of wading knee-deep in swamp: rivulets, which contained hardly as much water as would turn a mill when I had passed before, were now swollen to such a magnitude, and swept along with such rapidity, that they were forded with the greatest difficulty, by the help of twisted vinous plants attached to trees on both banks. Some of the party did not reach Semba till eight P.M., and others did not make their appearance till the next morning; amongst the latter was the bearer of my scanty wardrobe, whose delay occasioned me not a little personal inconvenience as well as risk, as I was compelled to spend the night in my wet clothes; a slight headache the next day was, however, my only suffering.

Sept. 22d. A palaver on the subject of trade detained me till this day, when I advanced as far as Laiah, a town midway between Semba and Komia; on the following, we reached Komia; and on the 24th, proceeded to Kamato, which we entered a little after noon, having crossed with difficulty the Nyankata over the Rokelle: the river had now swollen to a great size, and rolled along with impetuous velocity; the bridge dipped into the stream with only a single passenger upon it. I had the good fortune to find some Sangara men with gold at Kamato, and learning from them that there was a road from thence to their country, I resolved upon waiting for a few days, in the hope of being able to take them with me to Sierra Leone, an event which I was most desirous of accomplishing. My first thoughts were to have proceeded myself from this point into the country of Sangara, and to have sent my whole party, (with the exception of three men as my attendants,) under charge of Musah Kanta, to Sierra Leone; but when I had made up my mind to the undertaking, Musah refused to leave me; whether from attachment or fear I am not exactly certain; his warmth evinced the former feeling, but his countenance indicated the latter, and his determined obstinacy in adhering to his resolution prevented my journey to Sangara, as well as another chance of reaching the very spot from which the Niger emanates. My next determination and proceeding was to send a messenger to Ballansama, the king of Northern Kooranko, and to await his arrival, for the purpose of holding a grand palaver on the subject.

Oct. 2d. Ballansama entered the town about eight A.M. on this day, with a display of awkward pageantry and African pomp exceeding any thing of the kind that I had yet seen; he was accompanied by about three hundred armed men, and nearly as many women, most of whom were wives of his own. The cavalcade was preceded by a most motly crew of grotesque musicians, some of whom by puffing with their utmost strength succeeded in eliciting, at intervals, single notes from large elephants' tusks, bored for the purpose; others exhibited upon drums of every dimension, fiddles, and ballafoos; but the most conspicuous were three men, beating with their open palms upon kettle-drums, and habited in new English uniforms, one of the 4th West India Regiment, and two of the Royal African Corps; they appeared perfectly new, and I suppose were worn that day for the first time; they had no doubt been disposed of by some pensioners of those regiments, and had found their way into the country with other merchandise. When the procession had subsided, and the whole were tranquilly seated in an open piece of ground set apart for the purpose, I presented myself according to the custom of the country before Ballansama, who received me with much graciousness and cordiality, putting into my hands a large gold ear his followers, and the principal people of the town; a quarter was sent to me, with various other presents, together with a request from the king that I would look upon his wives as my own, and make the choice that pleased me best; a request which I declined, and by so doing gave great offence, until Balansama learned that I had invariably done the same in Falaba and elsewhere on the route. Dancing commenced in the evening, and was kept up without the smallest intermission for two nights and two days; the musicians, as with the Timannees, standing in the centre, and the men and women indiscriminately mixed dancing in circles around them: among the number was a black boy, of about fourteen years of age, who attracted much attention by his exceeding agility, and received presents for his performance; he climbed amongst the branches of a tree with the ear-ring to present to Governor M'Carthy, as a token expressive of his desire to be on terms of friendly intercourse with him and his people.

On the following day, Ballansama sent to his capital, to inform his subjects that he had allowed the road from his country to be open, and that any Kooranko or Sangara man, who possessed gold, ivory, or trade of any kind, might go down with the white man; he also made it known that he felt so desirous of encouraging commerce, that he would not only send his brother, but also his son, and Dinka, one of the chiefs of Kamato, with them. In the evening he presented me with a tame buffalo, which attached itself to Jack Le Bore, and followed him like a dog to Sierra Leone.

Oct. 1th. We left Kamato this morning at six, and slept at Kania; the next day we passed on to Worrowyah, where I en made a distance, in the whole seven hours, of more than eleven miles; the path was unequal and exceedingly bad; indeed so slippery in many of the descents, as to render it unsafe and impracticable to walk, without laying hold of twigs and branches of trees. From Wyiah our direction was due west for four miles, in the course of which short distance the river Wyiah was crossed three times; we then came upon the south bank of the Rokelle, along which we travelled seven miles, crossing many streams and brooklets which contributed their assistance in swelling the channel of this beautiful river: its course here is S.W. rapid, and in many places turbulent, by reason of numerous rocks in its channel, precipitated from the lofty eminences by which it is

enclosed on both sides. The rivulets which discharge themselves into the Rokelle of the scene. About a mile and a half before we reached Bomboina, we quitted the course of the Rokelle, which takes a sweep to the westward, through a fine fertile valley which now broke upon our view, bounded in the distance by the lofty hills of Limba on the right, and of Kooranko on the left. Bomboina, though situated in Kooranko, is entirely inhabited by Limbas, who have crossed the Rokelle and settled.

12th. We left Bomboina at nine, and reached a town called Yeba at noon, where I was compelled to allow my people rest for the remainder of the day, as many of them were suffering much from sickness.

13th. We set off before day-light, intending, if possible, to sleep at Seemera, which, however, I found my party incapable of effecting, as the roads were heavy, and the rivers much swollen by the rain which had fallen during the whole of the night; we therefore took up our quarters at Nyiniah, where we arrived in the afternoon much fatigued. Between Wyiah and Nyiniah, the inhabitants are a mixture of Koorankos and Limbas, using the language of the former, and adopting generally the habits of the latter. They are usually badly and scantily clothed, and are very dirty in their, persons. At Yeba, where we stopped a night, the people appeared to be hardly a remove from the brute creation, and even called forth the pity of the companions of my journey. The chief, at the complimentary palaver which he held, expressed his pride and happiness at having seen three things at once which he had never beheld before; a tame buffalo, a tame monkey, and a white man.

14th. We departed at daybreak from Nyiniah, and proceeded to Seemera, which town we entered at eleven A.M., greeted by the greater part of the inhabitants, with the king at their head. We received a hearty welcome from this worthy old man, who, on hearing of our approach, quitted his own house, and had it duly prepared for my reception. He would not permit our departure on the following day, and I was not much inclined to press it, as my party required rest, and the weather was unfavourable.

15th. In the evening of this day an occurrence took place which might have been attended with unpleasant consequences, but for my timely interference and that of the old king: I was resting in my hammock, when Musah Kanta rushed into the yard with a countenance indicative of alarm, exclaiming "Master! Master! they fight." I ran hastily into the street, where I found one of my party named Andrews, and the boy Mohamed, defending themselves against a number of Limbas who were pressing them hard with knives. I instantly sprung between them, and acquainting them by signs, that I was quite unarmed, succeeded for a moment in arresting their attention, when the king very opportunely made his appearance, and restoring order, instantly called a palaver, which was held on the spot. It appeared in the course of evidence, that the aggression was on the part of the Limbas, one of whom had tormented the buffalo with a sharp-pointed stick, and upon being remonstrated with by Mohamed struck him a blow, which the boy instantly resented, and was forthwith assailed by several others, when Andrews came to his assistance, and would have soon been joined by the remainder of my party, when the scuffle might probably have terminated fatally to the Limbas. The provocation being

brought home to them, they were deprived of their weapons by order of the king, and would have received immediate castigation, had I not begged them off.

16th. At daybreak in the morning I shook old Simera by the hand, and with my followers took the road to Kooloofa, which we expected to have reached before noon; but which we did not accomplish till three P.M., our guide having lost his way, and taken us by a circuitous route. In the early part of the day a quantity of rain fell, and as the roads were superlatively bad, we suffered much from fatigue, sinking in many places to the middle in mud and water.

17th. Being indisposed to return by way of Ma Boom, because I had experienced much inconvenience there, I availed myself of a more direct road to Ma Yasso, which leaves Ma Boom on the right. We had no difficulty in procuring a guide from the chief of Kooloofa, (in whose disposition to favour a free intercourse I found no alteration,) and at daylight in the morning we took the road which, like all others in the Timanee country, proved so complete a labyrinth, that although we travelled with little intermission the whole day, and only made our entrance into Ma Yasso at sunset, we accomplished little more than sixteen or seventeen miles in a direct line. In the course of the march we passed through five tolerably well-peopled towns, and saw a number of small villages at a little distance from the road on both sides. At one of these, Jack le Bore had stopped to refresh himself with a kola and a callabash of water, and having remained until the party had got a little way ahead, he found his departure opposed by several stout natives, who showed a strong disposition to take possession of the buffalo. Jack adopted perhaps the wisest course by firing his musket in the air, which, exciting our attention, some of the party went back, and without any opposition or difficulty rescued him and his favourite animal from their awkward situation.

The chief of Ma Yasso being absent, I could not, with propriety, quit the town without seeing him, and therefore remained until the ensuing day, when he made his appearance, and welcomed my return. He was much surprised at seeing me, as he had given me up for lost long since; he had learned from one that I had been killed in Kooranko, and my people all sold for slaves; from another that I had died in Soolimana; and from a third that I had gone to the Gold Mountains, where the greegree had destroyed me; he was uncertain which of the reports were true, but had certainly never expected to have seen me again. For all the reports which had reached this man, absurd as they appeared, the reader will trace a foundation, and they may serve to illustrate the prevalence of native exaggeration. On introducing my Soolima and Sangara friends to the chief in the course of the day, and telling him that I had realized my promise in bringing trade through his country, I was not a little chagrined in finding him less friendly before, or than I had now anticipated: he said the people had brought him nothing from their country; he expected gold, ivory and cows from them; had he not expected all these things, he would not have allowed me to have passed in the first instance, particularly as I was one of those white men who had spoiled his country by preventing the sale of slaves. (We were now arrived in the Timannee country.) In those days he was rich, a proper king; but now he was poor, and the white men had made him so. As I found he had been making too free with the palm-wine, I made no reply at the time, but going to him in the afternoon with a small

present, his good-humour returned, and he caused it to be proclaimed through the town that he was happy to see the strangers, and that they had full permission from him to walk the road as often as they pleased.

September 19th. We left Ma Yasso this morning at day-break. On arriving at Ma Yerma, the small town at which I had been plundered of a gun some months before, I was surprised to find it entirely deserted by the inhabitants, who evidently had fled from fear, on learning that I was approaching with a large retinue. I regretted this circumstance very much, as I apprehended bad consequences from the impression which their apparent expulsion might have on the minds of the natives generally, as every trifling occurrence is liable to such exaggeration; I left, therefore, a present of two fathoms of cloth, and one bar of tobacco, in the greegree house, as a manifestation of my friendly disposition. Between Ma Yerma and Ma Bung we had to cross a large field about five miles in length; in many parts of which the grass was upwards of seven feet high, and in some places the water had lodged to a considerable depth, occasionally reaching far above the middle in wading through: at first I permitted my Soolima guarrangee to carry me on his shoulders over the lodgments of water, but coming to one deeper, and more extensive than the rest, I declined his further assistance, and proceeded like the rest of the party. We had gained the centre of this swamp, which was surrounded with very long grass, and were groping our way with difficulty, when one of my party called out that he heard a gun snap, and in less than a quarter of a minute afterwards a volley of musketry was fired from the long grass into the midst of my people, who were fortunately much scattered, and consequently sustained less injury than might have been expected, as three only were wounded, and one severely. I had much difficulty in restraining my own party and the Soolimas from returning the fire; having sent a few men to search the grass, they returned without having been able to see any one, and we proceeded to Ma Bung, where we arrived about five in the evening.

On the following day, the 20th, I called a palaver for the purpose of introducing the strangers, and of demanding redress for the attack which had been made upon me on the road, and sent off a messenger to Sierra Leone to acquaint my friends of the near approach of the mission. It was not till the 25th that the affair was settled to my satisfaction; the people (inhabitants of Ma Yerma) who had committed the outrage, were summoned before the chief of Ma Bung, and not only heavily fined for their misdemeanour, but deprived of the few guns which they possessed; the king saying, that he considered the shots fired at himself, and not at me, as I was his stranger.

About 8 A.M., on the 25th of October, we reached the little river, where we had drank so heartily, and suffered from the consequences when we had passed it in May last; it was now swollen to a stream of a very different character, and was the cause of considerable detention, as our only means of crossing it was by an old worm-eaten canoe, in which seven or eight men only could pass at a time. By sunset the whole caravan had reached the western bank, when I desired Musah to make the best of his way to Rokon, where I would shortly meet him, intending to sail down the Rokelle in the old canoe, which, with the permission of the chief of Ma Bung, I took for the purpose. I was accompanied by the boy Mohamed, Andrews, and a Mandingo, who was reported to be a good canoe-man; in

about four hours we got into the rapid stream of the Rokelle, and at two in the morning reached Ma Lollo, where we essayed in vain to sleep, in consequence of musquitoes. I have experienced their torment at Honduras and on the Musquito shore, but never knew it half so serious as on this occasion: the natives sleep on a sort of cane-floor, laid on the walls of their huts under the roof, and are protected from the musquitoes by the smoke which ascends from a fire kept constantly burning. We recommenced our voyage at an early hour, and after following the curious windings of the river, which may be seen by the map, we reached Ma Koota, at 2 P.M. On the following day, where we were obliged to disembark, as the navigation of the river to Rokon was interrupted.

We left Ma Koota at 6 A.M., and after a very fatiguing march of twenty-five miles over a vile Timanee path, reached Rokon at 4 P.M., where I rejoined my party, which had arrived a few hours before. At six, I embarked in a canoe, with an intention of pushing direct for Sierra Leone, but perceiving a boat at anchor off the small town of Maherre, I went on shore, and in a few minutes had the gratification of shaking hands with Senor Altavilla, Portuguese Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, and Capt. Stepney of the 2d West India Regiment, who, on hearing of my approach, had gone so far on the way to meet me; about midnight we were joined by Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, when we all embarked in his barge, and proceeding down the river, arrived at Tombo to breakfast, where I deprived myself of the decoration of my face, now of seven months growth; and, by the help of some borrowed garments, affected an alteration in my appearance, which was very requisite. Leaving Tombo, after breakfast, we proceeded down the Rokelle, on a fine calm morning, and at 2 P.M. I had the satisfaction of being welcomed by my friends at Sierra Leone; so many of whom, so much esteemed, and so highly valued, are now, alas, no more!