following, (August 9th,) a Moor and his wife, riding upon two bullocks, and bound for Sego with salt, passed the village, and agreed to take me along with them; but I found them of little service; for they were wholly unacquainted with the road, and being accustomed to a sandy soil, were very bad travellers. Instead of wading before the bullocks, to feel if the ground was solid, the woman boldly entered the first swamp, riding upon the top of the load; but when she had proceeded about two hundred yards, the bullock sunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herself among the reeds. The frightened husband stood for some time seemingly petrified with horror, and suffered his wife to be almost drowned before he went to her assistance.

About sunset we reached Sibity; but the Dooty received me very coolly: and when I solicited for a guide to Sansanding, he told me his people were otherwise employed. I was shewn into a damp old hut, where I passed a very uncomfortable night; for when the walls of the huts are softened by the rain, they frequently become too weak to support the weight of the roof. I heard three huts fall during the night, and was apprehensive that the hut I lodged in would be the fourth. In the morning, as I went to pull some grass for my horse, I counted fourteen huts which had fallen in this manner, since the commencement of the rainy season.

It continued to rain with great violence all the 10th; and as the Dooty refused to give me any provisions, I purchased some corn, which I divided with my horse.

Aug. 11th. The Dooty compelled me to depart from the town, and I set out for Sansanding, without any great hopes of

faring better there than I had done at Sibity ; for I learned, from people who came to visit me, that a report prevailed, and was universally believed, that I had come to Bambarra as a spy ; and as Mansong had not admitted me into his presence, the Dooties of the different towns were at liberty to treat me in what manner they pleased. From repeatedly hearing the same story, I had no doubt of the truth of it ; but as there was no alternative, I determined to proceed, and a little before sunset I arrived at Sansanding. My reception was what I expected. Counti Mamadi, who had been so kind to me formerly, scarcely gave me welcome. Every one wished to shun me ; and my landlord sent a person to inform me, that a very unfavourable report was received from Sego concerning me, and that he wished me to depart early in the morning. About ten o'clock at night Counti Mamadi himself came privately to me, and informed me, that Mansong had dispatched a canoe to Jenné to bring me back ; and he was afraid I should find great difficulty in going to the west country. He advised me, therefore, to depart from Sansanding before daybreak ; and cautioned me against stopping at Diggani, or any town near Sego.

Aug. 12th. I departed from Sansanding, and reached Kabba in the afternoon. As I approached the town, I was surprised to see several people assembled at the gate ; one of whom, as I advanced, came running towards me, and taking my horse by the bridle, led me round the walls of the town ; and then pointing to the west, told me to go along, or it would fare worse with me. It was in vain that I represented the danger of being benighted in the woods, exposed to the inclemency of the

weather, and the fury of wild beasts. "Go along," was all the answer; and a number of people coming up, and urging me in the same manner, with great earnestness, I suspected that some of the king's messengers, who were sent in search of me, were in the town; and that these Negroes, from mere kindness, conducted me past it, with a view to facilitate my escape. I accordingly took the road for Sego, with the uncomfortable prospect of passing the night on the branches of a tree. After travelling about three miles, I came to a small village near the road. The Dooty was splitting sticks by the gate; but I found I could have no admittance; and when I attempted to enter, he jumped up, and with the stick he held in his hand threatened to strike me off the horse, if I presumed to advance another step.

At a little distance from this village (and farther from the road), is another small one. I conjectured, that being rather out of the common route, the inhabitants might have fewer objections to give me house room for the night; and having crossed some corn fields, I sat down under a tree by the well. Two or three women came to draw water; and one of them perceiving I was a stranger, inquired whither I was going. I told her I was going for Sego, but being benighted on the road, I wished to stay at the village until morning; and begged she would acquaint the Dooty with my situation. In a little time the Dooty sent for me, and permitted me to sleep in a large baloon, in one corner of which was constructed a kiln for drying the fruit of the Shea trees: it contained about half a cart-load of fruit, under which was kept up a clear wood fire. I was

informed, that in three days the fruit would be ready for pounding and boiling; and that the butter thus manufactured, is preferable to that which is prepared from fruit dried in the sun; especially in the rainy season; when the process by insolation is always tedious, and oftentimes ineffectual.

Aug. 13. About ten o'clock I reached a small village within half a mile of Sego, where I endeavoured, but in vain, to procure some provisions. Every one seemed anxious to avoid me; and I could plainly perceive, by the looks and behaviour of the inhabitants, that some very unfavourable accounts had been circulated concerning me. I was again informed, that Mansong had sent people to apprehend me; and the Dooty's son told me I had no time to lose, if I wished to get safe out of Bambarra. I now fully saw the danger of my situation, and determined to avoid Sego altogether. I accordingly mounted my horse, and taking the road for Diggani, travelled as fast as I could, until I was out of sight of the villagers, when I struck to the westward, through high grass and swampy ground. About noon, I stopped under a tree, to consider what course to take; for I had now no doubt that the Moors and Slatees had misinformed the king respecting the object of my mission, and that people were absolutely in search of me, to convey me a prisoner to Sego. Sometimes I had thoughts of swimming my horse across the Niger, and going to the southward, for Cape Coast; but reflecting that I had ten days to travel before I should reach Kong, and afterward an extensive country to traverse, inhabited by various nations, with whose language and manners I was totally unacquainted, I relinquished this scheme, and judged, that I

should better answer the purpose of my mission, by proceeding to the westward along the Niger, endeavouring to ascertain how far the river was navigable in that direction. Having resolved upon this course, I proceeded accordingly ; and a little before sunset arrived at a Foulah village called Sooboo, where, for two hundred Kowries, I procured lodging for the night.

Aug. 14th. I continued my course along the bank of the river, through a populous and well cultivated country. I passed a walled town called Kamalia,* without stopping ; and at noon rode through a large town called Samee, where there happened to be a market, and a number of people assembled in an open place in the middle of the town, selling cattle, cloth, corn, &c. I rode through the midst of them without being much observed ; every one taking me for a Moor. In the afternoon I arrived at a small village called Binni, where I agreed with the Dooty's soon, for one hundred Kowries, to allow me to stay for the night ; but when the Dooty returned, he insisted that I should instantly leave the place ; and if his wife and son had not interceded for me, I must have complied.

Aug. 15th. About nine o'clock I passed a large town called Sai, which very much excited my curiosity. It is completely surrounded by two very deep trenches, at about two hundred yards distant from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of square towers ; and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification. Inquiring into the origin of this extraordinary entrenchment, I learned from two of the towns-

* There is another town of this name, hereafter to be mentioned.

people the following particulars; which, if true, furnish a mournful picture of the enormities of African wars. About fifteen years ago, when the present King of Bambarra's father desolated Maniana, the Dooty of Sai had two sons slain in battle, fighting in the king's cause. He had a third son living; and when the king demanded a further reinforcement of men, and this youth among the rest, the Dooty refused to send him. This conduct so enraged the king, that when he returned from Maniana, about the beginning of the rainy season, and found the Dooty protected by the inhabitants, he sat down before Sai, with his army, and surrounded the town with the trenches I had now seen. After a siege of two months, the townspeople became involved in all the horrors of famine; and whilst the king's army were feasting in their trenches, they saw with pleasure, the miserable inhabitants of Sai devour the leaves and bark of the Bentang tree that stood in the middle of the town. Finding, however, that the besieged would sooner perish than surrender, the king had recourse to treachery. He promised, that if they would open the gates, no person should be put to death, nor suffer any injury, but the Dooty alone. The poor old man determined to sacrifice himself, for the sake of his fellow-citizens, and immediately walked over to the king's army, where he was put to death. His son, in attempting to escape, was caught and massacred in the trenches; and the rest of the townspeople were carried away captives, and sold as slaves to the different Negro traders.

About noon I came to the village of Kaimoo, situated upon the bank of the river; and as the corn I had purchased at Sibili,

was exhausted, I endeavoured to purchase a fresh supply; but was informed that corn was become very scarce all over the country; and though I offered fifty Kowries for a small quantity, no person would sell me any. As I was about to depart, however, one of the villagers (who probably mistook me for some Moorish shereef) brought me some as a present; only desiring me in return, to bestow my blessing upon him; which I did in plain English, and he received it with a thousand acknowledgments. Of this present I made my dinner; and it was the third successive day that I had subsisted entirely upon raw corn.

In the evening I arrived at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate; but as lions were very numerous in this neighbourhood, and I had frequently, in the course of the day, observed the impression of their feet on the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me, that no person must attempt to enter the gate without the Dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the Dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so very near me, that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. About midnight

the Dooty with some of his people, opened the gate, and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, that I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village, without cursing the inhabitants.

Aug. 16th. About ten o'clock I passed a considerable town, with a mosque, called Jabbee. Here the country begins to rise into hills, and I could see the summits of high mountains to the westward. I had very disagreeable travelling all this day, on account of the swampiness of the roads; for the river was now risen to such a height, as to overflow great part of the flat land on both sides; and from the muddiness of the water, it was difficult to discern its depth. In crossing one of these swamps, a little to the westward of a town called Gangu, my horse being up to the belly in water, slipt suddenly into a deep pit, and was almost drowned before he could disengage his feet from the stiff clay at the bottom. Indeed, both the horse and his rider were so completely covered with mud, that in passing the village of Callimana, the people compared us to two dirty elephants. About noon I stopped at a small village near Yamina, where I purchased some corn, and dried my papers and clothes.

The town of Yamina, at a distance, has a very fine appearance. It covers nearly the same extent of ground as Sansanding; but having been plundered by Daisy, King of Kaarta, about four years ago, it has not yet resumed its former prosperity; nearly one half of the town being nothing but a heap of ruins: however, it is still a considerable place, and is so much frequented by the Moors, that I did not think it safe to lodge

in it; but in order to satisfy myself respecting its population and extent, I resolved to ride through it; in doing which I observed a great many Moors sitting upon the Bentangs, and other places of public resort. Every body looked at me with astonishment; but as I rode briskly along, they had no time to ask questions.

I arrived in the evening at Farra, a walled village; where, without much difficulty, I procured a lodging for the night.

Aug. 17th. Early in the morning I pursued my journey, and at eight o'clock passed a considerable town called Balaba; after which the road quits the plain, and stretches along the side of the hill. I passed in the course of this day, the ruins of three towns; the inhabitants of which were all carried away by Daisy, King of Kaarta, on the same day that he took and plundered Yamina. Near one of these ruins I climbed a tamarind tree, but found the fruit quite green and sour; and the prospect of the country was by no means inviting; for the high grass and bushes seemed completely to obstruct the road, and the low lands were all so flooded by the river, that the Niger had the appearance of an extensive lake. In the evening I arrived at Kanika, where the Dooty, who was sitting upon an elephant's hide at the gate, received me kindly; and gave me for supper, some milk and meal; which I considered (as to a person in my situation it really was) a very great luxury.

Aug. 18th. By mistake, I took the wrong road, and did not discover my error until I had travelled near four miles; when coming to an eminence, I observed the Niger considerably to the left. Directing my course towards it, I

travelled through long grass and bushes, with great difficulty, until two o'clock in the afternoon: when I came to a comparatively small, but very rapid river; which I took at first for a creek, or one of the streams of the Niger. However, after I had examined it with more attention, I was convinced that it was a distinct river; and as the road evidently crossed it (for I could see the pathway on the opposite side), I sat down upon the bank, in hopes that some traveller might arrive, who would give me the necessary information concerning the fording place; for the banks were so covered with reeds and bushes, that it would have been almost impossible to land on the other side, except at the pathway; which, on account of the rapidity of the stream, it seemed very difficult to reach. No traveller, however, arriving, and there being a great appearance of rain, I examined the grass and bushes, for some way up the bank, and determined upon entering the river considerably above the pathway, in order to reach the other side before the stream had swept me too far down. With this view I fastened my clothes upon the saddle, and was standing up to the neck in water, pulling my horse by the bridle to make him follow me, when a man came accidentally to the place, and seeing me in the water, called to me with great vehemence to come out. The alligators, he said, would devour both me and my horse, if we attempted to swim over. When I had got out, the stranger, who had never before seen a European, seemed wonderfully surprised. He twice put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of voice, "God preserve me! who is this?" but when heard he me speak the

Bambarra tongue, and found that I was going the same way as himself, he promised to assist me in crossing the river; the name of which he told me was Frina. He then went a little way along the bank, and called to some person, who answered from the other side. In a short time, a canoe with two boys, came paddling from among the reeds: these boys agreed for fifty Kowries, to transport me and my horse over the river, which was effected without much difficulty; and I arrived in the evening at Taffara, a walled town; and soon discovered that the language of the natives was improved, from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra, to the pure Mandingo.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Inhospitable Reception at Taffara.—A Negro Funeral at Sooha.—The Author continues his Route through several Villages along the Banks of the Niger, until he comes to Koolikorro.—Supports himself by writing Saphies*—reaches Marraboo—loses the Road; and after many Difficulties arrives at Bammakoo.—Takes the Road for Sibidooloo—meets with great Kindness at a Village called Kooma;—is afterwards robbed, stripped, and plundered by Banditti.—The Author's Resource and Consolation under exquisite Distress.—He arrives in Safety at Sibidooloo.*

On my arrival at Taffara, I inquired for the Dooty, but was informed that he had died a few days before my arrival, and that there was, at that moment, a meeting of the chief men for electing another; there being some dispute about the succession. It was probably owing to this unsettled state of the town, that I experienced such a want of hospitality in it; for though I informed the inhabitants that I should only remain with them for one night, and assured them that Mansong had given me some Kowries to pay for my lodging, yet no person invited me to come in; and I was forced to sit alone, under the Bentang tree, exposed to the rain and wind of a tornado, which lasted with great violence until midnight. At this time the stranger, who had assisted me in crossing the river, paid me a

visit, and observing that I had not found a lodging, invited me to take part of his supper, which he had brought to the door of his hut; for, being a guest himself, he could not, without his landlord's consent, invite me to come in. After this, I slept upon some wet grass in the corner of a court. My horse fared still worse than myself; the corn I had purchased being all expended, and I could not procure a supply.

Aug. 20. I passed the town of Jaba, and stopped a few minutes at a village called Somino, where I begged and obtained some coarse food, which the natives prepare from the husks of corn, and call *Boo*. About two o'clock I came to the village of Sooha, and endeavoured to purchase some corn from the Dooty, who was sitting by the gate; but without success. I then requested a little food by way of charity, but was told he had none to spare. Whilst I was examining the countenance of this inhospitable old man, and endeavouring to find out the cause of the sullen discontent, which was visible in his eye, he called to a slave who was working in the corn-field at a little distance, and ordered him to bring his hoe along with him. The Dooty then told him to dig a hole in the ground; pointing to a spot at no great distance. The slave, with his hoe, began to dig a pit in the earth; and the Dooty, who appeared to be a man of a very fretful disposition, kept muttering and talking to himself until the pit was almost finished, when he repeatedly pronounced the words *dankatoo* (good for nothing); *jankra lemen* (a real plague); which expressions I thought could be applied to nobody but myself; and as the pit had very much the appearance of a grave, I thought it prudent to

mount my horse, and was about to decamp, when the slave, who had before gone into the village, to my surprise, returned with the corpse of a boy about nine or ten years of age, quite naked. The Negro carried the body by a leg and an arm, and threw it into the pit with a savage indifference, which I had never before seen. As he covered the body with earth, the Dooty often expressed himself, *naphula attiniata* (money lost); whence I concluded that the boy had been one of his slaves.

Departing from this shocking scene, I travelled by the side of the river until sunset, when I came to Koolikorro; a considerable town, and a great market for salt. Here I took up my lodging at the house of a Bambarran, who had formerly been the slave of a Moor, and in that character had travelled to Aroan, Towdinni, and many other places in the Great Desert; but turning Mussulman, and his master dying at Jenné, he obtained his freedom, and settled at this place, where he carries on a considerable trade in salt, cotton-cloth, &c. His knowledge of the world had not lessened that superstitious confidence in saphies and charms, which he had imbibed in his earlier years; for when he heard that I was a Christian, he immediately thought of procuring a saphie; and for this purpose brought out his *walba*, or writing board; assuring me, that he would dress me a supper of rice, if I would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men. The proposal was of too great consequence to me to be refused; I therefore wrote the board full, from top to bottom, on both sides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of the charm, washed the writing from the board into a calabash with a little water, and having said

a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, lest a single word should escape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. A saphie writer was a man of too great consequence to be long concealed: the important information was carried to the Dooty, who sent his son with half a sheet of writing-paper, desiring me to write him a *naphula saphie* (a charm to procure wealth). He brought me as a present, some meal and milk; and when I had finished the saphie, and read it to him with an audible voice, he seemed highly satisfied with his bargain, and promised to bring me in the morning some milk for my breakfast. When I had finished my supper of rice and salt, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept very quietly until morning; this being the first good meal and refreshing sleep that I had enjoyed for a long time.

Aug. 21st. At daybreak I departed from Koolikorro, and about noon passed the villages of Kayoo and Toolumbo. In the afternoon I arrived at Marraboo; a large town, and, like Koolikorro, famous for its trade in salt. I was conducted to the house of a Kaartan, of the tribe of Jower, by whom I was well received. This man had acquired a considerable property in the slave trade; and from his hospitality to strangers, was called, by way of pre-eminence, *Jatee* (the landlord); and his house was a sort of public inn for all travellers. Those who had money were well lodged, for they always made him some return for his kindness; but those who had nothing to give, were content to accept whatever he thought proper; and as I could not rank myself among the monied men, I was happy to take up my lodging in the same hut with seven poor fellows who

had come from Kancaba in a canoe. But our landlord sent us some victuals.

Aug. 22d. One of the landlord's servants went with me a little way from the town, to shew me what road to take; but, whether from ignorance or design I know not, he directed me wrong; and I did not discover my mistake until the day was far advanced; when, coming to a deep creek, I had some thoughts of turning back; but as, by that means, I foresaw that I could not possibly reach Bammakoo before night, I resolved to cross it; and leading my horse close to the brink, I went behind him, and pushed him headlong into the water; and then taking the bridle in my teeth, swam over to the other side. This was the third creek I had crossed in this manner, since I had left Sego; but having secured my notes and memorandums in the crown of my hat, I received little or no inconvenience from such adventures. The rain and heavy dew kept my clothes constantly wet; and the roads being very deep, and full of mud, such a washing was sometimes pleasant, and oftentimes necessary. I continued travelling, through high grass, without any beaten road, and about noon came to the river; the banks of which are here very rocky, and the force and roar of the water were very great. The King of Bambarra's canoes, however, frequently pass these rapids, by keeping close to the bank; persons being stationed on the shore with ropes fastened to the canoe, while others push it forward with long poles. At this time, however, it would, I think, have been a matter of great difficulty for any European boat to have crossed the stream. About four o'clock in the afternoon, having altered my course from the river towards the mountains,

I came to a small pathway, which led to a village called Frookaboo, where I slept.

Aug. 23. Early in the morning I set out for Bammakoo, at which place I arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. I had heard Bammakoo much talked of as a great market for salt, and I felt rather disappointed to find it only a middling town, not quite so large as Marraboo: however, the smallness of its size, is more than compensated by the richness of its inhabitants; for when the Moors bring their salt through Kaarta or Bambarra, they constantly rest a few days at this place; and the Negro merchants here, who are well acquainted with the value of salt in different kingdoms, frequently purchase by wholesale, and retail it to great advantage. Here I lodged at the house of a Sera-wolli Negro, and was visited by a number of Moors. They spoke very good Mandingo, and were more civil to me than their countrymen had been. One of them had travelled to Rio Grande, and spoke very highly of the Christians. He sent me in the evening some boiled rice and milk. I now endeavoured to procure information concerning my route to the westward, from a slave merchant who had resided some years on the Gambia. He gave me some imperfect account of the distance, and enumerated the names of a great many places that lay in the way; but withal told me, that the road was impassable at this season of the year: he was even afraid, he said, that I should find great difficulty in proceeding any farther; as the road crossed the Joliba at a town about half a day's journey to the westward of Bammakoo; and there being no canoes at that place large enough to receive my horse, I could not pos-

sibly get him over for some months to come. This was an obstruction of a very serious nature; but as I had no money to maintain myself even for a few days, I resolved to push on, and if I could not convey my horse across the river, to abandon him, and swim over myself. In thoughts of this nature I passed the night, and in the morning consulted with my landlord, how I should surmount the present difficulty. He informed me that one road still remained, which was indeed very rocky, and scarcely passable for horses; but that if I had a proper guide over the hills to a town called Sibidooloo, he had no doubt, but with patience and caution, I might travel forwards through Manding. I immediately applied to the Dooty, and was informed that a *Jilli kea* (singing man) was about to depart for Sibidooloo, and would shew me the road over the hills. With this man, who undertook to be my conductor, I travelled up a rocky glen about two miles, when we came to a small village; and here my musical fellow-traveller found out that he had brought me the wrong road. He told me that the horse-road lay on the other side of the hill, and throwing his drum upon his back, mounted up the rocks, where indeed no horse could follow him, leaving me to admire his agility, and trace out a road for myself. As I found it impossible to proceed, I rode back to the level ground, and directing my course to the eastward, came about noon to another glen, and discovered a path on which I observed the marks of horses' feet: following this path, I came in a short time to some shepherds' huts, where I was informed that I was in the right road, but that I could not possibly reach Sibidooloo before night. Soon

after this I gained the summit of a hill, from whence I had an extensive view of the country. Towards the south-east, appeared some very distant mountains, which I had formerly seen from an eminence near Marraboo, where the people informed me, that these mountains were situated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong; the sovereign of which could raise a much greater army than the King of Bambarra. Upon this height the soil is shallow; the rocks are iron-stone and schistus, with detached pieces of white quartz.

A little before sunset, I descended on the north-west side of this ridge of hills, and as I was looking about for a convenient tree, under which to pass the night (for I had no hopes of reaching any town), I descended into a delightful valley, and soon afterwards arrived at a romantic village called Kooma. This village is surrounded by a high wall, and is the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who fled hither with his family, during a former war. The adjacent fields yield him plenty of corn, his cattle roam at large in the valley, and the rocky hills secure him from the depredations of war. In this obscure retreat he is seldom visited by strangers, but whenever this happens he makes the weary traveller welcome. I soon found myself surrounded by a circle of the harmless villagers. They asked a thousand questions about my country; and, in return for my information, brought corn and milk for myself, and grass for my horse; kindled a fire in the hut where I was to sleep, and appeared very anxious to serve me.

Aug. 25th. I departed from Kooma, accompanied by two shepherds, who were going towards Sibidooloo. The road was

very steep and rocky, and as my horse had hurt his feet much in coming from Bammakoo, he travelled slowly and with great difficulty; for in many places the ascent was so sharp, and the declivities so great, that if he had made one false step, he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces. The shepherds being anxious to proceed, gave themselves little trouble about me or my horse, and kept walking on at a considerable distance. It was about eleven o'clock, as I stopped to drink a little water at a rivulet (my companions being near a quarter of a mile before me), that I heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the shepherds, and mounted my horse to have a better view of what had happened. The noise, however, ceased; and I rode slowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out; but without receiving any answer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road; and though I could see no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came close to him, he whispered to me to stop; telling me that a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself, as he was making his escape. I stopped to consider what course to take, and looking round, saw at a little distance a man sitting upon the stump of a tree: I distinguished also the heads of six or seven more, sitting among the grass, with muskets in their hands. I had now no hopes of escaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant hunters;

and by way of opening the conversation, inquired if they had shot any thing; but without returning an answer, one of them ordered me to dismount; and then, as if recollecting himself, waved with his hand for me to proceed. I accordingly rode past, and had with some difficulty crossed a deep rivulet, when I heard somebody holloa; and looking behind, saw those I had taken for elephant hunters, running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I stopped until they were all come up; when they informed me, that the king of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring me, my horse, and every thing that belonged to me, to Fooladoo; and that therefore I must turn back, and go along with them. Without hesitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together near a quarter of a mile, without exchanging a word; when coming to a dark place in the wood, one of them said, in the Mandingo language, "this place will do;" and immediately snatched my hat from my head. Though I was by no means free of apprehension, yet I resolved to shew as few signs of fear as possible, and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me, I should proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But observing that I had one waistcoat under another,

they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, they stripped me quite naked. Even my half boots (though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein), were minutely inspected. Whilst they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earnestness, to return my pocket compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket and swore that he would lay me dead upon the spot, if I presumed to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed: they returned me the worst of the two shirts, and a pair of trowsers; and as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason they did not wish to keep it. After they were gone, I sat for some time, looking around me with amazement and terror. Which ever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness, in the depth of the rainy season; naked and alone; surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection; and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative, but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence.

or foresight, could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss, in fructification, irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to shew from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula, without admiration. Can that Being (thought I), who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image?—surely not! Reflections like these, would not allow me to despair. I started up, and disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed. In a short time I came to a small village, at the entrance of which I overtook the two shepherds who had come with me from Kooma. They were much surprised to see me; for they said, they never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed, had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sunset, arrived at Sibidooloo; the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding.

CHAPTER XIX.

Government of Manding.—The Author's Reception by the Mansa, or chief Man of Sibidooloo, who takes Measures for the Recovery of his Horse and Effects.—The Author removes to Wanda;—great Scarcity, and its afflicting Consequences.—The Author recovers his Horse and Clothes—presents his Horse to the Mansa; and prosecutes his Journey to Kamalia—some Account of that Town.—The Author's kind Reception by Karfa Taura, a Slatee, who proposes to go to the Gambia in the next dry Season, with a Caravan of Slaves.—The Author's Sickness, and Determination to remain and accompany Karfa.

THE town of Sibidooloo is situated in a fertile valley, surrounded with high rocky hills. It is scarcely accessible for horses, and during the frequent wars between the Bambarrans, Foulahs, and Mandingoes, has never once been plundered by an enemy. When I entered the town, the people gathered round me, and followed me into the balloon; where I was presented to the Dooty or chief man, who is here called Mansa, which usually signifies king. Nevertheless, it appeared to me that the government of Manding was a sort of republic, or rather an oligarchy; every town having a particular Mansa, and the chief power of the state, in the last resort, being lodged in

the assembly of the whole body. I related to the Mansa, the circumstances of my having been robbed of my horse and apparel; and my story was confirmed by the two shepherds. He continued smoking his pipe all the time I was speaking; but I had no sooner finished, than taking his pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his cloak with an indignant air, "sit down (said he), you shall have every thing restored "to you; I have sworn it:"—and then turning to an attendant, "give the white man (said he) a draught of water; and with "the first light of the morning, go over the hills, and inform "the Dooty of Bammakoo, that a poor white man, the King "of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the King of "Fooladoo's people."

I little expected, in my forlorn condition, to meet with a man who could thus feel for my sufferings. I heartily thanked the Mansa for his kindness, and accepted his invitation to remain with him until the return of the messenger. I was conducted into a hut, and had some victuals sent me; but the crowd of people which assembled to see me, all of whom commiserated my misfortunes, and vented imprecations against the Foulahs, prevented me from sleeping until past midnight. Two days I remained without hearing any intelligence of my horse or clothes; and as there was at this time a great scarcity of provisions, approaching even to famine, all over this part of the country, I was unwilling to trespass any farther on the Mansa's generosity, and begged permission to depart to the next village. Finding me very anxious to proceed, he told me that I might go as far as a town called Wonda, where he hoped

I would remain a few days, until I heard some account of my horse, &c.

I departed accordingly on the next morning of the 28th, and stopped at some small villages for refreshment. I was presented at one of them with a dish which I had never before seen. It was composed of the blossoms or *antheræ* of the maise, stewed in milk and water. It is eaten only in time of great scarcity. On the 30th, about noon, I arrived at Wonda; a small town with a mosque, and surrounded by a high wall. The Mansa, who was a Mahomedan, acted in two capacities; as chief magistrate of the town, and schoolmaster to the children. He kept his school in an open shed, where I was desired to take up my lodging, until some account should arrive from Sibidooloo, concerning my horse and clothes; for though the horse was of little use to me, yet the few clothes were essential. The little raiment upon me could neither protect me from the sun by day, nor the dews and musketoes by night: indeed, my shirt was not only worn thin, like a piece of muslin, but withal was so very dirty, that I was happy to embrace an opportunity of washing it; which having done, and spread it upon a bush, I sat down naked, in the shade, until it was dry.

Ever since the commencement of the rainy season, my health had been greatly on the decline. I had often been affected with slight paroxysms of fever; and from the time of leaving Bammakoo, the symptoms had considerably increased. As I was sitting in the manner described, the fever returned with such violence, that it very much alarmed me: the more so, as I had

no medicine to stop its progress, nor any hope of obtaining that care and attention which my situation required.

I remained at Wonda nine days; during which time I experienced the regular return of the fever every day. And though I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress from my landlord, and frequently lay down the whole day, out of his sight, in a field of corn; conscious how burthensome I was to him and his family, in a time of such great scarcity; yet I found that he was apprized of my situation; and one morning, as I feigned to be asleep by the fire, he observed to his wife, that they were likely to find me a very troublesome and chargeable guest; for that, in my present sickly state, they should be obliged, for the sake of their good name, to maintain me until I recovered, or died.

The scarcity of provisions was certainly felt at this time most severely by the poor people, as the following circumstance most painfully convinced me. Every evening, during my stay, I observed five or six women come to the Mansa's house, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. As I knew how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the Mansa, whether he maintained these poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in. "Observe that boy," said he (pointing to a fine child, about five years of age); "his mother has sold him to me, for "forty days' provision for herself, and the rest of her family. "I have bought another boy in the same manner." Good God, thought I, what must a mother suffer, before she sells her own

child! I could not get this melancholy subject out of my mind, and the next night, when the women returned for their allowance, I desired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and when she had received her corn, she came and talked to her son, with as much cheerfulness as if he had still been under her care.

Sept. 6th. Two people arrived from Sibidooloo, bringing with them my horse and clothes; but I found that my pocket compass was broken to pieces. This was a great loss, which I could not repair.

Sept. 7th. As my horse was grazing near the brink of a well, the ground gave way, and he fell in. The well was about ten feet diameter, and so very deep, that when I saw my horse snorting in the water, I thought it was impossible to save him. The inhabitants of the village, however, immediately assembled, and having tied together a number of withes,* they lowered a man down into the well, who fastened those withes round the body of the horse; and the people, having first drawn up the man, took hold of the withes, and to my surprise pulled the horse out with the greatest facility. The poor animal was now reduced to a mere skeleton, and the roads were scarcely passable, being either very rocky, or else full of mud and water; I therefore found it impracticable to travel with him any farther, and was happy to leave him in the hands of one who I thought would take care of him. I accordingly presented him to my landlord; and desired him to send

* From a plant called *kabba*, that climbs like a vine upon the trees.

my saddle and bridle, as a present, to the Mansa of Sibidooloo; being the only return I could make him, for having taken so much trouble in procuring my horse and clothes.

I now thought it necessary, sick as I was, to take leave of my hospitable landlord. On the morning of Sept. 8th, when I was about to depart, he presented me with his spear, as a token of remembrance, and a leather bag to contain my clothes. Having converted my half boots into sandals, I travelled with more ease, and slept that night at a village called Ballanti. On the 9th, I reached Nemacoo; but the Mansa of the village thought fit to make me sup upon the camelion's dish. By way of apology, however, he assured me the next morning, that the scarcity of corn was such, that he could not possibly allow me any. I could not accuse him of unkindness, as all the people actually appeared to be starving.

Sept. 10th. It rained hard all day, and the people kept themselves in their huts. In the afternoon, I was visited by a Negro, named Modi Lemina Taura, a great trader, who, suspecting my distress, brought me some victuals; and promised to conduct me to his own house at Kinyeto the day following.

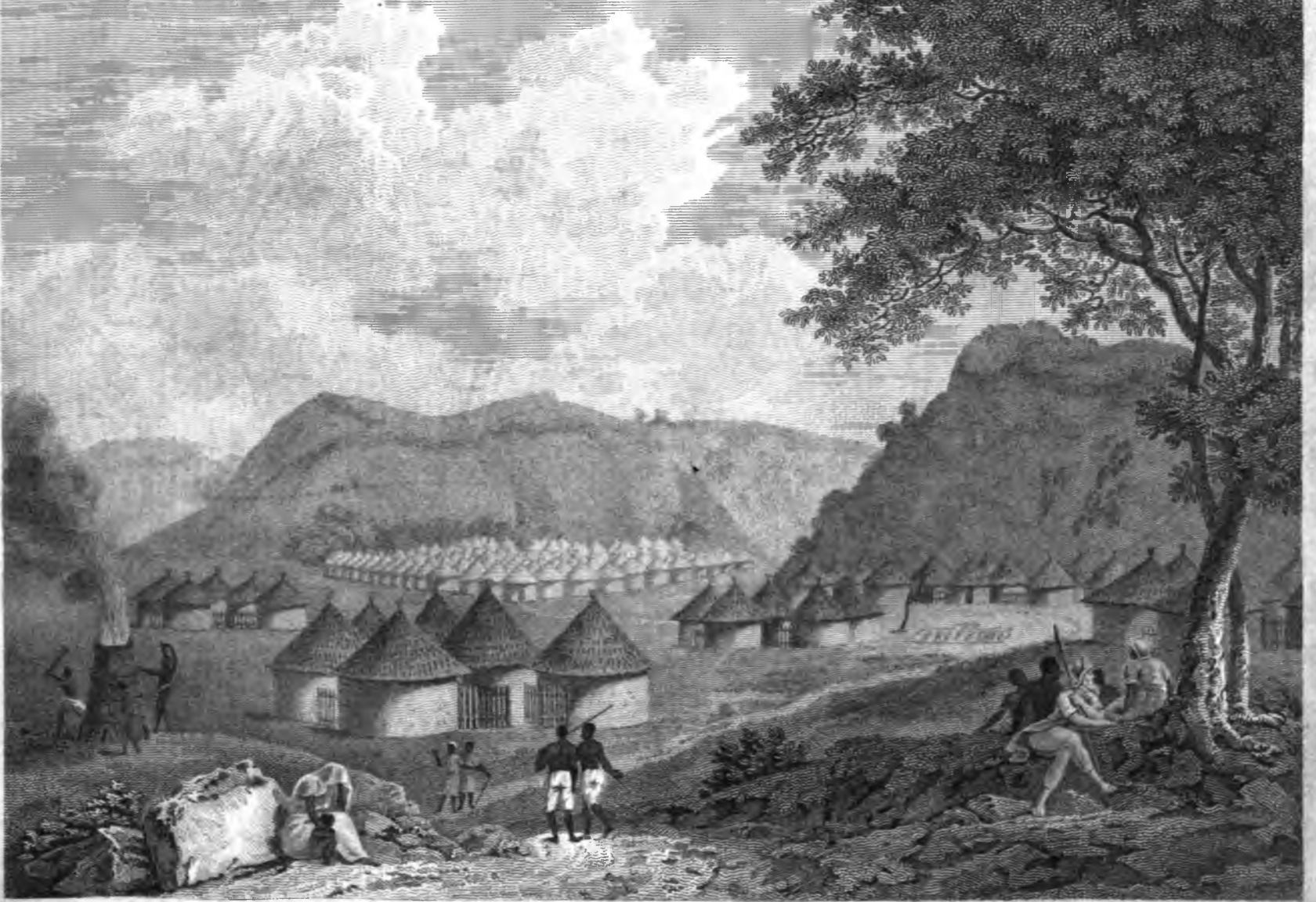
Sept. 11th. I departed from Nemacoo, and arrived at Kinyeto in the evening; but having hurt my ankle in the way, it swelled and inflamed so much that I could neither walk, nor set my foot to the ground, the next day, without great pain. My landlord observing this, kindly invited me to stop with him a few days; and I accordingly remained at his house until the 14th; by which time I felt much relieved, and could walk with the help of a staff. I now set out, thanking my landlord for

his great care and attention; and being accompanied by a young man, who was travelling the same way, I proceeded for Jerijang, a beautiful and well cultivated district, the Mansa of which is reckoned the most powerful chief of any in Manding.

On the 15th, I reached Dosita, a large town, where I stayed one day on account of the rain; but I continued very sickly, and was slightly delirious in the night. On the 17th, I set out for Mansia, a considerable town, where small quantities of gold are collected. The road led over a high rocky hill, and my strength and spirits were so much exhausted, that before I could reach the top of the hill, I was forced to lie down three times, being very faint and sickly. I reached Mansia in the afternoon. The Mansa of this town had the character of being very inhospitable; he, however, sent me a little corn for my supper, but demanded something in return: and when I assured him that I had nothing of value in my possession, he told me (as if in jest), that my white skin should not defend me, if I told him lies. He then shewed me the hut wherein I was to sleep; but took away my spear, saying that it should be returned to me in the morning. This trifling circumstance, when joined to the character I had heard of the man, made me rather suspicious of him; and I privately desired one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep in the same hut with me. About midnight, I heard somebody approach the door, and observing the moonlight strike suddenly into the hut, I started up, and saw a man stepping cautiously over the threshold. I immediately snatched

up the Negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw; and my companion looking out, assured me that it was the Mansa himself, and advised me to keep awake until the morning. I closed the door, and placed a large piece of wood behind it; and was wondering at this unexpected visit, when somebody pressed so hard against the door, that the Negro could scarcely keep it shut. But when I called to him to open the door, the intruder ran off, as before.

Sept. 16th. As soon as it was light, the Negro, at my request, went to the Mansa's house and brought away my spear. He told me that the Mansa was asleep, and lest this inhospitable chief should devise means to detain me, he advised me to set out before he was awake; which I immediately did; and about two o'clock reached Kamalia, a small town, the appearance of which is represented in the annexed Plate, situated at the bottom of some rocky hills, where the inhabitants collect gold in considerable quantities. The Bushreens here live apart from the Kafirs, and have built their huts in a scattered manner, at a short distance from the town. They have a place set apart for performing their devotions in, to which they give the name of *missura*, or mosque; but it is in fact nothing more than a square piece of ground made level, and surrounded with the trunks of trees, having a small projection towards the east, where the Marraboo, or priest, stands, when he calls the people to prayers. Mosques of this construction are very common among the converted Negroes; but having neither walls nor roof, they can only be used in fine weather. When it rains, the Bushreens peform their devotions in their huts.



On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the house of a Bushreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whose hospitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia, as soon as the rains should be over. I found him sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several Slatees, who proposed to join the coffle. He was reading to them from an Arabic book; and inquired, with a smile, if I understood it? Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the Slatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the west country. On opening this small volume, I was surprised, and delighted, to find it our *Book of Common Prayer;* and Karfa expressed great joy to hear that I could read it: for some of the Slatees, who had seen the Europeans upon the Coast, observing the colour of my skin (which was now become very yellow from sickness), my long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty; were unwilling to admit that I was a white man, and told Karfa, that they suspected I was some Arab in disguise. Karfa, however, perceiving that I could read this book, had no doubt concerning me; and kindly promised me every assistance in his power. At the same time he informed me, that it was impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness for many months yet to come, as no less than eight rapid rivers, he said, lay in the way. He added, that he intended to set out himself for Gambia as soon as the rivers were fordable, and the grass burnt; and advised me to stay and accompany him. He remarked, that when a caravan of the natives could not travel through the country, it was idle for a single white man to

attempt it. I readily admitted that such an attempt was an act of rashness, but I assured him that I had now no alternative; for having no money to support myself, I must either beg my subsistence, by travelling from place to place, or perish for want. Karfa now looked at me with great earnestness, and inquired if I could eat the common victuals of the country; assuring me he had never before seen a white man. He added, that if I would remain with him until the rains were over, he would give me plenty of victuals in the meantime, and a hut to sleep in; and that after he had conducted me in safety to the Gambia, I might then make him what return I thought proper. I asked him, if the value of one prime slave would satisfy him. He answered in the affirmative; and immediately ordered one of the huts to be swept for my accommodation. Thus was I delivered, by the friendly care of this benevolent Negro, from a situation truly deplorable. Distress and famine pressed hard upon me; I had, before me, the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller sees no habitation for five successive days. I had observed at a distance, the rapid course of the river Kokoro. I had almost marked out the place, where I was doomed, I thought, to perish, when this friendly Negro stretched out his hospitable hand for my relief.

In the hut which was appropriated for me, I was provided with a mat to sleep on, an earthen jar for holding water, and a small calabash to drink out of; and Karfa sent me from his own dwelling, two meals a day; and ordered his slaves to supply me with fire-wood and water. But I found that neither the kindness of Karfa, nor any sort of accommodation could put a stop

to the fever which weakened me, and which became every day more alarming. I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress; but on the third day after my arrival, as I was going with Karfa to visit some of his friends, I found myself so faint that I could scarcely walk, and before we reached the place, I staggered, and fell into a pit from which the clay had been taken to build one of the huts. Karfa endeavoured to console me with the hopes of a speedy recovery; assuring me, that if I would not walk out in the wet, I should soon be well. I determined to follow his advice, and confine myself to my hut: but was still tormented with the fever, and my health continued to be in a very precarious state, for five ensuing weeks. Sometimes I could crawl out of the hut, and sit a few hours in the open air; at other times I was unable to rise, and passed the lingering hours in a very gloomy and solitary manner. I was seldom visited by any person except my benevolent landlord, who came daily to inquire after my health. When the rains became less frequent, and the country began to grow dry, the fever left me; but in so debilitated a condition, that I could scarcely stand upright; and it was with great difficulty that I could carry my mat to the shade of a tamarind tree, at a short distance, to enjoy the refreshing smell of the corn-fields, and delight my eyes with a prospect of the country. I had the pleasure, at length, to find myself in a state of convalescence; towards which, the benevolent and simple manners of the Negroes, and the perusal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed.

In the meantime, many of the Slatess who resided at Ka-

malia, having spent all their money, and become in a great measure dependent upon Karfa's hospitality, beheld me with an eye of envy, and invented many ridiculous and trifling stories to lessen me in Karfa's esteem. And in the beginning of December, a Sera-woolli Slatee, with five slaves, arrived from Sego: this man too, spread a number of malicious reports concerning me; but Karfa paid no attention to them, and continued to shew me the same kindness as formerly. As I was one day conversing with the slaves which this Slatee had brought, one of them begged me to give him some victuals. I told him I was a stranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry.—Have you forgot "the man who brought you milk at Karrankalla? But (added "he, with a sigh) *the irons were not then upon my legs!*" I immediately recollected him, and begged some ground-nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindness. He told me that he had been taken by the Bambarrans, the day after the battle at Joka, and sent to Sego; where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of these slaves were from Kaarta, and one from Wassela, all of them prisoners of war. They stopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the grass burnt.

In the beginning of December, Karfa proposed to complete his purchase of slaves; and for this purpose, collected all the debts which were owing to him in his country. And on the 19th, being accompanied by three Slatees, he departed for

Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger ; and a great slave market. Most of the slaves, who are sold at Kancaba, come from Bambarra ; for Mansong, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties, to be sold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always well supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes. When Karfa departed from Kamalia, he proposed to return in the course of a month ; and during his absence I was left to the care of a good old Bushreen, who acted as schoolmaster to the young people of Kamalia.

Being now left alone, and at leisure to indulge my own reflections ; it was an opportunity not to be neglected of augmenting and extending the observations I had already made, on the climate and productions of the country ; and of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the natives, than it was possible for me to obtain, in the course of a transient and perilous journey through the country. I endeavoured likewise to collect all the information I could, concerning those important branches of African commerce, the trade for gold, ivory, and slaves. Such was my employment, during the remainder of my stay at Kamalia ; and I shall now proceed to lay before my readers the result of my researches and inquiries ; avoiding, as far as I can, a repetition of those circumstances and observations, which were related, as occasion arose, in the narrative of my journey.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Climate and Seasons.—Winds.—Vegetable Productions.—Population.—General Observations on the Character and Disposition of the Mandingoes; and a summary Account of their Manners and Habits of Life, their Marriages, &c.

THE whole of my route, both in going and returning, having been confined to a tract of country bounded nearly by the 12th and 15th parallels of latitude, the reader must imagine that I found the climate in most places extremely hot; but no where did I feel the heat so intense and oppressive as in the camp at Benowm, of which mention has been made in a former place. In some parts, where the country ascends into hills, the air is at all times comparatively cool; yet none of the districts which I traversed, could properly be called mountainous. About the middle of June, the hot and sultry atmosphere is agitated by violent gusts of wind, (called *tornadoes*) accompanied with thunder and rain. These usher in what is denominated *the rainy season;* which continues until the month of November. During this time, the diurnal rains are very heavy; and the prevailing winds are from the south-west. The termination of the rainy season, is likewise attended with violent tornadoes; after which the wind shifs to the north-east, and continues to blow from that quarter, during the rest of the year.

When the wind sets in from the north-east, it produces a wonderful change in the face of the country. The grass soon becomes dry and withered; the rivers subside very rapidly, and many of the trees shed their leaves. About this period is commonly felt the *harmattan*, a dry and parching wind, blowing from the north-east, and accompanied by a thick smoky haze; through which the sun appears of a dull red colour. This wind, in passing over the great desert of Sahara, acquires a very strong attraction for humidity, and parches up every thing exposed to its current. It is, however, reckoned very salutary, particularly to Europeans, who generally recover their health during its continuance. I experienced immediate relief from sickness, both at Dr. Laidley's, and at Kamalia, during the harmattan. Indeed, the air, during the rainy season is so loaded with moisture, that clothes, shoes, trunks, and every thing that is not close to the fire, become damp and mouldy; and the inhabitants may be said to live in a sort of vapour bath: but this dry wind braces up the solids, which were before relaxed, gives a cheerful flow of spirits, and is even pleasant to respiration. Its ill effects are, that it produces chaps in the lips, and afflicts many of the natives with sore eyes.

Whenever the grass is sufficiently dry, the Negroes set it on fire; but in Ludamar, and other Moorish countries, this practice is not allowed; for it is upon the withered stubble that the Moors feed their cattle, until the return of the rains. The burning the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night, I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with

lines of fire; and the light reflected on the sky, made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of smoke were seen in every direction; while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles, which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant.

Of the most remarkable and important of the vegetable productions, mention has already been made; and they are nearly the same in all the districts through which I passed. It is observable, however, that although many species of the edible roots, which grow in the West-India Islands, are found in Africa, yet I never saw, in any part of my journey, either the sugar-cane, the coffee, or the cacao tree; nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pine-apple, and the thousand other delicious fruits, which the industry of civilized man (improving the bounties of nature), has brought to so great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I observed, indeed, a few orange and banana trees, near the mouth of the Gambia; but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by some of the white traders, I could not positively learn. I suspect, that they were originally introduced by the Portuguese.

Concerning property in the soil; it appeared to me that the lands in native woods, were considered as belonging to the king, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the

state. When any individual of free condition, had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the soil became vested in the possessor; and, for aught that appeared to me, descended to his heirs.

The population, however, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, is not very great, in the countries which I visited. I found many extensive and beautiful districts, entirely destitute of inhabitants; and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms, were either very thinly peopled, or entirely deserted. Many places are likewise unfavourable to population, from being unhealthful. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the Coast, are of this description. Perhaps, it is on this account chiefly, that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants, than the maritime districts; for all the Negro nations that fell under my observation, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition. The Mandingoes, in particular, are a very gentle race; cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps, the most prominent defect in their character, was that insurmountable propensity, which the reader must have observed to prevail in all classes of them, to steal from me the few effects I was possessed of. For this part

of their conduct, no complete justification can be offered, because theft is a crime in their own estimation; and it must be observed, that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumstance in mitigation; and, before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe, would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger, than the Negroes acted towards me. It must not be forgotten, that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and finally, that some part of my effects were of as great value, in the estimation of the Negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us suppose, a black merchant of Hindostan to have found his way into the centre of England, with a box of jewels at his back; and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security; in such a case, the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second depredator. Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo Negroes towards myself. Notwithstanding I was so great a sufferer by it, I do not consider that their natural sense of justice was perverted or extinguished: it was overpowered only, for the moment, by the strength of a temptation which it required no common virtue to resist.

On the other hand, as some counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be such, it is impossible for me

to forget the disinterested charity, and tender solicitude, with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign of Sego, to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages, when I was perishing of hunger) sympathized with me in my sufferings; relieved my distresses; and contributed to my safety. This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the various tempers of those to whom I made application. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion: but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate: and I can truly say, as my predecessor Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently said before me; "To a woman, I never ad-"dressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, "without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was "hungry, or thirsty, wet, or sick, they did not hesitate, like "the men, to perform a generous action. In so free, and so "kind a manner did they contribute to my relief; that if I was "dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I eat the "coarsest morsel with a double relish."

It is surely reasonable to suppose, that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature, which was thus spontaneously manifested towards me, in my distress, is displayed by these poor people, as occasion requires, much more strongly towards persons of

their own nation and neighbourhood, and especially when the objects of their compassion are endeared to them by the ties of consanguinity. Accordingly, the maternal affection, (neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solicitudes of civilized life) is every where conspicuous among them; and creates a correspondent return of tenderness in the child. An illustration of this has been given in p. 47. "Strike me," said my attendant, "but do not curse my mother." The same sentiment I found universally to prevail; and observed in all parts of Africa, that the greatest affront which could be offered to a Negro, was to reflect on her who gave him birth.

It is not strange, that this sense of filial duty and affection among the Negroes, should be less ardent towards the father than the mother. The system of polygamy, while it weakens the father's attachment, by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderness to one point, the protection of her own offspring. I perceived with great satisfaction too, that the maternal solicitude extended not only to the growth and security of the person, but also, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the mind of the infant; for one of the first lessons, in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is *the practice of truth*. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti, at Funingkedy, p. 102.—Her only consolation, in her uttermost distress, was the reflection that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, *had never told a lie*. Such testimony, from a fond mother, on such an occasion, must have operated powerfully

on the youthful part of the surrounding spectators. It was at once a tribute of praise to the deceased, and a lesson to the living.

The Negro women suckle their children, until they are able to walk of themselves. Three years nursing is not uncommon; and during this period the husband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing, I presume, that the family of each wife is seldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or six children. As soon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom. The mother is not over solicitous to preserve it from slight falls, and other trifling accidents. A little practice soon enables a child to take care of itself, and experience acts the part of a nurse. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to spin cotton, and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties; and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, whether Bushreens or Kafirs, on attaining the age of puberty, are circumcised. This painful operation is not considered by the Kafirs, so much in the light of a religious ceremony, as a matter of convenience and utility. They have, indeed, a superstitious notion that it contributes to render the marriage state prolific. The operation is performed upon several young people at the same time; all of whom are exempted from every sort of labour, for two months afterwards. During this period, they form a society called *Solimana*. They visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. I had frequently, in the course of my journey, observed parties of

this description, but they were all males. I had, however, an opportunity of seeing a female *Solimana*, at Kamalia.

In the course of this celebration, it frequently happens that some of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not considered as absolutely necessary, that he should make an overture to the girl herself. The first object is to agree with the parents, concerning the recompence to be given them, for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome; in which case, the parents will raise their demand very considerably. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for if the parents agree to it, and eat a few *kolla-nuts*, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt it, the lover is then authorized, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed on, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding: a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, she is seated upon a mat, in the middle of the floor, and the old women place

themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This scene of instruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls, who amuse the company with songs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the woman, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes, who assemble without doors, and by distributing among them small presents of kolla-nuts, and seeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes much to the general hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended, the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate until daybreak. About midnight, the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future residence; and the bridegroom, upon a signal given, retires from his company. The new married couple, however, are always disturbed towards morning by the women, who assemble to inspect the nuptial sheet (according to the manners of the ancient Hebrews, as recorded in Scripture), and dance round it. This ceremony is thought indispensibly necessary, nor is the marriage considered as valid without it.

The Negroes, as hath been frequently observed, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, allow a plurality of wives. The Mahomedans alone, are by their religion confined to four; and as the husband commonly pays a great price for each, he requires from all of them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them more like hired servants, than companions. They

have, however, the management of domestic affairs, and each in rotation is mistress of the household, and has the care of dressing the victuals, overlooking the female slaves, &c. But though the African husbands are possessed of great authority over their wives, I did not observe, that in general they treat them with cruelty; neither did I perceive that mean jealousy in their dispositions, which is so prevalent among the Moors. They permit their wives to partake of all public diversions, and this indulgence is seldom abused; for though the Negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue: I believe that instances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel among themselves, a circumstance which, from the nature of their situation, must frequently happen, the husband decides between them; and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporal chastisement, before tranquillity can be restored. But if any one of the ladies complains to the chief of the town, that her husband has unjustly punished her, and shewn an undue partiality to some other of his wives, the affair is brought to a public trial. In these *palavers*, however, which are conducted chiefly by married men, I was informed that the complaint of the wife, is not always considered in a very serious light; and the complainant herself, is sometimes convicted of strife and contention, and left without remedy. If she murmurs at the decision of the court, the magic rod of *Mumbo Jumbo* soon puts an end to the business.

The children of the Mandingoes are not always named after their relations; but frequently in consequence of some remark-

able occurrence. Thus, my landlord at Kamalia, was called *Karfa*, a word signifying *to replace;* because he was born shortly after the death of one of his brothers. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, "a good man;" *Fadibba*, "father of the town," &c.: indeed, the very names of their towns have something descriptive in them; as *Sibidooloo*, "the town of ciboa trees;" *Kenneyetoo*, "victuals here;" *Dosita*, "lift your spoon." Others appear to be given by way of reproach, as *Bammakoo*, "wash a crocodile;" *Karrankalla*, "no cup to drink from, &c." A child is named, when it is seven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish called *Dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or a goat is commonly added. This feast is called *Ding koon lee*, "the child's head shaving." During my stay at Kamalia, I was present at four different feasts of this kind, and the ceremony was the same in each, whether the child belonged to a Bushreen or a Kafir. The schoolmaster, who officiated as priest on those ocassions, and who is necessarily a Bushreen, first said a long prayer over the *dega;* during which every person present took hold of the brim of the calabash with his right hand. After this, the schoolmaster took the child in his arms, and said a second prayer; in which he repeatedly solicited the blessing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whispered a few sentences in the child's ear, and spit three time in its face; after which he pronounced its name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This

part of the ceremony being ended, the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he distributed to every person present. And inquiry was then made, if any person in the town was dangerously sick, it being usual, in such cases, to send the party a large portion of the *dega*; which is thought to possess great medical virtues.*

Among the Negroes every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country; though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the traveller; for as every Negro plumes himself upon the importance, or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*.

Salutations, among the Negroes to each other, when they meet, are always observed; but those in most general use among the Kafirs, are *Abbe haeretto,—E ning seni,—Anawari, &c.* all of which have nearly the same meaning, and signify, *are you well*, or to that effect. There are likewise salutations which are used at different times of the day, as *E ning somo*, good morning, &c. The general answer to all salutations, is to repeat the *kontong* of the person who salutes, or else to repeat the salutation itself, first pronouncing the word *marhaba*, my friend.

* Soon after baptism, the children are marked in different parts of the skin, in a manner resembling what is called *tatowing* in the South-sea Islands.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Account of the Mandingoes continued.—Their Notions in respect of the Planetary Bodies, and the Figure of the Earth.—Their religious Opinions, and Belief in a Future State.—Their Diseases and Methods of Treatment.—Their Funeral Ceremonies, Amusements, Occupations, Diet, Arts, Manufactures, &c.

THE Mandingoes, and I believe the Negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of *rainy seasons*. They portion the year into *moons*, and reckon the days by so many *suns*. The day, they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening; and further subdivide it, when necessary, by pointing to the sun's place in the Heavens. I frequently inquired of some of them, what became of the sun during the night, and whether we should see the same sun, or a different one, in the morning: but I found that they considered the question as very childish. The subject appeared to them, as placed beyond the reach of human investigation: they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the first appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly

created, the Pagan natives, as well as Mahomedans, say a short prayer; and this seems to be the only visible adoration which the Kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper; the party holding up his hands before his face: its purport (as I have been assured by many different people) is to return thanks to God for his kindness through the existence of the past moon, and to solicit a continuation of his favour during that of the new one. At the conclusion, they spit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. This seems to be nearly the same ceremony, which prevailed among the Heathens in the days of Job.*

Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary, in its monthly course; and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey, or any other work of consequence, in the last quarter. An eclipse, whether of the sun or moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the whole study of astronomy appears to them as a useless pursuit, and attended to by such persons only as deal in magic.

Their notions of geography, are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered; it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a large river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubo doo;* "the land of the white people." At a distance from Tobaubo doo, they describe another country,

* Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27, 28.

which they alledge is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic size, called *Koomi*. This country they call *Jong sang doo* "the "land where the slaves are sold." But of all countries in the world their own appears to them as the best, and their own people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations, who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and less fortunate districts.

Some of the religious opinions of the Negroes, though blended with the weakest credulity and superstition, are not unworthy attention. I have conversed with all ranks and conditions, upon the subject of their faith; and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that, except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the Pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of all things; but in general they consider him as a Being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom. If they are asked, for what reason then do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon; the answer is, that custom has made it necessary: they do it, because their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendance and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose

that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl, suspended to the branch of a particular tree ; a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present, to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour, of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the Negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation : when interrogated, in particular, concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing—*mo o mo inta allo,* " no man knows any thing about it." They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or comfort, they seem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures; but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures.

The Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age. At forty, most of them become gray haired, and covered with wrinkles ; and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five, or sixty. They calculate the years of their lives, as I have already observed, by the number of rainy seasons (there being but one such in the year); and distinguish each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurence which happened in that year. Thus they say the year of the *Farbanna war ;* the year of the *Kaarta war ;* the year on which *Gadou was plundered, &c. &c. ;* and I have no doubt that the year 1796, will in many places be distinguished by the name of *Tobaubo tambi sang,* " the year the white man passed ;" as such

an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional history.

But, notwithstanding that longevity is uncommon among them, it appeared to me that their diseases are but few in number. Their simple diet, and active way of life, preserve them from many of those disorders, which embitter the days of luxury and idleness. Fevers and fluxes are the most common, and the most fatal. For these, they general apply saphies to different parts of the body, and perform a great many other superstitious ceremonies; some of which are, indeed, well calculated to inspire the patient with the hope of recovery, and divert his mind from brooding over his own danger. But I have sometimes observed among them, a more systematic mode of treatment. On the first attack of a fever, when the patient complains of cold, he is frequently placed in a sort of vapour bath: this is done by spreading branches of the *nauclea orientalis* upon hot wood embers, and laying the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then sprinkled upon the branches, which descending to the hot embers, soon covers the patient with a cloud of vapour, in which he is allowed to remain until the embers are almost extinguished. This practice commonly produces a profuse perspiration, and wonderfully relieves the sufferer.

For the dysentery, they use the bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the patient's food; but this practice is in general very unsuccessful.

The other diseases which prevail among the Negroes, are the *yaws*; the *elephantiasis*; and a *leprosy* of the very worst kind.

This last mentioned complaint appears, at the beginning, in scurfy spots upon different part of the body; which finally settle upon the hands or feet, where the skin becomes withered, and cracks in many places. At length, the ends of the fingers swell and ulcerate; the discharge is acrid and fetid; the nails drop off, and the bones of the fingers become carious, and separate at the joints. In this manner the disease continues to spread, frequently until the patient loses all his fingers and toes. Even the hands and feet are sometimes destroyed by this inveterate malady, to which the Negroes give the name of *balla jou*, "incurable."

The *Guinea worm* is likewise very common in certain places, especially at the commencement of the rainy season. The Negroes attribute this disease, which has been described by many writers, to bad water; and alledge that the people who drink from wells, are more subject to it than those who drink from streams. To the same cause, they attribute the swelling of the glands of the neck (goitres), which are very common in some parts of Bambarra. I observed also, in the interior countries, a few instances of simple gonorrhœa; but never the confirmed lues. On the whole, it appeared to me that the Negroes are better surgeons than physicians. I found them very successful in their management of fractures and dislocations, and their splints and bandages are simple, and easily removed. The patient is laid upon a soft mat, and the fractured limb is frequently bathed with cold water. All abscesses they open with the actual cautery; and the dressings are composed of either soft leaves, Shea butter, or cows' dung, as the

case seems, in their judgment, to require. Towards the Coast, where a supply of European lancets can be procured, they sometimes perform phlebotomy; and in cases of local inflammation, a curious sort of cupping is practised. This operation is performed by making inscisions in the part, and applying to it a bullock's horn, with a small hole in the end. The operator then takes a piece of bees-wax in his mouth, and putting his lips to the hole, extracts the air from the horn; and by a dexterous use of his tongue, stops up the hole with the wax. This method is found to answer the purpose, and in general produces a plentiful discharge.

When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral; which generally takes place in the evening of the same day on which the party died. The Negroes have no appropriate burial places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave, in the dusk of the evening, by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body; but I never observed that any stone was placed over the grave, as a monument or memorial.

Hitherto I have considered the Negroes chiefly in a moral light; and confined myself to the most prominent features in their mental character: their domestic amusements, occupa-

tions, and diet; their arts and manufactures, with some other subordinate objects, are now to be noticed.

Of their music and dances, some account has incidentally been given in different parts of my Journal. On the first of these heads, I have now to add a list of their musical instruments, the principal of which are,—the *koonting*, a sort of guitar with three strings;—the *korro*, a large harp, with eighteen strings;—the *simbing*, a small harp, with seven strings;—the *balafou*, an instrument composed of twenty pieces of hard wood of different lengths, with the shells of gourds hung underneath, to increase the sound;—the *tangtang*, a drum, open at the lower end; and lastly, the *tabala*, a large drum, commonly used to spread an alarm through the country. Besides these, they make use of small flutes, bowstrings, elephants' teeth, and bells; and at all their dances and concerts, *clapping of hands* appears to constitute a necessary part of the chorus.

With the love of music is naturally connected a taste for poetry; and, fortunately for the poets of Africa, they are in a great measure exempted from that neglect and indigence, which in more polished countries commonly attend the votaries of the Muses. They consist of two classes; the most numerous are the *singing men*, called *Jilli kea*, mentioned in a former part of my narrative. One or more of these may be found in every town. They sing extempore songs, in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give "solid pud-"ding for empty praise." But a nobler part of their office is to recite the historical events of their country: hence, in war, they accompany the soldiers to the field; in order, by reciting the

great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of glorious emulation. The other class are devotees of the Mahomedan faith, who travel about the country, singing devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty; either in averting calamity, or insuring success to any enterprize. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them.

The usual diet of the Negroes is somewhat different in different districts; in general, the people of free condition breakfast about daybreak, upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a sort of hasty pudding, with a little Shea butter, is the common meal; but the supper constitutes the principal repast, and is seldom ready before midnight. This consists almost universally of kouskous, with a small portion of animal food, or Shea butter, mixed with it. In eating, the Kafirs, as well as Mahomedans, use the right hand only.

The beverage of the Pagan Negroes, are beer and mead; of each of which they frequently drink to excess. The Mahomedan converts drink nothing but water. The natives of all descriptions take snuff and smoke tobacco; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanship. But in the interior countries, the greatest of all luxuries is salt. It would appear strange to an European, to see a child suck a piece of rock-salt, as if it were sugar. This, however, I have frequently seen; although, in the inland parts, the poorer class

of inhabitants are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say *a man eats salt with his victuals*, is the same as saying, *he is a rich man*. I have myself suffered great inconvenience from the scarcity of this article. The long use of vegetable food, creates so painful a longing for salt, that no words can sufficiently describe it.

The Negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered by the whites on the Coast as an indolent and inactive people; I think, without reason. The nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent, whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage, the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only, as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains; and in the dry season, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers, employ themselves chiefly in fishing. The fish are taken in wicker baskets, or with small cotton nets; and are preserved by being first dried in the sun, and afterwards rubbed with Shea butter, to prevent them from contracting fresh moisture. Others of the natives employ themselves in hunting. Their weapons are bows and arrows; but the arrows in common use are not poisoned.* They are

* Poisoned arrows are used chiefly in war. The poison, which is said to be very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *koona* (a species of *echites*), which is

very dexterous marksmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance. They likewise kill Guinea-fowls, partridges, and pidgeons, but never on the wing. While the men are occupied in these pursuits, the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton-cloth. They prepare the cotton for spinning, by laying it in small quantities at a time, upon a smooth stone, or piece of wood, and rolling the seeds out with a thick iron spindle; and they spin it with the distaff. The thread is not fine, but well twisted, and makes a very durable cloth. A woman with common diligence, will spin from six to nine garments of this cloth in one year; which, according to its fineness, will sell for a minkalli and a half, or two minkallies each.* The weaving is performed by the men. The loom is made exactly upon the same principle as that of Europe; but so small and narrow, that the web is seldom more than four inches broad. The shuttle is of the common construction; but as the thread is coarse, the chamber is somewhat larger than the European.

The women die this cloth of a rich and lasting blue colour, by the following simple process: the leaves of the indigo when fresh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a strong ley of wood ashes; chamber-

very common in the woods. The leaves of this shrub, when boiled with a small quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the Negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they fasten round the iron of the arrow, in such a manner that it is almost impossible to extract the arrow, when it has sunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point, and the poisoned thread, in the wound.

* A minkalli is a quantity of gold, nearly equal in value to ten shillings sterling.

ley is sometimes added. The cloth is steeped in this mixture, and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper shade. In Kaarta and Ludamar, where the indigo is not plentiful, they collect the leaves, and dry them in the sun; and when they wish to use them, they reduce a sufficient quantity to powder, and mix it with the ley as before mentioned. Either way, the colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloss, and equal, in my opinion, to the best Indian or European blue. This cloth is cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments, with needles of the natives' own making.

As the arts of weaving, dying, sewing, &c. may easily be acquired, those who exercise them are not considered in Africa as following any particular profession; for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The only artists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the Negroes, and who value themselves on exercising appropriate and peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of *leather* and of *iron*. The first of these, are called *Karrankea* (or as the word is sometimes pronounced *Gaungay*). They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide first in a mixture of wood-ashes and water, until it parts with the hair; and afterwards by using the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo*, as an astringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into sandals, and therefore require less care in dressing than the

skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering quivers and saphies, and in making sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour; the red, by means of millet stalks reduced to powder; and the yellow, by the root of a plant, the name of which I have forgotten.

The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous as the *Karrankeas;* but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence. The Negroes on the Coast being cheaply supplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacturing of this article themselves; but in the inland parts, the natives smelt this useful metal in such quantities, as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. During my stay at Kamalia, there was a smelting furnace at a short distance from the hut where I lodged, and the owner and his workmen made no secret about the manner of conducting the operation; and readily allowed me to examine the furnace, and assist them in breaking the iron-stone. The furnace was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high, and three feet in diameter; surrounded in two places with withes, to prevent the clay from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower part, on a level with the ground (but not so low as the bottom of the furnace, which was somewhat concave), were made seven openings, into every one of which were placed three tubes of clay, and the openings again plastered up in such a manner that no air could enter the

furnace, but through the tubes; by the opening and shutting of which they regulated the fire. These tubes were formed by plastering a mixture of clay and grass round a smooth roller of wood, which as soon as the clay began to harden was withdrawn, and the tube left to dry in the sun. The iron-stone which I saw was very heavy, of a dull red colour, with greyish specks; it was broken into pieces about the size of a hen's egg. A bundle of dry wood was first put into the furnace, and covered with a considerable quantity of charcoal, which was brought, ready burnt, from the woods. Over this was laid a stratum of iron-stone, and then another of charcoal, and so on, until the furnace was quite full. The fire was applied through one of the tubes, and blown for some time with bellows made of goats' skins. The operation went on very slowly at first, and it was some hours before the flame appeared above the furnace; but after this, it burnt with great violence all the first night; and the people who attended put in at times more charcoal. On the day following the fire was not so fierce, and on the second night, some of the tubes were withdrawn, and the air allowed to have freer access to the furnace; but the heat was still very great, and a bluish flame rose some feet above the top of the furnace. On the third day from the commencement of the operation, all the tubes were taken out, the ends of many of them being vitrified with the heat; but the metal was not removed until some days afterwards, when the whole was perfectly cool. Part of the furnace was then taken down, and the iron appeared in the form of a large irregular mass, with pieces of charcoal adhering to it. It was sonorous; and when

any portion was broken off, the fracture exhibited a granulated appearance, like broken steel. The owner informed me that many parts of this cake were useless, but still there was good iron enough to repay him for his trouble. This iron, or rather steel, is formed into various instruments, by being repeatedly heated in a forge, the heat of which is urged by a pair of double bellows, of a very simple construction, being made of two goats' skins; the tubes from which unite, before they enter the forge, and supply a constant and very regular blast. The hammer, forceps, and anvil, are all very simple, and the workmanship (particularly in the formation of knives and spears) is not destitute of merit. The iron, indeed, is hard and brittle; and requires much labour before it can be made to answer the purpose.

Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from a ley of burnt corn-stalks evaporated to dryness. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity.

Such is the chief information I obtained, concerning the present state of arts and manufactures in those regions of Africa which I explored in my journey. I might add, though it is scarce worthy observation, that in Bambarra and Kaarta, the natives make very beautiful baskets, hats, and other articles, both for use and ornament, from *rushes*, which they stain of different colours; and they contrive also to cover their calabashes with interwoven cane, dyed in the same manner.

In all the laborious occupations above described, the master and his slaves work together, without any distinction of superiority. Hired servants, by which I mean persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, are unknown in Africa; and this observation naturally leads me to consider the condition of the slaves, and the various means by which they are reduced to so miserable a state of servitude. This unfortunate class are found, I believe, in all parts of this extensive country, and constitude a considerable branch of commerce, with the states on the Mediterranean, as well as with the nations of Europe.

CHAPTER XXII.

Observations concerning the State and Sources of Slavery in Africa.

A STATE of subordination, and certain inequalities of rank and condition, are inevitable in every stage of civil society; but when this subordination is carried to so great a length, that the persons and services of one part of the community are entirely at the disposal of another part, it may then be denominated a state of slavery; and in this condition of life, a great body of the Negro inhabitants of Africa have continued from the most early period of their history; with this aggravation, that their children are born to no other inheritance.

The slaves in Africa, I suppose, are nearly in the proportion of three to one to the freemen. They claim no reward for their services, except food and clothing; and are treated with kindness, or severity, according to the good or bad disposition of their masters. Custom, however, has established certain rules with regard to the treatment of slaves, which it is thought dishonourable to violate. Thus, the domestic slaves, or such as are born in a man's own house, are treated with more lenity than those which are purchased with money. The authority of the master over the domestic slave, as I have elsewhere observed, extends only to reasonable correction; for the master

cannot sell his domestic, without having first brought him to a public trial, before the chief men of the place.* But these restrictions on the power of the master, extend not to the case of prisoners taken in war, nor to that of slaves purchased with money. All these unfortunate beings are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets, where slaves of this description are bought and sold; and the value of a slave in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom: for when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape; but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account, the unhappy slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The slaves which are purchased by the Europeans on the Coast, are chiefly of this description; a few of them are collected in the petty wars, hereafter to be described, which take place near the Coast; but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans

* In time of famine, the master is permitted to sell one or more of his domestics, to purchase provisions for his family; and in case of the master's insolvency, the domestic slaves are sometimes seized upon by the creditors; and if the master cannot redeem them, they are liable to be sold for payment of his debts. These are the only cases that I recollect, in which the domestic slaves are liable to be sold, without any misconduct or demerit of their own.

from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. The slaves which are thus brought from the interior, may be divided into two distinct classes; *first*, such as were slaves from their birth, having been born of enslaved mothers; *secondly*, such as were born free, but who afterwards, by whatever means, became slaves. Those of the first description, are by far the most numerous; for prisoners taken in war (at least such as are taken in open and declared war, when one kingdom avows hostilities against another) are generally of this description. The comparatively small proportion of free people, to the enslaved, throughout Africa, has already been noticed; and it must be observed, that men of free condition, have many advantages over the slaves, even in war time. They are in general better armed, and well mounted; and can either fight or escape, with some hopes of success; but the slaves, who have only their spears and bows, and of whom great numbers are loaded with baggage, become an easy prey. Thus, when Mansong, King of Bambarra, made war upon Kaarta (as I have related in a former Chapter), he took in one day nine hundred prisoners, of which number not more than seventy were free men. This account I received from Daman Jumma, who had thirty slaves at Kemmoo, all of whom were made prisoners by Mansong. Again, when a freeman is taken prisoner, his friends will sometimes ransom him, by giving two slaves in exchange; but when a slave is taken, he has no hopes of such redemption. To these disadvantages, it is to be added, that the Slatees, who purchase slaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the Coast for sale,

constantly prefer such as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that these have been accustomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to sustain the hardships of a long and painful journey, than free men ; and on their reaching the Coast, if no opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they can easily be made to maintain themselves by their labour ; neither are they so apt to attempt making their escape, as those who have once tasted the blessings of freedom.

Slaves of the second description, generally become such by one or other of the following causes, 1. *Captivity*. 2. *Famine*. 3. *Insolvency*. 4. *Crimes*. A freeman may, by the established customs of Africa, become a slave, by being taken in war. War, is of all others, the most productive source, and was probably the origin, of slavery ; for when one nation had taken from another, a greater number of captives than could be exchanged on equal terms, it is natural to suppose that the conquerors, finding it inconvenient to maintain their prisoners, would compel them to labour ; at first, perhaps, only for their own support ; but afterwards to support their masters. Be this as it may, it is a known fact, that prisoners of war in Africa, are the slaves of the conquerors ; and when the weak or unsuccessful warrior, begs for mercy beneath the uplifted spear of his opponent, he gives up at the same time his claim to liberty ; and purchases his life at the expence of his freedom.

In a country, divided into a thousand petty states, mostly independent and jealous of each other ; where every freeman is accustomed to arms, and fond of military achievements ; where the youth who has practised the bow and spear from

his infancy, longs for nothing so much as an opportunity to display his valour, it is natural to imagine that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocation. When one nation is more powerful than another, a pretext is seldom wanting for commencing hostilities. Thus the war between Kajaaga and Kasson was occasioned by the detention of a fugitive slave; that between Bambarra and Kaarta by the loss of a few cattle. Other cases of the same nature perpetually occur, in which the folly or mad ambition of their princes, and the zeal of their religious enthusiasts, give full employment to the scythe of desolation.

The wars of Africa are of two kinds, which are distinguished by different appellations: that species which bears the greatest resemblance to our European contests, is denominated *killi*, a word signifying "to call out," because such wars are openly avowed, and previously declared. Wars of this description in Africa, commonly terminate, however, in the course of a single campaign. A battle is fought; the vanquished seldom think of rallying again; the whole inhabitants become panic struck; and the conquerors have only to bind the slaves, and carry off their plunder and their victims. Such of the prisoners as, through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for sale, are considered as useless; and I have no doubt are frequently put to death. The same fate commonly awaits a chief, or any other person who has taken a very distinguished part in the war. And here it may be observed that, notwithstanding this exterminating system, it is surprising to behold how soon an African town is rebuilt and repeopled. The

circumstance arises probably from this; that their pitched battles are few; the weakest know their own situation, and seek safety in flight. When their country has been desolated, and their ruined towns and villages deserted by the enemy, such of the inhabitants as have escaped the *sword*, and the *chain*, generally return, though with cautions steps, to the place of their nativity; for it seems to be the universal wish of mankind, to spend the evening of their days where they passed their infancy. The poor Negro feels this desire in its full force. To him, no water is sweet but what is drawn from his own well; and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade as the *tabba* tree* of his native village. When war compels him to abandon the delightful spot in which he first drew his breath, and seek for safety in some other kingdom, his time is spent in talking about the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored than he turns his back upon the land of strangers, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village.

The other species of African warfare, is distinguished by the appellation of *tegria*, "plundering or stealing." It arises from a sort of hereditary feud, which the inhabitants of one nation or district bear towards another. No immediate cause of hostility is assigned, or notice of attack given; but the inhabitants of each, watch every opportunity to plunder and distress the objects of their animosity by predatory excursions. These, are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry

* This is a large spreading tree (a species of *sterculia*) under which the Bentang is commonly placed.

season, when the labour of the harvest is over and provisions are plentiful. Schemes of vengeance are then meditated. The chief man surveys the number and activity of his vassals, as they brandish their spears at festivals; and elated with his own importance, turns his whole thoughts towards revenging some depredation or insult, which either he or his ancestors may have received from a neighbouring state.

Wars of this description are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprize in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning, during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much alarmed by a party of this kind. The king of Fooladoo's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following, plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jallonkadoo.

The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Fooladoo, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants who had escaped these attacks, were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains.

These plundering excursions, always produce speedy reta-

liation; and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together, and advance into the enemy's country, with a view to plunder, or carry off the inhabitants. A single individual has been known to take his bow and quiver, and proceed in like manner. Such an attempt is doubtless in him an act of rashness; but when it is considered that, in one of these predatory wars, he has probably been deprived of his child or his nearest relation, his situation will rather call for pity than censure. The poor sufferer, urged on by the feelings of domestic or paternal attachment, and the ardour of revenge, conceals himself among the bushes, until some young or unarmed person passes by. He then, tyger-like, springs upon his prey; drags his victim into the thicket, and in the night carries him off as a slave.

When a Negro has, by means like these, once fallen into the hands of his enemies, he is either retained as the slave of his conqueror, or bartered into a distant kingdom; for an African, when he has once subdued his enemy, will seldom give him an opportunity of lifting up his hand against him at a future period. A conqueror commonly disposes of his captives according to the rank which they held in their native kingdom. Such of the domestic slaves as appear to be of a mild disposition, and particularly the young women, are retained as his own slaves. Others that display marks of discontent, are disposed of in a distant country; and such of the freemen or slaves, as have taken an active part in the war, are either sold to the Slatees, or put to death. War, therefore, is certainly the most general, and most productive source of slavery; and the

desolations of war often (but not always) produce the second cause of slavery, *famine;* in which case a freeman becomes a slave, to avoid a greater calamity.

Perhaps, by a philosophic and reflecting mind, death itself would scarcely be considered as a greater calamity than slavery; but the poor Negro, when fainting with hunger, thinks like ESAU of old; "*behold I am at the point to die, and what "profit shall this birthright do to me?*" There are many instances of free men voluntarily surrendering up their liberty to save their lives. During a great scarcity which lasted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. Dr. Laidley assured me that, at that time, many free men came and begged, with great earnestness, *to be put upon his slave-chain,* to save them from perishing of hunger. Large families are very often exposed to absolute want; and as the parents have almost unlimited authority over their children, it frequently happens, in all parts of Africa, that some of the latter are sold to purchase provisions for the rest of the family. When I was at Jarra, Daman Jumma pointed out to me three young slaves which he had purchased in this manner. I have already related another instance which I saw at Wonda; and I was informed that in Fooladoo, at that time, it was a very common practice.

The third cause of slavery, is *insolvency.* Of all the offences (if insolvency may be so called), to which the laws of Africa have affixed the punishment of slavery, this is the most common. A Negro trader commonly contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, either from his neighbours, to purchase such articles

as will sell to advantage in a distant market, or from the European traders on the Coast; payment to be made in a given time. In both cases, the situation of the adventurer is exactly the same. If he succeeds, he may secure an independency. If he is unsuccessful, his person and services are at the disposal of another; for in Africa, not only the effects of the insolvent, but even the insolvent himself, is sold to satisfy the lawful demands of his creditors.*

The fourth cause above enumerated, is *the commission of crimes, on which the laws of the country affix slavery as a punishment.* In Africa, the only offences of this class, are murder, adultery, and witchcraft; and I am happy to say, that they did not appear to me to be common. In cases of murder, I was informed, that the nearest relation of the deceased had it in his power, after conviction, either to kill the offender with his own hand, or sell him into slavery. When adultery occurs, it is generally left to the option of the person injured, either to sell the culprit, or accept such a ransom for him, as he may think

* When a Negro takes up goods on credit from any of the Europeans on the Coast, and does not make payment at the time appointed, the European is authorized, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the debtor himself, if he can find him; or if he cannot be found, on any person of his family; or, in the last resort, on *any native of the same kingdom.* The person thus seized on, is detained while his friends are sent in quest of the debtor. When he is found, a meeting is called of the chief people of the place, and the debtor is compelled to ransom his friend by fulfilling his engagements. If he is unable to do this, his person is immediately secured, and sent down to the Coast, and the other released. If the debtor cannot be found, the person seized on is obliged to pay double the amount of the debt, or is himself sold into slavery. I was given to understand, however, that this part of the law is seldom enforced.

equivalent to the injury he has sustained. By witchcraft, is meant pretended magic, by which the lives or healths of persons are affected: in other words, it is the administering of poison. No trial for this offence, however, came under my observation while I was in Africa; and I therefore suppose that the crime, and its punishment, occur but very seldom.

When a free man has become a slave by any one of the causes before mentioned, he generally continues so for life, and his children (if they are born of an enslaved mother) are brought up in the same state of servitude. There are however a few instances of slaves obtaining their freedom, and sometimes even with the consent of their masters; as by performing some singular piece of service, or by going to battle, and bringing home two slaves as a ransome; but the common way of regaining freedom is by escape; and when slaves have once set their minds on running away, they often succeed. Some of them will wait for years before an opportunity presents itself, and during that period shew no signs of discontent. In general, it may be remarked, that slaves who come from a hilly country, and have been much accustomed to hunting and travel, are more apt to attempt their escape, than such as are born in a flat country, and have been employed in cultivating the land.

Such are the general outlines of that system of slavery which prevails in Africa; and it is evident, from its nature and extent, that it is a system of no modern date. It probably had its origin in the remote ages of antiquity, before the Mahomedans explored a path across the Desert. How far it is maintained and supported by the slave traffic, which, for two hundred years, the

nations of Europe have carried on with the natives of the Coast, it is neither within my province, nor in my power, to explain. If my sentiments should be required concerning the effect which a discontinuance of that commerce would produce on the manners of the natives, I should have no hesitation in observing, that, in the present unenlightened state of their minds, my opinion is, the effect would neither be so extensive or beneficial, as many wise and and worthy persons fondly expect.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of Gold-dust, and the Manner in which it is collected.—Process of Washing it.—Its Value in Africa.—Of Ivory.—Surprise of the Negroes at the Eagerness of the Europeans for this Commodity.—Scattered Teeth frequently picked up in the Woods.—Mode of Hunting the Elephant.—Some Reflections on the unimproved State of the Country, &c.

THOSE valuable commodities, gold and ivory (the next objects of our inquiry), have probably been found in Africa from the first ages of the world. They are reckoned among its most important productions in the earliest records of its history.

It has been observed, that gold is seldom or never discovered, except in *mountainous* and *barren* countries: Nature, it is said, thus making amends in one way, for her penuriousness in the other. This, however, is not wholly true. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding; a country which is indeed hilly, but cannot properly be called *mountainous*, much less *barren*. It is also found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo (particularly about Boori), another hilly, but by no means an infertile country. It is remarkable, that in the place last mentioned (Boori), which is situated about four days' journey to the southwest of Kamalia, the salt market is often supplied, at the same time, with rock-salt from the Great

Desert, and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same; and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north, or Negroes from the west, are invited thither by the same motives, that of bartering their salt for gold.

The gold of Manding, so far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in small grains, nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head, to that of a pea; scattered through a large body of sand or clay; and in this state, it is called by the Mandingoes *sanoo munko*, "gold powder." It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the situation of the ground, that most of it has originally been washed down by repeated torrents from the neighbouring hills. The manner in which it is collected, is nearly as follows:

About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over, and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the Mansa, or chief of the town, appoints a day to begin *sanoo koo*, "gold "washing;" and the women are sure to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. A hoe, or spade, for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the first day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are used to ensure success; for a failure on that day, is thought a bad omen. The Mansa of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were I remember so much disappointed in their first day's washing,

that very few of them had resolution to persevere ; and the few that did, had but very indifferent success ; which indeed, is not much to be wondered at ; for instead of opening some untried place, they continued to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years ; and where, of course, but few large grains could be left.

The washing the sands of the streams, is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold-dust ; but in most places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that unless the stream takes some new course, the gold is found but in small quantities. While some of the party are busied in washing the sands, others employ themselves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the stream has carried away all the clay, sand, &c. and left nothing but small pebbles. The search among these is a very troublesome task. I have seen women who have had the skin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *sanoo birro*, " gold " stones," that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind ; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms weight. But the most certain and profitable mode of washing, is practised in the height of the dry season, by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which has previously been discovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with small spades or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the Negroes dig through the different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed, by

way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until they come to a stratum containing gold; or until they are obstructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold, in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand, for the women to wash; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women, who are accustomed from their infancy to a similar operation, in separating the husks of corn from the meal.

As I never descended into any one of these pits, I cannot say in what manner they are worked under ground. Indeed, the situation in which I was placed, made it necessary for me to be cautious not to incur the suspicion of the natives, by examining too far into the riches of their country; but the manner of separating the gold from the sand, is very simple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the searchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabash or two of sand, to be washed by such of the females as remain at home. The operation is simply as follows.

A portion of sand or clay (for the gold is sometimes found in a brown coloured clay), is put into a large calabash, and mixed with a sufficient quantity of water. The woman, whose office it is, then shakes the calabash in such a manner, as to mix the sand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion; at first gently, but afterwards more quick, until a small portion of sand and water, at every revolution, flies over

the brim of the calabash. The sand thus separated, is only the coarsest particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for some time, the sand is allowed to subside, and the water poured off; a portion of coarse sand which is now uppermost in the calabash, is removed by the hand, and fresh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almost pure. The woman now takes a second calabash, and shakes the sand and water gently from the one to the other, reserving that portion of sand which is next the bottom of the calabash, and which is most likely to contain the gold. This small quantity is mixed with some pure water, and being moved about in the calabash, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabash are examined in the same manner; but, in general, the party is well contented, if she can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabashes. Some women, however, by long practice, become so well acquainted with the nature of the sand, and the mode of washing it, that they will collect gold, where others cannot find a single particle. The gold dust is kept in quills, stopt up with cotton; and the washers are fond of displaying a number of these quills in their hair. Generally speaking, if a person uses common diligence, in a proper soil, it is supposed that as much gold may be collected by him in the course of the dry season, as is equal to the value of two slaves.

Thus simple is the process by which the Negroes obtain gold in Manding; and it is evident, from this account, that the country contains a considerable portion of this precious metal; for many of the smaller particles must necessarily escape the observation

of the naked eye; and as the natives generally search the sands of streams at a considerable distance from the hills, and consequently far removed from the mines where the gold was originally produced, the labourers are sometimes but ill paid for their trouble. Minute particles only, of this heavy metal, can be carried by the current to any considerable distance; the larger must remain deposited near the original source from whence they came. Were the gold-bearing streams to be traced to their fountains; and the hills from whence they spring, properly examined, the sand in which the gold is there deposited would, no doubt, be found to contain particles of a much larger size;* and even the small grains might be collected to considerable advantage by the use of quicksilver, and other improvements, with which the natives are at present unacquainted.

Part of this gold is converted into ornaments for the women, but, in general, these ornaments are more to be admired for their weight, than their workmanship. They are massy and inconvenient, particularly the ear-rings, which are commonly so heavy as to pull down and lacerate the lobe of the ear; to avoid which they are supported by a thong of red leather, which passes over the crown of the head from one ear to the other. The necklace displays greater fancy; and the proper

* I am informed that the gold mine, as it is called, in Wicklow, in Ireland, which was discovered in the year 1795, is near the top, and upon the steep slope, of a mountain. Here, pieces of gold of several ounces weight were frequently found. What would have been gold-dust two miles below, was here golden gravel; that is, each grain was like a small pebble in size, and one piece was found which weighed near twenty-two ounces troy.

arrangement of the different beads and plates of gold, is the great criterion of taste and elegance. When a lady of consequence is in full dress, her gold ornaments may be worth altogether, from fifty to eighty pounds sterling.

A small quantity of gold is likewise employed by the Slatees, in defraying the expences of their journies to and from the Coast; but by far the greater proportion is annually carried away by the Moors in exchange for salt, and other merchandize. During my stay at Kamalia, the gold collected by the different traders at that place, for salt alone, was nearly equal to one hundred and ninety-eight pounds sterling; and as Kamalia is but a small town, and not much resorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity must have borne a very small proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kankaree, and some other large towns. The value of salt in this part of Africa is very great. One slab, about two feet and a half in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about two pounds ten shillings sterling, and from one pound fifteen shillings, to two pounds, may be considered as the common price. Four of these slabs are considered as a load for an ass, and six for a bullock. The value of European merchandize in Manding varies very much, according to the supply from the coast, or the dread of war in the country; but the return for such articles is commonly made in slaves. The price of a prime slave when I was at Kamalia, was from *nine* to *twelve* minkallies, and European commodities had then nearly the following value:

18 gun flints,
48 leaves of tobacco,
20 charges of gunpowder,
A cutlass,
} one minkalli.

A musket, from three to four minkallies.

The produce of the country, and the different necessaries of life, when exchanged for gold, sold as follows:

Common provisions for one day, the weight of one *teelee-kissi* (a black bean, six of which make the weight of one minkalli; —a chicken, one teelee-kissi—a sheep three teelee-kissi—a bullock one minkalli—a horse from ten to seventeen minkallies.

The Negroes weigh the gold in small balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference in point of value, between gold dust and wrought gold. In bartering one article for another, the person who receives the gold, always weighs it with his own teelee-kissi. These beans are sometimes fraudently soaked in Shea-butter, to make them heavy; and I once saw a pebble ground exactly into the form of one of them; but such practices are not very common.

Having now related the substance of what occurs to my recollection concerning the African mode of obtaining gold from the earth, and its value in barter, I proceed to the next article, of which I proposed to treat, namely, *ivory*.

Nothing creates a greater surprise among the Negroes on the sea coast, than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth; it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what use it is applied. Although they are shewn knives with ivory hafts, combs, and toys of the same

material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured, was originally parts of a tooth, they are not satisfied. They suspect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe, to purposes of far greater importance; the true nature of which is studiously concealed from them, lest the price of ivory should be enhanced. They cannot, they say, easily persuade themselves, that ships would be built, and voyages undertaken, to procure an article, which had no other value than that of furnishing handles to knives, &c. when pieces of wood would answer the purpose equally well.

Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, but they appear to be a distinct species from those found in Asia. Blumenbach, in his figures of objects of natural history, has given good drawings of a grinder of each; and the variation is evident. M. Cuvier also has given, in the *Magazin Encyclopedique*, a clear account of the difference between them. As I never examined the Asiatic elephant, I have chosen rather to refer to those writers, than advance this as an opinion of my own. It has been said, that the African elephant is of a less docile nature than the Asiatic, and incapable of being tamed. The Negroes certainly do not at present tame them; but when we consider that the Carthaginians had always tame elephants in their armies, and actually transported some of them to Italy in the course of the Punic wars; it seems more likely that they should have possessed the art of taming their own elephants, than have submitted to the expence of bringing such vast animals from Asia. Perhaps, the barbarous practice of hunting the African elephants for the sake of their teeth, has rendered

them more untractable and savage, than they were found to be in former times.

The greater part of the ivory which is sold on the Gambia, and Senegal rivers, is brought from the interior country. The lands towards the Coast are too swampy, and too much intersected with creeks and rivers, for so bulky an animal as the elephant to travel through, without being discovered; and when once the natives discern the marks of his feet in the earth, the whole village is up in arms. The thoughts of feasting on his flesh, making sandals of his hide, and selling the teeth to the Europeans, inspire every one with courage; and the animal seldom escapes from his pursuers; but in the plains of Bambarra and Kaarta, and the extensive wilds of Jallonkadoo, the elephants are very numerous; and, from the great scarcity of gunpowder in those districts, they are less annoyed by the natives.

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant, to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country, where the soil is shallow. These bushes he easily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are, in general, more tender and juicy than the hard woody branches, or the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal, in this practice, frequently causes them to break short. At Kamalia I saw two teeth; one, a very large one; which were found in the woods, and which were evidently broken

off in this manner. Indeed it is difficult otherwise to account for such a large proportion of broken ivory, as is daily offered for sale, at the different factories; for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unless he dashes himself over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

There are certain seasons of the year when the elephants collect into large herds, and traverse the country in quest of food or water; and as all that part of the country to the north of the Niger, is destitute of rivers, whenever the pools in the woods are dried up, the elephants approach towards the banks of that river. Here, they continue until the commencement of the rainy season, in the months of June or July; and during this time they are much hunted by such of the Bambarrans as have gunpowder to spare. The elephant hunters seldom go out singly; a party of four or five join together; and having each furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leather bag, sufficient for five or six days provision, they enter the most unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care every thing that can lead to the discovery of the elephants. In this pursuit, notwithstanding the bulk of the animal, very great nicety of observation is required. The broken branches, the scattered dung of the animal, and the marks of his feet, are carefully inspected; and many of the hunters have, by long experience and attentive observation, become so expert in their search, that as soon as they observe the footmarks of an elephant, they will tell almost to a certainty at what time it passed, and at what distance it will be found.

When they discover a herd of elephants, they follow them at

a distance, until they perceive some one stray from the rest, and come into such a situation as to be fired at, with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongst the long grass, until they have got near enough to be sure of their aim. They then discharge all their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces among the grass. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and seeing nobody near him, becomes quite furious, and runs about amongst the bushes, until by fatigue and loss of blood he has exhausted himself, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing a second time at him, by which he is generally brought to the ground.

The skin is now taken off, and extended on the ground with pegs, to dry; and such parts of the flesh as are most esteemed, are cut up into thin slices, and dried in the sun, to serve for provisions on some future occasion. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet, which the hunters always carry along with them; not only for that purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain honey; for though they carry with them only five or six days provisions, they will remain in the woods for months, if they are successful; and support themselves upon the flesh of such elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

The ivory thus collected, is seldom brought down to the Coast by the hunters themselves. They dispose of it to the itinerant merchants, who come annually from the Coast with arms and ammunition, to purchase this valuable commodity.

Some of these merchants will collect ivory in the course of one season, sufficient to load four or five asses. A great quantity of ivory is likewise brought from the interior, by the slave coffles; there are, however, some Slatees, of the Mahomedan persuasion, who, from motives of religion, will not deal in ivory; nor eat of the flesh of the elephant, unless it has been killed with a spear.

The quantity of ivory collected in this part of Africa, is not so great, nor are the teeth in general so large as in the countries nearer the Line: few of them weigh more than eighty, or one hundred pounds; and, upon an average, a bar of European merchandise may be reckoned as the price of a pound of ivory.

I have now, I trust, in this and the preceding chapters, explained with sufficient minuteness, the nature and extent of the commercial connection which at present prevails, and has long subsisted, between the Negro natives of those parts of Africa which I visited, and the nations of Europe; and it appears, that slaves, gold, and ivory, together with the few articles enumerated in the beginning of my work, *viz.* bees-wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye woods, constitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa; such as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cotton-wool, and perhaps a few others; but of all these (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour), the natives raise sufficient only for their own immediate expenditure; nor, under the present system of their laws, manners, trade and government, can any thing farther be expected from them. It cannot, however,

admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized, and brought to the utmost perfection, in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end, but example, to enlighten the minds of the natives; and instruction, to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture; and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country, so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people of manners and dispositions so gentle and benevolent, should either be left as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of Pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism; which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart. On this subject many observations might be made; but the reader will probably think that I have already digressed too largely; and I now, therefore, return to my situation at Kamalia.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Transactions at Kamalia resumed.—Arabic MSS. in Use among the Mahomedan Negroes.—Reflections concerning the Conversion and Education of the Negro Children.—Return of the Author's Benefactor, KARFA.*—Further Account of the Purchase and Treatment of Slaves.—Fast of Rhamadan, how observed by the Negroes.—Author's anxiety for the Day of Departure.—The Caravan sets out—Account of it on its Departure, and Proceedings on the Road, until its arrival at Kinytakooro.*

THE schoolmaster, to whose care I was entrusted during the absence of Karfa, was a man of a mild disposition, and gentle manners; his name was Fankooma; and although he himself adhered strictly to the religion of Mahomet, he was by no means intolerant in his principles towards others who differed from him. He spent much of his time in reading; and teaching appeared to be his pleasure, as well as employment. His school consisted of seventeen boys, most of whom were sons of Kafirs; and two girls, one of whom was Karfa's own daughter. The girls received their instructions in the day time, but the boys always had their lessons by the light of a large fire before day-break, and again late in the evening; for being considered, during their scholarship, as the domestic slaves of the master,

they were employed in planting corn, bringing fire-wood, and in other servile offices, through the day.

Exclusive of the Koran, and a book or two of commentaries thereon, the schoolmaster possessed a variety of manuscripts, which had partly been purchased from the trading Moors, and partly borrowed from Bushreens in the neighbourhood, and copied with great care. Other MSS. had been produced to me at different places in the course of my journey; and on recounting those I had before seen, and those which were now shewn to me, and interrogating the schoolmaster on the subject, I discovered that the Negroes are in possession (among others), of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which they call *Taureta la Moosa*. This is so highly esteemed, that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David *(Zabora Dawidi)*; and, lastly, the book of Isaiah, which they call *Lingeeli la Isa*, and it is in very high esteem. I suspect, indeed, that in all these copies, there are interpolations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet, for I could distinguish in many passages the name of the Prophet. It is possible, however, that this circumstance might otherwise have been accounted for, if my knowledge of the Arabic had been more extensive. By means of those books, many of the converted Negroes have acquired an acquaintance with some of the remarkable events recorded in the old Testament. The account of our first parents; the death of Abel; the deluge; the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the story of Joseph and his brethren; the history of Moses, David, Solomon, &c. All these have been related to me in the Man-

dingo language, with tolerable exactness, by different people; and my surprise was not greater on hearing these accounts from the lips of the Negroes, than theirs, on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for although the Negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mahomedan converts among them, think but very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts, take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice; always performing their own devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the Negroes in a friendly and instructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not so much the subject of wonder, as matter of regret, to observe, that while the superstition of Mahomet has, in this manner, scattered a few faint beams of learning among these poor people, the precious light of Christianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament, that although the Coast of Africa has now been known and frequented by the Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the Negroes still remain entire strangers to the doctrines of our holy religion. We are anxious to draw from obscurity the opinions and records of antiquity, the beauties of Arabian and Asiatic literature, &c.; but while our libraries are thus stored with the learning of various countries, we distribute with a parsimonious hand, the blessings of religious truth, to the benighted nations of the earth. The natives of Asia derive but little advantage in this respect from an intercourse with us; and even the poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little

better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardson's Arabic grammar to some Slatees on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should understand, and write, the sacred language of their religion. At first, they suspected that it might have been written by some of the slaves carried from the Coast; but, on a closer examination, they were satisfied that no Bushreen could write such beautiful Arabic; and one of them offered to give me an ass, and sixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book. Perhaps, a short and easy introduction to Christianity, such as is found in some of the catechisms for children, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed on different parts of the Coast, might have a wonderful effect. The expence would be but trifling; curiosity would induce many to read it; and the evident superiority which it would possess over their present manuscripts, both in point of elegance and cheapness, might at last obtain it a place among the school books of Africa.

The reflections which I have thus ventured to submit to my readers on this important subject, naturally suggested themselves to my mind, on perceiving the encouragement which was thus given to learning (such as it is), in many parts of Africa. I have observed, that the pupils at Kamalia were most of them the children of Pagans; their parents, therefore, could have had no predilection for the doctrines of Mahomet. Their aim was their children's improvement; and if a more enlightened system had presented itself, it would probably have been preferred. The children, too, wanted not a spirit of emulation; which it is the aim of the tutor to encourage. When any one of them has

read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feast is prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination, or (in European terms,) *takes out his degree.* I attended at three different inaugurations of this sort, and heard with pleasure, the distinct and intelligent answers which the scholars frequently gave to the Bushreens, who assembled on those occasions, and acted as examiners. When the Bushreens had satisfied themselves respecting the learning and abilities of the scholar, the last page of the Koran was put into his hand, and he was desired to read it aloud: after the boy had finished this lesson, he pressed the paper against his forehead, and pronounced the word *Amen;* upon which all the Bushreens rose, and shaking him cordially by the hand, bestowed upon him the title of Bushreen.

When a scholar has undergone this examination, his parents are informed that he has completed his education, and that it is incumbent on them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave, in exchange; which is always done, if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the schoolmaster until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself.

About a week after the departure of Karfa, three Moors arrived at Kamalia with a considerable quantity of salt, and other merchandize, which they had obtained on credit, from a merchant of Fezzan, who had lately arrived at Kancaba. Their engagement was to pay him his price when the goods were sold, which they expected would be in the course of a month. Being

rigid Bushreens, they were accommodated with two of Karfa's huts, and sold their goods to very great advantage.

On the 24th of January, Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime slaves which he had purchased. He likewise brought with him a young girl whom he had married at Kancaba, as his fourth wife, and had given her parents three prime slaves for her. She was kindly received at the door of the Baloon by Karfa's other wives, who conducted their new acquaintance and co-partner into one of the best huts, which they had caused to be swept and white-washed, on purpose to receive her.*

My clothes were by this time become so very ragged, that I was almost ashamed to appear out of doors; but Karfa, on the day after his arrival, generously presented me with such a garment and trowsers, as are commonly worn in the country.

The slaves which Karfa had brought with him were all of them prisoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarran army in the kingdoms of Wassela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where some of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were sent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger in two large canoes, and offered for sale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold-dust, and the remainder sent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confessed to me that they had been slaves from their infancy; but the other two refused to give any account

* The Negroes white-wash their huts with a mixture of bone-ashes and water, to which is commonly added a little gum.

of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive; but they viewed me at first with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. I told them, that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me; and one of them putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "have you really got such ground as this, to set your feet upon?" A deeply rooted idea, that the whites purchase Negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the Coast with great terror; insomuch that the Slatees are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely, to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured, by putting the right leg of one, and the left of another, into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs; and in the night, an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of discontent, are secured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the present case they were put on by the blacksmith

as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the coffle departed for Gambia.

In other respects, the treatment of the slaves during their stay at Kamalia, was far from being harsh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters, every morning, to the shade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and sing diverting songs, to keep up their spirits; for though some of them sustained the hardships of their situation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would sit all day in a sort of sullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening, their irons were examined, and their hand fetters put on; after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domestic slaves. But notwithstanding all this, about a week after their arrival, one of the slaves had the address to procure a small knife, with which he opened the rings of his fetters, cut the rope, and made his escape: more of them would probably have got off, had they assisted each other; but the slave no sooner found himself at liberty, than he refused to stop, and assist in breaking the chain which was fastened round the necks of his companions.

As all the Slatees and slaves belonging to the coffle were now assembled, either at Kamalia, or at some of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we should have set out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it. Some of the people had not prepared

their dry provisions; others had gone to visit their relations, or collect some trifling debts; and, last of all, it was necessary to consult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of these, or other such causes, our departure was put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced; after which all the Slatees agreed to remain in their present quarters, until the *fast moon was over.* And here I may remark, that loss of time, is an object of no great importance in the eyes of a Negro. If he has any thing of consequence to perform, it is a matter of indifference to him whether he does it to-day or to-morrow, or a month or two hence: so long as he can spend the present moment with any degree of comfort, he gives himself very little concern about the future.

The fast of Rhamadan was observed with great strictness, by all the Bushreens; but, instead of compelling me to follow their example, as the Moors did on a similar occasion, Karfa frankly told me that I was at liberty to pursue my own inclination. In order, however, to manifest a respect for their religious opinions, I voluntarily fasted three days, which was thought sufficient to screen me from the reproachful epithet of Kafir. During the fast, all the Slatees belonging to the coffle assembled every morning in Karfa's house, where the schoolmaster read to them some religious lessons, from a large folio volume, the author of which was an Arab, of the name of *Sheiffa.* In the evening, such of the women as had embraced Mahomedanism assembled, and said their prayers publicly at the Misura. They were all dressed in white, and went through the different prostrations, prescribed by their religion, with becoming solemnity. Indeed,

during the whole fast of Rhamadan, the Negroes behaved themselves with the greatest meekness and humility; forming a striking contrast to the savage intolerance and brutal bigotry, which at this period characterize the Moors.

When the first month was almost at an end, the Bushreens assembled at the Misura, to watch for the appearance of the new moon; but the evening being rather cloudy, they were for some time disappointed, and a number of them had gone home with a resolution to fast another day, when on a sudden this delightful object showed her sharp horns from behind a cloud, and was welcomed with the clapping of hands, beating of drums, firing muskets, and other marks of rejoicing. As this moon is reckoned extremely lucky, Karfa gave orders that all the people belonging to the coffle should immediately pack up their dry provisions, and hold themselves in readiness; and on the 16th of April, the Slatees held a consultation, and fixed on the 19th of the same month, as the day on which the coffle should depart from Kamalia. This resolution freed me from much uneasiness; for our departure had already been so long deferred, that I was apprehensive it might still be put off until the commencement of the rainy season; and although Karfa behaved towards me with the greatest kindness, I found my situation very unpleasant. The Slatees were unfriendly to me; and the trading Moors, who were at this time at Kamalia, continued to plot mischief against me, from the first day of their arrival. Under these circumstances, I reflected, that my life in a great measure depended on the good opinion of an individual, who was daily hearing malicious stories con-

cerning the Europeans; and I could hardly expect that he would always judge with impartiality between me and his countrymen. Time had, indeed, reconciled me, in some degree, to their mode of life; and a smoky hut, or a scanty supper, gave me no great uneasiness; but I became at last wearied out with a constant state of alarm and anxiety, and felt a painful longing for the manifold blessings of civilized society.

On the morning of the 17th, a circumstance occurred, which wrought a considerable change in my favour. The three trading Moors, who had lodged under Karfa's protection, ever since their arrival at Kamalia, and had gained the esteem of all the Bushreens, by an appearance of great sanctity, suddenly packed up their effects, and, without once thanking Karfa for his kindness towards them, marched over the hills to Bala. Every one was astonished at this unexpected removal; but the affair was cleared up in the evening, by the arrival of the Fezzan merchant from Kancaba (mentioned in p. 317); who assured Karfa, that these Moors had borrowed all their salt and goods from him, and had sent for him to come to Kamalia, and receive payment. When he was told that they had fled to the westward, he wiped a tear from each eye with the sleeve of his cloak, and exclaimed, "these *shirrukas* (robbers) are Mahomedans, but they are not "men; they have robbed me of two hundred minkallies." From this merchant, I received information of the capture of our Mediterranean convoy by the French, in October 1795.

April 19th. The long wished-for day of our departure was at length arrived; and the Slatees having taken the irons from their slaves, assembled with them at the door of Karfa's house,

where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load assigned him. The coffle, on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo, and three at Bala; making in all thirty-five slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives, and some domestic slaves; and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for Woradoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars; so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the free men were six Jillakeas (singing men), whose musical talents were frequently exerted either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from strangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile, by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground, from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the townspeople were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster, with two of the principal Slatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer; after which they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression in the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people be-

longing to the coffle sprang up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends, set forwards. As many of the slaves had remained for years in ruins, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs; and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we stopt about two hours, to allow the strangers time to pack up their provisions, and then continued our route to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon. The inhabitants of Bala, at this season of the year, subsist chiefly on fish, which they take in great plenty from the streams in the neighbourhood. We remained here until the afternoon of the next day, the 20th, when we proceeded to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding towards Jallonkadoo. As we proposed shortly to enter the Jallonka Wilderness, the people of this village furnished us with great plenty of provisions; and on the morning of the 21st, we entered the woods to the westward of Worumbang. After having travelled some little way, a consultation was held, whether we should continue our route through the Wilderness, or save one day's provisions by going to Kinytakooro, a town in Jallonkadoo. After debating the matter for some time, it was agreed that we should take the road for Kinytakooro; but as that town was a long day's journey distant, it was necessary to take some refreshment. Accordingly every person opened his provision bag, and brought a handful or two of meal, to the place where Karfa and the

Slatees were sitting. When every one had brought his quota, and the whole was properly arranged in small gourd shells, the shoolmaster offered up a short prayer; the substance of which was, that God and the holy Prophet might preserve us from robbers and all bad people, that our provisions might never fail us, nor our limbs become fatigued. This ceremony being ended, every one partook of the meal, and drank a little water; after which we set forward (rather running than walking), until we came to the river Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, where we halted about ten minutes. The banks of this river are very high; and from the grass and brushwood which had been left by the stream, it was evident that at this place, the water had risen more than twenty feet perpendicular, during the rainy season. At this time it was only a small stream, such as would turn a mill, swarming with fish; and on account of the number of crocodiles, and the danger of being carried past the ford by the force of the stream in the rainy season, it is called *Kokoro* (dangerous). From this place we continued to travel with the greatest expedition, and in the afternoon crossed two small branches of the Kokoro. About sunset we came in sight of Kinytakooro, a considerable town, nearly square, situated in the middle of a large and well cultivated plain: before we entered the town we halted, until the people who had fallen behind came up. During this day's travel, two slaves, a woman and a girl belonging to a Slatee of Bala, were so much fatigued that they could not keep up with the coffle; they were severely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they

were both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had *eaten clay*. This practice is by no means uncommon amongst the Negroes; but whether it arises from a vitiated appetite, or from a settled intention to destroy themselves, I cannot affirm. They were permitted to lie down in the woods, and three people remained with them until they had rested themselves; but they did not arrive at the town until past midnight; and were then so much exhausted, that the Slatee gave up all thoughts of taking them across the woods in their present condition, and determined to return with them to Bala, and wait for another opportunity.

As this was the first town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station, and we marched towards the town, in a sort of procession, nearly as follows. In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves fastened in the usual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the Slatees, &c. In this manner we proceeded, until we came within a hundred yards of the gate; when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town we proceeded to the Bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *dentegi* (history); this was related

publicly by two of the singing men: they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffle; beginning with the events of the present day, and relating every thing, in a backward series, until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present; and all the people of the coffle, both free and enslaved, were invited, by some person or other, and accommodated with lodging and provisions for the night.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Coffle crosses the Jallonka Wilderness.—Miserable Fate of one of the female Slaves;—arrives at Sooseeta;—proceeds to Manna. Some Account of the Jallonkas.—Crosses the main Stream of the Senegal.—Bridge of a singular Construction.—Arrives at Malacotta.—Remarkable Conduct of the King of the Jaloffs.

We continued at Kinytakooro until noon of the 22d of April, when we removed to a village about seven miles to the westward; the inhabitants of which being apprehensive of hostilities from the Foulahs of Fooladoo, were at this time employed in constructing small temporary huts among the rocks, on the side of a high hill close to the village. The situation was almost impregnable, being every where surrounded with high precipices, except on the eastern side, where the natives had left a pathway sufficient to allow one person at a time to ascend. Upon the brow of the hill, immediately over this path, I observed several heaps of large loose stones, which the people told me were intended to be thrown down upon the Foulahs, if they should attempt the hill.

At daybreak, on the 23d, we departed from this village, and entered the Jallonka Wilderness. We passed, in the course of the morning, the ruins of two small towns, which had lately been burnt by the Foulahs. The fire must have been very intense; for I observed that the walls of many of the huts were

slightly vitrified, and appeared at a distance as if covered with a red varnish. About ten o'clock we came to the river Wonda, which is somewhat larger than the river Kokoro; but the stream was at this time rather muddy, which Karfa assured me was occasioned by amazing shoals of fish. They were indeed seen in all directions, and in such abundance, that I fancied the water itself tasted and smelt fishy. As soon as we had crossed the river, Karfa gave orders that all the people of the coffle should in future keep close together, and travel in their proper station: the guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and slaves in the centre, and the free men in the rear. In this order, we travelled with uncommon expedition, through a woody, but beautiful country, interspersed with a pleasing variety of hill and dale, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowls, and deer, until sunset; when we arrived at a most romantic stream called Co-meissang. My arms and neck having been exposed to the sun during the whole day, and irritated by the rubbing of my dress in walking, were now very much inflamed and covered with blisters; and I was happy to embrace the opportunity, while the coffle rested on the bank of this river, to bathe myself in the stream. This practice, together with the cool of the evening, much diminished the inflammation. About three miles to the westward of the Co-meissang we halted in a thick wood, and kindled our fires for the night. We were all, by this time, very much fatigued; having, as I judged, travelled this day thirty miles; but no person was heard to complain. Whilst supper was preparing, Karfa made one of the slaves break some branches from the trees for my bed.

When we had finished our supper of kouskous, moistened with some boiling water, and put the slaves in irons, we all lay down to sleep; but we were frequently disturbed in the night by the howling of wild beasts; and we found the small brown ants very troublesome.

April 24th. Before daybreak the Bushreens said their morning prayers, and most of the free people drank a little *moening* (a sort of gruel), part of which was likewise given to such of the slaves as appeared least able to sustain the fatigues of the day. One of Karfa's female slaves was very sulky, and when some gruel was offered to her, she refused to drink it. As soon as day dawned we set out, and travelled the whole morning over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were much bruised; and I was sadly apprehensive that I should not be able to keep up with the coffle during the day; but I was, in a great measure, relieved from this anxiety, when I observed that others were more exhausted than myself. In particular, the woman slave, who had refused victuals in the morning, began now to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken from her, and given to another slave, and she was ordered to keep in the front of the coffle. About eleven o'clock, as we were resting by a small rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when the largest swarm I ever beheld, flew out, and attacking the people of the coffle, made us fly in all directions. I took the alarm first, and I believe was the only person who escaped with impunity. When our enemies thought fit to desist from pursuing us, and every person was employed

in picking out the stings he had received, it was discovered that the poor woman abovementioned, whose name was Nealee, was not come up; and as many of the slaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it became necessary for some persons to return, and bring them. In order to do this with safety, fire was set to the grass, a considerable way to the eastward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke, and recovered the bundles. They likewise brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet. She was very much exhausted, and had crept to the stream, in hopes to defend herself from the bees by throwing water over her body; but this proved ineffectual; for she was stung in the most dreadful manner.

When the Slatees had picked out the stings as far as they could, she was washed with water, and then rubbed with bruised leaves; but the wretched woman obstinately refused to proceed any farther; declaring, that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied; and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer, when she made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was so very weak, that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect; upon which Karfa desired two of the Slatees to place her upon the ass which carried our dry provisions; but she could not sit erect; and the ass being very refractory, it was found impossible to carry her forward in that

manner. The Slatees however were unwilling to abandon her, the day's journey being nearly ended: they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark: this litter was carried upon the heads of two slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark, when we reached a stream of water, at the foot of a high hill called Gankaran-Kooro; and here we stopt for the night, and set about preparing our supper. As we had only eat one handful of meal since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves, who had loads upon their heads, were very much fatigued; and some of them *snapt their fingers*, which among the Negroes is a sure sign of desperation. The Slatees immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondence, were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied. In the morning they were found greatly recovered.

April 25th. At daybreak poor Nealee was awakened; but her limbs were now become so stiff and painful, that she could neither walk nor stand; she was therefore lifted, like a corpse, upon the back of the ass; and the Slatees endeavoured to secure her in that situation, by fastening her hands together under the ass's neck, and her feet under the belly, with long slips of bark; but the ass was so very unruly, that no sort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load; and as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herself from falling, she was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruised. Every attempt to

carry her forward being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was, *kang-tegi, kang-tegi*, "cut her throat, cut her throat;" an operation I did not wish to see performed, and therefore marched onwards with the foremost of the coffle. I had not walked above a mile, when one of Karfa's domestic slaves came up to me, with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed *Nealee affeeleeta* (Nealee is lost). I asked him whether the Slatees had given him the garment, as a reward for cutting her throat; he replied, that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not consent to that measure, but had left her on the road; where undoubtedly she soon perished, and was probably devoured by wild beasts.

The sad fate of this wretched woman, notwithstanding the outcry beforementioned, made a strong impression on the minds of the whole coffle, and the schoolmaster fasted the whole of the ensuing day, in consequence of it. We proceeded in deep silence, and soon afterward crossed the river Furkoomah, which was about as large as the river Wonda. We now travelled with great expedition, every one being apprehensive he might otherwise meet with the fate of poor Nealee. It was however with great difficulty that I could keep up, although I threw away my spear, and every thing that could in the least obstruct me. About noon we saw a large herd of elephants, but they suffered us to pass unmolested, and in the evening we halted near a thicket of bamboo, but found no water; so that we were forced to proceed four miles farther, to a small stream, where we stopt for the night. We had marched this day, as I judged, about twenty-six miles.

April 26th. This morning two of the schoolmaster's pupils complained much of pains in their legs, and one of the slaves walked lame, the soles of his feet being very much blistered and inflamed; we proceeded, notwithstanding, and about eleven o'clock began to ascend a rocky hill called Boki-kooro, and it was past two in the afternoon before we reached the level ground on the other side. This was the most rocky road we had yet encountered, and it hurt our feet much. In a short time we arrived at a pretty large river called Boki, which we forded: it ran smooth and clear, over a bed of whinstone. About a mile to the westward of the river, we came to a road which leads to the north-east towards Gadou, and seeing the marks of many horses' feet upon the soft sand, the Slatees conjectured that a party of plunderers had lately rode that way, to fall upon some town of Gadou; and lest they should discover, upon their return, that we had passed, and attempt to pursue us by the marks of our feet, the coffle was ordered to disperse, and travel in a loose manner through the high grass and bushes. A little before it was dark, having crossed the ridge of hills to the westward of the river Boki, we came to a well called *cullong qui* (white sand well), and here we rested for the night.

April 27th. We departed from the well early in the morning, and walked on, with the greatest alacrity, in hopes of reaching a town before night. The road, during the forenoon, led through extensive thickets of dry bamboos. About two o'clock we came to a stream called Nunkolo, where we were each of us regaled with a handful of meal, which, according to a superstitious custom, was not to be eaten until it was first moistened with water from this stream. About four o'clock we

reached Sooseeta, a small Jallonka village, situated in the district of Kullo, which comprehends all that tract of country lying along the banks of the Black river, or main branch of the Senegal. These were the first human habitations we had seen, since we left the village to the westward of Kinytakooro; having travelled in the course of the last five days, upwards of one hundred miles. Here, after a great deal of entreaty, we were provided with huts to sleep in; but the master of the village plainly told us that he could not give us any provisions, as there had lately been a great scarcity in this part of the country. He assured us, that before they had gathered in their present crops, the whole inhabitants of Kullo had been for twenty-nine days without tasting corn; during which time, they supported themselves entirely upon the yellow powder which is found in the pods of the *nitta*, so called by the natives, a species of mimosa; and upon the seeds of the bamboo cane, which, when properly pounded and dressed, taste very much like rice. As our dry provisions were not yet exhausted, a considerable quantity of kouskous was dressed for supper, and many of the villagers were invited to take part of the repast; but they made a very bad return for this kindness; for in the night they seized upon one of the schoolmaster's boys, who had fallen asleep under the Bentang tree, and carried him away. The boy fortunately awoke before he was far from the village, and setting up a loud scream, the man who carried him, put his hand upon his mouth, and run with him into the woods; but afterward understanding that he belonged to the schoolmaster, whose place of residence is only three day's journey distant, he thought, I suppose, that he could not

retain him as a slave, without the schoolmaster's knowledge; and therefore stripped off the boy's clothes, and permitted him to return.

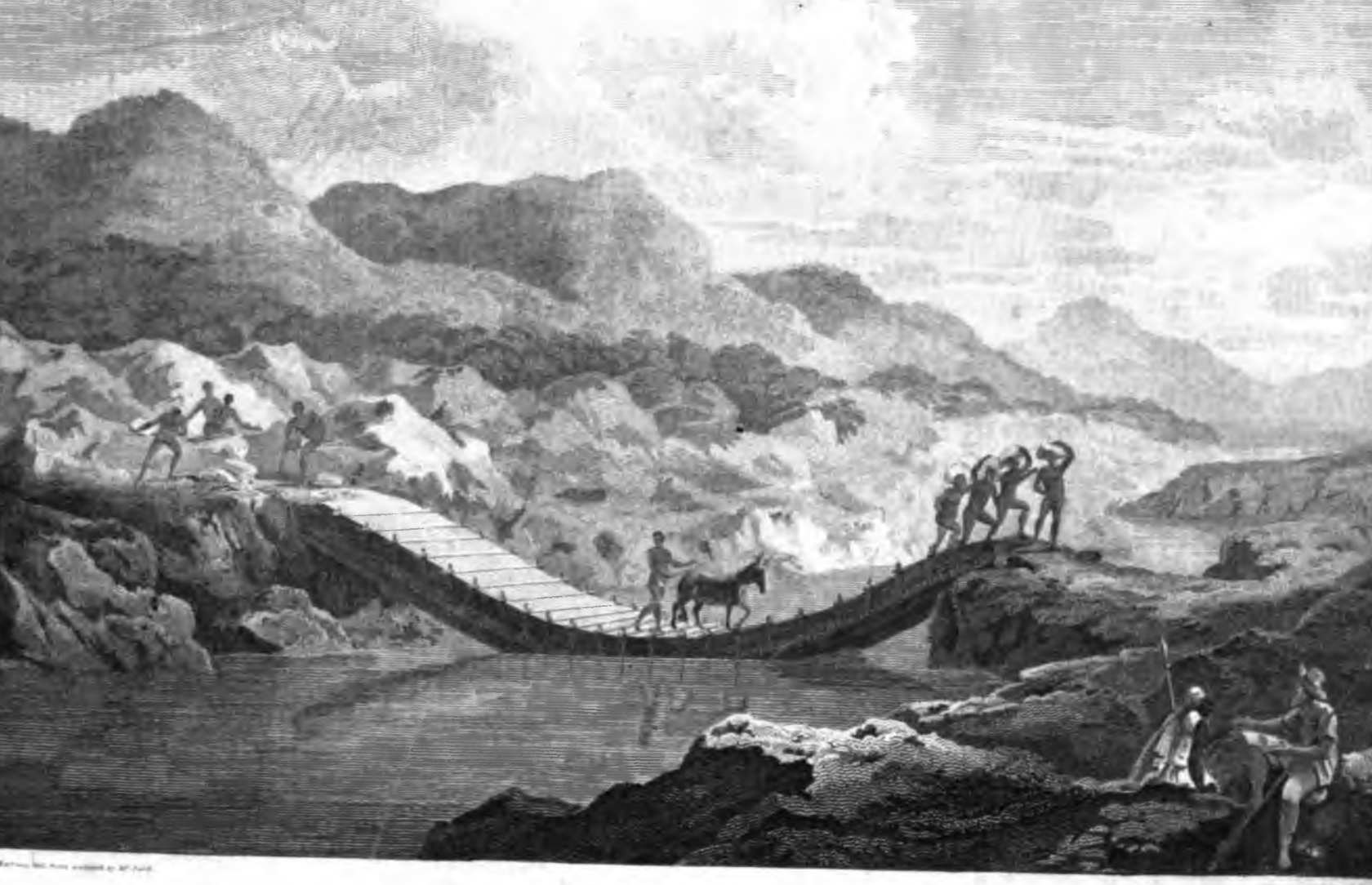
April 28th. Early in the morning we departed from Sooseeta, and about ten o'clock, came to an unwalled town called Manna; the inhabitants of which were employed in collecting the fruit of the nitta trees, which are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The pods are long and narrow, and contain a few black seeds enveloped in the fine mealy powder before mentioned; the meal itself is of a bright yellow colour, resembling the flour of sulphur, and has a sweet mucilaginous taste: when eaten by itself it is clammy, but when mixed with milk or water, it constitutes a very pleasant and nourishing article of diet.

The language of the people of Manna, is the same that is spoken all over that extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo. Some of the words have a great affinity to the Mandingo, but the natives themselves consider it as a distinct language: their numerals are these,

One	——	*Kidding.*
Two	——	*Fidding.*
Three	——	*Sarra.*
Four	——	*Nani.*
Five	——	*Soolo.*
Six	——	*Seni.*
Seven	——	*Soolo ma fidding.*
Eight	——	*Soolo ma sarra.*
Nine	——	*Soolo ma nani.*
Ten	——	*Nuff.*

The Jallonkas, like the Mandingoes, are governed by a number of petty chiefs, who are, in a great measure, independent of each other: they have no common sovereign, and the chiefs are seldom upon such terms of friendship as to assist each other, even in war time. The chief of Manna, with a number of his people, accompanied us to the banks of the Bafing, or Black river (a principal branch of the Senegal) which we crossed upon a bridge of bamboos, of a very singular construction; some idea of which may be formed from the annexed engraving. The river at this place is smooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are sufficiently long to reach from one side to the other; the roots resting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the water. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, so as to form a floating bridge, with a sloping gangway at each end, where the trees rest upon the the rocks. This bridge is carried away every year by the swelling of the river in the rainy season, and is constantly rebuilt by the inhabitants of Manna, who on that account, expect a small tribute from every passenger.

In the afternoon we passed several villages, at none of which could we procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information that two hundred Jallonkas had assembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our course, and we travelled with great secresy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a freeman and three slaves were



found to be missing. Every person immediately concluded that the slaves had murdered the freeman, and made their escape. It was therefore agreed that six people should go back as far as the last village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect some information concerning the slaves. In the meantime the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field near a large nitta tree, and nobody to speak, except in a whisper. It was towards morning before the six men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the slaves. As none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we should go into Koba, and endeavour to procure some provisions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchased from the chief man, for three strings of beads, a considerable quantity of ground nuts, which we roasted and eat for breakfast: we were afterwards provided with huts, and rested here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and surprise, the freeman and slaves, who had parted from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the slaves, it seems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they soon lost sight of the coffle. The freeman, as soon as he found himself alone with the slaves, was aware of his own danger, and insisted on putting them in irons. The slaves were at first rather unwilling to submit, but when he threatened to stab them one by one with his spear, they made no further resistance; and he remained with them among the bushes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information

that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th; when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang. Departing from this village on the day following, we crossed a high ridge of mountains to the west of the Black river, and travelled over a rough stony country until sunset, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a small village in the district of Woradoo. Here we shook out the last handful of meal from our dry provision bags; this being the second day (since we crossed the Black river) that we had travelled from morning until night, without tasting one morsel of food.

May 2d. We departed from Lingicotta; but the slaves being very much fatigued, we halted for the night at a village about nine miles to the westward, and procured some provisions through the interest of the schoolmaster; who now sent forward a messenger to Malacotta, his native town, to inform his friends of his arrival in the country, and to desire them to provide the necessary quantity of victuals to entertain the coffle for two or three days.

May 3d. We set out for Malacotta, and about noon arrived at a village, near a considerable stream of water which flows to the westward; here we determined to stop for the return of the messenger which had been sent to Malacotta the day before; and as the natives assured me there were no crocodiles in this stream, I went and bathed myself. Very few people here can swim; for they came in numbers to dissuade me from venturing into a pool, where they said the water would come

over my head. About two o'clock the messenger returned from Malacotta; and the schoolmaster's elder brother being impatient to see him, came along with the messenger to meet him at this village. The interview between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nine years, was very natural and affecting. They fell upon each other's neck, and it was sometime before either of them could speak. At length, when the schoolmaster had a little recovered himself, he took his brother by the hand, and turning round, "This is the man" (said he, pointing to Karfa) "who has been my father in "Manding; I would have pointed him out sooner to you, but "my heart was too full."

We reached Malacotta in the evening, where we were well received. This is an unwalled town; the huts for the most part are made of split cane, twisted into a sort of wicker-work, and plastered over with mud. Here we remained three days, and were each day presented with a bullock from the schoolmaster; we were likewise well entertained by the townspeople, who appear to be very active and industrious. They make very good soap, by boiling ground nuts in water, and then adding a ley of wood ashes. They likewise manufacture excellent iron, which they carry to Bondou to barter for salt. A party of the townspeople had lately returned from a trading expedition of this kind, and brought information concerning a war between Almami Abdulkader, King of Foota Torra, and Damel, King of the Jaloffs. The events of this war soon became a favorite subject with the singing men, and the common topic of conversation in all the kingdoms bordering upon the Senegal

and Gambia; and as the account is somewhat singular, I shall here abridge it for the reader's information. The King of Foota Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating his religion, had sent an embassy to Damel, similar to that which he had sent to Kasson, as related in page 79. The ambassador, on the present occasion, was accompanied by two of the principal Bushreens, who carried each a large knife, fixed on the top of a long pole. As soon as he had procured admission into the presence of Damel, and announced the pleasure of his sovereign, he ordered the Bushreens to present the emblems of his mission. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambassador explained himself as follows: "With this knife (said he) Abdulkader will con-"descend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace "the Mahomedan faith; and with this other knife, Abdulkader "will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace "it:—take your choice." Damel coolly told the ambassador that he had no choice to make: he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this answer the ambassador was civilly dismissed. Abdulkader took his measures accordingly, and with a powerful army invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings, as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three day's journey into the country of the Jaloffs. He had, indeed, met with no opposition; but his army had suffered so much from the scarcity of water, that several of his men had

died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering place in the woods, where his men having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation they were attacked by Damel before daybreak, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death as they lay asleep, by the Jaloff horses; others were killed in attempting to make their escape; and a still greater number were taken prisoners. Among the latter, was Abdulkader himself. This ambitious, or rather frantic prince, who, but a month before, had sent the threatening message to Damel, was now himself led into his presence as a miserable captive. The behaviour of Damel, on this occasion, is never mentioned by the singing men, but in terms of the highest approbation; and it was, indeed, so extraordinary, in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows. "Abdulka-"der, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed "me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have "treated me?" "I would have thrust my spear into your heart;" returned Abdulkader with great firmness, "and I know that a "similar fate awaits me." "Not so, (said Damel), my spear is "indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and "I could now give it a deeper stain, by dipping it in your own; "but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the

" thousands who fell in the woods. I will not therefore kill " you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I " perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no " longer dangerous to your neighbours; and then I will con- " sider of the proper way of disposing of you." Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave, for three months; at the end of which period, Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota Torra, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it; it was told me at Malacotta by the Negroes; it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia; by some of the French at Goree; and confirmed by nine slaves, who were taken prisoners along with Abdulkader, by the watering place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Caravan proceeds to Konkadoo, and crosses the Falemè River.—Its Arrival at Baniserile, Kirwani, and Tambacunda.—Incidents on the Road.—A matrimonial Case.—Specimen of the Shea Tree.—The Caravan proceeds through many Towns and Villages, and arrives at length on the Banks of the Gambia,—passes through Medina, the Capital of Woolli, and finally stops at Jindey.—The Author, accompanied by Karfa, proceeds to Pisania.—Various Occurrences previous to his Departure from Africa,—takes his Passage in an American Ship.—Short Account of his Voyage to Great Britain by the Way of the West Indies.

On the 7th of May, we departed from Malacotta, and having crossed the *Ba lee*, "Honey river," a branch of the Senegal, we arrived in the evening at a walled town called Bintingala; where we rested two days. From thence, in one day more, we proceeded to Dindikoo, a small town situated at the bottom of a high ridge of hills, from which this district is named *Konkodoo*, "the country of mountains." These hills are very productive of gold. I was shewn a small quantity of this metal, which had been lately collected: the grains were about the usual size, but much flatter than those of Manding, and were

found in white quartz, which had been broken to pieces by hammers. At this town I met with a Negro, whose hair and skin were of a dull white colour. He was of that sort which are called in the Spanish West Indies *Albinos*, or white Negroes. The skin is cadaverous and unsightly, and the natives considered this complexion (I believe truly) as the effect of disease.

May 11th. At daybreak we departed from Dindikoo, and after a toilsome day's travel, arrived in the evening at Satadoo, the capital of a district of the same name. This town was formerly of considerable extent; but many families had left it in consequence of the predatory incursions of the Foulahs of Foota Jalla, who made it a practice to come secretly through the woods, and carry off people from the corn-fields, and even from the wells near the town. In the afternoon of the 12th, we crossed the Falemé river, the same which I had formerly crossed at Bondou in my journey eastward. This river, at this season of the year, is easily forded at this place, the stream being only about two feet deep. The water is very pure, and flows rapidly over a bed of sand and gravel. We lodged for the night at a small village called Medina, the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who, by a long intercourse with Europeans, had been induced to adopt some of their customs. His victuals were served up in pewter dishes, and even his houses were built after the fashion of the English houses on the Gambia.

May 13th. In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffle of slaves belonging to some Serawoolli traders, crossed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniserile, the capital

of Dentila; a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly set out together, and travelled with great expedition, through the woods, until noon; when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced; but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little, by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night: in the meanwhile we continued our route, and after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniserile late in the evening.

One of our Slatees was a native of this place, from which he had been absent three years. This man invited me to go with him to his house; at the gate of which his friends met him, with many expressions of joy; shaking hands with him, embracing him, and singing and dancing before him. As soon as he had seated himself upon a mat, by the threshold of his door, a young woman (his intended bride) brought a little water in a calabash, and kneeling down before him, desired him to wash his hands: when he had done this, the girl with a tear of joy sparkling in her eyes, drank the water; this being considered as the greatest proof she could possibly give him of her fidelity and attachment. About eight o'clock the same evening, the Sera-

woolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued slave, returned and told us that he was dead: the general opinion, however, was that he himself had killed him, or left him to perish on the road; for the Serawoollies are said to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of slaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniserile two days, in order to purchase native iron, Shea butter, and some other articles for sale on the Gambia; and here the Slatee who had invited me to his house, and who possessed three slaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the Coast was very low, determined to separate from us, and remain, with his slaves, where he was, until an opportunity should offer of disposing of them to advantage; giving us to understand that he should complete his nuptials, with the young woman before mentioned, in the meantime.

May 16th. We departed from Baniserile, and travelled through thick woods until noon, when we saw at a distance, the town of Julifunda, but did not approach it; as we proposed to rest for the night at a large town called Kirwani, which we reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. This town stands in a valley, and the country, for more than a mile round it, is cleared of wood, and well cultivated. The inhabitants appear to be very active and industrious, and seem to have carried the system of agriculture to some degree of perfection; for they collect the dung of their cattle into large heaps during the dry season, for the purpose of manuring their land with it at the proper time. I saw nothing like this in any other part of Africa. Near the town are several smelting furnaces, from

which the natives obtain very good iron. They afterwards hammer the metal into small bars, about a foot in length and two inches in breadth, one of which bars is sufficient to make two Mandingo corn hoes. On the morning after our arrival, we were visited by a Slatee of this place, who informed Karfa that among some slaves he had lately purchased, was a native of Foota Jalla; and as that country was at no great distance, he could not safely employ him in the labours of the field, lest he should effect his escape. The Slatee was therefore desirous of exchanging this slave for one of Karfa's, and offered some cloth and Shea-butter, to induce Karfa to comply with the proposal, which was accepted. The Slatee thereupon sent a boy to order the slave in question to bring him a few ground nuts. The poor creature soon afterwards entered the court in which we were sitting, having no suspicion of what was negociating, until the master caused the gate to be shut, and told him to sit down. The slave now saw his danger, and perceiving the gate to be shut upon him, threw down the nuts and jumped over the fence. He was immediately pursued and overtaken by the Slatees, who brought him back, and secured him in irons, after which one of Karfa's slaves was released and delivered in exchange. The unfortunate captive was at first very much dejected, but in the course of a few days his melancholy gradually subsided; and he became at length as cheerful as any of his companions.

Departing from Kirwani on the morning of the 20th, we entered the Tenda Wilderness of two day's journey. The woods were very thick, and the country shelved towards the

south-west. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-six people, and seven loaded asses returning from the Gambia. Most of the men were armed with muskets, and had broad belts of scarlet cloth over their shoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for slaves on the Coast, as no vessel had arrived for some months past. On hearing this, the Serawollies, who had travelled with us from the Falemé river, separated themselves and their slaves from the coffle. They had not, they said, the means of maintaining their slaves in Gambia, until a vessel should arrive; and were unwilling to sell them to disadvantage: they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the Wilderness, and travelled all day through a rugged country, covered with extensive thickets of bamboo. At sunset, to our great joy, we arrived at a pool of water near a large Tabba tree, whence the place is called Tabba-gee, and here we rested a few hours. The water at this season of the year is by no means plentiful in these woods; and as the days were inufferably hot, Karfa proposed to travel in the night. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock, the slaves were taken out of their irons, and the people of the coffle received orders to keep close together; as well to prevent the slaves from attempting to escape, as on account of the wild beasts. We travelled with great alacrity until daybreak, when it was discovered that a free woman had parted from the coffle in the night: her name was called until the woods resounded; but no answer being given, we conjectured that she had either mistaken the road, or that a lion had seized

her unperceived. At length it was agreed that four people should go back a few miles to a small rivulet, where some of the coffle had stopt to drink, as we passed it in the night; and that the coffle should wait for their return. The sun was about an hour high before the people came back with the woman, whom they found lying fast asleep by the stream. We now resumed our journey, and about eleven o'clock reached a walled town called Tambacunda, where we were well received. Here we remained four days, on account of a *palaver* which was held on the following occasion: Modi Lemina, one of the Slatees belonging to the coffle, had formerly married a woman of this town, who had borne him two children; he afterwards went to Manding, and remained there eight years, without sending any account of himself, during all that time, to his deserted wife; who, seeing no prospect of his return, at the end of three years had married another man, to whom she had likewise borne two children. Lemina now claimed his wife; but the second husband refused to deliver her up; insisting that by the laws of Africa, when a man has been three years absent from his wife, without giving her notice of his being alive, the woman is at liberty to marry again. After all the circumstances had been fully investigated in an assembly of the chief men, it was determined that the wife should make her choice, and be at liberty either to return to the first husband, or continue with the second, as she alone should think proper. Favourable as this determination was to the lady, she found it a difficult matter to make up her mind, and requested time for consideration: but I think I could per-

ceive that *first love* would carry the day. Lemina was indeed somewhat older than his rival, but he was also much richer. What weight this circumstance had in the scale of his wife's affections, I pretend not to say.

On the morning of the 26th, as we departed from Tambacunda, Karfa observed to me, that there were no Shea trees farther to the westward than this town. I had collected and brought with me from Manding the leaves and flowers of this tree; but they were so greatly bruised on the road that I thought it best to gather another specimen at this place; and accordingly collected that from which the annexed engraving is taken. The appearance of the fruit evidently places the Shea tree in the natural order of *sapotæ*, and it has some resemblance to the *madhuca* tree, described by Lieutenant Charles Hamilton, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 300. About one o'clock we reached Sibikillin, a walled village, but the inhabitants having the character of inhospitality towards strangers, and of being much addicted to theft, we did not think proper to enter the gate. We rested a short time under a tree, and then continued our route until it was dark, when we halted for the night by a small stream running towards the Gambia. Next day the road led over a wild and rocky country, every where rising into hills, and abounding with monkeys and wild beasts. In the rivulets among the hills, we found great plenty of fish. This was a very hard day's journey, and it was not until sunset, that we reached the village of Koomboo, near to which are the ruins of a large town formerly destroyed by war. The inhabitants of Koomboo, like those of Sibikillin,

have so bad a reputation, that strangers seldom lodge in the village; we accordingly rested for the night in the fields, where we erected temporary huts for our protection, there being great appearance of rain.

May 28th. We departed from Koomboo, and slept at a Foulah town about seven miles to the westward; from which on the day following, having crossed a considerable branch of the Gambia, called Neola Koba, we reached a well inhabited part of the country. Here are several towns within sight of each other, collectively called Tenda, but each is distinguished also by its particular name. We lodged at one of them called Koba Tenda, where we remained the day following, in order to procure provisions for our support in crossing the Simbani woods. On the 30th we reached Jallacotta; a considerable town, but much infested by Foulah banditti, who come through the woods from Bondou, and steal every thing they can lay their hands on. A few days before our arrival, they had stolen twenty head of cattle, and on the day following made a second attempt; but were beaten off, and one of them taken prisoner. Here, one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any farther: his master (a singing man) proposed therefore to exchange him for a young slave girl, belonging to one of the townspeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate, until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more

suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress: the terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting. About nine o'clock, we crossed a large plain covered with *ciboa* trees (a species of palm), and came to the river Ner'co, a branch of the Gambia. This was but a small river at this time, but in the rainy season it is often dangerous to travellers. As soon as we had crossed this river, the singing men began to vociferate a particular song, expressive of their joy at having got safe into the west country, or, as they expressed it, *the land of the setting sun*. The country was found to be very level, and the soil a mixture of clay and sand. In the afternoon it rained hard, and we had recourse to the common Negro umbrella, a large ciboa leaf, which, being placed upon the head, completely defends the whole body from the rain. We lodged for the night under the shade of a large tabba tree, near the ruins of a village. On the morning following, we crossed a stream called Noulico, and about two o'clock, to my infinite joy, I saw myself once more on the banks of the Gambia, which at this place being deep and smooth, is navigable; but the people told me that a little lower down, the stream is so shallow that the coffles frequently cross it on foot. On the south side of the river opposite to this place, is a large plain of clayey ground, called Toombi Toorila. It is a sort of morass, in which people are frequently lost, it being more than a day's journey across it. In the afternoon we met a man and two women, with bundles of cotton cloth upon their heads. They were going, they

said, for Dentila, to purchase iron, there being a great scarcity of that article on the Gambia. A little before it was dark, we arrived at a village in the kingdom of Woolli, called Seesukunda. Near this village there are great plenty of nitta trees, and the slaves in passing along had collected large bunches of the fruit; but such was the superstition of the inhabitants, that they would not permit any of the fruit to be brought into the village. They had been told, they said, that some catastrophe would happen to the place, when people lived upon nittas, and neglected to cultivate corn.

June 2d. We departed from Seesukunda, and passed a number of villages, at none of which was the coffle permitted to stop, although we were all very much fatigued: it was four o'clock in the afternoon before we reached Baraconda, where we rested one day. Departing from Baraconda on the morning of the 4th, we reached in a few hours Medina, the capital of the King of Woolli's dominions, from whom the reader may recollect I received an hospitable reception in the beginning of December, 1795, in my journey eastward.* I immediately inquired concerning the health of my good old benefactor, and learnt with great concern that he was dangerously ill. As Karfa would not allow the coffle to stop, I could not present my respects to the king in person; but I sent him word, by the officer to whom we paid customs, that his prayers for my safety had not been unavailing. We continued our route until sunset, when we lodged at a small village a little to the westward of Kootakunda, and on the day following arrived at Jindey;

* Vide p. 34.

where, eighteen months before, I had parted from my friend Dr. Laidley; an interval, during which I had not beheld the face of a Christian, nor once heard the delightful sound of my native language.

Being now arrived within a short distance of Pisania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of selling his slaves on the Gambia; it occured to me to suggest to him, that he would find it for his interest to leave them at Jindey, until a market should offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion; and hired, from the chief man of the town, huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them, in raising corn, and other provisions for their maintenance. With regard to himself, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We set out accordingly, Karfa, myself, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffle, early on the morning of the 9th; but although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey; and expected, in another day, to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the

Wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give.

My anxiety to get forward admitting of no delay on the road, we reached Tendacunda in the evening, and were hospitably received at the house of an aged black female called Seniora Camilla, a person who had resided many years at the English factory, and spoke our language. I was known to her before I had left the Gambia, at the outset of my journey; but my dress and figure were now so different from the usual appearance of an European, that she was very excusable in mistaking me for a Moor. When I told her my name and country, she surveyed me with great astonishment, and seemed unwilling to give credit to the testimony of her senses. She assured me that none of the traders on the Gambia, ever expected to see me again; having been informed long ago, that the Moors of Ludamar had murdered me, as they had murdered Major Houghton. I inquired for my two attendants, Johnson and Demba, and learnt, with great sorrow, that neither of them was returned. Karfa, who had never before heard people converse in English, listened to us with great attention. Every thing he saw seemed wonderful. The furniture of the house, the chairs, &c. and particularly beds with curtains, were objects of his great admiration; and he asked me a thousand questions concerning the utility and necessity of different articles; to some of which I found it difficult to give satisfactory answers.

On the morning of the 10th, Mr. Robert Ainsley, having

learnt that I was at Tendacunda, came to meet me, and politely offered me the use of his horse. He informed me that Dr. Laidley had removed all his property to a place called Kaye, a little farther down the river, and that he was then gone to Doomasansa with his vessel, to purchase rice; but would return in a day or two. He therefore invited me to stay with him at Pisania, until the Doctor's return. I accepted the invitation, and being accompanied by my friend Karfa, reached Pisania about ten o'clock. Mr. Ainsley's schooner was lying at anchor before the place. This was the most surprising object which Karfa had yet seen. He could not easily comprehend the use of the masts, sails, and rigging; nor did he conceive that it was possible, by any sort of contrivance, to make so large a body move forwards by the common force of the wind. The manner of fastening together the different planks which composed the vessel, and filling up the seams so as to exclude the water, was perfectly new to him; and I found that the schooner with her cable and anchor, kept Karfa in deep meditation the greater part of the day.

About noon on the 12th, Dr. Laidley returned from Doomasansa, and received me with great joy and satisfaction, as one risen from the dead. Finding that the wearing apparel which I had left under his care was not sold or sent to England, I lost no time in resuming the English dress; and disrobing my chin of its venerable incumbrance. Karfa surveyed me in my British apparel with great delight; but regretted exceedingly that I had taken off my beard; the loss of which, he said, had converted me from a man into a boy. Doctor Laidley readily

undertook to discharge all the pecuniary engagements which I had entered into since my departure from the Gambia, and took my draft upon the Association for the amount. My agreement with Karfa (as I have already related), was to pay him the value of one prime slave; for which I had given him my bill upon Dr. Laidley, before we departed from Kamalia; for, in case of my death on the road, I was unwilling that my benefactor should be a loser. But this good creature had continued to manifest towards me so much kindness, that I thought I made him but an inadequate recompence, when I told him that he was now to receive double the sum I had originally promised; and Dr. Laidley assured him that he was ready to deliver the goods to that amount, whenever he thought proper to send for them. Karfa was overpowered by this unexpected token of my gratitude, and still more so, when he heard that I intended to send a handsome present to the good old schoolmaster, Fankooma, at Malacotta. He promised to carry up the goods along with his own, and Dr. Laidley assured him, that he would exert himself in assisting him to dispose of his slaves to the best advantage, the moment a slave vessel should arrive. These, and other instances of attention and kindness shewn him by Dr. Laidley, were not lost upon Karfa. He would often say to me, "my journey has "indeed been properous!" But, observing the improved state of our manufactures, and our manifest superiority in the arts of civilized life, he would sometimes appear pensive, and exclaim with an involuntary sigh, *fato fing inta feng*, "black "men are nothing." At other times, he would ask me with

great seriousness, what could possibly have induced me, who was no trader, to think of exploring so miserable a country as Africa? He meant by this to signify that, after what I must have witnessed in my own country, nothing in Africa could in his opinion deserve a moment's attention. I have preserved these little traits of character in this worthy Negro, not only from regard to the man, but also because they appear to me to demonstrate that he possessed a mind *above his condition:* and to such of my readers as love to contemplate human nature in all its varieties, and to trace its progress from rudeness to refinement, I hope the account I have given of this poor African will not be unacceptable.

No European vessel had arrived at Gambia for many months previous to my return from the interior; and as the rainy season was now setting in, I persuaded Karfa to return to his people at Jindey. He parted with me on the 14th with great tenderness; but as I had little hopes of being able to quit Africa for the remainder of the year, I told him, as the fact was, that I expected to see him again before my departure. In this, however, I was luckily disappointed; and my narrative now hastens to its conclusion; for on the 15th, the ship Charles-Town, an American vessel, commanded by Mr. Charles Harris, entered the river. She came for slaves, intending to touch at Goree to fill up; and to proceed from thence to South Carolina. As the European merchants on the Gambia, had at this time a great many slaves on hand, they agreed with the Captain to purchase the whole of his cargo, consisting chiefly of rum and tobacco, and deliver him slaves to the amount, in the course of two days.

This afforded me such an opportunity of returning (though by a circuitous route) to my native country, as I thought was not to be neglected. I therefore immediately engaged my passage in this vessel for America; and having taken leave of Dr. Laidley, to whose kindness I was so largely indebted, and my other friends on the river, I embarked at Kaye on the 17th day of June.

Our passage down the river was tedious and fatiguing; and the weather was so hot, moist, and unhealthy, that before our arrival at Goree, four of the seamen, the surgeon, and three of the slaves had died of fevers. At Goree we were detained for want of provisions, until the beginning of October.

The number of slaves received on board this vessel, both on the Gambia, and at Goree, was one hundred and thirty; of whom about twenty-five had been, I suppose, of free condition in Africa; as most of those, being Bushreens, could write a little Arabic. Nine of them had become captives in the religious war between Abdulkader and Damel, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding Chapter. Two of the others had seen me as I passed through Bondou, and many of them had heard of me in the interior countries. My conversation with them, in their native language, gave them great comfort; and as the surgeon was dead, I consented to act in a medical capacity in his room for the remainder of the voyage. They had in truth need of every consolation in my power to bestow; not that I observed any wanton acts of cruelty practised either by the master, or the seamen, towards them; but the mode of confining and securing Negroes in the American slave ships, (owing chiefly to the

weakness of their crews,) being abundantly more rigid and severe than in British vessels employed in the same traffic, made these poor creatures to suffer greatly, and a general sickness prevailed amongst them. Besides the three who died on the Gambia, and six or eight while we remained at Goree, eleven perished at sea, and many of the survivors were reduced to a very weak and emaciated condition.

In the midst of these distresses, the vessel, after having been three weeks at sea, became so extremely leaky, as to require constant exertion at the pumps. It was found necessary, therefore, to take some of the ablest of the Negro men out of irons, and employ them in this labour; in which they were often worked beyond their strength. This produced a complication of miseries not easily to be described. We were, however, relieved much sooner than I expected; for the leak continuing to gain upon us, notwithstanding our utmost exertions to clear the vessel, the seamen insisted on bearing away for the West Indies, as affording the only chance of saving our lives. Accordingly, after some objections on the part of the master, we directed our course for Antigua, and fortunately made that island in about thirty-five days after our departure from Goree. Yet even at this juncture we narrowly escaped destruction; for on approaching the north-west side of the island, we struck on the Diamond Rock, and got into St. John's harbour with great difficulty. The vessel was afterwards condemned as unfit for sea, and the slaves, as I have heard, were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the owners.

At this island I remained ten days; when the Chesterfield

Packet, homeward bound from the Leeward Islands, touching at St. John's for the Antigua mail, I took my passage in that vessel. We sailed on the 24th of November; and, after a short but tempestuous voyage, arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of December: from whence I immediately set out for London; having been absent from England two years and seven months.

THE END.

A VOCABULARY

OF THE

MANDINGO LANGUAGE.

ABOVE, *santo.*
Absent, *inteegee;* (*literally*, "not here.")
Abuse, *v. anenni.*
Add, *akeejee.*
Afraid, *silantee.*
Afternoon, *oora.*
Air, *fonio.*
Alike, *beakillin.*
Alive, *a beegee*, (is here.)
All, *bea.*
Always, *toomotoma.*
And, *ning.*
Angry, *jusu bota;* (*literally*, "the heart comes out.")
Angel, *melika.*
Arm, *boulla;* (the same for *hand.*)
Arrived, *footăta.*
Arrow, *binni.*
Ascend, *silli.*
Asleep, *sinouta.*
Assist, *maquoi.*
Axe, *terang.*

Back, *ko.*
Bad, *jou.*
Bag, *bota.*
Barter, *v. fallan.*
Bastard, *janka ding;* (*literally*, "nobody's child.")
Beads, *connoo.*
Beard, *bera.*
Beat, *v. agossi.*
Bees, *leekissi.*
Bed, *larong.*
Beer, *dolo;* (the same for strong liquor of any kind.)
Before, *neata;* ("within sight.")
Behind, *kofi.*
Belly, *konno.*
Big, *awarata.*

Bind or tie, *aseeti.*
Bird, *cono.*
Bite, *v. keeng.*
Black, *fing.*
Blood, *jollie.*
Blue, *fingma;* (blackish.)
Boil, *v. fagee.*
Bone, *cooloo.*
Book, *kittāba.*
Borrow, *la.*
Bottom, *joo.*
Bow, *kalla.*
Boy, *kea ding;* (*literally*, "male child.")
Brave, *fattee.*
Bread, *munko.*
Break, *v. affāra;* (the same word signifies "to kill" or "to destroy.")
Breasts, *sonjoo.*
Bring, *insambo.*
Brother, *ba-ding-kea;* (*literally* "mother's male child.")
Burn, *v. agēni.*
Buy (or sell), *saun.*

Call, *v. akilli.*
Carry, *asāmbo.*
Cat, *neancon.*
Catch, *v. amuta.*
Chest or coffer, *koonie.*
Child, *ding;* (if very young, *dingding.*)
Cloth, *fauno.*
Cold, *ninno.*
Come, *na.*
Coming, *abenāli.*
Completely, *betiki.*
Cook, *v. tabbee.*
Corn, *neo.*
Country, *doo.*
Cow, *nessee moosa.*
Crowd, *n. setima.*
Cry, *v. akumbo.*
Cunning, *n. a. kissee.*
Cut, *v. tegi.*

Danger, *torro.*
Dark, *dibbie.*
Daughter, *ding moosa;* (*literally* "*female child.*")
Day, *teelee.*
Dead, *asāta.*
Deep, *adoonta.*
Desist, *attoo.*
Dew, *combi.*
Die, *v. sa.*
Dirt, *no.*
Disease, *jankra.*
Dispute, *degama.*
Dog, *woola.*
Door, *da;* (this is a word of very extensive use, being applied to whatever opens and shuts.)
Down, *ad. dooma.*
Dream, *v. sibota.*
Dream, *n. s. sibo*
Drink, *v. ameen.*
Dry, (arid) *ajāta.*

Ear, *toola.*
Earth, (soil) *banko.*
Earth, (globe) *banko kang.*
East, *teelee bo;* (" sunrise.")
Eat, *adumno.*
Elephant, *samma.*
Empty, *fing tigee;* (" nothing here.")
Enough, *keyento.*
Entertain, (a guest) *fanda.*
Expert, *cumering;* (" active, clever, &c.")
Eye, *nea.*

Face, (the same as for the eye.)
Fall, *v. bui.*
Far off, *jangfata.*
Fast, *v. soong.*
Fat, *keng.*
Father, *fa.*
Fear, *v. seelan.*
Feather, *tee;* (it signifies also *hair* and *wool.*)
Female, *moosa.*
Fever, *candea.*
Few, *do.*
Fight, *v. akilli.*
Fill, *afundi.*
Finger, *boulla konding.*
Fire, *deemba.*
Fish, *yeo.*
Flesh, *sooboo.*
Food, *kinnee.*
Fool, *fooring.*
Foot, *sing;* (signifies also " the leg.")
Forget, *neānata.*
Free, *borea.*
Fresh, *kinde* (signifies also, *healthy*).
Friend, *barrio.*
Fruit, *eree ding;* (" child of the tree.")
Full, *affāta.*

Give, *insong.*
Glad, *lāta.*
Go, *v. ta.*
God, *alla.*
Gold, *sanoo.*
Good, *bettie.*
Great, *baa.*
Grass, *bing.*
Gray, *aqueta.*
Guard, *v. tenkoong.*

Half, *tella.*
Handsome, *aniniāta.*
Hang up, *deng.*
Hate, *v. akoong.*
He, *etti.*
Head, *koon.*
Hear, *moi.*
Heart, *jusu.*
Heaven, *santo;* (the Mahomedan Negroes commonly say, *il jinna.*)
Heavy, *acooliata.*
Hell, *johaniba.*
Hen, *soosee moosa.*
Herb, *jambo.*

Here, *jang.*
Hide, *n. goolo.*
Hill, *konko.*
Hog, *lea.*
Hole, *dinka.*
Honey, *lee.*
Horn, *bini.*
Horse, *soo.*
Hot, *candiāta.*
House, *boong.*
Hungry, *konkola.*

I, *inta.*
Idle, *nare.*
Increase, *aboonia.*
Industrious, *sayāta.*
Interpret, *konno sor;* (literally, *to pierce the belly.*)
Iron, *nega.*
Island, *jouio.*
Jump, *v. soun.*

Kill, *affāra.*
King, *mansa.*
Knife, *moore.*
Know, *alla.*

Lamp, *fitina.*
Laugh, *v. jilli.*
Lend, *infoo.*
Lie (down), *v. la jang.*
Lie (falsity), *fonio.*
Lift, *achicka.*
Lightning, *sanfata.*
Lion, *jatta;* (in the interior countries, *wara.*)
Little, *miessa.*
Long, *jang.*
Look, *v. affille.*
Lose, *afeele.*
Lost, *affeeleeta.*
Love, *v. konie.*

Make, *v. dada.*
Male, *kea.*
Man (homo) *mo.*
Man (vir) *fato.*
Many, *sitimata.*
Market, *loe.*
Master, *marree.*
Mat, *basso.*
Meet, *v. beng.*
Middle, *taima.*
Milk, *nunno.*
Milk, *v. beetee.*
Mine, *pr. talem.*
Money, *naphula;* (it signifies also *merchandize,* or any *effects of value.*)
Month, *korro;* (the same word signifies *the moon.*)
Morning, *somo.*
Mother, *ba.*
Mouth, *da.*

Narrative, *dentigi.*
Name, *atto.*

Near (nigh), *mun jang;* (not far.)
Neck, *kang.*
Never, *abada.*
Night, *sooton.*
No, *inta;* (literally, *is not.*)
Noon, *teelee kooniata;* (literally, the *sun over head.*)
North, *saheel.*
Nose, *noong.*
Now, *seng.*

Oil, *toulou.*
Obtain, *sutto.*
Old, *accottata.*
Only, *kinsing.*
Open, *v. yelli.*
Out of, *banta.*

Pain, *deeming.*
Paper, *coitoo.*
Pass, *v. tambi.*
Past, *atambita;* (gone by.)
Pay, *v. jo.*
Pen, *kalla.*
People, *molo.*
Pierce, *sor.*
Pity, *v. dimi.*
Pleasure, *di.*
Pleasant, *adiāta.*
Plenty, *asiāta.*
Poor, *doiāta.*
Present (gift), *boonia.*
Promise, *v. moindee.*
Proud, *telingabalia;* (literally, *strait bodied.*)
Pull, *asabba.*
Push, *āneury.*
Put down, *alondi.*

Quarrel, *quiāta.*
Quick, *catāba.*
Quiet, *dea.*
Quiver, *n. s. toong.*

Rain, *sangee;* (literally, *water from above.*)
Rat, *nīnee.*
Read, *akarra.*
Red, *woolima.*
Release, *affering;* (untie.)
Rest, *lo.*
Restore, *serrat.*
Return, *v. n. ascita.*
Ripe, *mota.*
Rise, *v. wooli.*
River, *ba;* (the same as for *mother.*)
Road, *seelo.*
Rob, *boitāca.*
Rock, *kooro.*
Rope, *julie.*
Rotten, *accorata.*
Row, *v. ajah.*
Run, *boorie.*

Sad, *doi.*
Safe, *terro inteege;* (literally, *no danger.*)

Salt, *ko.*
Sand, *kini kini.*
Sandals, *samata.*
Say, *affo.*
Sea, *babagee.*
Seat, *serong.*
See, *eāgee.*
Send, *kee.*
Separate, *atulla.*
Shake, *jiggi jiggi.*
Shame, *māla.*
Shew, *aita.*
Ship, *caloon.*
Short, *sutta.*
Shut, *tou.*
Sick, *mun kinde.*
Side, *carra.*
Silent, *dering.*
Silver, *cody.*
Sing, *jilli;* (the same *to dance.*)
Sister, *ba ding moosa;* (mother's female child.)
Sit, *see.*
Sky, *sang.*
Slave, *jong.*
Sleep, *v. sinoo.*
Smell, *v. soomboola.*
Smoke, *seisee.*
Snake, *sau.*
Something, *fenke.*
Son, *ding kea;* (male child.)
Soon, *sang sang;* (now now.)
Sour, *accoomiata.*
South, *boulla ba;* (literally, *the right hand.*)
Speak, *akummo.*
Spear, *tamba.*
Spin, *v. a. worondi.*
Spoon, *dosa.*
Star, *lolo.*
Steal, *soonia.*
Stink, *v. n. kassa.*
Stone, *birro*
Stop, *munia.*
Stranger, *leuntōng.*
Strike, *abooti.*
Sun, *teelee.*
Swear, *kolli.*
Sweet, *teemiāta.*
Swell, *foonoo.*
Swim, *noo.*
Sword, *fong.*

Tail, *finnio.*
Thief, *soon.*
Thin, *feata;* (slender.)
Think, *meira.*
Thirst, *mindo.*
Thread, *bori.*
Throw, *fy.*
Thunder, *sangfata.* (In contradistinction to lightning, it is *Kallam Alla* (Arab.) "the voice of God.")
Tie, *v. asseetee.*
To-day, *bee.*
To-morrow, *sinny.*

Tongue, *ning.*
Touch, *v. ma.*
Town, *kunda.*
Trade, *v. feeree.*
Tree, *eree.*
True, *tonia.*
Trust, *v. la.*
Turn, *aelima.*

Understand, *moi.*
Until, *hāning.*

Walk, *tāma.*
War, *killi.*
Wash, *v. coo.*
Water, *gee.*
Weary, *umbatata.*
Weep, *akussi.*
Weigh, *simang.*
Well, *n. a. awa.*
Well, *n. s. cullong.*
West, *teelee gee.*
Wet, *sinunta.*
What, *mun.*
Where, *minto.*
White, *qui.*
Who, *jema.*
Why, *munkang.*
Wind, *n. funnie.*
Wolf, *soolo.*
Woman, *moosa.*
Wilderness, *woolla.*

Yes, *awa.*
Yesterday, *koona.*
You, *eeta*, when simply pronounced; when joined to any other word, it is *ee.*
Young, *juna.*

The following QUESTIONS *and* ANSWERS *may be useful in the West Indies.*

Do you understand Mandingo? -	*ee Mandingo kummo moi?*
I understand it, - - -	*ya moi.*
I do not understand you, - -	*ma moi.*
Come hither, - - -	*nā nā re.*
Is your Father or Mother living?	*ee fā, ou ee bā abeegee?*
——— alive, - - -	*abeege.*
——— dead, - - -	*asāta.*
Have you any brothers or sisters?	*ee bā ding abeegee?*

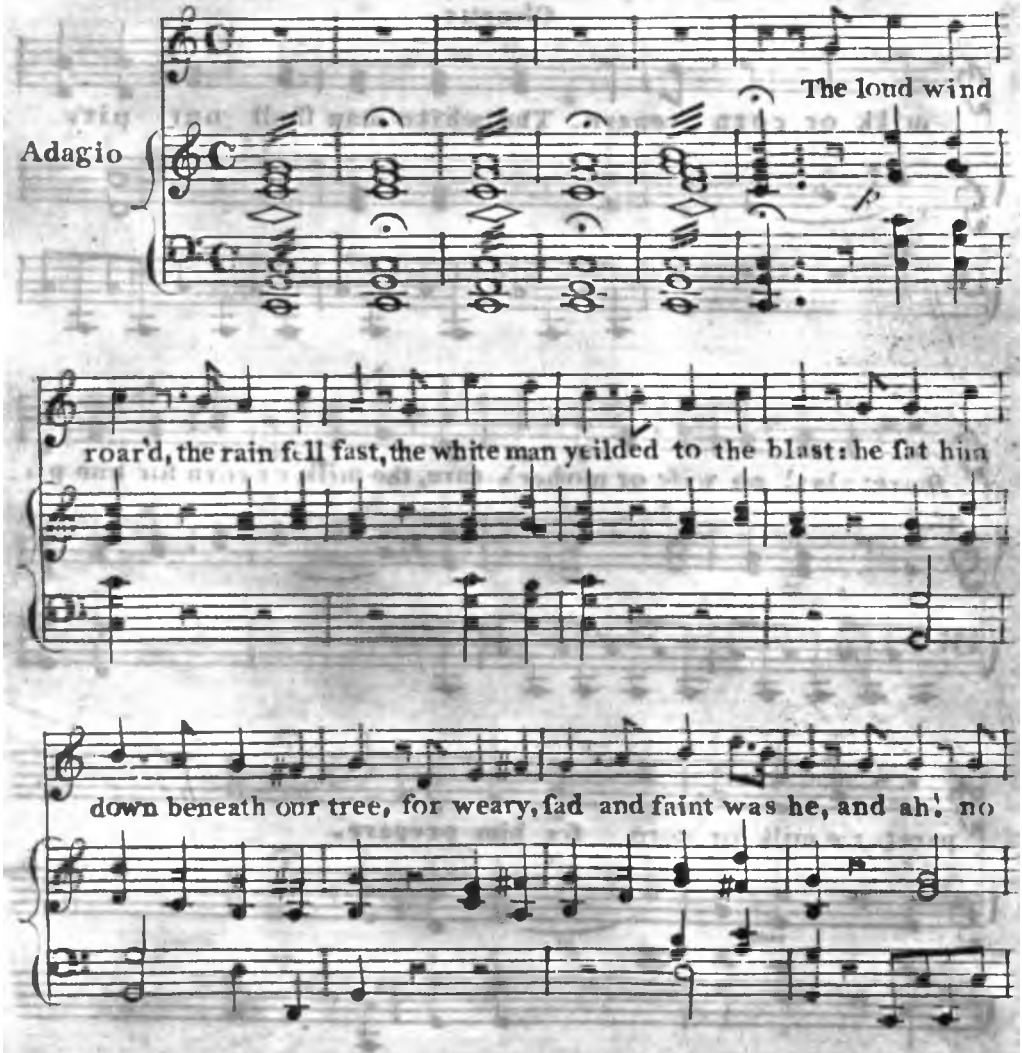
Where are they?	*biminto?*
Are they in Africa?	*abbe fato fing doo?*
Are they on board the ship?	*abbe Tobaubo Caloon o konno?*
Point them out.	*aitanna.*
What is the matter with you?	*mun bela?*
Are you in health?	*ko ee kinde?*
I am sick.	*mun kinde.*
Shew me your tongue.	*ee ning aitanna.*
Give me your hand.	*ee boulla adima.*
Are you hungry?	*konkolabinna?*
I am hungry.	*konkolabinna.*
Are you thirsty?	*mindolabinna?*
I am thirsty.	*the same word repeated.*
I am not hungry.	*konko inteegee.*
I am not thirsty.	*mindo inteegee.*
Does your head ach?	*ee koon bideemina?*
It does ach.	*bideemina.*
It does not ach.	*intadeeming.*
Does your stomach pain you?	*ee konno bideemina?*
Do you sleep well?	*ko ee sinoo betiki?*
Are you feverish?	*acandeata?*
Do not be afraid.	*kanna seelan.*
There is no danger.	*torro inteegee.*
Drink this medicine.	*ning borri ameen.*
It will do you good.	*aee kissi.*

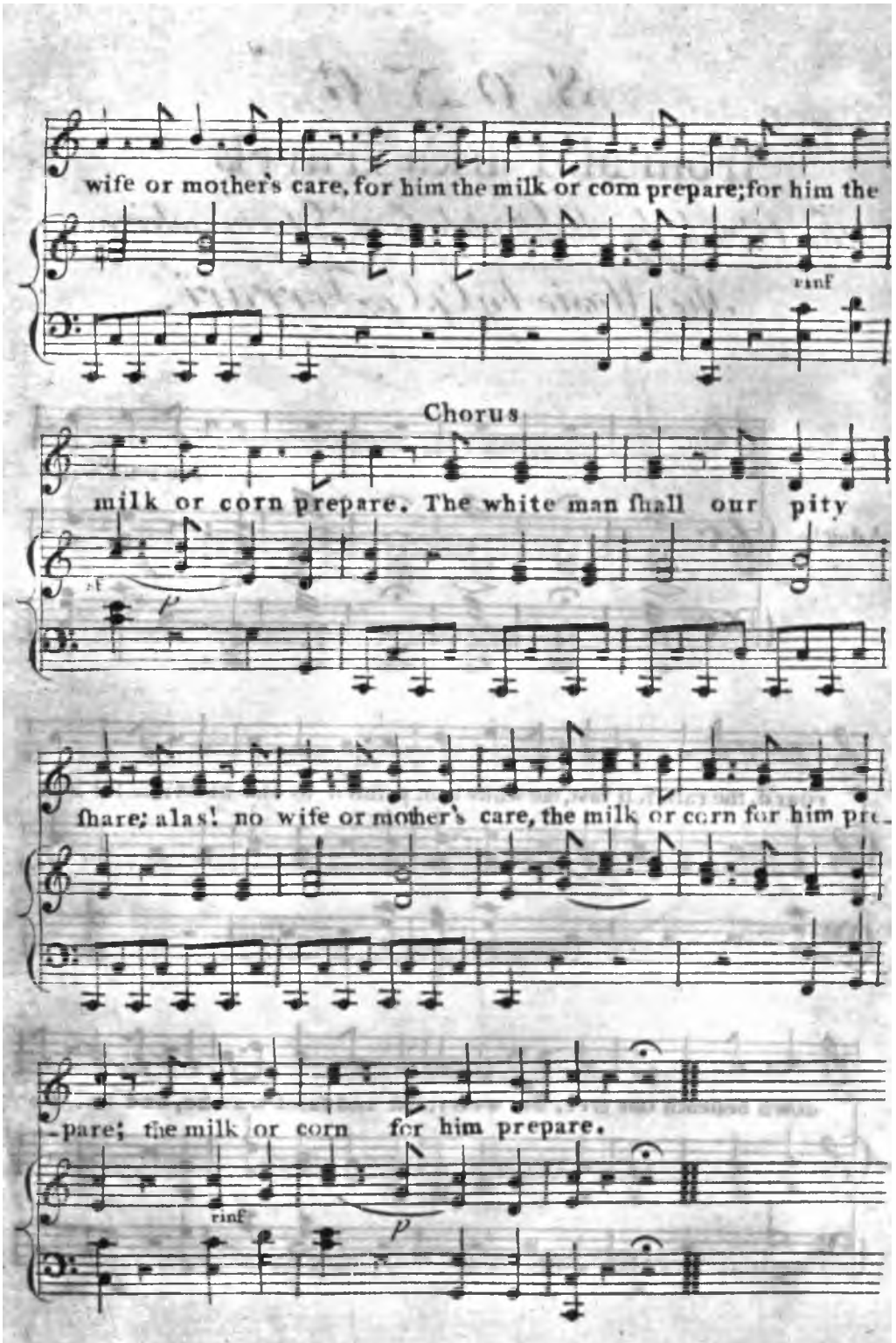
SONG

from Mr Park's Travels

The Words by the Dutchess of Devonshire.

The Music by G. G. Ferrari.




wife or mother's care, for him the milk or corn prepare; for him the
rinf
Chorus
milk or corn prepare. The white man ſhall our pity
ſhare; alas! no wife or mother's care, the milk or corn for him pre-
-pare; the milk or corn for him prepare.
rinf
p

POSTSCRIPT.

THE incident of the Negro Song, related in the 15th Chapter of this work (p. 198), having been communicated to a Lady, who is not more distinguished for her rank, than for her beauty and accomplishments; she was pleased to think so highly of this simple and unpremeditated effusion, as to make a version of it with her own pen; and cause it to be set to music by an eminent Composer. With this elegant production, in both parts of which the plaintive simplicity of the original is preserved and improved, the Author thinks himself highly honoured in being permitted to adorn his book; and he laments only that he had not an opportunity of inserting it in its proper place in the body of the work.

A NEGRO SONG,

FROM MR. PARK'S TRAVELS.

I.

The loud wind roar'd, the rain fell fast;
The White Man yielded to the blast:
He sat him down, beneath our tree;
For weary, sad, and faint was he;
And ah, no wife, or mother's care,
For him, the milk or corn prepare:

CHORUS.

The White Man, shall our pity share;
Alas, no wife or mother's care,
For him, the milk or corn prepare.

II.

The storm is o'er; the tempest past;
And Mercy's voice has hush'd the blast.
The wind is heard in whispers low;
The White Man, far away must go;—
But ever in his heart will bear
Remembrance of the Negro's care.

CHORUS.

Go, White Man, go;—but with thee bear
The Negro's wish, the Negro's prayer;
Remembrance of the Negro's care.

APPENDIX.

GEOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

MR. PARK'S JOURNEY.

BY

MAJOR RENNELL.

GEOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Ideas entertained by the Ancient Geographers, as well as the Moderns, down to the Times of Delisle and D'Anville, respecting the Course of the river Niger.

THE late journey of Mr. PARK, into the interior of WESTERN AFRICA, has brought to our knowledge more important facts respecting its Geography (both *moral* and *physical*), than have been collected by any former traveller. By pointing out to us the positions of the sources of the great rivers SENEGAL, GAMBIA, and NIGER,* we are instructed where to look for the elevated parts of the country; and even for the *most elevated* point in the western quarter of Africa, by the place from whence the Niger and Gambia turn in opposite directions to the east and west. We are taught, moreover, the common boundary of the desert and fruitful parts of the country, and

* I here use the word NIGER, as being the best understood by Europeans; but the *proper* name of this river in the country seems to be *Guin* or *Jin*. (Hartmann's Edrisi, p. 32. 48. 51.) At the same time, it is more commonly designed by the term JOLIBA, meaning the *Great Water*, or great river. In like manner, the GANGES has two names, *Padda*, the proper name; *Gonga*, the great river.

The Moors and Arabs call it NEEL ABEED, the *River of Slaves*; but they have also a name to express the great water, that is, NEEL KIBBERR. *Neel* appears to be employed in Africa, as *Gonga* in India, to express any great river.

By *Nigir*, the ancients meant merely to express the River of the Black People, or *Ethiopians*. The term was Roman: for the Greeks believed it be the head, or a branch, of the *Egyptian Nile*.

of the MOORS and NEGROES; which latter is the more interesting, as it may be termed a boundary in *moral* geography; from the opposite qualities of mind, as well as of body, of the Moors and Negroes: for that physical geography gives rise to habits, which often determine national character, must be allowed by every person, who is a diligent observer of mankind.

It must be acknowledged, that the absolute extent of Mr. Park's progress in Africa, compared with the amazing size of that continent, appears but small, although it be nearly 1100 British miles in a direct line, reckoned from its western extremity, Cape Verd. But considered in itself, it is no inconsiderable line of travel; being more extensive than the usual southern tour of Europe.

But moreover, it affords a triumph to the learned, in that it confirms some points of fact, both of geography and natural history, which have appeared in ancient authors, but to which our own want of knowledge has denied credit. I allude more particularly to the *course* of the *Niger*, and the history of the *Lotophagi*. That the Greeks and Romans, who had formed great establishments in Africa, and the latter in particular, who had penetrated to the Niger,* should have had better opportunities of knowing the interior part of the country, than we, who live at a distance from it, and possess only a few scattered factories near the sea coast, is not to be wondered at: but the proof of such facts should teach us to be less hasty in decrying the authority of ancient authors; since the fault may arise from a want of comprehension on our parts, or from an assumption of false principles on theirs.

Few geographical facts have been more questioned in modern times, than the course of the great inland river of Africa, generally understood by the name of NIGER; some describing it to run to the *west*, others to the *east*; but of these opinions, I believe the former has been espoused by the most numerous party by far.† Although Mr. Park's authority, founded on ocular demonstration, sets this question *for ever* at rest, by determining the course

* Pliny, lib. v. c. 4.

† M. J. Lalande, almost at the moment of Mr. Park's investigation, has determined its course to be to the west; notwithstanding the forcible reasoning of his countryman D'Anville. (Mémoire sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique.) Mr. Bruce was of the same opinion. Vol. iii. p. 720. 724.

of the river to be from *west* to *east*, as Major Houghton's information had previously induced a belief of, yet it may not be amiss to trace the history of the opinions, concerning the course of this celebrated river, from the earliest date of profane history.

HERODOTUS,* more than twenty-two centuries ago, describes, from the information of the Africans, a great river of Africa, far removed to the south of the Great Desert, and abounding with crocodiles. That it flowed from *west* to *east*, dividing *Africa*, in like manner as the Danube does *Europe*. That the people from the borders of the Mediterranean, who made the discovery, were carried to a great city on the banks of the river in question; and that the people of this quarter were *black*; that is, much blacker than their visitors. Our author, indeed, took this river to be the remote branch of the Egyptian Nile, and reasons on the circumstance, accordingly: but even this argument serves to express in a more forcible manner, the supposed direction of its course.

PLINY also believed that the *Nile* came from the west; but he is far from identifying it with the *Niger*, which he describes as a distinct river. But we have at least his negative opinion respecting its western course; for he speaks of the *Bambotus* river as running into the Western ocean; meaning to express by it either the Gambia or Senegal river, and not the Niger.†

PTOLEMY is positive in describing the Niger as a separate stream from the Senegal and Gambia, which two rivers are designed by him under the names of *Daradus* and *Stachir*; and they are by no means ill expressed; falling into the sea on different sides of the *Arsinarium* promontory, or Cape Verd.‡ The Niger of Ptolemy is made to extend from west to east, over half the breadth of Africa, between the Atlantic ocean, and the course of the Nile.

These may suffice for the ancient authorities, which in very early times fixed the course of the Niger in the systems of geography, to be *from west to east*. Who it was that first led the way, in the opposite opinion, I know not; but we find EDRISI, in the twelfth century, not only conducting the *Nile of the Negroes*, or Niger, *westward*, and into the *Atlantic*, but also

* Euterpe, c. 32. † Lib. v. c. 9.

‡ Probably a corruption of *Senbagi*; or *Assenbagi*, as the early Portuguese discoverers write it. These were a great tribe.

deriving it from the *Egyptian* Nile; which is diametrically opposite to the opinion of Herodotus.

Such an opinion marks the very imperfect state of his knowledge of African geography; and should induce a degree of caution in receiving other opinions of the same author, where they rest absolutely on his own authority. It is very probable that the waters which collect on the *west* of *Nubia*, may *run to the west*, and be lost in lakes: and it is possible, though very improbable, that a branch of the Nile may take the same course: but fortified by the present state of our knowledge, we may certainly pronounce the general scope of the intelligence communicated by Edrisi, respecting the course of the Niger, to be erroneous.

I conceive, however, that his error may easily be accounted for, in this way. He was probably told, that the waters on the west of Nubia, &c. ran to the westward. He also knew that a great river (the Senégal) discharged itself into the Atlantic, nearly in the same parallel; and moreover, that a great river, whose *line of direction* lay between the *east* and *west*, and between Nubia and the just mentioned *embouchure*, watered a very extensive tract, in the midland part of Africa. Now, what so natural (admitting the fact of the western waters from Nubia, and which I trust, I shall go near to prove in the sequel) as to suppose, when he had found a *head*, and a *tail* of a great river, together with a long extent of course of a river between them, that they were parts of each other? It must also be taken into the account, that he supposed the continent of Africa to be about 1000 miles narrower than it really is, in the line between Nubia and the mouth of the Senegal.

Abulfeda followed Edrisi in the same opinion, respecting the Niger; which he calls a *twin* river with that of Egypt. He also calls it the *Nile of Gana*. Abulfeda also knew, and has described, the general form of the continent of Africa: and, of course knew that it was surrounded by the sea.* But his descriptions are limited to the north and north-east parts. He wrote in the fourteenth century.

It was Edrisi, probably, who influenced and determined the opinions of the moderns, respecting this question. An author, long supposed to be of the

* This was previous to the Portuguese discoveries.

same region with that which he describes,* and who had entered more into the *detail* of the African geography, than any other, would, according to the usual mode of decision, on such pretensions, be preferred to those who went before him, and had treated the subject in a more general way. Mankind had no criterion by which to judge of the truth.

Since then the Arabian geographer, who had written the most extensively on the subject, had conducted the Niger into the Atlantic, we cannot wonder that the early Portuguese discoverers, who doubtless learnt from the Arabian authors the particulars of African geography, should adopt the same idea; and that they should regard the *Senegal* river as the *Niger*; as we find it, in the histories of their discoveries in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese, who at this period took the lead, in matters of navigation and discovery, might well be expected to set the fashion, in what related to African geography. So that in despite of Ptolemy, and of the ancients in general, the great inland river of Africa was described to run *to* the *west*; and to form the head of the Senegal river. Nay more, it was at last supposed to be the *parent stock* of all the great *western* rivers of Africa.

Sanuto, whose Geography of Africa, is dated 1588, describes one branch of the Niger to be the *Rio Grande*, the other the river of *Sestos*; regarding the Senegal as a different river.

M. DELISLE'S Map of Africa (1707) gives the Niger a direct course through Africa, from *Bornou*, in the east, and terminating in the river of Senegal on the west. But in his maps of 1722 and 1727, this was corrected: The source of the Senegal was placed at a shallow lake named *Maberia*, between the 14th and 15th degrees of longitude east of Cape Verd; and in latitude 12°; whilst the river of TOMBUCTOO, named *Guien*, was described to issue from another lake, in the same neighbourhood, and to flow *towards* Bornou, where it terminated in a third lake.

The cause of this change, may be easily traced, in the intelligence collected by the French traders and settlers in GALLAM:† the substance of

* He was commonly called the *Nubian* Geographer.

† Gallam is one of the names of the country in which Fort St. Joseph is situated; and is often applied to the settlement itself.

which is to be found in Labat's collection, published in 1728; although the detail differs in some points. He says, Vol. ii. p. 161, *et seq.* that the MANDINGA merchants report that the Niger (by which he always means the Senegal river) springs from the lake Maberia, whose situation could not be ascertained. That the Gambia river was a branch of the Niger; separating from it at Baracota, (a position also unknown) and that it passed through a marshy lake, in its way to *Baraconda*; where the English and Portuguese had settlements. That the Niger, at a point below Baracota, sent forth another branch, namely, the *Falemé* river; which encompassed the country of *Bambouk*, and afterwards joined the *Niger* in the country of *Gallam*. And finally, that the same Niger, by its separation into two branches, formed a very considerable island above Kasson. It may be remarked, that a belief of these circumstances, manifests a gross state of ignorance respecting the interior of the country; since such derivations from rivers, are found only in *alluvial* tracts: and it happens, that scarcely any levels vary more than those, through which the rivers in question pass; as will appear in the sequel.

They likewise report (p. 163) that on the east of the lake Maberia lies the kingdom of *Guinbala*; within which, is the river of *Guien*, which passes near the city of Tombuctoo. Again (Vol. iii. p. 361 to 364) it is said that Tombuctoo is not situated on the bank of the Niger, but at about six leagues inland from it: and that in passing to it, from Gallam (which is reported to be a journey of thirty-two days only), they go through Timbi, five journies short of Tombuctoo; where they leave the bank of the river, to avoid too great a *detour*.

Labat does not state in positive terms that the Niger or river of Senegal affords a continuous navigation, from the falls of Govinea (above Gallam) to Tombuctoo: but that he believed it, is strongly implied, by what appears afterwards, in p. 367, 368; that is, a project of a trade to Tombuctoo; "by keeping an establishment of vessels above the falls; which vessels might ascend the Niger to a point opposite to Tombuctoo, thereby saving the great expence and fatigue of a land journey."

Here then, we trace the idea of the lake of Maberia, the supposed head of the Niger; and the river of Tombuctoo, under the name of Guien; and

moreover, (although these are not expressly said to communicate) a continued navigation from Gallam to Tombuctoo. But it must surely have struck those on the spot, to inquire whether any boats ever descended from Tombuctoo to the falls of Govinca?

It is certain that Delisle, (as well as D'Anville, whose general ideas are much the same, in this particular*) regards the river Guien, as having no communication with the lake Maberia, but makes it flow from a different lake, at no great distance to the northward: so that these geographers so far understood the matter right; and denied the practicability of a continuous navigation to Tombuctoo: but then, they erred very greatly in placing the head of the Senegal either so remotely, or in the eastern quarter; since it rises in the south-east.

We must regard the geography of M. D'Anville, as the most perfect of all, previous to the inquiries made by the AFRICAN ASSOCIATION. The researches made under the direction of this Association, have already established on record, from the reports of Major Houghton, and of Mr. Magra, although in a vague way, the general position of the sources of the Joliba, or Niger, in or near the country of Manding; as well as its easterly or north-easterly course, towards Tombuctoo; the position of Bammakoo, situated near the highest navigable point of its course; of Sego, and Jenné, along its banks; the separation of its waters, into two channels, in the quarter of Tombuctoo; together with a vague idea of the position of that city itself. It will be shewn, in the sequel, that Mr. Park's observations do not contradict, but establish these positions; drawing them out of the obscurity in which, by the very nature of the information, they were necessarily involved; and fixing, in some degree of just relative position and proportion, those particulars which before remained at large, considered in a geographical sense.

Concerning the errors of former geographers, they are more easily

* D'Anville differs from Delisle in extending very greatly, the distance between Gallam and Tombuctoo; and by representing the Maberia lake, as one source alone, and that the least distant, of those of the river Senegal.

detected than the *causes* of them. They must, however, be ascribed, partly to the ignorance of the African merchants; but, in all probability, in a much greater part, to the want of understanding each other's language; a defect that has led to many errors, that are oftentimes charged to the account of wilful falsehood, or, at least, to an indifference to the cause of truth.

I can easily conceive that the caravan merchants, in passing from Tombuctoo to Gallam (or the contrary), might have *deceived themselves* into a belief, that the principal rivers which they had either crossed or skirted in their way, might communicate with each other: for it appears clearly, by Mr. Park's observations, that the eastern branch of the Senegal, and the western branch of the Joliba, approach very near to each other, in the early part of their courses; so that, during the whole journey, the merchants might never be farther distant from *a river* to the southward of them, than a few journies.

As to the story, so long credited, of the Niger being the parent river, from whence all the western rivers were derived, we may remark, that ignorance, in every country through which large rivers take their course, is very ready to derive them *all* from *one source*; and that source very probably, a *lake*. Within our own times, the *Burrampooter* and *Ava* rivers were thus described in the maps. Pliny reports, that the Euphrates and Tigris are united in Armenia, by the medium of a lake:* and Edrisi, as we have seen, derived the Nile and Niger, from one and the same lake.†

It will appear that the lake Maberia, taken by D'Anville and Delisle for the head of the Senegal river, or that which runs to the *west*, is meant for no other than the lake of *Dibbie*, formed by the river Joliba, or that which runs to the *east*; and which Mr. Park's inquiries have brought to our knowledge. Again, we recognize the river Guien, or Guin, of Labat,

* Pliny, lib. vi. c. 27.

† Thomson believed it. After speaking of the Nile, he says,—

His *brother Niger* too, and all the floods
In which the full-form'd maids of Afric lave
Their jetty limbs.—— *Summer*, 811.

of D'Anville, and of Delisle, in the northern branch of the same Joliba, issuing out of the lake Dibbie; and which, together with the southern branch from the same lake, forms an island, reported to be 90 or 100 miles in length, named Jinbala by Mr. Park. There is a town on the side of the northern branch, also named Jinbala; but whether the island may take its name from this town, or from the river, whose *proper name*, from about this point, seems to be *Guin*, or *Jin*, I know not. M. D'Anville has described, in this position, the country of Guinbala, subject to Tonka Quata: the same who is said by Labat to be sovereign of the country which contains the lake of Maberia, and the river of Guien.*

Here, then, we have an explication of the error of those, who, from the supposed information of the Mandinga merchants, supposed the lake Maberia (answering to the Dibbie of Park), to form the source of the Senegal river; and who took the river of Guin, or Jinbala, for a distinct river, instead of a branch, issuing from that lake. The Mandingas might very truly have informed the French settlers, that the lake Maberia, and the rivers Joliba and Guin would convey them to Tombuctoo; but did they say also, that the river of Senegal would convey them to the lake Maberia? The French merchants, perhaps, taking for granted that the navigation was continuous, might never inquire whether their informants were speaking of *one* or of *two* rivers: and the others might at the same time be speaking of *two* distinct rivers, and be ignorant of the prepossessions of their inquirers!

It may be added, that, whether from the difficulties that grew out of the subject, when the geographical documents came to be analyzed, or whether it was from actual information, both Delisle and D'Anville describe *two* lakes, near each other; one at the supposed head of the Senegal river, the other at that of the Tombuctoo river. I think it most probable, that it was occasioned by the want of their being made to comprehend, that the waters ran *eastward to*, and not *westward from* the lake Maberia; so that when they were told that the Tombuctoo river issued from a lake, they

* Labat, Vol. ii. p. 161. 163. and iii. p. 361.

concluded it must be a different one from that at the head of the Senegal. Certain it is, however, that these geographers believed, that the waters ran to the *west*, from this lake.

I have now brought to a conclusion, what was meant to be said on the subject of the descriptions, and mistakes, of former geographers; in the course of which it may be observed, that a period of twenty-two centuries has brought matters round again to the same point. And having thus cleared the ground, I next proceed to the more important part of the subject, the proper discoveries of Mr. Park.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Geographical Discoveries of Mr. Park.

SINCE the scope and design of Mr. Park's routes have been already set forth in the beginning of the present work, it would be useless to say more on that head; and as the particular map of his progress will explain the relative circumstances of the Geography, nothing more will be necessary, than to call the attention of the reader to such particulars as may not readily occur to him on inspection of the Map; or which, from their nature, cannot well be inserted in it.

The discoveries of this gentleman (as has been said before), give a new face to the *physical* geography of *Western* Africa. They prove, by the courses of the great rivers, and from other notices, that a belt of mountains, which extends from west to east, occupies the parallels between 10 and 11 degrees of north latitude, and at least between the 2d and 10th degrees of west longitude (from Greenwich). This belt, moreover, other authorities extend some degrees still farther to the west and south, in different branches, and apparently of less height. One of these, follows the upper part of the Gambia river; another the Rio Grande, to a low point of its course; and a third appears to shut up the western coast of Guinea.* Accordingly, this chain approaches much nearer to the equatorial parts of Africa, than was before supposed; and thus we are enabled to understand fully what Abulfeda† meant, when he said, that after the continent of Africa has extended southward‡ from the Strait of Gibraltar, to the neigh-

* Meaning Serra Leona, &c. &c.

† Prolegomena.

‡ Abulfeda in effect, *literally* meant *southward*; for, like Ptolemy, and Strabo, he had no idea that the coast of Africa projected to the *westward*, beyond the Straits, but rather supposed it to trend to the *eastward* of south.

bourhood of the Equator, it turns to the east, *passing at the back of the mountains of Komri*, which give rise to the *Nile*.* The mountains in question, then, ought to be those intended by Abulfeda; who by the name *Komri*, evidently meant to express the *Mountains* of the *Moon*; from which Ptolemy derives the remote source of the Nile.† As Abulfeda supposed the source of the Nile to be very far to the south or south-west (in which I agree generally with him), this chain may be supposed to pass onward from the abovementioned quarter, to the *east*, and *south* of *east*, shutting up Abyssinia on the south. This, at least, seems the only way in which we can fairly understand Abulfeda; in confirmation of whose description, *a part* of the ridge has been actually found by Mr. Park.‡ According to Leo (p. 249), the country of *Melli* is bordered on the south by mountains; and these must be nearly in the same parallel with the mountains of *Kong*, seen by Mr. Park.

Mr. Beaufoy was informed that the countries on the south and south-west of the Niger, lying opposite to, and to the westward of, Kassina, were also *mountainous* and *woody*. In particular in the line between Kassina and Assentai, the country is said to be formed of a succession of hills, with woods of vast extent, and some mountains of a *stupendous height*.§

As the source of the Nile is confessedly very far to the south of the

* When the above is considered, we can understand that Abulfeda supposed the bays of Benin and St. Thomas to be 11 or 12 degrees more to the *east*, than they really are; and he might well suppose that "the sea came in at the back of the mountains that gave rise to the Nile."

That the *Nile of Egypt*, and not the *Niger*, is meant, we learn in another place in the same author, where he speaks of the *Egyptian* Nile, and traces it to Egypt. Prolegomena, article Rivers.

† *Komri*, or rather *Kummeree*, is the Arabic term for *lunar*; and is the adjective of *Kummer*, the moon. [Mr. Hastings.]

‡ The mountains of Kong were seen by Mr. Park; but no other part of the chain.

§ African Association, 1790, and 1791, quarto ed. p. 117. 123; octavo, 176. 186. Also quarto, 174; octavo, 260.

As two editions of this work are in the hands of the public, I have referred to both throughout this work; distinguishing them respectively by Q. and O.

parallel of 10 degrees north, this chain of mountains, admitting it to continue its general easterly course, must bend to the southward, after it passes Kong and Melli, in order to pass *above* the sources of the Nile; the principal of which I conceive to be situated in the country of DARFOOR.

The highest part of the portion of this chain, pointed out by Mr. Park's discoveries, is situated between the 5th and 9th degrees of west longitude; for within this space are situated the sources of the Gambia, which run to the west-north-west; of the Senegal, running to the north-west; and of the Joliba (or Niger) to the east-north-east.* There is, however, a general slope of the country, extending to a great distance northward, formed by a gradation of summits of lesser mountains and hills, as is shewn by the early part of the courses of the rivers; in particular, that of the Niger, which appears to run near 100 miles on a northerly course, before it turns finally to the eastward.

A large portion of the tract bordering on the northern foot of the mountains, from whence the branches of the Senegal river issue, is covered with thick forests. Mr. Park's track on his return lay through these woods; one part of which is named the *Jallonka Wilderness*, in which no habitations were seen during five days of forced marching. The hardships endured, even by the *free* men of this caravan, almost exceed belief.†

The head of the principal branch of the Senegal river is about 80 geographical miles to the west of that of the Joliba; and the head of the Gambia, is again, about 100 west of the Senegal. The branches of the latter are very numerous, and intersect the country for about 200 miles from east to west, in the line of the caravan route: and it was this circumstance that detained Mr. Park, during a great part of the periodical rainy season, in

* The Rio Grande has its source very far to the south of this chain; first running to the north, till it touches the foot of this very ridge of mountains, by which it is turned to the west. [Vide Mr. Watt's Plan and Journal.]

† The caravan in question was composed chiefly of slaves going from Manding to the ports of the Gambia.

Manding; a state of things, perhaps little expected, in a country regarded *here*, as the most thirsty on the globe.*

We may conclude that similar circumstances take place, with respect to the Joliba; only that as its course is such as to intercept all the streams that descend from the Kong mountains on the south, whilst Mr. Park's travels along it, were confined to the northern bank, he had no opportunity of knowing it, any farther than [illegible] seeing various openings on that side; and by being told that he could not possibly *make his way* there. No doubt, it receives some large streams also, when its course diverges far enough from the mountains as to allow the waters room to collect.

At the lowest point to which Mr. Park traced it, and which (although about 420 British miles in direct distance from its source) could only be reckoned the early part of its course, it was a very considerable body of water; the largest, he says, that he had seen (in Africa,) and it abounded with crocodiles. The rainy season was but just begun; and the river might have been forded at Sego, where its bed expands to a vast breadth. Still, however, we must not estimate the bulk of the Niger, that *Niger* which was in the contemplation of Pliny and the Romans, by the measure of its bulk at Sego, and Silla.† If we suppose it to be the same river which passes by Kassina (and we know of no other), which place is 700 miles, or more, to the eastward of Silla, it would doubtless receive by the way great additional supplies of water, and be at least a much deeper river than where Mr. Park saw it. And here it may not be amiss to remark, for the use of those who

* There is in Africa, a rainy season; and also a periodical change of wind, as in the same latitudes in India: in effect, a MONSOON.

† It may be conceived that the Romans, who, according to Pliny, (lib. v. 4.) held the dominion of the countries as far as the Niger, penetrated to it by the route of Gadamis, Fezzan, Taboo, and Kassina, as the most direct, and convenient one, from the Mediterranean. There are very clear proofs of the conquest of the three former by Balbus. (Pliny, lib. v. 5.) It was known to Pliny that the Niger swelled periodically like the Nile, and at the same season; which we have also in proof from Major Houghton's *Report*; and from Mr. Park's *Observations*. Pliny says, moreover, that its productions were the same with those of the Nile. (Lib. v. c. 8.)

are not conversant with the subject, that rivers make the greatest display of their waters, in proportion to their bulk, at a moderate distance from their sources; and are often wider *above*, than *below*.*

There can be no doubt but that the *Joliba*, is a noble stream; and the prince of the *western* rivers of Africa, as the *Nile* of the *eastern:* but the African rivers, however, rank lower than those of Asia and America.

Mr. Park judged that the Senegal river below the falls of *F'low*, or *Félou* (as Labat writes it), was about the bulk of the *Tweed* at *Melross*, in summer. This was indeed, in the dry season; but as the river does not begin to swell periodically till many months after that, Mr. Park, did not of course see it, at its lowest pitch. And yet this was the assemblage of all the principal branches of the river, save the *Falemé*, which was itself about three feet deep at the same season. But the Senegal is even fordable in some places *below* the conflux of the Falemé, according to Labat:† for the Moors cross it in the dry season, and commit depredations on some of the lands to the south. However, almost the whole of the towns and villages are placed on the south side, with a view of being in security for the longest possible term.

The Senegal river then, is by no means a very capital stream, except in the

* In the Proceedings of the African Association, (Q. p. 122; O. 183, *et seq.*) the river of Kassina is described to run *to the west*, and *to pass on to* Tombuctoo; where it is said to be named *Gnewa*; possibly intended for Joliba, for the *n* and *l* are more commonly interchanged than the *m* and *n*.‡ It will very probably turn out that there is an error in the above statement, and that it runs from W to E in the country of Kassina as well as at Tombuctoo. It would seem also to be a larger river in the *east*, than in the *west*; a presumption in favour of an easterly course. But perhaps, the best argument is, that it certainly runs *from* Tombuctoo to the *east*. It must then either be one and the same river, or there must be a receptacle common to both, lying between Tombuctoo and Kassina! and we have not heard of any such. Much more will be said concerning this subject, in the latter part of the Memoir.

† See Labat, Vol. ii. p. 172, where the impediments to the navigation are described. They do not appear to arise from differences in the general level, but to a ledge of rocks.

‡ Abderachman Aga calls it Gülbi; (or Julbee). Hartmann's Edrisi, quarto ed. p. 22. It is incumbent on me to acknowledge the obligations I owe to M. Hartmann, for his arrangement of the matter of Edrisi's Africa; and for his invaluable Elucidations, and Notes.

rainy season: when, like all the other tropical rivers, its bed is filled, and very commonly will not contain the additional waters. Mr. Park observed by the mark of the highest point of swelling of the river *Kokoro* (or eastern branch of the Senegal), that it had been twenty feet higher than when he crossed it, in the line of the southern route. The *main* branch of this river, the *Ba-fing*, or Black River, was not fordable, and was crossed over a temporary bridge of a very singular construction. Alligators, or crocodiles are found in all these branches, at the height at which Mr. Park passed them.

The Falemé river has also a remote source, and drains a great extent of country.

Concerning the Gambia Mr. Park had fewer notices. It is remarkable that the position pointed out to him for the source of this river, agrees very nearly with that found in Dr. Wadstrom's map; from notices collected from another quarter. This is very satisfactory. I learn also from Dr. Afzelius that the distance across, between the approximating parts of the courses of the Gambia and Rio Grande, is four journies.

Mr. Park crossed in his way, six different streams that fall into the Gambia from the north-east. Amongst these the principal one is the Nerico, which flows from the quarter of Bondou; and is reckoned the eastern boundary of a tract which the Africans of this region style the Country of the *West*, expressed by that of the *setting sun*. This tract is on a lower level than that to the east; is flat, and the soil composed of clay and sand. It appears that the whole tract through which Mr. Park *returned* is covered with wood, cleared only in certain inhabited spots (*Numidian fashion*): of which, the great tract, named the Jallonka Wilderness, is composed of primeval forests.*

The Bambarra and Kaarta countries are also exceedingly woody, but less so than the other tract; and the woods are of an inferior growth.

According to the ideas collected from Mr. Park's observations, the

* Thomson seems to have understood this, when he says,

—— beneath *primeval* trees, that cast
Their ample shade o'er NIGER's yellow stream.

Summer, v. 705.

general levels of the countries, near the sources of the great rivers are thus distributed:

Between the countries of Bondou and Neola on the west, Bambarra and Kaarta on the east, the country forms a very elevated level, falling *rapidly* to the eastward; but only *by degrees*, to the westward: and narrowing in breadth, from 330 miles in the south (in the line between Bambarra and Neola) to the narrow space of 60 or 70 in the north, between Kaarta and Kajaaga; and probably diminishing to nothing, as it advances into the *Great Desert*; thus forming a great triangular space, whose vertex is on the north of the little kingdom of Kasson. This vast upland tract is divided into other degrees of level, of which the highest comprizes the eastern and largest part of the whole. The eastern boundary of this particular level, is, of course, that of the upper level, generally, in the part where it overlooks Kaarta and Bambarra: and its termination, in the opposite quarter, is at a *great descent*, west of the principal branch of the Senegal river, in Woiadoo; from which place, the edge of it may be conceived to run northward, to join *another descent* of the same kind, which forms the falls of *Govinea*, over which the great body of the Senegal river is precipitated, from this *upper* level, to the intermediate one.

The upper level contains the political divisions of Manding, Jallonkadu, Fooladu, Kasson, Gadou, and some other smaller states. And the second, or intermediate level, contains Bambouk, Konkadoo, Satadoo, Dentila, and some others; and is bounded on the south-west, by the great slope of country at Kirwanney, where the waters first begin to flow towards the west. On the north-west it is bounded by the great descent which forms the *second* or *lower* fall of the Senegal river, named F'low. This fall is about 30 miles below Govinea, 48 above Fort St. Joseph: and here the river being arrived at the lowest level of the country, continues navigable with little interruption to the sea.* The Falemé river of course, must run on a far lower level than the other heads of the Senegal river.

The Gambia has a small impediment to its navigation at Baraconda, in the country of Woolli; but although this is usually termed a *fall*, Mr.

* Labat, Vol. ii. p. 172. See his description of the navigation.

Park was informed that it did not impede the passage of canoes: so that it ought more properly to be termed a *rapide*, according to the *American* phrase; that is to say, a *slope*, down which the water runs, with more than ordinary rapidity, but which does not, however, totally impede the passage of canoes, or small boats.

The Joliba (Niger) descends from the high level of Manding, into Bambarra, on the eastward, with a rapid and furious course, at Bammakoo, about 150 miles below its source; after which it glides smoothly along, and affords an uninterrupted navigation to Houssa, and probably by Kassina to Wangarah; by the two first of which places, a very large and navigable stream does certainly pass, under the same name as is applied by the Arabs and Moors to the Joliba, that is, Neel Abeed, or River of Slaves: a name that marks the idea of the people of the country through which it flows, in the minds of those people.

Mr. Watt was informed, when at *Teembo*, the capital of the FOULAH kingdom, in 1794, that in the way from thence to Tombuctoo (concerning which his inquiries were pointed), a part of the road, lay along the side of a *Great Water*, to which they came in about thirty days from Teembo. There can be no question but that the *Great Water* was the *Joliba* river; whose very name, as we have said, in the Mandingo language, literally imports the same meaning: or more properly, the *Great River*. Some have concluded that the Foulahs intended by it a great *inland sea*; but this is highly improbable, although there are, no doubt, such in other quarters of Africa, which serve as receptacles for those rivers which do not reach the sea. But, in the present case, the distance itself points to the Joliba; for, a month's journey from Teembo, would reach beyond Yamina, but fall short of Sego: and we are told from the same authority, that in order to go to Tombuctoo, they pass through the countries of Beliah, Bowriah, Manda, Sego, &c. Beliah, we know not the situation of, but may conceive it to lie on the north-east, or east-north-east of Teembo; because Mr. Park points out Bowriah, under the name of Boori, adjacent to Manding, which is obviously recognized in the Manda of Mr. Watt: and Sego, there can be no doubt about. What is farther said concerning the great breadth of the

water, may either apply to the lake Dibbie, or may be African hyperbole. The sense appears clear enough.

I have extracted in a note, the intelligence concerning the Great Water: and also that, concerning the *Nyalas*. Mr. Park has also heard of the Nyalis, or *Gaungays*, but is clearly of opinion that the interpreter of Mr. Watt, either misunderstood the story, or was himself misinformed.*

* "I had a good deal of conversation with some men of a particular tribe of Mandingas called *Nyalas*. These are great travellers, and much respected by all the nations of Africa. It is from *this nation* that all the *Gaungays* or workers in leather, come; and they are likewise employed as the speakers on all embassies: as they are not only good orators, but are so far privileged, that no one, not even kings, can take offence at any thing they say. Any one who travels with them, is sure of being protected; and, to use their own terms, they can pass between contending armies, who will defer the battle till they have passed. I inquired about Tombuctoo," &c.—One of them said, that "about a month's journey beyond Teembo, we should come to a *large Water*, which our eyes would not be able to reach across; but which to the taste was sweet and good: that we should then coast along, touching at different towns for refreshment; but that there was one country inhabited by bad people, who would rob and murder us, if they could; where we should not stop, but keep far out, at a distance from the shore;" &c. They engaged to carry him thither for the price of *four slaves*. [Watt's Journal, MS. p. 181.]

CHAPTER III.

Construction of the Geography of Mr. Park's Expedition into Africa.

I NEXT proceed to the detail of Mr. Park's geographical materials. Should it be objected that I have been too diffuse and particular, in this part, I can only say, that since the information itself could not, from its nature be correct, it became the more necessary to investigate it closely, and also to place, not only the *result* but the *detail* of the investigation, together with the *original documents* themselves, in the form of notes, in the hands of the public, that the true grounds of the construction, might be known. For whether it may happen, that no further lights should ever be obtained, concerning the subject; or whether some other traveller, more *fortunate* (for he cannot possess more zeal, enterprize, temper, or firmness) should complete Mr. Park's work; in either case, the original documents, as well as the mode of working them up, should be recorded; in the *former*, that we may know how to *appreciate* them; in the *latter*, how best to *improve* them. The successor of Mr. Park, cannot have too extensive a knowledge of the detail of his predecessor's work; in order that he may know what parts require correction; and how to avoid delays, from a useless attention to objects, that are already attained.

Two new Maps have been constructed for the occasion. The one contains the PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY AND IMPROVEMENT in various parts of North Africa; the other, the GEOGRAPHY of Mr. PARK'S EXPEDITION, as well as the result of his particular inquiries in the same quarter; on a more extended scale. The *present* remarks and discussions refer particularly to the latter.

In the construction of this map, it is first required to state those points, on which Mr. Park's *outset* depends; as also those which affect the posi-

tion of Fort St. Joseph, near to which he passed; as they differ from the maps in present use. And, as some positions in the journey of Mess. Watt and Winterbottom, serve very much to aid the improvement of the geography, it will be proper to speak of them also.

Cape Verde, and Fort St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal river, are placed according to the observations and results of M. Fleurieu.*

Jillifrey, on the Gambia river is, from the mean of the longitudes set forth by D'Anville, D'Apres, and Woodville, and which do not differ amongst themselves, more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.†

The detail of the coasts, as well as the lower parts of the rivers between Cape Verde, and Cape Verga, are also from the charts of M. Woodville. That part between Cape Verd and latitude 18°, is adjusted to M. Fleurieu's result of longitude, whilst the particulars are from D'Anville and Woodville.

The course of the Rio Grande from the sea to the *break* near the river Dunso, is from Dr. Wadstrom's map. The Dunso river, crossed by Mr. Watt, appears evidently to be a continuation of the same river; several branches of which flow from the south-east. And the high tract of mountainous land beyond it, is no doubt a branch of the great ridge above commemorated, under the name of Komri, in the work of Abulfeda.

The route of Mr. Watt is described from a sketch communicated by the late Mr. BEAUFOY,‡ in which the scale appears, on a reference to the original journal, to be intended for *British* miles. I have regarded them

* That is, Cape Verd in latitude 14° 48′, longitude 17° 34′ west of Greenwich: St. Louis in latitude 16° 5′ (by D'Anville), longitude 16° 8′ by Fleurieu.

† D'Anville 16° 9′ 30″
D'Apres 16 5 0 } Mean, 16° 7′
Woodville 16 8 3

Latitude 13° 16′

‡ The public cannot but recollect the obligations due to this gentleman, on the score of his persevering industry, and laudable zeal, in the work of extending our knowledge of the interior parts of Africa. Accordingly his loss to society, in this department, is likely to be felt for some time, if not for ever: the researches in Africa being a path of his own choosing; a path which, more than any other person, he had contributed to open, and to render smooth; and in which he seemed destined to succeed!

accordingly; whence Laby and Teembo are placed much nearer to the coast, than Dr. Wadstrom's map represents: for it appears by the Journal, that Kissey, at the head of the river of the same name, is no more than eight journies from Teembo. Nor has the map more than 120 geographic miles between them, admitting the scale to be British miles, as I have concluded.*

The nearest point in Mr. Park's route falls at 112 G. miles to the northward of the extreme point of Mr. Watt's; and the river Gambia lay nearly midway between them. Thus, the map of Mr. Watt forms a most useful point of comparison; and adds confirmation to the report of the natives, respecting the course of the Gambia; for Mr. Park was told, that it was *crossed* in the way from the Falemé river, to Foota Jallo, of which Teembo is the capital.

Pisania, on the Gambia (called also Kuttijar Factory), the place of Mr. Park's outset† is stated by D'Anville to be 170 G. miles above Jillifrey, by the difference of longitude; but by M. Woodville's map, no more than 156; which answers better to the statement of the land journey: for Mr. Park was told that is was no more than 6¼ journies of a messenger.‡

* Dr. Afzelius supposes that the town of Kissey may be, in direct distance, about 36 geographical miles to the north-east by east of Serra Leona. Hence, Teembo should be no more than 156 from Serra Leona. On the general map it is 170. I have adhered to the bearing lines on Mr. Watt's map; but think it probable that Teembo, and the whole route may be *more to the south.*

† This is the residence of Dr. LAIDLEY, a gentleman to whom Mr. PARK and the ASSOCIATION are under great obligations. He received Mr. Park into his house, and treated him more like a child of the family than a stranger. He cured Mr. Park of a serious illness, which confined him for many weeks; and when Mr. Park was disappointed of the goods necessary for his expences, which were to have been sent out with Consul Willis, the Doctor supplied him with every possible necessary, he had occasion for; taking his bills upon the Association for the amount.

‡ A journey of an ordinary traveller may be taken at about 17 geographical miles in direct distance; that of messengers in India, is equal to about 25, or 100 English miles by the road, in three days.

Pisania then, is placed in longitude 13° 28′, according to this result; and in latitude 13° 35′ north, according to Mr. Park's observation, by sextant.

The causes of the *apparent wanderings* of Mr. Park having been explained in the former part of this work, it will be no farther necessary to trace his course, than merely to explain the connection of the different parts of the *data* for the general construction.

Since the scale of the Map is fixed by the computed distances arising on the intervals of time employed in Mr. Park's route, it is possible that some readers may be startled at the idea of following such an apparently vague authority. Those, however, who have been much in the habit of observing their rate of travelling, will be easily convinced that distances *may be* approximated; and those in particular who have been much accustomed to travel in countries, where *time* regulates the *distance*; or who have been in habits of working up geographical materials of this kind, will be the most easily convinced. It will of course be understood, that calculations of this kind can only be received from persons of judgment and experience: and also, that when opportunities of checking them, occur, they are always resorted to; after which, of course, no alternative remains, but to adopt the corrected distance.

In the present case, the *rate of travelling of camels** does not apply; as Mr. Park's journey outwards was made on horseback, and his return chiefly on foot. Nor are camels, indeed, in use in that line of route. The checks to be employed, are the number of journies reported by the travelling merchants, from different points of Mr. Park's route to Sego and Tombuctoo; and also those from the quarters of Morocco, Tunis, and Fezzan, to Tombuctoo; using as a scale, the rate arising on the route between Fezzan and Egypt, Morocco and Jarra, as the *best known* lines of distance. These, altogether, furnish such kind of authority as will, I trust, lead to a satisfactory conclusion; as the general coincidence is certainly very striking.

My mode of procedure has been, to calculate, in the first instance,

* See Phil. Trans. for 1791.

Mr. Park's bearings and distances, and then to correct the bearings by his observed latitudes, as far as these extend: and beyond that, I have taken his bearing by compass, and allowed the *supposed quantity* of variation.

The result of these calculations, together with the addition of his line of distance from Sego to Tombuctoo, was then compared with the popular report of the distance between the several stations of Woolli, Fort St. Joseph, Bambouk, and Tombuctoo. It was found that these reports did not materially differ from the aggregate distance given by Mr. Park; although they fell short of it; a difference which might naturally have been expected, and which I have ventured to alter. The difference, however, does not exceed twenty-four geographic miles; a mere trifle in African geography. The position of Tombuctoo, so obtained, differs only half a degree in latitude, and still less in longitude, from that arising from the intersection of the lines of distance from Morocco on the NW, and Fezzan on the NE: of which a particular account will be given in the sequel.

A great part of Mr. Park's geographical memorandums are totally lost: but fortunately his bearings by compass during a great part of the way, are preserved. In other parts, he has preserved only the calculation of latitude and longitude, arising from them; which, however, of course furnish the means of obtaining the bearings, if necessary. As he omitted to take observations to determine the quantity of the variation of the compass, after he lost the means of correcting his course by observations of latitude, which was at Jarra, about midway in his route:* it becomes a question of some importance, what quantity to allow on those long lines of distance between Jarra and Silla; Silla and Manding.

It appears on inquiry, that the quantity of variation is no more known, any where *within* the continent of *Africa*, than within that of *New Holland*. And it happens moreover, that the *lines of equal quantities* of variation, do not run across Africa with that degree of regularity and parallelism, which takes place over great part of the Atlantic and Indian oceans (at least this is what appears clearly to my judgment): so that it became necessary to inquire, what quantity prevails in the surrounding seas; and what the general

* The places of observation are marked on the Map by asterisks.

direction, as well as the *particular nature*, and *tendency*, of the curves, of the lines of equal quantities?

The variation lines on the globe have occupied a good deal of my attention at different periods of my life, and therefore the application of such new observations as the assiduity and kindness of my friends had procured for me on this occasion, was less difficult, than if the subject had been new to me. A dissertation on the subject, would be out of place here; and therefore I shall only give the result of my inquiries, in abstract; after premising, that the theoretical part belonging to the interior of Africa, is founded on a *supposed continuation* of those lines of equal quantities, whose tendency has been already ascertained, in the surrounding seas. I am perfectly aware, that some may regard the assumption as too great: but they will no doubt admit, at the same time, that it is difficult to conceive a more probable arrangement: and what is much more to the purpose, is, that if we are compelled to abandon the system, in the gross, the quantity of variation in the line of Mr. Park's travels, cannot be greatly different from what we have assumed. For, whether the line of 18° in the *south Atlantic*, be a continuation of that in the *north* Atlantic, or of that in the *Indian sea*, much the same result will follow: only that in the former case, the quantity will be somewhat greater.

It would appear, that between the East Indies and South America, Europe and South Africa, there are *four* distinct sets of what may be termed *concentric curves* of variation lines, on the globe, and whose highest points of convexity are opposed to each other, within the great body of Northern Africa. The accompanying sketch will best explain it.* It would appear moreover, that from the place of opposition of these curves, in Africa, where

* This sketch is not pretended to be minutely accurate; it being morally impossible to procure recent observations in every part, from the rapid change that takes place in the quantity of the variation, in one and the same spot. However, the observations that determine the course of the lines in the Atlantic (and which are marked on the sketch) are from observations so late as 1793. The same is to be said of those in the western quarter of the Mediterranean; and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to longitude 30° east, are of the year 1789.

It is obvious that a critical knowledge of the *quantity* of the variation in any particular

the quantity of variation is 18°, it *decreases* with great rapidity, and finally to nothing, in going *eastwards* to *India*, or *south-westward* to *south America*: and that from the same point, it *increases*, in going *NNW*, towards *Ireland*, or to the *opposite quarter*, towards the coast of *Caffraria*. But the change is not in any proportion so rapid in the *increase*, in going *north* or *south*, as in the *decrease*, in going *east* or *west*. Such are the outlines of this system; by which, if a person was to set out from Cape Verd, or Cape Blanco, to traverse Africa from WSW to ENE, to Upper or Lower Egypt, he would find at setting out, from $15\frac{1}{2}$ to $16\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of westerly variation, which would increase to 18° about the centre of the continent, and afterwards decrease to a less quantity than at his setting out. Mr. Park's travels being comprized between Cape Verd and the centre of Africa, will therefore be in the quarter that has from 16 to 18 degrees; and the part more particularly, where, from the want of observations of latitude, we must depend on his compass bearings, nearer 18° than 17°.* I shall now proceed to the detail of Mr. Park's materials.

Leaving Pisania, Mr. Park proceeded eastward to Medina,† the capital

place, and at a given time, is of less importance to the present question, than that of the *bearing* of the *lines* of equal quantities, at any *recent* period: and this object is, I think, tolerably well obtained, by the materials before me. Any change that may have taken place since 1793, is in favour of a greater quantity of variation, within the limits of Mr. Park's travels.

In the Atlantic, the increase appears to be about a degree in seven years. In the Indian ocean, less: and in the Red Sea, there seems to have been little alteration between 1762, and 1776.

The lines, as far as they are founded on *authority*, are continuous; but *broken* in the parts *assumed*.

* It is in proof of the existence of this quantity of variation, that, on closing Mr. Park's route at Woolli, there appeared to be only a small deficiency of distance on the Map, when 17° variation were allowed. Had the quantity allowed been less, this ought not to have happened, as Jarra is placed according to its latitude.

† Major Houghton's point of outset in 1791 was Medina. His route falls into that of Mr. Park at several points, and finally branches off from it about 30 miles short of the Faleme river, which the Major crossed at Calcullo, near 20 miles higher up than Naye, where Mr. Park crossed it.

of Woolli; and thence to the ENE, through the countries of Bondou, Kajaaga, and Kasson; the two latter of which are separated by the river of Senegal.

In his way, he took observations of latitude at Kolor, Koorkoorany, and Joag, on this side the river: by which means we are enabled to correct the parallels. The *distance* at *present* is left as it stands on the Journal, with a view of correcting it afterwards. The result of these bearings and distances (the particulars of which appear below),* places Joag at 247 miles east of Pisania; and the latitude, by two different observations, was found to be 14° 25′.†

At Joag Mr. Park was informed that Dramanet, which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$

	Hours	G. Miles direct.	Bearings by compass.	Country.	Lat. by obs.	REMARKS.
* Pisania to Jindey	6	16	SE by E	Yani	13° 35′	On these bearings 17° westerly variation were allowed The diff. lat. was then 89; departure easterly 237. But the diff. lat. by obs. being only 50, the course should be E. 11¼ N. instead of E. 20½, as before; and the departure 247. But I have finally corrected the easting, by reducing it 24 miles, or to 223.
Kootacunda	5	13	E	Woolli		
Tabajang -	2½	6	E ¼ N			
Medina -	5¼	15	ditto			
Konjour -	3	8	E ¼ S			
Mallaing -	2	6	E by S			
Kolor -	5	12	ENE	- -	13° 49′	
Tambacunda	5¼	14	SE by E			
Kooniakarry	5	13	E by N			
Koojar -	3	9	E ¼ N			
At a well -	13	34	E by N	Woods		
Tallica -	4	10	E	Bondou		
Ganada -	4	10	E ¼ N			
Koorkoorany	4½	12	ESE	- -	13° 53′	
Dooggi -	1	3	E by N			
Buggil -	4½	14	E ¼ N			
Soobroodka	7	18	E by N			
Naye - -	7	16	ENE			
Fattyacunda	3½	7	ditto			
Kimmoo -	4½	12	ditto	- -	14° 25′	
Joag - -	6	16	E by N	Kajaaga		

† According to this result, Joag would be in longitude 9° 12′, and Fort St. Joseph in 9° 21′; which is about 38 min. more easterly than M. D'Anville's Map of the Senegal allows: of which more in the sequel.

miles to the *eastward* of Fort St. Joseph, was 10 miles to the *westward* of him. That fort is said to be in 14° 34′, or 9 min. north of Joag; so that it ought to lie to the north-west, rather than to the west: and accordingly, there is found, in the Map in Labat,* a place named Gacouva, no doubt meant for Joag, on the SE of St. Joseph; and in point of distance answering to it. Other places in the same Map of Labat, are also recognized in the route of Mr. Park; so that the connection between it and the French settlement on the Senegal, is very clearly made out; which is a circumstance of some importance in this geography.

It will appear that the *reckoning* kept by Mr. Park gave 89 minutes difference of latitude between Pisania and Joag, whilst the observation gave 50 only. About 9 minutes may be placed to the account of *excess of distance*, and 30 will then remain, on the whole distance of 253 geographic miles. In other words, the *dead reckoning*, corrected by allowing 17 degrees of westerly variation, gave a course of E 20°½ N; which, however, by the observations of latitude, is shewn to be E 11°¼ N (or E by N) making a difference of 9¼ degrees. But this I regard as coming very near, considering the circumstances under which the reckoning was kept.

From Joag we accompany Mr. Park to Kooniakarry and Jarra. The reckoning between the two first gives about 23¼ min. difference of latitude, 55 of easting.† And hence the latitude of Kooniakarry will be 14° 48′ by account; but the observation taken at Jumbo, in its neighbourhood, giving only 14° 34′, the account is 14 to the north; equal to about a point and quarter in bearing. The same mode of correction has

* In Vol. iv. p. 92.

	Hours	G. miles direct.	Bearings by compass.	Lat. by observ.	Country.
† Joag to Sammee -	7	18	E by N	14° 25′	Kajaaga
Kayee - -	3½	9	Ditto		
Teesee -	7½	18	NE by N		
Medina -	—	12	SE by E		Kasson
Jumbo -	—	12	Ditto	14° 34′	
Kooniakarry	—	3	E by S		

been applied here, as in the former part of the route; that is, the *whole distance* has been (for the present) allowed; with the difference of latitude by observation; and hence Kooniakarry will fall $59\frac{1}{2}$ geographic miles to the east of Joag.

The route from Kooniakarry to Jarra* may be divided into two parts; first, to Feesurah, a place of *observation*, south-eastward; and secondly, to Jarra, north-eastward.

The account to Feesurah agrees very nearly with the bearings and distance. The latitude by observation was 14° 5′, and the easting from Kooniakarry, corrected, 47 miles. Then, to Jarra, the account also agrees very nearly; the latitude was 15° 5′, that is, just one degree north of Feesurah; and the easting from thence 33 miles.

The aggregate of easting, between Joag and Jarra, is then $139\frac{1}{2}$ miles.†

It may be observed, that throughout this journey, generally, the reckon-

* The register of the bearings and distance between Kooniakarry and Jarra, being lost or mislaid, Mr. Park gave them from memory only; but the observations of latitude at two places within that space, were preserved, as well as the latitude by account at two other places.

	Hours	G. miles direct.	Bearings by compass.	Lat. by observ.	Country.
Kooniakarry to	—	—	—	14° 34′	
Soomo -	—	17	SE ½ E		Kasson
Kanjee -	—	17	Ditto	14° 10′	
Leekarago -	—	8	Easterly		
Feesurah -	—	14	E by S	14° 5′	
Karancalla -	—	18	Easterly		
Kemmoo -	—	8	E by N		Kaarta
Marina -	—	13	Northerly		
Toordah -	—	8	Ditto		
Funingkeddy	—	12	N by E ½ E		
Simbing -	—	16	N by E		Ludamar
Jarra - -	—	2	NNE	15° 5′	

† Equal to 144 min. of longitude; whence Joag being by account in long. 9° 12

Add 144 min. - - - 2 24

Long. of Jarra, by Mr. Park's original calculation - 6 48

ing has been to the northward of the observations; and that, by about *ten* degrees on the *whole* traverse, when 17 degrees of variation have been allowed. It will hardly be supposed that the difference arises from allowing too much variation by *ten* degrees; but it is singular, that the error should, in all cases but *one*, lie the same way. I do not by any means regard the error as considerable, circumstances considered:* nor is it of any consequence in the parts where the observations of latitude serve to correct it: as between Pisania and Jarra.

Mr. Park was plundered of his sextant at Jarra, which accident of course put an end to his observations of latitude; and thus, unfortunately, left the remaining *half* (very nearly) of his geography in a state of uncertainty, as to parallel. This point, therefore, must be regarded as the most advanced geographical station, that rests on any *certain basis* of parallel. However, the remaining part of the route will not appear to be much out, when it is seen how nearly the bearing of Sego, as determined by Mr. Park, agreed with the line of direction pointed out from Jarra.

It is, no doubt, a favourable circumstance, that the instrument was not lost at an earlier period, and before the commencement of the intricate route between the pass of the Senegal river and Jarra; to which may be added, the advantage of a *known parallel*, from whence to set off the very important bearing of Tombuctoo. In effect, the bearing was pointed out from Benowm, but this place being nearly east from Jarra, and the bearing in question E $\frac{1}{2}$ N, no error of any magnitude can be looked for.

Jarra (called also Yarra), has already appeared in the Maps drawn for the Association, and was originally taken from M. Delisle's Map; but was neglected, or overlooked, by M. D'Anville. In the former Map it was placed somewhat more to the west, and in a higher parallel by about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a degree.

Between Jarra and Wassiboo, Mr. Park's reckoning, as it appears wrought up in his table of day's works, gives 41 min. diff. of latitude N, and

* Mr. Carmichael came within 6 or 7 degrees in the bearing between Aleppo and Bussorah, on a distance of 720 British miles. But the advantages were prodigiously in his favour; the road being straight, the country open, and the camel walking an equable pace. (See Phil. Trans. for 1791.)

1° 31′ diff. longitude E; which reduced to departure, in miles, is 89, and produces a course of E 26° S. But he allowed *no variation* after he left Jarra: and as I allow 17°, the course must be taken at E 9° S, distance 96½ geographic miles. From this arises a diff. lat. of 16′ only: departure 95: and, hence, Wassiboo should be in latitude 14° 49′, and 95 east of Jarra.*

Mr. Park was so lucky as to preserve his original bearings,† between

	Diff. Lat. S.	Diff. Lon. E.		N.	E.
*Jarra to			Doolinkeaboo	7	24
Queira	11′	25′	Diggani §	19	8
Sherilla	14	40	Seracorro	5	9
Dama	11	4	Sego	6	3
Wawra	5	8	Lat. by account 13° 4′	121 S	281 E
Dingyee	—	7	Diff. lon. 4° 41′ E		
Wassiboo ‖	—	7	Sansanding	10 N	15 E
Satile	18	31	Sibiti	—	7
Galloo	1	21	Nyara	3	16
Moorja	4 N	14	Modiboo	3	19
Datiliboo	9 S	38	Silla	2	12
Fanimboo	12	24	Lat. by account 13° 22′	18 N	69 E
Jiosorra	7	18	Diff. lon. 1° 9′ E		

No variation was allowed in this calculation.

† Original bearings between Wassiboo ‖ and Diggani. §

Places.	Dist.	Bearings.
Wassiboo to		
Satile	30	SE b E
Galloo	20	ESE
Moorja	15	E b N
Datiliboo	25	SE b E
Fanimboo	35	ESE
Jiosorra	20	ESE
Doolinkeaboo	15	SE b E
Lions	18	SE b S
‡ Diggani	7	South

‡ On working these bearings over again, it appeared that Mr. Park had made a mistake; and thence inferred a wrong position for Diggani, Sego, &c. in his table of latitudes and longitudes. I mention this, to shew that he has acted fairly, in exposing his whole process; and even his errors.

Wassiboo, and Diggani (a place about 15′ short of Sego); and *these alone*, out of all that were taken during the route. These give a course of E 27°½ S, 174 geographical miles; so that when 17° of variation are allowed, the true course will be E 10½ S; the diff. lat. 31,7; departure 171,1; whence Diggani should be in lat. 14° 17′, and 266,1 east of Jarra.

Between Diggani and Sego (returning again to the table of latitude and longitude), Mr. Park's account gives E 43 S 15′; or corrected E 26 S, which gives diff. lat. 6,6; departure 13,5: so that Sego, the capital town of Bambara, falls, by this account, in lat. 14° 10′ 30″ and 279,6 east of Jarra.*

In this position, it bears E 10½ S from Jarra, distant 284 geographical miles. It is important to mention, that whilst at Jarra, the bearing of Sego was pointed out to Mr. Park by compass, ESE, or E 22°½ S. His route made it E 27½ S, or 5° more to the south. This difference, so trifling in a distance of about 330 of our miles, on a straight line (in other words, the distance from London to Edinburgh), is not worth investigating. If we could suppose the report of the natives to be true, it would place Sego nearly 25 minutes more to the north. For my own part, I do not believe that any person, from mere judgment, unassisted by geographical records, and so far removed as to be out of the hearing of cannon, and of the view of conflagrations (two circumstances that aid the most in fixing the line of direction between distant places), could ever come nearer than *several* degrees of the bearing of two places that are 330 British miles asunder.†

Having at length reached the banks of the *long sought for* river NIGER (or JOLIBA), near which the city of Tombuctoo stands, Mr. Park proceeded along it several days' journey, towards the city in question, on a course E 15½ N by compass, but corrected E 32½ N 70 G. miles; which giving a diff. lat. of 37½, departure 59, places Silla, the extreme point of his expedition, in latitude 14° 48; and longitude by reckoning 0° 59′ west

* This being equal to 4° 47′ difference of longitude, Sego, by Mr. Park's reckoning, would lie in 2° 1′ west of Greenwich.

† The informant might possibly be influenced by the bearing of *that portion* of the road *nearest* to him, which is more *easterly* than the part towards Sego.

of Greenwich; but, as will be hereafter shewn, when corrected, 1° 24′ west. Here, then, terminates his journey eastward, at a point somewhat more than 16 degrees east of Cape Verd, and precisely in the same parallel. The line of distance arising from this difference of longitude is about 941 G. miles, or 1090 British, within the western extremity of Africa; a point which, although short by 200 miles of the desired station, Tombuctoo, the attainment of which would unquestionably have been attended with great *eclat*, was yet far beyond what any other European, whose travels have been communicated to the European world, had ever reached.*

* It may not be known to the generality of readers, that, in the former part of this century, Tombuctoo was as much the object of geographical research amongst the French, as it has been of late with the English. D'Anville was particularly anxious about it, as may be seen in the Mem. of the Academy of Inscrip. Vol. xxvi. p. 73.

CHAPTER IV.

The Construction of the Geography continued.

At Silla, Mr. Park was informed that Tombuctoo was yet fourteen journies of the caravan distant from him; and these he has calculated at 200 G. miles only, in a direct line from Silla; as it appears that a bend in the course of the river, prevents a direct line of route towards it. As to the bearing, he unfortunately could not, as at Jarra, obtain a consistent account of it. The natives always pointed *along the general course of the river*; although, as it may be supposed, it occasionally deviated to the right and left. It has been seen, in the bearing of Sego, how nearly it was given by judgment; but then the two cases differ very widely. The route is entirely by *land*, from *Jarra* to *Sego*, by which the idea of the general line of direction is better preserved, than when broken into so many small parts, by a *river navigation*, the more ordinary mode of communication (as it appears) between Silla and Tombuctoo. There were, no doubt, people, could Mr. Park have been able to meet with them, who having made the journey by land, could have furnished him with better information: but the reader, who already knows under what suspicious circumstances Mr. Park travelled in this quarter, will easily conceive that he was precluded from any communication with *those*, who alone could have given the information: that is, the *Moorish merchants*, and their dependants.

The bearing of Tombuctoo from Benowm, was pointed out to Mr. Park, by a merchant of some consideration, who had resided at Walet, and had visited both Tombuctoo and Houssa. But the *exceeding great distance* of Tombuctoo and Benowm, (it being nearly twice the distance of Sego from Jarra), will not admit such a degree of confidence in the report, as to allow it to *supersede* all other authorities, however it may *aid* the task

of approximating the position. But, notwithstanding, it will appear, that on the whole, it coincides most wonderfully with the other *data*.

The bearing in question, pointed out at different times, was commonly E by S, by compass: and Mr. Park never found his informant vary more than half a point, which was to the southward; or E by S $\frac{1}{2}$ S. But the idea left on his mind, was E by S; which, allowing 17 degrees variation, is about east half north; or more correctly, E $5\frac{3}{4}$ N. And hence, admitting the distance of 200 G. miles between Silla and Tombuctoo, which supposes a space of about 500 such miles between Benowm and Tombuctoo, this latter would fall at about 50 minutes of latitude northward from Benowm (whose parallel is the same with that of Jarra, 15° 5′), and consequently in 15° 55′. The *obliquity* of the intermediate meridians, might increase the parallel some minutes, and we may call it roundly 16°.

Such then was the received opinion at Benowm, concerning the *parallel* of Tombuctoo: for, it will appear, that the distance on the *Rhumb*, which determines the difference of latitude, cannot be taken lower, than has been stated.

If the *general course* of the Joliba, after its escape from the mountains, may be admitted to have any weight in the determination of the question (since Mr. Park says, that they always pointed *along it*, to express the line of direction, in which Tombuctoo lay), this will point to a higher parallel, by about half a degree, than the bearing from Benowm; that is to $16\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. And, it may be remarked, that the difference between these results falls yet short of what would have arisen on an error of 5 degrees in the bearing; such as was experienced in that of Sego from Jarra.

Mr. Park was informed whilst at Benowm, that Walet, the capital of Beeroo, was ten journies distant, and this latter eleven journies short of Tombuctoo. According to Mr. Park's information, Walet stands at about 240 G. miles, to the eastward of Benowm; (which would require no less than 24 such miles per day, and appears out of rule, unless meant for journies of *couriers*, which is possible enough.) But what is most to our point, is, that by the information he received, concerning the position of Walet, it appears to lie from Benowm, in the same line of direction which

points to Tombuctoo, when placed in $16\frac{1}{2}$. Now, as Walet lies in the shortest route from Benowm to Tombuctoo, one might infer, of course, that it lies also the *nearest* to the line of direction towards Tombuctoo, of any of the places pointed out: and, I confess, I am strongly inclined to adopt the highest parallel, on this very account.

These alone, are the authorities for the position of Tombuctoo, derived from Mr. Park's observations and inquiries; and which differ, as we have seen, no more than half a degree in the parallel: that is, from 16°, to $16°\frac{1}{2}$. The reader may recollect, that these are very far indeed to the southward of those assigned to it, by M. D'Anville and myself, in former publications; as we mistook its position so far, as to place it between 19°, and 20°.

Before I proceed to state the authorities for its position, derived from the northern stations, it will be proper to compare the calculation of distance made by Mr. Park, with the reports of merchants and travellers; in order finally to deduce the longitude of Tombuctoo from the west; and afford a fair ground of comparison, between the authorities from the opposite quarters.

It has appeared that Sego, *according to Mr. Park's calculation*, falls in latitude 14° 10′, longitude 2° 1′ west of Greenwich: and accordingly, the direct distance between it and Medina, the capital of Woolli, will be by this account 618 G. miles. Now, the merchants reckon 36 journies between them. The daily rate between Fezzan and Egypt having come out by construction 16,3* per day, on 53 days, and about $16\frac{1}{4}$ between Morocco and Jarra, on 50 days, I may venture to assume the highest of the two rates on 36 days; and this gives about 587, or only 31 short of Mr. Park's result.

Again, between Fort St. Joseph and Tombuctoo, M. D'Anville (Mem. Insc. Vol. xxvi. p. 73.) allows 240 French leagues. These are rated at 2,64 G. miles, or $23\frac{3}{4}$ to a degree, on his scale; consequently there results a distance of 634 G. miles. M. Lalande (Afrique, p. 23.) allows 250 leagues, which give about 660 miles. Ben Ali went from St. Joseph to Tombuctoo, by way of Tisheet and Aroan, in forty-eight days. The detour

* Strictly, 16,292.

may be taken at eight days more than the direct road (for Mr. Park furnishes the positions of Tisheet and Aroan very satisfactorily), whence 40 remain, which at 16,3, produce 652 miles.

Lastly, although the following be a very vague kind of computation, it may not altogether be useless. Major Houghton's guide undertook to carry him to Tombuctoo, from Ferbanna in Bambouk, and to return again in ninety days. Ferbanna is much about the same distance, as St. Joseph, from Tombuctoo. Perhaps no more than ten days can well be allowed for rest and refreshment, and then forty days will be the length of the journey.

The mean of the three first reports, is about 649: and on the Map, the space between St. Joseph and Tombuctoo, according to Mr. Park's result, is 667, or 18 more.

There is then, a difference of 31 only, on the accounts between Woolli and Sego: 18, between St. Joseph and Tombuctoo; both pointing to an excess, on the part of our traveller. I am however far from offering these results, on the ground of inducing a belief that such *small differences* can be *ascertained* by such *coarse* materials; but rather to shew that in the general scope of the authorities, there was more of coincidence, than of disagreement, if the circumstances are rightly appreciated.

As it appears, however, that Mr. Park and Major Houghton formed different estimates of the distance between Medina and the river Faleme; and that the former exceeds by about 36 miles; and moreover, that on Mr. Park's return by the southern route, he found by the number and scale of his journies, that he had allowed too great an extent to the space between the rivers Faleme and Gambia; I say, it clearly appears that an excess may be admitted in this part. It may be added, that, according to the report of the African travellers, at Pisania, concerning the arrangement of the journies, there is an excess on the west of Kasson; whilst the space on the east of it, agrees pretty well. Or, strictly speaking, perhaps the space is a *little under*-rated on the east, and *much over*-rated on the west. If the mean of the differences between Pisania and Tombuctoo, Fort St. Joseph and Tombuctoo, 31, and 18, that is, 24 miles be taken off, the result will be satisfactory; as it agrees pretty well with the excess found in the southern route, on Mr. Park's return.

This naturally leads me to the discussion of the position of Fort St. Joseph, as a point connecting the upper and lower part of the Senegal river: or in other words, the routes of the French, *below*, with those of the English, in the *interior* of the country.

The French report concerning this position also points to an excess of distance from the westward; even more than that arising from the difference between Mr. Park's reckoning and the reports of the merchants; for it amounts to about 37 miles.

Could it be ascertained that a measured survey of the Senegal river, to the height of Fort St. Joseph, had been taken, as Labat says (Vol. ii. p. 157.) was actually done, by the order of the Sieur Brüe, this would settle the matter at once. But *cursory* surveys have so often been called *actual* and *measured* ones, that one must be in possession of better authority, before the survey of the Senegal river can be relied on, as an absolute measure of distance. Nor is there, in the list of places in the *Con. de Temps*, any intimation of the longitude of St. Joseph by triangles, or measurement. Here follows a statement of the means used in fixing the position of this place.

M. D'Anville, in his Map of the Senegal and Gambia rivers (1751) places St. Joseph 7° 44′ east of Ferro, which being in 17° 37′ west of Greenwich, Fort St. Joseph should be in 9° 53′. This is 32′ to the west of the position arising on Mr. Park's route; which gives 9° 21′. But M. D'Anville supposes a difference of longitude of 6° 9′ 15″ only, between Fort St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal river, and Fort St. Joseph: and as I have followed M. Fleurieu's ideas in placing St. Louis in 16° 8′ longitude, St. Joseph of course falls in 9° 59′, rejecting the seconds; making a difference of 37 G. miles, or 38 min. from Mr. Park; that is, 13 miles more than the mean of the differences between the authorities for the position of Tombuctoo.*

* It is proper to remark that M. D'Anville took the longitude of Cape Verd 18½ min. more to the east, in respect of Ferro, than M. Fleurieu: and Fort St. Louis, more to the west in respect to Cape Verd, by 10¼ min.

M. D'Anville moreover, allows no more than 3° 2′ 30″ diff. lon. between Pisania and Fort St. Joseph, which by the *corrected distance* of Mr. Park, is no less than 3° 42′.

It is obvious, that as neither St. Louis nor Jillifrey, are exactly determined, in respect of Cape Verd, or of each other, it would be idle to attempt a critical adjustment of them; and therefore I have adopted the position arising from Mr. Park's route, corrected by 24 miles, or 25 min. of longitude, more to the west; so that Fort St. Joseph stands in the Map in lon. 9° 46′, lat. 14° 34′.

In consequence of this correction, all the eastern positions, Joag, Jarra, Sego, &c. must of course *recede* 25 minutes to the westward of the arrangement heretofore made, on the construction of Mr. Park's geographical matarials. Hence I place

Joag, in	9°	37′	west, instead of	9°	12′
Jarra, in	7	13	———	6	48
Sego, in	2	26	———	2	1
Silla, in	1	24	———	0	59
And Tombuctoo, in	1	33	east, ———	1	58*

I now proceed to state the reports of the distance to Tombuctoo, from the NW, N, and NE.

From Tatta† on the southern frontier of Morocco, 9½ journies to the SSE of the capital, (equal to 157 G. miles) the distance is 50 journies of the caravan, according to Mr. Matra.

From Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, (taken to be in latitude 27° 48′, and longitude 15° 3′ east, or directly south of Mesurata), 64 journies, according to the report of Ben Ali. And from Tunis, 77 journies, through Kabes and Gadamis, according to Mr. Magrah.

On the route between Mourzouk and Cairo, as well as between Morocco and Jarra, it has been already stated (p. xxxviii), that 16,3 and 16,25 were the mean rates: and the former was accordingly adopted between Woolli and Sego. At the same rate, the 50 days from Tatta, give 815 G. miles, and the 59½ from Morocco, 970. The 64 from Mourzouk give 1043; and the 77 from Tunis, 1255.

* The latitudes remain as they were.

† For further particulars respecting Tatta, see Afr. Assoc. Q.; p. 225: and O. 333.

Now the above assumed position of Tombuctoo, falls exactly at the given distance from Morocco through Tatta; and 18 short of that from Fezzan (Mourzouk); but 61 beyond that from Tunis. The coincidence therefore of the three lines of distance from the Gambia, from Morocco and Fezzan, may be regarded as complete, since, in using the same rate nearly across the whole continent of Africa, from Cape Verd to Egypt, a difference of 18 miles only, arises. And hence, the public mind may well be satisfied at present respecting this important position. Whichsoever of the two determinations may be right, is of little consequence: but I hold it to be more prudent to adhere to that line which is the result of computation in detail, and corrected as above, than to the long lines given in the aggregate, and in which there is more risk of error. And thus I close the subject of the position of Tombuctoo; placing it in latitude 16° 30′, longitude 1° 33′ east of Greenwich.

Something, however, is proper to be said, concerning the rate of travelling adopted on the present occasion, as it differs materially from that allowed on long lines of distance, in the Proceedings of the Association, in 1790. I there allowed $16\frac{1}{2}$ for a single day, but diminished the rate according to the *length* of the lines of distance. It would appear that the proportion of diminution allowed, although proper enough in countries, where obstacles interpose to change the line of direction, is not applicable to that part of Africa, where the great Deserts are crossed in so straight a line, as hardly to increase the *simple* winding, arising on each day's course, in any considerable degree; and that even the *simple* winding is less than elsewhere. And hence $16\frac{1}{4}$, or more, arises on the camel routes, on long lines of distance, across the Desert; and on the pilgrims' routes, where it it appears the camels travel with light burthens. It was through misconception of this rate, that I placed Tombuctoo, so far to the north. I am ignorant of the cause of M. D'Anville's error.

The particulars of the geography between Silla and Tombuctoo, are copied exactly from Mr. Park's Map; and require but little elucidation. Jinné, a large town, is two short journies below Silla: and Tombuctoo, twelve still lower down. It would appear that all the journies were con-

ceived to be *short*, as Mr. Park allows only 200 G. miles for the aggregate of the 14.

Two days below Jinné, the Joliba expands itself into a considerable lake, already mentioned by the name of Dibbie; from whence the river again issues in a number of streams. These unite at a lower point, and then form *two* large branches, which separating widely from each other, form an island near 100 miles in length, whose name being Ginbala, or Jinbala, we recognize in it, the Guinbala country of M. D'Anville; as in the northern branch of the river that bounds it, the river of Guin, mistaken by him for the original head of the Tombuctoo river (or Niger); as he also mistook the lake of Dibbie for that of the Senegal river. Such were the errors in the African geography, to the date of the AFRICAN ASSOCIATION: one of which errors conducted the *Senegal* river through 500 miles of the space which is, in reality, occupied by the *Niger*.

The position of Houssa will be adjusted in the Map of Africa.

The important station of Tombuctoo, being adjusted, together with the positions dependent on it, I proceed with Mr. Park, on his return by the south, to his original point of outset in the west: taking it up at Sego, by which he passed in his way.

Along this line, an account of the bearings by compass was kept, as well as circumstances would permit, until the instrument was rendered useless, by robbers, near Sibidooloo. This was, however, the most important part of the route, as it lay along the side of the Joliba, the knowledge of whose course is, by this means, prolonged to about 350 British miles. Mr. Park moreover committed to paper, a tracing of its general windings; and obtained notices respecting the place of its source, during his long residence at Kamaliah, in the country of Manding, (commonly called Mandinga.)

Kamaliah is about 40 G. miles SW of Sibidooloo;* and to this place Mr. Park contrived to extend his line of bearings from Sego. He also learnt, that Jarra lay ten journies to the north-westward of Kamaliah; which agrees satisfactorily to the result from Sego, as it leaves 154 G.

* It lies nearly midway between the Joliba and Senegal rivers.

miles, for the ten journies; and Kamaliah itself falls in lat. 12° 46′; 227½ from Sego, in a direction of W 21 S; corrected by the allowance of 17° variation.

The town of Bammako, where the Joliba first becomes navigable (or perhaps to which point it is navigable upwards, in a continuous course from Tombuctoo, lies about fifty miles short of Kamaliah.* It is reckoned by the natives, ten journies only from Sego.†

At Kamaliah the source of the Joliba (or Niger), was pointed out to Mr. Park, at a bearing of south, a very little west, seven journies distant; and for these, he allows 108 G. miles. The name of the place is Sankary, and seems meant by the Songo of D'Anville; which, however, he supposed to be at the source of the Gambia river, in the kingdom of Mandinga. Such were the crude ideas heretofore entertained of this geography.

Here it may be proper to mention, that Mr. Park, whilst at Kooniakarry, in Kasson, in his way out, meditated a route to the south-eastward, through Kasson, Fooladoo, and Manding; which route was to have brought him to the Joliba in twenty days. The place on the Joliba is not mentioned: possibly it might be Yamina. This route, however, he was not permitted to take. Had he pursued it, his personal sufferings might probably have been less; but our knowledge of the geography would probably have been less, also.

It has been mentioned, that the space between Jarra and Kamaliah, is checked by the report of the road distance between them. It is proper also to state, as a further proof of the consistency of the respective positions of Jarra and Kong, that the distance across, agrees generally with the report of the Shereef Imhammed, who says, that Yarba, (meant for Yarra, or Jarra,) is eighteen to twenty days' journey to the NW of Gonjah, meaning Kong. (Proc. Af. Assoc. chap. xii.) Mr. Park was told that Kong, was ten journies

* Bammako, by Mr. Park's original bearings, lies from Sego W 8° S, 178 G. miles: and Kamaliah W 7°¼ N, 51½. These are corrected to W. 25° S, and W 9°¼ S.

† Perhaps the long journies of the slave caravans, such as Mr. Park experienced, to the westward of this place.

to the southward, or SSW of Sego; and he saw a part of the great ridge of *blue mountains* of Kong, as he coasted the Niger westward. These notices agree well with the Shereef's report.

Between Kamaliah and Wooli, there is yet a greater degree of uncertainty respecting the *data* for the geographical construction; for in this long line of near 400 geographical miles, the line of direction is collected from the places of the sun and stars; the compass being useless, whilst the traveller was in motion. Besides, the rapidity of the march, and the height of the woods, were unfavourable to any attempts of that kind, had bodily fatigue and hunger, left him either the inclination or the ability: for, in effect, it was one long forced march through the Jallonka Wilderness, under the terrors of famine, or being left behind to perish, by wild beasts.

Under such circumstances, it was full as much as could reasonably be expected, to obtain some general idea of the line of direction, on which he travelled; together with the proportional lengths of the several intervals, by keeping an account of the time; leaving the *absolute scale* to be determined by the extent of the space. In this, he succeeded so well, that the middle part of the line, when produced to the capital of Woolli, appears to be no more than half a point out of the bearing; as is shewn by Labat's Map of Bambouk (Vol. iv. p. 92), in which the course of the river of Falemé, which Mr. Park crossed in his way home, as well as out, is described; and affords much assistance in adjusting his position on that river, on his return.

It is first necessary to state, that M. D'Anville in his Map of Senegal, &c. (1751) has totally disregarded the scale of Labat's Map, as well as most of the bearings in it; having preferred to it some other authority; perhaps some tracing of the two rivers. M. D'Anville allows no more than thirty-seven geographical miles between the two passes Naye and Kayee on the Falemé and Senegal rivers; when Mr. Park allows sixty-two. Now Labat's scale agrees with the latter: for he allows $28\frac{3}{4}$ French leagues for this interval, equal to 2,16 geographichal miles per league, according to Mr. Park's calculation. The leagues were therefore probably of road measure: as a league in direct distance appears to be equal to 2,64. Hence M. D'Anville seems to have misconceived the matter; and has applied the same

erroneous scale to the course of the Falemé river, upwards; which he has shortened by about twenty-six geographical miles; carrying that part no higher than to latitude 13°, which by the original (or rather the proportioned) scale, should be extended to 12° 34′.

This Map of Labat, then, gives the position of Ferbanna on the Falemé river;* as also the southern boundaries of Bondou and Bambouk, with other particulars. Mr. Park, when at the pass of the Falemé river, between Satadoo and Medina,† obtained some general notices concerning his position, in respect of the above points. For he learnt that Ferbanna (Tenda) lay at some distance lower down the river: that Bondou (by the account of a fellow-traveller who was on his way thither) lay six journies to the northward; and he learnt also the general position of Bambouk. To this may be added, that he kept on his right hand (to the N), and even touched the foot of it at Dindikoo, a ridge of mountains, answering to that which, in Labat's Map, crosses the Falemé *above* Ferbanna; and which is also found precisely at the corresponding point, with Dindikoo. Moreover, it preserves in Labat, the same distance from the southern boundary of Bambouk, as that seen by Park. And finally, it appears, by the description of the southern route pointed out by the King of Bambouk (see Mem. 1793, p. 11.), that Mr. Park passed to the *southward* of Ferbanna, and yet *not far* from it. For the king's road from Ferbanna (Tenda) led eastward, through Concoudou (the Konkodoo of Park, a province) as also through Silloumana, Gangaran, Gadou, and Manding. Now there is every reasonable proof that (bating Ferbanna) this is the very route by which Mr. Park returned. His route went through Gangaran (Gankaran), on the one hand, Konkodoo on the other. Sillou-Mana is very probably intended for Kullo-Manna,‡ a famous pass over the *Black River*,

* Not the Ferbanna of Bambouk, at which Major Houghton resided; but Ferbanna Tenda, through which the King of Bambouk described the southern route of the Slatees to lead, from Woolli to Manding. (See Mem. Af. Assoc. 1793; p. 11.)

† There are several places of this name. The one in question lies to the south of Bambouk.

‡ Kullo is a province of Jallankadoo, occupying both banks of the Ba-fing, or Black River; and Manna the name of the town. [Park.]

or main stream of the Senegal, where a bridge of a very singular construction is thrown across occasionally, for the use of the caravans. It is unlikely that bridges should occur at *two* places in the southern route, and more particularly as the one at Manna is placed there, because the steep rocky banks, and narrow channel of the river, are peculiarly adapted to that kind of bridge.

It may therefore be concluded, that from Konkodoo, the king's road, instead of turning to the SW to Satadoo, leads straight on to the westward to Ferbanna, and thence into the Woolli road, either at Baneserile or Kirwanny; being a branch, only, of the great southern road, leading directly across the mountains; whilst the other makes a bend to the south, to avoid them; which bend, according to Mr. Park's description of his route, is so much like that in Labat's Map above Ferbanna, that I cannot help suspecting the Dambanna of Labat to be meant for the Dindikoo of Mr. Park. I return to the construction of the route.

Ferbanna, in Labat, is placed 33 leagues on a bearing of S 11° E from Cacullo, another pass on the same river Falemé, in latitude 13° 54′, by Major Houghton's observation: and which is about 20 miles south of Naye, where Mr. Park crossed it in his way out. The 33 leagues according to the *proportional* scale furnished by Mr. Park's route (2,16 each) give $71\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles for the distance of Ferbanna from Cacullo: or latitude 12° 46′. From this point, Labat describes the course of the river 24 miles higher up, in a SE by E direction. About this place, we may suppose that Mr. Park crossed the Falemé on his return; since it agrees with the circumstances of the mountains, the bend of the road above described, and the distance of Bambouk and Bondou; to which may be added, the general accordance of the bearing from Manding. Medina, a village, stood on the west bank of the Falemé, at the pass; and Satadoo, the capital of the province, at two miles to the eastward of it. It is certain that neither Satadoo, nor Konkodoo, appear in Labat's Map. In that, Macanna is the name of the country bordering on the south of Bambouk; but Mr. Park calls it Konkodoo, which means the *country of mountains*; and appears very characteristic. (These mountains extend through Bambouk and Kasson, and are productive in gold.) Again, Combregoudou in Labat, occupies the places of Satadoo and Dentila in Mr. Park's descrip-

tions: and we must therefore conclude, that either these countries have more than one name, or have changed their names in the course of the century.

On the whole, it cannot well be doubted that the adjustment of the southern route, to the northern, in this place, is tolerably exact; and it is indeed a matter of the first importance to the geography. One circumstance is very much in its favour: at Kirwanny on this route Mr. Park was told, that the course of the Gambia river lay three journies southward, or one journey within the boundary of Foota-Jallo: and Dr. Afzelius was informed, that the same river runs at the distance of four journies from the mountains which skirt the Rio Grande on the north-east. These notices accord perfectly with the relative positions of Kirwanny, and the course of the Rio Grande, which are about 112 G. miles asunder, on the construction.

This adjustment, moreover, goes as well to the proportioning of the longitudinal distance, on the line between Kamaliah and Woolli, by means of the course of the river Falemé, extended from a known point in the northern route.

On Mr. Park's original Map, I find 201 G. miles on that portion of the southern line, east of the Falemé river; 181 on the west: whilst the respective intervals on my construction, are 211, and 185. But Mr. Park observed, that there was a greater portion of distance to be travelled through, on his return, than he had expected. His reckoning was, according to the sea phrase, *ahead of the ship:* which was, no doubt, occasioned by his omitting to take the variation of the compass into the account, after he had lost his sextant at Jarra.

It appears on the examination of his journal, that between the river Falemé and Baraconda, in Woolli (a few miles short of Medina), they employed nine whole days, and part of a tenth; a great part of which journey lay through the wilderness of Tenda and Simbani. Six of the days are remarked to be either *long* or *very long:* and one in particular was a *very hard day's work.* Allowing six miles for the fraction of the day, the nine whole ones require 19 G. miles of direct distance, each: and as the road diverged considerably from the *direct line* (to the southward, falling in with the Gambia pretty high up) they may be taken somewhat higher. The five

forced marches through the Jallonka Wilderness are also calculated at 19 each, direct: and which may produce 25 road miles: I should conceive those through the Tenda and Simbani wildernesses to be equal to 26, at a medium; and some of them more than 30.*

Thus I have brought the grand outline of Mr. Park's Geography to a conclusion; and cannot do otherwise than sympathize with him in his feelings, when he arrived at "*the hospitable door of* Dr. LAIDLEY," at Pisania, after an absence of eighteen months, unheard of, during the whole time; whether enjoying the triumphs of exploring new paths; whether pining in hopeless captivity, amongst the barbarous Moors of Jarra; or fostered by the kind hands of Mandinga Negroes.

It remains that something should be said regarding the connection of Mr. Park's Geography with that of Labat, between the rivers Senegal and Falemé; as well as concerning the positions of the *falls* of the Senegal river.

Labat's scale has already been adjusted to Mr. Park's, in p. xlv, where 2,16 G. miles were found equivalent to one of Labat's leagues, in direct distance.

Kayee, the pass on the Senegal river, where Mr. Park crossed it, is given at $16\frac{1}{3}$ leagues above Fort St. Joseph, in Labat's Map, (Vol. iv. p. 92.) and the falls of F'low (Felou in Labat), $5\frac{1}{2}$ still higher up. Kayee may therefore be taken at 36 miles, and F'low 48, above St. Joseph; the bearing a *point or more* to the southward of east.

F'low is the *lower* fall, (below which the river continues navigable generally, to the sea,) and Govinea, the *upper* fall. The distance between them is very differently represented, by different persons; but I believe, is from 12 to 14 leagues, perhaps 30 G. miles, direct. It is true that Labat says,

* Mr. Park seems to reckon 18 G. miles, in a direct distance, a long journey: and 16 to 17 seems to have been his ordinary rate, when left to himself. This is also the ordinary rate of travelling, with those who perform journies on foot, or with loaded beasts.

in more than one place,* that they are 40 leagues asunder; but as his Map (in Vol. iv. p. 92.) has less than 12 leagues; and as M. P. D. also says (p. 78.) 12 leagues: and as, moreover, the King of Kasson's residence is said to be *midway between* the two falls: and that residence appearing to be Kooniakarry, a place visited by Mr. Park; and which is no more than about 22′ from the lower fall, and at 13′ distant from the north bank of the river; it cannot well be otherwise than that the two falls are within 30 G. miles of each other. And hence it may be concluded, that *quatorze* and not *quarante*, was in the original manuscript.

The distance between Kooniakarry and the Senegal river, 13 miles, points to a WNW course, or thereabouts, of the river between the falls; not much different from its general course, lower down. But as the Ba-fing, or principal arm of this river, must run almost directly to the north, from the place where Mr. Park crossed it, in Jallonkadoo, it is highly probable, that the two great branches unite at no great distance above the upper fall; for the same ridge of mountains that occasions the fall, may, perhaps, occasion a junction of the different streams above it.

These falls are said by Labat to be from 30 to 40 *toises* perpendicular; or 180 to 240 French feet. We must recollect that P. Hinnepen states the fall of Niagara at 600 feet, which subsequent accounts have reduced to 150.† The reader will, however, find very curious descriptions of these falls, and of the river itself, in Labat, Vol. ii. p. 156, 160.

* Vol. ii. p. 156. Vol. iii. 290 and 358.

† See Ellicott's Letter in Europ. Mag. Vol. xxiv.

CHAPTER V.

Construction of the New Map of North Africa.—New Arrangement of the Course of the Nile—Its distant Fountains yet unexplored by Europeans. —A central Position in Africa, determined.—Edrisi's Line of Distance, consistent.—Errors of Leo.*

In order that the reader may be enabled to judge of the improved state of the new Map of North Africa, I shall set before him a list of the

* Table of the principal latitudes and longitudes in the Map.

	In the Map.		By M. Fleurieu.	Con. de Temps.	Bruce.
	Latitude.	Longitude.	Longitude.		
*Cadiz	36° 21′ N	6° 19′ W	6° 19′		
C. Spartel	35 48	5 57	6 2	5 54	
C. Cantin	32 33	9 15	9 11		
C. de Geer	30 28	9 54	10 31	9 53	
C. Bajador	26 20	14 17	14 49	14 28	
*I. Ferro	27 51	17 37	17 37		
C. Blanco	20 47	16 58	16 58		
*C. Verd	14 48	17 34	17 35		
†C. Palmas	4 30	7 41			
†I. St. Thomas	0 18 N	6 37 E			
Tunis	36 44	10 20			
Tripoly	32 54	13 15	— —	13 20	
Mourzouk	27 48	15 3			
*Suez	30 2	32 28			
Cairo	30 3	31 20	— —	31 29	
Koseir	26 8	34 8	— —	— —	*31 4
Sennar	13 35	33 30 30″			
Source of the Nile in Abyssinia	10 59	36 55	— —	— —	*36 55
†C. Guardafui	11 43	51 12			
Syene	24 —	33 30	— —	— —	*33 30

* The longitudes thus marked, are from celestial observation, either at the place, or in the vicinage.

† From timekeepers: the two first by Capt. Price, the latter by Capt. Richardson.

authorities, together with an outline of the construction. To enter into a detail of both, would require a volume: I shall therefore barely *specify* the authorities for the sea coasts, and for such parts of the interior as have been aforetimes described by geographers; and confine the *detail* to modern discoveries, and to such parts, as those discoveries have helped to improve: and more especially to the points which determine the courses of the Niger and Nile.

The western and southern coasts, from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Equator, have been newly constructed for the present purpose. M. Fleurieu's authorities have been followed in respect to Cape Verd, Cape Blanco, and the Canary Islands. The coasts of Morocco and Fez, rest on the authority of Don Tofino's charts, in the Spanish Atlas: and between Morocco and Cape Blanco, various authorities have been admitted, in the different parts: as it appeared to me, that M. Fleurieu had not rightly conceived the position of Cape Bajador.

The coasts on the south and east of Cape Verd, are drawn in conformity to the ideas of Captain Price. This gentleman, in the Royal Charlotte East India ship in 1793, had an opportunity of adjusting the longitudes of some important points: which longitudes Mr. Dalrymple applied to the correction of the existing charts of the coast, and with his accustomed liberality and zeal for the improvement of science, permitted me to avail myself of the use of these corrections, previous to his own publication of them, in a different form. It is to the same invaluable Journal of Captain Price, that I am indebted for some of the most important notices respecting the variation of the compass, along the coast of Guinea, &c.; and without which notices, the approximation of the quantity of variation in the interior of Africa, could not have been accomplished. (See above, page xxvi.)

The result is, that the coast of Guinea has several degrees *more* of *extent* from east to west; and that the breadth of South Africa at the Equator, is *less*, than M. D'Anville had supposed.

No alteration has been made in the coasts within the Mediterranean, save in the form and position of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and the adjacent coasts.

The Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, as well as the *whole* course of the Nile,

have been re-constructed for the present purpose. For the former, a great collection of new materials has been furnished by Mr. Dalrymple. This includes a new chart of the whole Gulf by Captain White, made in 1795: but I have not followed either *that* or any other *single* authority *throughout*: but have made such alterations as appeared to be warranted, on an examination and comparison of the different materials.

The upper part of the Gulf, between Suez and Yambo, is however preserved entire, as Capt. White drew it.

The position of the Gulf, is thus adjusted:

Capt. White, by two observations of eclipses of Jupiter's first satellite, found the longitude of Suez to be 30° 28′ 30″ east of Greenwich: and a mean of 76 lunar observations differed less than a minute from the former.

The difference of longitude between Suez and Mocha, near the entrance of the Gulf, is, by the mean of five different accounts, 11° 4′, which added to 32° 28′ gives 43° 32′ for the longitude of Mocha: and which is nearly a mean between the different results, by timekeepers. But until a greater number of celestial observations are taken at the mouth of the Gulf, its position cannot be deemed exact.

Cape Guardafui, is placed by *timekeeper* observations, in 51° 12′ longitude: 11° 43′ of latitude.

The adjustmenr of the lower part of the course of the Nile, to the shores of the Red Sea, differs very much from M. D'Anville's Map. He supposed that the Nile, in its course from the lower Cataract (near Syene) to Cairo, gradually approached towards the Arabian Gulf: but late observations shew that its runs nearly parallel to it, throughout that extent, which is about 7 degrees of latitude. Hence the distance across, between the port of Kosire and Ghinna, on the Nile, is much less than M. D'Anville supposed; he having allowed about 110 G. miles, although 90 is about the truth.*

It may be proper to state, that the line between Kosire and Ghinna is by no means the *shortest*, that can be drawn between the Nile and the Red

* Mr. Bruce reckoned 44½ hours of the caravan (with camels) between Kosire and Kuft (that is Coptos), near Ghinna: Mr. Irwin 46 from Kosire to Banute, situated at

Sea, because it runs *obliquely* between them. The distance appears to be no greater than 72 miles on an ENE course, from Ghinna to the nearest part of the coast.

Cairo, by the mean of several accounts, is about 59 G. miles to the west of Suez, equal to 1° 8′ of longitude.* So that Cairo should stand in

the Nile, at five hours above Ghinna. The camel's rate is 2¼ British miles by the road: consequently less than two G. miles in direct distance.

M. Savary had much the same idea of the distance; for he reckons it 33 French leagues. (Vol. ii. letter 2.) But his Map has 70 G. miles only: Pocock's 90.

Mr. Irwin reckons the bearing WNW from Kosire to Ghinna; doubtless by compass. The variation might be 13 to 14 degrees; whence Ghinna would bear W 9° N from Kosire: Banute, which is stated to be about five hours to the south of Ghinna, will therefore by this account bear 1°¼ N of W from Kosire. Mr. Irwin was certainly very near the mark; though a little too much northerly. It appears that Banute is in lat. 25° 47′ 30″ in D'Anville, and is 8 min. N of Negada; at which place, Mr. Bruce observed the latitude to be 25° 53′ 30″. Consequently D'Anville is 14 min. too far south in this part. Apply this to Banute, and we have 26° 1′ 30″. Kosire lies in 26° 8′, and Banute is then to the south of it, in reality, by several minutes. At Syene, Mr. Bruce's latitude is 11 min. north of D'Anville's. Not to go into extremes, I have taken Banute at 5 min. S of Kosire, Ghinna 3 min. N of it; or 26° 11′. D'Anville places Ghinna in 26° 1′. It was of much importance that these parallels of the places should be adjusted.

* The principal authorities are the following:

M. Niebuhr reckoned between Suez and the Lake of the Pilgrims, situated at 6,9 G. miles E 38 N from Cairo,		28h 40m
M. Volney,		29 —
Dr. Pocock,		29 15
	mean	28 58
Add from the Lake to Cairo, as it is usually reckoned		3 —
	or say 32 hours	31 58

But as there are (besides the just mentioned 3 hours, in a direction of about 40° from the general line of direction) 3¼ hours more between Suez and Ajerud, at much the same angle, a considerable reduction of the direct distance must take place, probably about 1¼ hour: whence there remains 30¼. And as Dr. Shaw states the general report of the distance to be 30 hours, it may be conceived that this is the actual distance, by the *shortest* route, which leaves the Lake and Ajerud to the north. And for these, 59 G. miles direct may be allowed. M. D'Anville allowed 60.

31° 20′. The *Con. de Temps* has 31° 29′; but it is probable that Suez is the best determined of the two places.

Mr. Bruce had observations of longitude at Kosire and Syene (or Assuan). The first he gives at 34° 4′: and Capt. White at 34° 3′. But as Capt. White gives its latitude at 26° 18′, whilst Mr. Bruce found it only 26° 8′, we may suppose that the former did not approach the coast near enough to discriminate particulars. Mr. Bruce's parallel intersects the coast in Capt. White's chart, in lon. 34° 8′: and I have adopted that for the place of Kosire. Capt. White may perhaps have mistaken the *old* for *new* Kosire.

Syene is given at 33° 30′ by Mr. Bruce, making 2° 10′ east from Cairo; whereas M. D'Anville has no more than 41 minutes of easting. Hence arises a difference of 12 degrees in the bearing: M. D'Anville's being about N 9 W; Bruce's N 21 W: or nearly parallel to the shore of the Red Sea.

The longitude of Sennar is 33° 30′ 30″ according to Mr. Bruce. In this particular is found the widest difference between D'Anville and Bruce; the former placing it no less than 3° 50′ more to the west; that is, D'Anville has it, 1° 41′ *west* of Cairo, Bruce 2° 9′ *east* of it.

In effect, then, the general course of the Nile below Sennar lies to the *west* of north, instead of the contrary, as described in the imperfect materials offered to M. D'Anville. For we cannot doubt the *general* truth of Mr. Bruce's geographical positions, although we may not be inclined to allow them every point of accuracy. In the observation of longitude at Kosire, we have seen that he comes very near to Capt. White: and his longitude of Cairo, is more exact, or more in harmony with Capt. White's observations at Suez, than the longitude recorded in the *Con. de Temps*. We have moreover another observation of longitude taken by Mr. Bruce at the eastern source of the Nile, 36° 55′ 30″, (lat. 10° 59′), from whence one route leads eastward to the shore of the Red Sea at Masua, another westward to Sennar. Admitting his observations to be ever so coarsely made, these routes must have afforded so considerable a check, to the distance between Masua and Sennar, as to have precluded any very great error, in a

difference of longitude of about six degrees only; so that there is little question but that M. D'Anville's statement is wrong.

From Sennar, Mr. Bruce has a new and interesting route, northward to Syene. Dongola lay wide to the west of this route; and he has not informed us on what authority it is placed in his map. Still, however, the change in the position of the Nile, must carry Dongola to the eastward with it, of course; and in Bruce's map it is found at 1° 18′ diff. long. to the east of D'Anville's;* equal to 73 G. miles. The latitude of Dongola is also $\frac{1}{4}$ a degree to the south of the parallel assigned by D'Anville, that is, 19¼ instead of 20°. With respect to that of Sennar, D'Anville was right.

In describing the western head of the Nile (and which has no existence in Mr. Bruce's map), it may be thought that I have advanced into the regions of conjecture; but I trust that I have not gone beyond the limits implied by the authorities. To enter into a detail of these, together with the deductions and combinations arising from them, would occupy too much room here; especially as they are designed for another place. It may be sufficient to state, that the branch in question, called the *White* River, or *Abiad*,† is admitted by Mr. Bruce himself, to be a more *bulky* stream than the Abyssinian branch. That M. Maillet was told, that it holds a course which is distant from 12 to 20 journies from the eastern branch. That Ledyard was told at Cairo, by certain persons from *Darfoor*, that the Nile has its fountains in their country situated 55 journies to the westward of Sennar:‡ and whose *frontier* province, *Kordofan*, is placed by Bruce, adjoining to the west of the country of Sennar. And finally, that Ptolemy, Edrisi, and Abulfeda, all place the head of the Nile in a quarter far remote from Abyssinia. Ptolemy, in particular, has described the eastern source, in such a way, as that it cannot be taken for any other than the Abyssinian branch (*i. e.* Bruce's Nile); and yet he at the same

* That is, M. D. places it 36 min. *west* of Cairo: Mr. B. 42 min. *east* of it.

† This must not be confounded with the *Neel Abeed*, the name applied by the Arabs, to the Niger.

‡ See Mr. Ledyard's communications in African Association, for 1790,—91. He says 55 journies, *or* four or five hundred miles. There must, of course, be an error, either in the number of the journies, or of the miles.

time describes a larger, and more distant, source, to proceed from the SW; answering to the White River. His *Coloe* lake, is clearly the *Tzana* of Bruce: and may possibly have been meant to express *Galla*, the name of the southern division of Abyssinia.*

Having completed this part of the subject, I proceed to the inland positions in the western and central parts of the continent.

M. D'Anville has been followed in the geography of Barbary and Morocco, with the exception of an adjustment of the interior of the latter, to the coasts; which are drawn from the charts in the Atlas of Don Tofino, in which the capes of Cantin, Geer, &c. are placed more to the east, in respect of the Strait, than in D'Anville.

The lower parts of the Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande, are from M. D'Anville's, and Dr. Wadstrom's Maps.

Of Mr. Park's route and discoveries, it is needless to say more, than that the particular Map which contains them, has been copied into this; forming a most important member of it.

The routes and positions formerly introduced from materials collected by the African Association, in the northern part of the continent, are revised and reconstructed; perhaps with more effect, as our knowledge and experience of the subject increases.

Fezzan is placed, as before, due south from Mesurata: its capital Mourzouk, being $17\frac{1}{2}$ journies of the caravan, distant. Edrisi affords a slight check to the *bearing*, as well as to the distance, by means of Wadan, which lies nearly midway, and is five journies west of Sort, a known position on the coast: and also eight journies of his scale from Zuela, a known position in Fezzan.†

* Mr. Bruce has fallen into an error, which may mislead those who do not attend to his Map. He says, Vol. iii. p. 720, that "the ground declines southward, from the parallel of five degrees north:" but in the Map at the end of Vol. v. the waters, as we have just said, begin to flow southward, from the latitude of 8° north. I believe, with him, that farther to the west, the southern slope may not begin short of the 5th degree of latitude.

† The day's journey of Edrisi is taken at 18 Arabic miles, or about 19 G. in direct distance. Strictly speaking, it should be 19,06, as $56\frac{2}{3}$ Arabic miles are equal to a degree.

A description of the caravan routes from Tripoly, to Mourzouk, Egypt, and the Niger, will be found in the Proceedings of the Association, published in 1790, and 1791 (chapters x. and xii.)

The point on which the *central* and *eastern* positions depend, is GHINNY; or GHANA, (as Edrisi and Abulfeda call it) a city, and capital of a kingdom situated nearly midway between the Indian Sea and the Atlantic, on the E and W; and between the Mediterranean and the Ethiopic Seas, on the N and S. Fortunately, this point, on which so many others depend, can be satisfactorily approximated: though by this, I do not mean to any degree of nicety, where an extent of 70 degrees, nearly, is in question.

According to Edrisi, Ghana lies 37 journies from *Germa*, through Agadez, or Agadost. Germa, an ancient and ruined city of Fezzan, lies to the ESE of Mourzouk, about four journies.* The position of Germa therefore will be about lat. 27° 25′: lon. 16° 20′ E. Agadez in 25 of Edrisi's journies from Germa,† and is said to bear S by W, or SSW from the capital of Fezzan.‡ Again, Agadez is given at 48 caravan journies from Gadamis, which latter is 24 such journies in a southerly direction from Tunis.§ The road to Agadez makes a considerable angle, by passing through Tegerhy, situated 80 miles only, to the SW or WSW of Mourzouk:‖ and hence the direct distance of 48 journies must undergo some diminution. The result places Agadez S by W $\frac{1}{4}$ W from Mourzouk, 479 G. miles distant; which only exceeds by six miles the distance arising on the 25 journies from Germa: and its position will be at a few minutes above the parallel of 20 degrees, and a little more than half a degree of longitude west of Tripoly. The position receives some further check, from the circumstance of Tegerhy being midway between Kabes and Agadez.**

Ghana is 12 days of Edrisi's scale to the southward of Agadez, or about 229 G. miles.†† It appears that Ghana lies somewhat to the east of the

* Mr. Beaufoy's MSS.
† Edrisi, p. 39.
‡ Mr. Beaufoy's MSS.
§ Af. Assoc. 1793, p. 29.
‖ Af. Assoc. 1790, Q. p. 88; O. p. 133.
** Af. Assoc. 1793, page 29, *et seq.*
†† Edrisi, p. 39.

line which passes through Agadez from Germa; whence some little deduction should be made from the aggregate distance of 37 days, or 705 miles; and I have therefore taken 700 as the general line of distance from Germa to Ghana.

Mr. Matra was told, at Morocco, that Ghinny (Ghana of Edrisi) was 40 journies from Kabra, the port of Tombuctoo, along the bank of the Niger. These, taken at the caravan rate between Fezzan and Egypt; Morocco and Jarra; &c. that is at 16,3 per day, produce 652 G. miles. The intersection of this line with that from Germa, places Ghana in lat. 16° 10′, lon. 13° 2′ E of Greenwich; in which position it stands at 760 miles from the city of Benin, on the coast of Guinea.*

De Barros says, that when the Portugueze first explored the *Coast of Guinea* (about 1469) the king of Benin held his kingdom of the king of *Ogane*, as his superior lord; and that ambassadors were sent accordingly, to obtain a confirmation of his authority. The distance of Ogane (doubtless meant for Ghana) from Benin, was stated to be 250 leagues of Portugal; which being of 18 to a degree, are equal to about 833 G. miles. And if from these we deduct ¼ for the inflections of the road, there remain 740 for the direct line; which, as the reader will perceive, is very near the former result. Thus the determination of this important point, appears satisfactory.†

Before I speak further concerning Ghana and Melli, with a view to identify them with the same countries mentioned by Leo, it will be proper to *close* the line of distance eastward to Nubia.

Between Ghana on the west, and Dongola on the east,‡ the interval on

* By some oversight, Ghana is placed in the Map, too far to the east, by 8 minutes of longitude.

† I cannot learn with any degree of certainty, from whence the name GUINEA, applied to the SW coast of Africa, is derived. Some have supposed it to be from the capital or country of the superior monarch, in the interior of the continent; but it is certain that the same name is applied by Sanuto (in 1588) to the coast between the river Gambia and Cape Mesurada. But Sanuto may have taken the idea from Leo, who was in an error with respect to the matter of Guinea, at large.

‡ Placed as above on the authority of Mr. Bruce.

the Map is about 1118 G. miles, in an E by N direction, nearly. Edrisi gives a chain of distance between them: and although we cannot ascertain the *exact* bearing of the several parts, yet enough is known, to enable us to approximate the general *bent* of it; which is to the *south*; and the degree of curvature seems to be such, as to increase the distance 50 or 60 miles; say 55, and then the line of Edrisi may be taken at 1173 G. miles.* Now as he reckons 66 journies, each will be no more than $17\frac{3}{4}$: and his usual standard is 19, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ more. This difference may easily arise on some of the longer portions of the line; which, although given in the aggregate, may be broken into several parts, and each of them inflected from the other in some degree. Such, for instance, may be the case of the line of 30 days between Dongola and Kauga; although the bearing of it, on the whole, is SW by W, or WSW. Therefore the interval of space between Ghana and

* The chain of bearings and distances is thus ascertained: Edrisi allows 66 journies between Ghana and Dongola: of which 36 are between Ghana and Kauga; 30 between the latter and Dongola (Damokla of Edrisi). Of the thirty-six, eighteen are clearly shewn to point *eastward*; partly by direct information, partly by the context. For Kauga is said to be 10 journies to the *east* of Semegonda: (Ed. p. 13.) and between the latter and Sekmara, 8 journies, is about E by S and W by N; as we learn from the triangle formed by the points of Sekmara, Semegonda, and Reghebil; the latter place being six days *southward* from the former, and nine from Semegonda. And lastly, the 18 journies between Ghana and Sekmara, are checked by the *bearing* and *distance* between Reghebil and *Ghanara*; and the *distance* between Ghanara and Ghana—(See the Map). For Reghebil is said (Edrisi, p. 12.) to lie 11 journies to the *east* of Ghanara, whilst the latter is also 11 journies from Ghana. The context shews, that if *Sekmara* is 18 journies from Ghana, and Reghebil 6 days *south* from Sekmara, whilst Ghanara preserves the relative position above described, that Sekmara must lie to the *eastward* of *Ghana*.

Kauga ought unquestionably to lie to the southward of Dongola, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 degrees. For it is 20 journies to the southward of Kuku, which is itself about the parallel of Tamalma, which is 12 journies from Matthan, the capital of Bornou; *northward*. And this Matthan, as will be shewn presently, lies in the same parallel with *Dongola*. Thus, I may assume, without any great hazard, an easterly bearing between Ghana and Kauga; E 25 N between Kauga and Dongola.

For the authorities for the above particulars, see Edrisi, pages 10, 11, 12, 13. It would be almost endless to note each separate authority.

Dongola seems to be satisfactorily filled up. Or, if we take the whole number of computed journies between Pisania on the Gambia river, and Dongola on the Nile, at 158; of which 92 are between Pisania and Ghana, 66 between the latter and Dongola; there will be on the former, according to our construction, a ratio of about 16,6 G. miles per day, on the direct line; and 16,9 on the latter.

To the *northward* of this line, and in the quarter towards *Nubia*, are situated the countries or kingdoms of Bornou (or Kanem) Tagua, Kuku, Kuar, and Zagawa: and in the quarter towards *Ghana*, are Zanfara, and Zegzeg. Most of them are mentioned, as well by Leo, as by Edrisi.

There is a route to the capital of Bornou given in the Proceedings of the Association, 1790–91, by which it is placed at about SE $\frac{1}{2}$ S from Mourzouk, distant 660 G. miles; whence it falls on the Map exactly in the same parallel with Dongola, and at 524 miles to the west of it: so that the country of Bornou occupies the middle space between Nubia and Ghana; Fezzan and Sennar.* There is little doubt that Bornou is the Kanem of Edrisi, said to border on Nubia. Angimi (or Gimi) in particular, one of its cities, is said to be near Nubia, on the east.† There is a city of the name of Kanem, in the way from Fezzan to the capital of Bornou, as we learn not only from Mr. Beaufoy's MSS. but from a note in Hartmann:‡ but this cannot be the capital of Kanem, intended by Edrisi; because neither the bearings nor the distances to it, from Dongola and Nubia agree; and also, because the bearing and distance from Dongola *do* agree exactly to the capital pointed out, by Mr. Beaufoy: and which Edrisi names Matthan, or Matsan. This capital he places at 31 days' journey to the west of Nubia, whose position, however, is too uncertain to reckon upon: but Abulfeda says that Zagua, or Zagara, is 20 journies *west* from Dongola;§ and Matthan, according to Edrisi, is eight journies from Zagua, (p. 15). It has already been noticed that the capital of Bornou falls in the same parallel

* The capital of Bornou falls in lat. 24° 32′, lon. 22° 57′. The empire is said to be very extensive; and its sovereign more powerful than the Emperor of Morocco: *Af. Assoc.* 1790, Q. p. 152; O. p. 229.

† Edrisi, p. 14. ‡ Hartmann's Edrisi, page 63, note (*v*). § Article Soudan.

with Dongola; and here we learn that Zagua, is also in the same parallel with it; consequently, the whole 28 journies from Dongola, may be taken on the same *westerly* bearing; and the result will be, a distance of 534 miles; differing only 10 from the interval on the Map. Consequently, the Matthan of Edrisi may be taken for the capital of Bornou, pointed out by the above authority.

The countries of Zagua (or Zagara) and Tagua, fill up the space between the kingdom of Bornou and Nubia. The former appears to be a small province, perhaps a dependency of Bornou. The situation of its capital is inferred above, to be eight journies to the east of that of Bornou.

Tagua lies between Zagua and Dongola, and its capital at 13 journies from Matthan, (p. 15). Northward it extends to the tract of *Al Wabat*, the western province of Upper Egypt. Thus, its position cannot be mistaken.

The country of Kuku (this must not be mistaken for Kauga) lies to the NW of Tagua; NE of Bornou; and joins on the NE to Al Wahat. This is an extensive country, bordering on the Desert of Lybia, and partakes of its nature. Its capital of the same name is situated at 20 journies to the *north* of Kauga. It is also 14 to the *eastward* of Tamalma, which is itself 12 to the *northward* of Matthan. Hence Kuku may be approximated, in position. (Edrisi, page 13, *et seq.*)

A river runs from N to S by Kuku, and is received into a lake at a great distance from Kuku; perhaps the lake of Kauga: and the river itself may form a part of that, said to run near Angimi,* of which more in the sequel.

Kuar, or Kawar, lies to the northwark of Kuku and of Bornou; and extends eastward to Al Wahat. It is bounded on the north by that extensive Desert which separates Egypt from Fezzan; and which contains the *wandering* tribe of *Lebeta* or *Levata*; as also various *Oases*, or fertile islands; amongst the rest, those of Augela, Berdoa, Seewah, and that which con-

* Angimi is a city eight days' journey from Matthan, six from Zagua; and towards Nubia and the Niger; consequently to the SE of Matthan; and *apparently*, not far to the northward of Kauga. Edrisi, p. 14.

tained the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. This Desert I regard as the proper Desert of LIBYA: and it may be a question whether the tribe of *Lebeta*, although now found in the interior of the country, may not have originally inhabited the sea coast; and that the Greeks denominated Africa from *them*.* This was the part of Africa the nearest, and first colonized by the Greeks; and it is a known fact, that the *Adyrmachidæ*, and *Nasamones*, who, in the days of Herodotus, inhabited the *coasts*, were at a succeeding period, found in the *inland* parts about *Ammon* and *Augela*.

The capital of Kuar is by Edrisi placed adjacent to Fezzan; but there is either some mistake in this, or I do not comprehend the matter rightly. (Ed. p. 39, 40.) Tamalma, a city of Kuar, is only 12 days from Matthan (p. 14.), so that the Desert of Bilma, or Bulma, must lie between it and Fezzan. Mederam Isa, another of its cities, is said to be only two days from Zuela, or Zawila, a city of Fezzan: and Izer, a third city, is placed in the same neighbourhood, and near a large lake. Either then, these cities belong to Fezzan, and are by mistake classed as belonging to Kuar; or they *really* belong, as well as Tamalma, (of which there is no doubt) to Kuar. I am inclined to the *latter* opinion, for the following reasons. In the catalogue of places, in Fezzan (in Af. Assoc.) there is no mention either of Izer, Isa, Bulmala, or of a lake near the former. But there is a remarkable salt lake near Dumboo, on the northern frontier of Bornou, which from its relative position to Tamalma, may well be the one intended by Edrisi: especially as Bulmala, (p. 40.) which may be meant for Bulma, occurs in the same neighbourhood. The salt lakes of Dumboo are said to be situated in the Desert of Bilma;† which Desert appears to be a prolongation of the Libyan Desert to the SW.

* Mr. Park mentions a wandering tribe named *Libey*, whom he had seen in his travels. He compares them, in respect of their habits and modes of life, to *gipsies*.

† From the borders of these lakes, Kassina and other countries are supplied with salt, by the people of Agadez, who annually employ 1000 camels in this commerce. Af. Assoc. 1790, Q. p. 157. 167; and O. p. 236. 251.

There is reason to suspect, that the great salt lake of Dumboo, is the *Chelonides Palus* of Ptolemy.

Zanfara is said by Labat, to be 50 journies from Tombuctoo.* Leo places it between Wangara and Zegzeg; which latter, by the same authority, being to the SE of Cano (or Ganat) Zanfara must necessarily border on the NE of Ghana; having Bornou on the east, Agadez and Kassina (which we formerly erroneously spelt *Casbnab*) on the west. Here it may be proper to observe, that in the present political division of Africa, Kassina comprizes generally the provinces between Fezzan and the Niger; and that Zanfara is its eastern boundary. Of course Ghana, which in the 15th century was paramount in the centre of Africa, is now become a province of Kassina.

To the *south* of the line between Ghana and Nubia, very few particulars are known to Europeans. The knowledge of Edrisi, was limited to this line itself: and the only country known to him on the south of the Niger, was *Melli*, which he calls *Lamlem*. Nor did the knowledge of Leo, extend beyond the countries contiguous to the south bank of the Niger; nor to any country west of Tombuctoo; although by mistake, he places Ghana and Melli, there. This may serve to shew, that the people on the north side of the Niger, have very little communication with those, who live beyond the great belt of mountains, which runs across Africa, at about the 10th degree.

Nor did the inquiries of Mr. Beaufoy produce any thing more than the *names* of certain of the adjacent countries; the only one of which that can be *placed*, is *Begarmee* (perhaps the Begama of Edrisi) said to be 20 journies to the SE of Bornou, and separated from it by several small deserts.† It seems to be the country intended by the Gorham of D'Anville.

Kororofa and Guber are said in Mr. Beaufoy's MSS. to lie to the west of Begarmee; the latter bordering on Wangara. Neither of these, can well be in a lower parallel than 11° or 12 degrees. But *Darfoor*, a country of considerable extent and population, and apparently the farthest removed of any that has a communication with Egypt, is pointed out to our notice by Mr. Ledyard, as has been already shewn.‡

* Labat, Vol. iii. p. 363.

† African Association, 1790; Q. p. 155; O. p. 234.

‡ African Association. See Ledyard's Communications, in Af. Assoc. 1790, 1791.

In the present limited state of our knowledge respecting the interior of Africa, it would be mis-spending time to attempt to follow Leo, in his detail of provinces and nations, in the parts remote from the immediate scene of our discoveries; or of the routes communicated to the Association. But it is of the utmost importance to the argument respecting the *course* of the *Niger*, that I should clear up some of his errors regarding the positions of *Ghana* (his *Ginea*) and *Melli*.

Leo says, p. 248, 249, that the merchants of *his* country (I conceive he means Barbary) call the country in question, Gheneoa; that its proper inhabitants call it Gennie but the Portugueze, and other Europeans, Ginea.* He says that it is situated to the *west* of Tombuctoo, that is between Tombuctoo and Gualata:† that it has an extent of several hundred miles *along the Niger*, even to the place where it discharges itself into the sea. Again, says he, the kingdom of Melli *borders on* Ginea, *southward*; and on the west, are vast forests, which extend to the sea. And finally, he places the kingdom of *Gago* to the *east* of Melli.

Now nothing is more certain, than that the space on the west of Tombuctoo and Gago, is occupied by nations, very different from those of Ginea (by which Ghana is to be understood) and Melli: as also that the space assigned by Leo, to Ginea, is a remarkably *dry*, *sandy*, country; being either adjacent to, or forming a part of the Sahara: whereas Ginea is described by him to be a tract, which, during the inundations of the Niger, in July, August, and September, is inclosed like an island.

It is however not improbable, that Leo, who it appears had visited Tombuctoo (but who certainly never saw the Niger, which is about 12 miles beyond it), might confound the city of Jenné, which is situated in a small island in the Niger, and to the west of Tombuctoo, with the kingdom of Ghana (his Ginea), on the east: but as to Melli, that is quite out of the question, in respect of any mistake of the like kind; and could only be placed on the west of Gago, in order that it might preserve its southerly position in respect of Ginea. Thus one mistake seems to have produced the other.

* Abulfeda, Edrisi, and Ibn Al Wardi call it Ghana, and Ganah.

† Gualata is described by Leo to be situated 500 miles from Tombuctoo towards Nun.

The position of Ghana (or Ginny according to Mr. Matra), at 40 journies to the eastward of Tombuctoo, has been already detailed, in page lix. And this is, no doubt, the Ginea intended by those, from whom Leo collected his information respecting the country itself, whose geography he has so much erred in.

The kingdom of Melli had been reported to Cadamosta, when he made inquiries concerning the interior of Africa, about the year 1455. He was told that Tombuctoo, (whose general position was not ill described to him, at about 60 journies inland from Arguin,*) was supplied with *mineral* salt from Tegazza, 40 journies to the westward. That the same salt mine supplied Melli, 30 journies beyond Tombuctoo, the salt passing through the latter place.† (We must here suppose that the *capital* of Melli, called by the same name as the country, is meant as the term of this journey). Hence we should naturally look for Melli on the *eastward* of Tombuctoo, as will presently appear, and not on the SW, as is expressed in Astley.‡ No doubt, SE was meant: for Edrisi has a city of the name of *Malel*, at 10 journies to the south of Berissa,§ and 12 from the city of Ghana: and this position actually falls at 30 journies to the ESE of Tombuctoo; agreeing to the distance reported by Cadamosta.

But Edrisi does not call the country *Melli*, but *Lamlem*. However, it can be no other than the Melli of Leo, and Cadamosta: for Edrisi says (p. 8 and 11), that it is situated to the south of Ghana and Berissa, and has on the east the country of Wangara (Vancara), which agrees to the tract in which Malel is situated. Hartmann supposes, (p. 39,) with great appearance of truth, that Lamlem is a transposition of Melli: and I have met with similar instances in the translation of Arabic words and numbers. Thus Leo's ideas were evidently wrong, respecting the situations of Ghana and Melli; which lie to the *eastward* of Tombuctoo, although he places them to the *west*.

* He was told that Hoden or Whaden, was 70 leagues east of Arguin, and Tegazza six journies from Hoden. Tombuctoo was 40 days from thence. Astley, Vol. i. p. 20, and 577, 578. † Astley, Vol. i. p. 578. Some Remarks on the Salt Mines are added, at the end of this chapter. ‡ Ib. Vol. ii. p. 74.

§ Berissa is 12 journies west of Ghana. Edrisi.

The place of Melli is occupied, in his description, by Guber (which Mr. Beaufoy learnt, was to the south of Wangara); whilst that of Ghana remains unoccupied; unless we suppose it to be included in the empire of Tombuctoo, which is implied (p. 254), when he speaks of Wangara (Guangara) as being troubled on the *west* by the King of Tombuctoo, and on the *east* by him of Bornou: and as he also speaks of Tombuctoo as the largest empire in Nigritia, (p. 4.)

In the position of Wangara,* he is right; for it lies between Zanfara, and Bornou: but he seems not to have known that it was intersected by the Niger, and formed of its alluvions, as Edrisi points out to us.† But Leo learnt one important particular as a merchant, that the *southern* quarter of it, produced *gold*, in abundance. As I shall have occasion to speak more fully of this country, when the *course* of the Niger comes under consideration, it will be unnecessary to say more of it, in this place.

Kassina is removed by Leo, from the banks of the Niger, its proper situation, far inland, to the east of Cano, or Ganat,‡ (p. 253.) This is another proof of his writing from hearsay. Kassina is not heard of, in Edrisi; it no doubt was included in Ghana, at that day.

Leo is silent respecting Tokrur or Tekrur. This appears to have been the metropolis of the great central empire of Africa, in the time of Edrisi and Abulfeda; and must have existed in later times; as the Tukorol, to whose prince the Portugueze sent an ambassador about the year 1493, may be taken for the same place. It may, however, have been swallowed up in the empire of Tombuctoo, which was founded after the time of Edrisi, and before the date of Leo's writing. But as the city of Tombuctoo gave name to the empire, so might Tokrur; and this latter may have fallen so much to decay, as to be little known in the present times: and this may account for Mr. Park's not being able to learn any tidings of it. And finally, as Leo had not heard of Houssa, we may conclude that it is a city of a yet later

* Guangara, (Leo.)

† Pages 11, and 12.

‡ It lies to the SSW of Agadez. Af. Ass. Q. p. 221; O. p. 326. M. D'Anville mistook the *Cano* of Leo (p. 253.) situated at 500 miles from the Niger, for *Ghana*. But the *Ganat* of our Map, in the road from Fezzan to Agadez, must be meant.

date; and which may possibly have superseded Tokrur. Such a fluctuation of names, serves as much to confound geographers in the political division of Africa, as the various opinions of those who have written on the physical geography, do, respecting the relative position of places, and the courses of its rivers.

Remarks on the Positions of the Salt Mines in the Great Desert.

Edrisi understood that all the salt consumed in the kingdoms of Nigritia (particularly along the course of the Niger), was brought from *Ulil*, situated at 16 journies to the westward of Sala, and erroneously supposed by him to be an island, situated in the ocean, near the mouth of the Niger.* But by the *situation*, one would suppose that the salt mines of *Aroan*, 10 journies to the NNW of Tombuctoo, and in the road to Morocco, were meant; and from whence Tombuctoo is at present supplied. It is not easy to guess how an inland salt mine should have been mistaken for an island, in the ocean: but it is certain that both Edrisi and Abulfeda, supposed the Niger to discharge itself into the sea, near the meridian of Tombuctoo. Ibn Al Wardi† speaks of *Oulili* as the principal city of *Soudan* (or Nigritia), situated on the *sea coast*, and having extensive salt works, from which salt was carried to the other states of Nigritia.

Mr. Park mentions the city of *Walet*, capital of Beeroo, which may perhaps be the *Oulili* intended by Ibn Al Wardi;‡ but it has no salt pits; for the inhabitants fetch salt from Shingarin, six journies to the northward of it:§ and Walet is more than 24 journies from Sala, instead of 16, as stated by Edrisi.

Cadamosta and Leo, in the third and fourth centuries after Edrisi,‖ say, that the people of Tombuctoo had their salt from *Tegazza*, 40 journies to

* Edrisi, p. 7.

† Hartmann's Edrisi, p. 29.

‡ Oulili, Oualet?

§ Mr. Park's MSS.

‖ Edrisi wrote in the 12th century; Cadamosta in the 15th, and Leo in the 16th.

the westward of that city; and that the salt was carried so far to the east as Melli, which is opposite to Kassina. By Tegazza, *Tisbeet*,* the salt mine of Jarra seems to have been meant; but is far short of 40 journies from Tombuctoo. Now, if in the 12th century, salt was procurable so near to Tombuctoo as Aroan, or Shingarin (the salt pits of Walet), why should they have fetched it from a place 30 or 40 days distant, in the 15th and 16th? This requires explanation: for Edrisi states very particularly that salt was carried from *Ulil* in boats along the Niger, and distributed amongst the nations on its banks, from Sala to Kauga! †

Mr. Beaufoy, quoted as above, says,‡ that there is a *salt lake*, or lakes, in Bornou; from whence Agadez, Kassina, and certain states on the south of the Niger, are supplied. This at least implies that there are no salt *mines* in the Desert, in the quarter *east* of Tombuctoo.

* Mr. Park's MSS. † Edrisi, p. 7. ‡ African Association, 1790; Q. p. 157, 167; and O. p. 236, 251.

CHAPTER VI.

The Subject continued—Course of the River Niger, at large—has no Communication with the Nile—Ptolemy's Description of it consistent.

THE course of the *Niger* (or *Joliba*) as we have seen, is established, by ocular demonstration, as far as *Silla*; and may, I conceive, be *admitted*, as far as *Houssa*, about 400 miles farther to the east, on the foundation of the information collected by Mr. Park; since it agrees with the ideas communicated to Mr. Beaufoy, by an intelligent Moorish merchant, who had navigated the river: and as it agrees no less with the report of Mr. Magrah, obtained from Moorish merchants at Tunis: and of Major Houghton from Bambouk. Thus, the first 700 G. miles of its course are *from* WEST *to* EAST; or rather from WSW to ENE. There remains then, a space of *more* than double that distance, between Houssa and the nearest part of the Egyptian Nile, near Dongola: and yet more, to the known parts of the White river, or Abiad, the SW branch of the Nile.

I shall divide the matter respecting the course of this river, into three heads. 1. Respecting the continuity of its waters, from Houssa on the west, to Wangara on the east; without regard to the direction of the stream. 2. Respecting the positive direction of the stream. And, 3, concerning its termination.

1. *Respecting the Continuity of its Waters.*

Edrisi gives the most positive information concerning the course of the Niger, or Nile of the Negroes, from east to west; deriving it from the same lake through which the Egyptian Nile passes; and describing it to terminate at 16 journies west of Sala (that is, a little to the west of the position occupied by Tombuctoo); and near the supposed island of Ulil before mentioned.* He thus cuts off about 1000 miles of the breadth of Africa. This

* Page 7 of Edrisi.

was an error common to all the ancient geographers, as well as to those of Arabia: for Ptolemy places the mouth of the Senegal river only two degrees more to the west, than Edrisi does that of the Niger.

Abulfeda believed, with Edrisi, that the Niger had a common source with the Nile, and ran westward.*

It is certain, that these *opinions* furnish no *proofs* of continuity of course: but it may be supposed that there was some foundation for them; especially as Edrisi says, that salt was carried upon the Niger in boats from the island of Ulil, and distributed to the people on its banks, from Sala to Wangara, and Kauga.†

Mr. Matra was told‡ that from Kabra, the port of Tombuctoo, "people sometimes travelled *along the river* the space of 40 days, to Ginny (Ghana) a large city;" &c.

The Moorish merchant, with whom Mr. Beaufoy conversed, and whom he speaks of as a clear and intelligent man, says, "that the country of *Guinea* or Ginny, is on the *same river* with *Houssa*." (Mr. Beaufoy's MSS.)

Edrisi, besides mentioning the cities of Sala, Tokrur, Berissa, Ghana, and Ghanara, all of which he says are situated on the Niger, remarks that the *country of Wangara*, to which Ghanara belongs, is *surrounded* by that river,§ as it would appear by means of a subdivision of its waters; for Gatterer says, that Ghanara, one of its cities, stands on the *western* arm of the Guin,‖ by which name he mentions the Niger; of which more presently. Now, as Wangara extends, according to Edrisi, 300 *Arabic* miles along the river,** this extent, together with the distance of Wangara from Ghana, eight journies,†† or 152 miles, makes up 496 G. miles of the course of this river, eastward from Ghana; which being itself 500 miles east of Houssa, there will be 969 miles in *direct* distance, traced eastward of Houssa: or on the whole, as Houssa is 700 miles below the source, about 1670 G.

* Article *Soudan*. † Edrisi, page 7 ‡ Mr. Beaufoy's MSS.
§ Edrisi, p. 7. 11. and 12. ‖ Hatmann's Edrisi, p. 48. notes.
•• Edrisi, p. 11. †† Ib. p. 11.

miles of water-course from the head of the Niger, above Manding, to the eastern extremity of Wangara!

In addition to these authorities, I may state from Leo, that the people of Tombuctoo convey their merchandize in boats (or rather canoes) to Ginea, *by the Niger:* and that at Kabra they embark for Melli, also. But it is proper to be noticed, that he says (p. 249), that this communication with Ginea takes place in the *rainy season only* (July, August, September), which would imply a deficiency of water for navigation, at other seasons.* Leo, however, certainly never saw the Niger, although he seems to report himself an eye-witness of many particulars relating to it. His intelligence is therefore often to be suspected; though it has probably happened, that being regarded as an original author, instead of a compiler, he has given weight to the systems of Edrisi and Abulfeda, respecting the course of the Niger.

Gatterer, as I have hinted before, calls the Niger, Guin, as well at Tokrur and Ghana, as at Wangara.† Now we learn from Mr. Park, that the northern branch of the Niger, above Tombuctoo, passes by the town of Jinbala, and collect also from Labat, that it is named the *river of Guin:* and here we have the same name extended even to Wangara; a presumptive proof of the prolongation of the same river!

Edrisi speaks of the same Niger, or Nile of the Negroes,‡ also, at Kauga, 10 journies to the east of Wangara; from which we collect that he must have supposed, that this *emanation* of the Egyptian Nile (as he supposed it to be) first ran to the north, and then turned to the west, through Nigritia. And if any consequence can be deduced from his account of the conveyance of salt, along the Niger to Kauga, where the catalogue of places supplied, ends, we should conclude that he supposed the navigable part of the river, *ended* at Kauga.

Although there can be no question that *a* river named *Nile* (or rather *Neel*), passes through the quarter of Kauga, Angimi, &c. since Edrisi,

* If this report of Leo has any *particular meaning*, and as the river in question carries a great body of water at all seasons, one must suppose that there are *falls* or *rapids*, in the river, when in its low state. Time may discover.

† Hartmann, p. 32, 48, 51. ‡ Edrisi, p. 7, and 13.

Abulfeda, and Leo, speak of it, yet it would be advancing too far within the region of conjecture, in this place, to attempt to *decide* whether it has any communication with the western waters. I shall therefore reserve this discussion till the last; that it may not be allowed to have any weight in the decision of the great question concerning the continuity and direction of the Niger. Having therefore, as I conceive, established the fact of a *continuation* of the waters from Manding to Wangara, I shall next proceed to inquire into the authorities for the direction of the stream.

2. *The Direction of the Course of the Niger.*

Ocular demonstration has shewn, that its course is to the *eastward*, as far as Silla: and no reasonable doubt can be entertained that it continues the same course to Houssa, 400 miles farther to the eastward, even if the information communicated to Mr. Park, could be doubted. For the Moorish merchant before quoted, told Mr. Beaufoy, that he had himself *descended* the Joliba, from Kabra to Houssa, although he had forgot the exact number of days employed in the navigation; and whether it was 8 or 10 days, (Mr. Park was told 11). But one circumstance dwelt on his mind; which was, that " by the favour of a brisk wind, they returned to Kabra, *against the stream*, in as short an interval as they went down." (This is no new fact to those who are accustomed to inland navigations, even of the natural kind.)

The same Moor added, " that from Houssa, *going still with the stream*, boats went to Jinnee * and Ghinea; near the latter of which was the *sea*, into which the *Neel* (or Niger) discharged itself." That this Ghinea lies to the eastward of Houssa and Tombuctoo, has been already shewn; and that at the distance of 40 land journies.

Edrisi says that the navigation from Ghana to Tirka (which latter is in the way to Wangara, admitted by the same authority to lie to the east of Ghana†)

* It is certain that one city of Jinné or Jinnee stands *above* Tombuctoo and Houssa.

† Edrisi, p. 9, 11, and 12.

is *with the stream* of the Niger:* and if this be true, it ought unquestionably to have the same direction all the way from Houssa.

To these notices, of which the most full and positive, is that of an intelligent person who had visited the spot; are to be opposed the reports of Edrisi and Abulfeda, who wrote at a distance, and from the information of others. As to Leo, although his *declaration* is in favour of the two Arabian geographers, yet his authority loses all its weight, by his saying that the river runs to the *west, by Tombuctoo*; a fact which, I presume, no one will be hardy enough to contend for. And it will be found, that his *descriptions* do most completely do away his *declaration:* so that his testimony is turned against himself by the very context. For after saying that it runs *towards* the kingdoms of Ginea and Melli, he says also that they lie to the *west*, in respect of Tombuctoo. Now the contrary has already been made apparent, in page lxv, *et seq.*; so that in fact, Leo's descriptions go rather to prove, that the course of the Niger is to the *east*, than to the *west*. But after all, his descriptions are the result of hearssy, rather than of observation: and it is plain, that his idea of the course of the Niger, was regulated by the supposed situation of the countries it ran through. Nor had he in his mind the coast of Guinea, according to our acceptation of the term, when he spoke of the country of Ginea: for in his description of Nigritia he says, that the *sea* on the *south*, was unknown† to him. Thus the testimonies appear to be clearly in favour of an *easterly* course of the Niger from Houssa to Wangara. I next proceed to the question respecting its termination.

3. *Concerning the Termination of the Niger.*

Mr. Beaufoy's Moor farther says, that "*below Ghinea*, is the *sea*, into which the river of Tombuctoo disembogues itself." This may therefore be considered as the *prevailing idea* at Houssa and Tombuctoo, at which places

* Sionita, p. 12, translates the passage thus: "*Via cursum Nili comitante.*" And Hartmann, p. 51, "*Nilum sequere.*"

D'Herbelot understood the same thing; article *Vankara*. † Leo, p. 2.

he had resided, altogether, about 12 years. By the word *sea*, it is well known, the Arabs mean to express a lake also; (and even sometimes a river.) Edrisi and others describe large lakes in Ghana and Wangara.* And when Leo says that the Niger falls into the *sea* which *borders on Ginea*, it is not improbable that the lakes of Ghana and Wangara are meant; and that he was under the same mistake *here*, in supposing Ginea to be in the neighbourhood of the sea, as in what relates to the position of Ginea itself. In other words, that hearing from the natives, that the Niger expanded itself into lakes *below Ghana* (or Ginea), he supposed the western ocean to be meant. For it appears (p. 2.) that *he had heard*, that the Niger had its source in the mountains on the *west*, and running thence to the east, expanded itself finally into a vast lake: but misled by the supposed situation of Ginea and Melli, he disregarded the information.

He also describes Ginea to be a country annually overflowed by the waters of the Niger, but omits to say the same of Wangara, to which the description more particularly applies. It may be, that as Wangara in more early times formed a part of the empire of Ghana (or Ginea), his ideas might have been collected from some history of those times. I therefore consider his description of Ginea (p. 248), to include both Ghana and Wangara.

Edrisi describes three large *fresh water* lakes in Wangara, and one in Ghana.† The description of Wangara appears to be that of an *alluvial* country, environed and intersected by the branches of the Niger, and annually overflowed in August. Perhaps August was the time of the highest flood: for Leo says that Ginea (apply this to Wangara, also) is overflowed in July, August, and September; which is indeed the season of swelling of the rivers of the tropical regions, generally.‡

From this description may be inferred the very *low level* of the countries of Ghana and Wangara; which level or hollow forms a receptacle for the surplus waters of the Niger, collected during the rainy season: § and whose

* Edrisi, p. 10, 12, 13. † See Edrisi, p. 10, 11, 12, 13.

‡ Ib. p. 11, *et seq.* Hartmann, p. 47, *et seq.*

§ And that probably, not only for the western waters alone, but for the *eastern* also.

permanent lakes, apparently form receptacles for its waters, during the dry season also. The county of Wangara alone, is said by Edrisi and Ibn Al Wardi to have an extent of 300 miles by 150 (*i. e.* Arabic miles, of 56⅔ to a degree); and Edrisi's statement of the distances through it, proves that its length lies in the same direction with the course of the Niger; that is, from *west* to *east*.* Now I have no kind of difficulty in supposing that *any* river may be evaporated, provided it is spread out to a sufficient extent of surface: and it may be that the level, or hollow, of Wangara and part of Ghana, may present an extent of surface sufficient to produce this effect.† And hence these countries must be regarded as the *sink* of North Africa, at all seasons. No doubt the inhabitants are amply repaid by the fertility produced by the deposition of the waters: but besides this, in the southern quarter of Wangara, they collect an incredible quantity of gold sand, after the waters are gone off, which is carefully sought after, as soon as the rivers regain their beds.‡

It may be proper to observe, that, according to the estimation which we ought to make, of the quantity of water collected into the Niger, it ought not to bear a proportion to that, collected into the great tropical rivers of Asia; since it receive no branches, but on *one* side. Of course, it does not drain so great a surface of country, as those which receive them on both sides. Moreover it drains only the tract situated to *leeward* of the great chain of mountains, which opposes the main body of the clouds; so that more water is discharged by the south, by the rivers of the Coast of Guinea, than by the *inland* rivers; or by those of Senegal and Gambia.

* Refer to Edrisi, p. 12, and 13; and to page lx above.

† There are many instances of this kind. In particular the *Hindmend*, or *Heermund*, a very considerable river of *Sigistan*, terminates in the lake of Zurrah (*Aria Palus*). The lake is about 100 miles long, and 20 broad, at the widest part; and is said to be *fresh*. The country it flows through, has all the characteristics of the alluvial tracts, at the mouths of great rivers; as Egypt, Bengal, &c. and is environed by mountains. This was the celebrated tract which is said to have formed the *appanage* of *Rustum*; and whose inhabitants, from the relief they afforded to CYRUS, were named *Euergetæ* by Alexander.

‡ Edrisi, p. 12. D'Herbelot, article Vankara.

Ben Ali reported to Mr. Beaufoy, that "it was believed, that the Tombuctoo river *terminated* in a *lake* in the Desert."

On the whole, it can scarcely be doubted that the Joliba or Niger terminates in lakes, in the eastern quarter of Africa; and those lakes seem to be situated in Wangara and Ghana. That it does not form the *upper part* of the Egyptian Nile, may be collected from *two* circumstances: first, the great *difference* of *level* that must necessarily exist, between the Niger and the Nile, admitting that the Niger reached the country of Abyssinia. For by that time, it would have run at least 2300 G. miles, in a direct line; and near 2000, after it had *descended* to the *level* of Sahara, or Great Desert. And the Nile, at the point where the White River (which, alone can be taken for the Niger, if the idea of a junction be admitted) falls in, has more than a thousand such miles to run, before it reaches the sea; and has moreover two or more *cataracts* to descend, in its way. Besides, Abyssinia is positively a *very elevated tract*. Mr. Bruce, (Vol. iii. p. 642.) inferred from his barometer, that the level of the source of the Nile, in Gojam, was more than *two* miles above the level of the sea: and this is repeated in pages 652, and 712; where he says "fully" two miles.

Again, in p. 719, he says, that the *flat* country of Sennar is *more than a mile* lower than the high country of Abyssinia, from whence (says he) the Nile runs with "*little descent*" into Egypt. Hence, the country of Sennar, and the mouth of the White River, of course, may be reckoned *about a mile*, above the level of the sea. It may however be asked, how this agrees with the idea of an easy descent?*

The second circumstance is, that the Niger throughout the tract of Nigritia, in common with all the rivers of that region, swells with the periodical rains, and is at its *highest pitch*, when the Nile is under the like circumstances in Egypt. Now, considering how long a time it would require, for the waters of Nigritia to reach Egypt, the effect ought surely to be, that

* Mr. Bruce mentions eight cataracts of the Nile; of which, *two* only are *below* Sennar. (Vol. iii. p. 644, *et seq.*) M. D'Anvilles marks *three* within the same space. The principal cataracts are those formed by the abrupt descent from the *upper* level of Gojam. to the *intermediate* one of Sennar; one of them being 280 feet. (See page 647.)

instead of what happens, at present, the Nile ought to be kept up to nearly its highest pitch, *a very long time* after the Niger.

Nor can I believe with P. Sicard and M. D'Anville, that the waters of Kauga and Bornou communicate with the river of Egypt. P. Sicard, it appears, had learnt from a *native* of Bornou, that the river which passed the capital of *his* country, communicated with the *Nile*, during the time of the inundation, by the medium of the *Bahr Azrac*, or Blue River.* M. D'Anville supposed this *Nile* to be meant for the river of Egypt; and the communication to be effected by the medium of the lake of Kauga; and that it flowed into the White River opposite Sennar. But the space of several hundred miles, which intervenes between this lake and the White River, is very unfavourable to such an opinion; even if the *levels* could be supposed to allow it. I rather conceive, that Sicard, not aware of the extensive application of the term *Neel*, or *Nile* (which in Africa seems to mean any great river), concluded that the river of Egypt alone, could be intended; whereas, I have no doubt but that the river which passes near Kauga and Angimi, was meant: (no matter whether it joins the Niger, or otherwise;) for Edrisi says, that Angimi, in Kanem; situated near the borders of Nubia, is only three journies from the *Nile* (implied to be *that* of the *Negroes*, that is, the *Niger*).† But Angimi must be more than 20 journies to the westward of Dongola, situated on the Egyptian Nile; for Zagua is 20 journies from Dongola to the *west*,‡ and Angimi 6 from Zagua,§ in a direction, which at least, *increases* the distance. Besides, a river of the name of *Nile*, or *Neel*, passes by Kauga,‖ which is 30 days to the south-westward of Dongola: and apparently about six from Angimi. Doubtless, this is the Nile intended by the informant of P. Sicard; and can have no relation to the Egyptian Nile, otherwise than in *name*.

* Mém. Acad. Inscrip. Vol. xxvi. p. 67. *Azrac*, or *blue*, is a term applied to certain rivers, by the Arabs, as *Melas*, or *black*, by the Greeks. It is applied in Abyssinia to the eastern branch of the Nile, seemingly in contradistinction to the *Bahr Abiad*, or *White* River; whose waters are *muddy*, whilst those of the other are remarkably *clear*.

† Edrisi, p. 14. ‡ Abulfeda, article Soudan. § Edrisi, p. 14.

‖ Edrisi, p. 7.

But in the notices respecting the *western* course of a river, or rivers, from the confines of Nubia, Bornou, &c. I think I perceive abundant reason for belief, that such a course of waters does really exist; although perhaps, not exactly in the mode described.* There are notices of a considerable river in Bornou (or Kanem) called the Wad-al-Gazel, or River of the Antelopes, said to join the Nile during the time of the inundations:† of another at Kuku, more to the north, said to take its course *southward*, to the Nile.‡ Also, of *a* Nile near Angimi and Kauga, before spoken of. And finally, Edrisi§ says, that a branch of the Egyptian Nile, issuing from the great lake at Tumi, in the south, forms the head of the Niger, or Nile of the Negroes.‖

Here it is well worth remarking, that Ptolemy describes a branch springing from the SE about the parallel of 10°, and amongst the *Nubi*, which branch flows into the *Gir*, a river distinct from the Niger, and appearing to answer to the river of Bornou, &c. This accords exactly with Edrisi's idea; only that it does *not* flow from the *same lake* as the Nile, separated from it only by a mountain. But M. D'Anville, in my idea, interprets very fairly the scope of the intelligence furnished by Edrisi, by supposing that the *sources* of the two rivers (or the *courses* of them) were *separated* only by a ridge of mountains.**

Leo says, that the head of the Niger is within 120 miles of the country of Bornou, and in the Desert of Seu:†† but these notices must be regarded as extremely vague.

Certain it is, that if the *eastern waters* of *Nigritia* do not run into the

* I am aware that Mr. Beaufoy was told that the river of Bornou runs to the NW. into the Desert of Bilma. [Af. Assoc. Q. p. 142: O. 215.]

† D'Anville, Mém. Inscrip. Vol. xxvi. p. 67.

‡ Edrisi, p. 13. § Ib. p. 16.

‖ It appears that a report of the same kind was communicated to Mr. Beaufoy; namely, that a branch of the *Egyptian* Nile *runs into* the Desert of Bilma. (Af. Assoc. Q. p. 138: O. p. 209.) There does not, however, appear to be any foundation for believing that the Nile sends forth any branch above Egypt. All the notices of this kind may with more probability, be referred to a communication with the waters of *Kauga*.

** Mém. Inscrip. Vol. xxvi. p. 66. †† Page 2. 255,

Nile (of which, in our idea, there does not appear a shadow of probability) they must either be evaporated in lakes, or lost in sands. The lake of Kauga offers itself in a position very convenient for the purpose, and a river taken by Edrisi for the Niger, is actually said to pass near it. It has also been shewn, that in the idea of Edrisi, the Kauga lake communicated with the *western* waters: but whether this is true, or otherwise, it is not possible to decide.

I do not pretend to follow Ptolemy in his description of the rivers in the interior of Africa, with that precision which M. D'Anville has attempted: but *this* circumstance is clear enough, that he describes them to *terminate*, as well as to *begin*, *within* the continent. The same is to be said of Agathemerus.

It is apparent, that Ptolemy has carried the head of the Niger seven degrees too far to the *north*, and about four, or more, too far to the *west:* as also that his *inland* positions in Africa, as well along the Niger, as at a distance from it, are yet *more* to the west of the truth. But notwithstanding this geographical error, he proves that he knew many facts relating to the descriptive part of the subject. For instance, he places the source of the Niger, at the mountains of *Mandrus*, and amongst the nation of the *Mandori*. It has been seen, that the Joliba rises in the country adjacent to Manding. He marks also a large adjunct to the Niger, from amongst the *Maurali*, in the south, answering to the river from Malel (or Melli) in Edrisi. To these may be added another particular of agreement. The *Caphas* mountains of Ptolemy seem meant for those of *Kaffaba*, a country 9 or 10 journies to the eastward of Kong; 18 short of Assentai (or Ashantee) near the Coast of Guinea.* But I have a doubt where to place Ptolemy's metropolis of Nigritia, in modern geography. His ideas, however, corroborate in the strongest manner, the present system of geography.

Amongst the eastern waters, the *Gir* of Ptolemy, seems to be recognized in the river of Bornou, and its adjuncts: the Niger, in that of Tombuctoo and Wangara. The *Panagra* of the same geographer answers to Wangara; and his *Lybia Palus*, which forms the *termination* of the Niger,

* Af. Assoc. 1790, ch. xii.

eastward, seems to be meant, either for the largest of the lakes, or for the lakes of that country (of which there are several), *collectively*. It is no impeachment of this opinion, that the *Lybia Palus* is placed so far to the west as the meridian of Carthage, whilst the lakes of Wangara appear to be in that of Cyrene: for Ptolemy carries the river Gir, and the capital of the country which represents Bornou, into the centre of Africa; by which he has *shortened* the course of the Niger, in the same proportion as he had *extended* that of the Gir, or Wad-al-Gazel. Modern geographers, to the time of D'Anville, were guilty of the same kind of error: Ghana is about 6° too far west, in Delisle's Map.

It may be best to omit any farther remarks on Ptolemy, at present, and to wait the result of future discoveries. In the mean time, those who are curious to read M. D'Anville's Memoir on the subject of "the Rivers in the interior of Africa" will find it in the Mém. Acad. Inscrip. Vol. xxvi.

CHAPTER VII.

Observations on the physical *and* political *Geography of North Africa—Naturally divisible into three Parts—Productive in Gold—Boundary of the Moors and Negroes—the* Foulahs, *the* Leucæthiopes *of the Ancients.*

To our view, North Africa appears to be composed of three distinct parts or members. The FIRST and smallest is a fertile region along the Mediterranean, lying opposite to Spain, France, and Italy (commonly distinguished by the name of Barbary); and which, could we suppose the western bason of the Mediterranean to have once been *dry land*, (bating a lake or recipient for the surrounding rivers), might be regarded as a part of Europe; as possessing much more of the European, than the African character.

The SECOND part is what may be deemed the *body* of North Africa, comprized between the Red Sea, and Cape Verd, on the east and west; and having the Great Desert (or *Sabara*) and its members, on the north; the Ethiopic ocean, and South Africa, on the opposite side. The prominent feature of this immense region, is a vast *belt of elevated land*, of great breadth, often swelling into lofty mountains, and running generally from west to east, about the tenth degree of latitude. Its western extremity seems to be C. Verd; the mountains of Abyssinia, the eastern. To the north, its ramifications are neither numerous, nor extensive, if we except the elevated tract which turns the Nile to the northward, beyond Abyssinia. Towards the south, no particulars are known, save that a multitude of rivers, some of them very large, descend from that side, and join the Atlantic and Ethiopic seas, from the Rio Grande on the west, to Cape Lopez on the east; proving incontestably that by far the greatest proportion of rain water falls on that

side, during the periodical season of the SW winds; which corresponds in all its circumstances with the same monsoon in India.*

To the north of this belt, with the exception of the Egyptian Nile, the waters conform generally to the direction of the high land; passing at no great distance (comparatively) from its base, to the right and left: as if the surface of the Sahara had a general dip to the southward.† These rivers, moreover, receive all their supplies from the south; no streams of any bulk being collected in the Desert.

In order to produce this effect, there must necessarily be a vast hollow in the interior of Africa, between the high land of Nubia on the east, and Manding on the west; and of which the mountains and Desert form the other two sides. Nor is this state of things unexampled in the other continents. In Asia, the *hollow*, to whose waters the Caspian and Aral serve as recipients, is no less extensive than the one just mentioned; reckoning from the sources of the Wolga to those of the Oxus; (which latter has ever communicated with the Caspian, either throughout the year, or during a part of it:) the difference is, that in Asia, a greater portion of the hollow is filled up with water, than in Africa.

The THIRD part is of course, the Great Desert (or Sahara), and its members; consisting of the lesser deserts of Bornou, Bilma, Barca, Sort, &c. This may be considered as an OCEAN OF SAND,‡ presenting a surface equal in extent to about *one half of Europe*, and having its gulfs, and bays; as also its islands, fertile in groves and pastures, and in many instances containing a great population, subject to order and regular government. The

* A ridge stretches to the south, through the middle of South Africa, and forms an impenetrable barrier between the two coasts. M. CORREA DE SERRA informs me, that the Portugeze in Congo and Angola, have never been able to penetrate to the coast of the Indian ocean.

Mr. Bruce learnt (Vol. iii. p. 668) that a high chain of mountains from 6° runs southward through the middle of Africa. He supposes the gold of Sofala to be drawn from these mountains. (p. 669.)

† Circumstances have shewn, that it declines to the eastward also.

‡ "A wild expanse of lifeless sand and sky!" *Thomson.*

great body, or *western* division of this OCEAN, comprized between Fezzan and the Atlantic, is no less than 50 caravan journies across, from north to south; or from 750 to 800 G. miles; and double that extent, in length: without doubt the largest desert in the world. This division contains but a scanty portion of islands (or oases) and those also of small extent: but the eastern division has many; and some of them very large. Fezzan, Gadamis, Taboo, Ghanat, Agadez, Augela, Berdoa, are amongst the principal ones: besides which, there are a vast number of small ones. In effect, this is the part of Africa alluded to by Strabo,* when he says from *Cneius Piso*, that Africa may be compared to a leopard's skin. I conceive the reason why the oases are more common here, than in the west, is, that the *stratum* of sand is *shallower*, from *its* surface, to that of the earth which it covers. In other words, that the water contained in that earth, is nearer to the surface; as in most of the oases it springs up spontaneously.† Can any part of the cause be assigned to the prevalent easterly winds, which, by driving the finer particles of sand to leeward, may have heaped it up to a higher level in the Sahara, than elsewhere?‡

The springs, no doubt, have *produced* the oases themselves, by enabling useful vegetables to flourish, and consequently population to be established.

* Page 130.

† Water is found at the depth of a few feet, in Fezzan (Afr. Assoc. Q. p. 96: O. p. 146). The same is said by Pliny, concerning this quarter of Africa; lib. v. c. 5. But farther to the NW, on the edge of the Desert, and in the country of Wadreag in particular (Shaw, p. 135.), wells are dug to an amazing depth, and water mixed with fine sand, springs up suddenly, and sometimes fatally to the workmen. The Doctor tells us, that the people call this abyss of sand and water, "the sea below ground." Exactly the same state of things exists in the country round London, where the sand has in several cases nearly filled up the wells. (See Phil. Trans. for 1797.) The famous well lately dug by EARL SPENCER (at Wimbledon), of more than 560 feet in depth, has several hundred feet of sand in it.

‡ Ships that have sailed at a great distance from the African coast, opposite to C. Blanco and C. Bojador, have had their rigging filled with fine sand, when the wind blew strong off shore. The accumulation of the *Bissago* shoals may have been partly owing to this cause also. They occupy the position where a great eddy of the general southerly current takes place, between C. Verd and Sherbro'.

That the Desert has a *dip* towards the east, as well as the south, seems to be proved by the course of the Niger, also. Moreover, the highest points of North Africa, that is to say, the mountains of Mandinga and Atlas, are situated very far to the west.

The Desert, for the mort part, abounds with salt. But we hear of salt *mines* only, in the part contiguous to Nigritia, from whence salt is drawn for the use of those countries, as well as of the Moorish states adjoining; there being no salt in the Negro countries south of the Niger.* There are salt *lakes* also, in the eastern part of the Desert.

The great ridge of mountains, and its branches, are very productive in *gold*; but more particularly in the quarters opposite to Manding and Bambouk on the west, and Wangara, on the east. It may perhaps admit of a doubt, whether the gold is brought down at the present time, by the numerous fountains that form the heads of the Niger and Senegal rivers; or whether it has been deposited in the lower parts of their beds, at an earlier period of the world; and that the search, instead of being facilitated by the periodical floods, is, on the contrary, only to be pursued with effect, when the waters are low.

Tombuctoo is reckoned the mart of the Mandinga gold, from whence it is distributed over the northern quarters of Africa, by the merchants of Tunis, Tripoly, Fezzan, and Morocco; all of whom resort to Tombuctoo. Most of it, no doubt, afterwards finds its way into Europe. It may be remarked, also, that the *Gold Coast* of Guinea (so called, doubtless, from its being the place of traffic for gold dust), is situated nearly opposite to Manding: but whether the gold brought thither, has been washed out of the mountains, by the *northern* or *southern* streams, I know not: it may be by both; for a part of the gold of Wangara is brought for sale to the southern coast.†

* This quality of the African Desert was familiarly known to Herodotus (Melpom. c. 181, *et seq.*) He knew also that there was salt in abundance in the *northern* parts. But as it would appear that the inhabitants in that quarter can furnish themselves with salt of a better quality from the sea, the mines are not wrought.

† Some writers have said, that there are gold *mines* in the neighbourhood of Mina, on

Degombah, another country, said to be very productive in gold,* must, by its situation, lie directly opposite to the Gold Coast: for it lies immediately to the east of Kong (the Gonjah of Mr. Beaufoy, and the Conche of D'Anville).† The people of Fezzan trade to Kong.

The triangular hilly tract above commemorated, (p. xix.) which projects northward from the highest part of the belt, and contains Manding, Bambouk, &c. is also abundant in gold; particularly in the quarter towards Bambouk, where it is found in mines; and that chiefly in the middle level.‡ (See also, p. xix.)

Wangara appears to have been, in its time, nearly as rich as Manding in this metal. The Arabs name it *Belad al Tebr*, or the *country of gold*.§ Edrisi, Ibn al Wardi, and Leo, bear testimony to its riches. They say that the gold is found in the sands, after the periodical inundation of the Niger

the Gold Coast; others, that the gold is rolled down by the rivers to that neighbourhood. Both may be true.

It is difficult to conceive any other adequate cause, than the exchange of the gold of the inland countries, for the introduction of so vast a quantity of *kowry* shells, which are carried from Europe to the Coast of Guinea, and pass for small money in the countries along the Niger, from Bambara to Kassina, both inclusive.

I am informed from authority, that about 100 tons of Kowries are annually shipped from England alone, to Guinea. These are originally imported from the Maldive islands into Bengal; and from Bengal into England. In Bengal, 2400, more or less, are equal to a shilling: and yet notwithstanding the incredible smallness of the denomination, some article in the market may be purchased for a single kowry. But in the inland parts of Africa, they are about ten times as dear; varying from 220 to 280. Mr. Beaufoy was told that in Kassina, they were at the rate of about 250: and Mr. Park reports, that they are about the same price at Sego: but *cheaper* at Tombuctoo, which is about the *centre* of the kowry country; *dearer* towards Manding, which is the western extremity of it. Hence they are probably carried in the first instance to Tombuctoo, the gold market: and thence distributed to the east and west. Their circulation seems to be confined between Bornou and Manding. In Bournou they have a coinage of base metal.

* African Assoc. Q. p. 176: O. p. 264.

† Mr. Park says that Kong signifies *mountain*, in the Mandinga language; which language is in use from the frontier of Bambara, to the western sea.

‡ Labat, Vol. iv. ch. 2.

§ Bakui, and Herbelot; article Vankara.

(which is general over the country) is abated.* Leo, alone,† says, that the gold is found in the *southern* quarter of the kingdom; which appears very probable, as the mountains lie on that side: so that it may be concluded, that the gold sand has not been brought there by the Niger, but by smaller rivers that descend immediately from those mountains. That a part of Wangara is bounded by mountains, we learn from Edrisi: for the lake on which Reghebil stands, has mountains hanging over its southern shore.‡

It is supposed that most of the countries bordering on these mountains, share in the riches contained within them, by means of the rivulets.§ But considering how amazingly productive in gold, the streams of this region are, it is wonderful that Pliny should not mention the Niger amongst the rivers that roll down golden sands: for although he speaks of the Tagus and others, in different quarters, no African river is mentioned.‖ And yet Herodotus knew that the Carthaginians bartered their goods for gold, with the Africans on the sea coast, beyond the Pillars of Hercules: which was contrived without the parties seeing each other.¶

The common boundary of the MOORS and NEGROES, in Africa, forms a striking feature, as well in the moral, as the political and physical, geography of this continent. The Moors, descendants of Arabs, intermixed with the various colonists of Africa, from the earliest to the latest times, overspread the habitable parts of the Desert, and the oases within it: and have pushed their conquests and establishments southward; pressing on the Negro aborigines, who have in several instances retired to the southward of the great rivers; but in others, preserve their footing on the side towards the

* See Edrisi in particular, pages 11 and 12.

† Page 254. ‡ Edrisi, page 12.

§ Mr. Bruce, Vol. iii. p. 647, says the same of the mountains of Dyre and Tegla, which are a continuation of the great belt, towards Abyssinia.

‖ Pliny, lib. xxxiii. c. 4. ¶ Melpomene, c. 196.

Dr. Shaw (p. 302) speaks of the same mode of traffic, at present, between the Moors and Negroes: whence the place of traffic ought to be very far removed from the Mediterranean. There is a similar story related by Cadamosta of the exchange of salt for gold, in Melli; and by Dr. Wadstrom on the windward coast of Guinea.

Desert; according to the strength, or openness of the situation. It is probable, however, that the Negroes, who are an agricultural people, never possessed any *considerable* portion of the Desert, which is so much better suited to the pastoral life of the Moors. It appears as if matters had not undergone much change in this respect, since the days of Herodotus; who fixes the boundary of the LIBYANS and ETHIOPIANS, in other words, of the MOORS and NEGROES, near the borders of the Niger; and he apparently pointed to the quarter in which Kassina or Ghana are now situated.*

The Negroes in the western quarter of the continent, are of two distinct races, of which the least numerous are named FOULAHS, or FOOLAHS. These, although they partake much of the Negro form and complexion, have neither their *jetty* colour, *thick lips*, or *crisped* hair. They have also a language distinct from the Mandinga, which is the prevailing one, in this quarter.

The original country of the Foulahs is said to be a tract of no great extent along the eastern branch of the Senegal river; situated between Manding and Kasson; Bambouk and Kaarta: and which bears the name of FOOLA-DOO, or the country of the Foulahs. But whether this be really the case, or whether they might not have come from the country within Serra Leona (called also the *Foulah* country), may be a question; of which, more in the sequel. The Foulahs occupy, at least as sovereigns, several provinces or kingdoms, interspersed throughout the tract, comprehended between the mountainous border of the country of Serra Leona, on the west, and that of Tombuctoo, on the east; as also, a large tract on the lower part of the Senegal river: and these provinces are insulated from each other in a very remarkable manner. Their religion is Mahomedanism, but with a great mixture of Paganism; and with less intolerance than is practiced by the Moors.

The principal of the Foulah States, is that within Serra Leona; and of which Teemboo is the capital. The next, in order, appears to be that bordering on the south of the Senegal river, and on the Jaloffs: and which is properly named Siratik. Others of less note, are Bondou, with Foota-Torra,

* See Euterpe, c, 32.; and Melpomene, c. 197.

adjacent to it, lying between the rivers Gambia and Falemé; Foola-doo, and Brooko, along the upper part of the Senegal river; Wassela, beyond the upper part of the Niger; and Massina, lower down on the same river, and joining to Tombuctoo on the west.

The Moors have in very few instances, established themselves on the south of the great rivers. They have advanced *farthest* to the *south* in the western quarter of Africa; so that the common boundary of the two races, passes, in respect of the parallels on the globe, with a considerable degree of obliquity, to the north, in its way from the river Senegal towards Nubia, and the Nile.* Mr. Park arranges the Moorish states which form the *frontier* towards Nigritia, together with the Negro states opposed to them, on the south, in the line of his progress in the following order:

The small Moorish state of Gedumah, situated on the north bank of the Senegal river, and the last that touches on it,† is opposed to the small Negro kingdom of Kajaaga, on the south. This latter occupies the extremity of the navigable course of the Senegal, terminated in this place, by the cataract of F'low.

From this point, the Negro and Foulah states occupy *both* banks of the Senegal river, to its source: and beyond that, *both* banks of the Niger (or Joliba) likewise, to the lake Dibbie, situated beyond the term of Mr. Park's expedition. This space is divided, unequally, between Kasson, a hilly strong country, but of small extent; and which has the Moors of Jaffnoo on the north: Kaarta, a considerable state, which has Ludamar for its opposite (a country held by Ali, a Moorish prince, who is loaded with infamy, on the score of maltreatment of the only two Europeans, who appear to have entered his country, in latter times): Bambara, of still more consideration, which has on the north, the Moorish kingdom of Beeroo, and Massina, a Foulah state.

Here Mr. Park's personal knowledge ends; but he learnt that Tombuctoo and Houssa, which succeed in order, to Massina, and occupy both sides of

* The common boundary of the Moors and Negroes, in the map of Mr. Park's route, is described by a blue line.

† The Moors appear to be masters of the northern bank of the Senegal through the greatest part of its navigable course: the Foulahs of the southern bank.

the Niger, are Moorish states, though with the greatest proportion of Negro subjects: so that the river may be considered as the boundary of the two races in this quarter.*

Of the countries between Houssa and Kassina we are ignorant. The Desert seems to approach very near the river (Niger) in that quarter, whence a Moorish population may be inferred. South of the river, we hear of Kaffaba, Gago, and other Negro countries; but without any distinct notices of position; and beyond these, Melli.

Kassina and Bornou, two great empires on the north of the river, appear to divide the largest portion of the remaining space, to the borders of Nubia; and extend a great way to the north; this region being composed of Desert and habitable country, intermixed; but perhaps, containing the largest proportion of the latter. In both these empires, the sovereigns are Mahomedans, but the bulk of their subjects are said to adhere to their ancient worship; that is to say, the lower orders are, almost universally, Negroes.†

From what has appeared, perhaps the boundary of Nigritia, as it respects the Negro population, may be expressed generally, and with a few exceptions, as follows: beginning from the west, the extent upwards of the navigable course of the Senegal river, generally—thence, a line drawn to Silla; from Silla to Tombuctoo, Houssa, and Berissa, along the river Niger; and thence through Asouda, Kanem, and Kuku, to Dongola, on the Nile.

Leo,‡ enumerates 12 states, or kingdoms of Nigritia: but amongst these, he includes Gualata, a tract only 300 miles S of the river Nun: as also, Cano (Ganat), adjacent to Fezzan; and Nubia. Kassina, Bornou, and Tombuctoo, are included, of course.§

* The Emperor of Morocco is said to have held, at one period, the sovereignty of some of the countries on the northern banks of the Senegal and Niger rivers. Labat, Vol. iii. p. 339, speaks of incursions made by his troops. † Af. Assoc. Q. p. 126: O. p. 191.

‡ Page 4. § The Arabs and Moors, call NIGRITIA by the general name of SOUDAN. By *Belad Soudan*, or the country of Soudan, Abulfeda includes all the known part of Africa, south of the Great Desert, and Egypt. With him, Soudan is the southern quarter of the globe. D'Herbelot also allows it a wide range. *Affnoo* is another term for Nigritia, in use amongst the natives themselves. (See also Proceedings Af. Assoc. Q. p. 164. O. p. 246.

The kingdom of the Foulahs before mentioned, situated between the upper part of the Gambia river, and the coast of Serra Leona, and along the Rio Grande, has also a Mahomedan sovereign, but the bulk of the people appear to be of the ancient religion. It has been already said, that although they are a black people, they are less black than the Negroes, generally, and have neither crisped hair, nor thick lips: as also that they have a language distinct from the Mandinga. From these circumstances, added to that of situation, they appear clearly to be the *Leucæthiopes* of Ptolemy and Pliny. The former places them in the situation occupied by the Foulahs; that is, in the parallel of 9 degrees north; having to the north, the mountains of *Ryssadius*, which separate the courses of the *Stachir* and *Nia* rivers (Gambia and Rio Grande), and which therefore answer to the continuation of the great belt of high land, in our geography; in which there is, moreover, another point of agreement, the *Caphas* of Ptolemy, being the *Caffaba* of the map.*

Ptolemy, by the name, evidently meant to describe a people *less* black than the generality of the *Ethiopians*; and hence it may be gathered, that this nation had been traded with, and that some notices respecting it, had been communicated to him. It may also be remarked, that the navigation of HANNO, terminated on this coast; probably at Sherbro' river, or sound. And as this was also the term of the knowledge of Ptolemy, it may be justly suspected that this part of the coast was described from Carthaginian materials.†

Those who have perused the Journal of Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom, through the Foulah country, in 1794, and recollect how flattering a picture they give of the urbanity and hospitality of the Foulahs, will be gratified on finding that this nation was known and distinguished from the rest of the Ethiopians, at a remote period of antiquity.‡

* The *Soluentii* of Ptolemy may also be meant for the *Solimani* of Mr. Park.

† And it may also have been the scene of the traffic mentioned in page lxxxvii; as Dr. Wadstrom speaks of such a custom in this quarter, at the present day.

‡ Pliny (lib. v. c. 8.) also speaks of the *Leucæthiopes*, but seems to place them on *this side* of Nigritia. May it not be, that certain tribes of Foulahs were then established, as at present, along the Senegal river!

The contrast between the Moorish and Negro characters, is as great, as that between the nature of their respective countries; or between their form and complexion. The Moors appear to possess the vices of the Arabs, without their virtues; and to avail themselves of an intolerant religion, to oppress strangers: whilst the Negroes, and especially the Mandingas, unable to comprehend a doctrine, that substitutes opinion or belief, for the social duties, are content to remain in their humble state of ignorance. The hospitality shewn by these good people to Mr. Park, a destitute and forlorn stranger, raises them very high in the scale of humanity: and I know of no fitter title to confer on them, than that of the HINDOOS of AFRICA: at the same time, by no means intending to degrade the MAHOMEDANS of INDIA, by a comparison with the AFRICAN MOORS.

THE END.