

HUGH CLAPPERTON INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA
RECORDS OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION 1825-1827

SOURCES FOR AFRICAN HISTORY

Volume 2

HUGH CLAPPERTON INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA

Records of the Second Expedition 1825-1827

EDITED BY

JAMIE BRUCE LOCKHART and PAUL E. LOVEJOY



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Dedicated to
Murray Last and Robin Law

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations – Original Documents and Maps	ix
Preface	xi
<i>Introduction: The Records of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa by Captain Hugh Clapperton, R.N. (1825-1827)</i>	1
<i>The Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa</i>	
<i>Chapter 1</i> Voyage to the Bight of Benin and arrival in Badagry	79
<i>Chapter 2</i> Journey from Badagry over the Kong Mountains to the city of Eyeo or Katunga	105
<i>Chapter 3</i> Residence at Eyeo-Ile or Katunga, the capital of the Youriba	143
<i>Chapter 4</i> Journal of proceedings from Katunga, or Eyeo, to Bousa on the Niger, or Quorra, the place where Mungo Park perished	167
<i>Chapter 5</i> Journey from Bousa, across the ferry of the Quorra, by Guarri and Zegzeg, to the city of Kano	207
<i>Chapter 6</i> Journey from Kano to the camp of Bello, and from thence to Soccatoo	267
<i>Chapter 7</i> Residence at Soccatoo, till the death of the author	301
<i>Appendices</i>	
I Preparations and Progress of the Mission	347
II Correspondence of Robert Pearce, Thomas Dickson and James Houtson	415
III Arabic Correspondence	440
IV Clapperton's Cartography and Itineraries	469
V Contemporary Maps	485
VI Medical Supplies	517
Bibliography	523
Index	533

ILLUSTRATIONS – ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND MAPS

Cover

1. Captain Hugh Clapperton, RN – Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 1114

Chapter 1

2. Mushroom shaped fetishes at Badagry – ADM 55/11, f. 18, p. 95

Chapter 2

3. Cross shaped whistle – ADM 55/11, f. 32A, p. 113

Chapter 3

4. Katunga – grinding corn – Remark Book – CO 2/16, f. 71, p. 163

Chapter 4

5. Clapperton's house in Wawa – ADM 55/11, f. 86A, p. 186
6. Sketch map of Bussa, where Park died – ADM 55/11, ff. 91/91A, p. 198
7. Niger rapids, Clapperton drawing – ADM 55/11, f. 92A, p. 200

Chapter 5

8. Man with scarification – Remark Book CO 2/16, f. 38, p. 218
9. Seated figure with pipe (and scarification) – CO. 2/16 Vol I, f. 157, p. 219
10. Sketch of Birnin Gwari – Remark Book, CO 2/16, f. 167, p. 251
11. Zaria hills outline – ADM 55/11, f.116A, p. 253

Chapter 6

12. Bebeji, *sarki's* palace – CO 2/16, f. 157/8, p. 262
13. Old Yagoorma on horseback, probably at battle at Konya, ADM 55/11, f. 5, p. 285
14. Cruiform pro-forma note of Sokoto and surrounding regions – ADM 55/11, f. 140A, p. 295

Chapter 7

15. Arched roof construction, Muhammad Bello's palace – Brenthurst Library, MS 171/4, p. 305
16. Granary – Sokoto area – ADM 55/11, f. 150A, p. 315

Appendix II

17. Letter, Francisco Felix de Souza – CO 2/15, f. 383, p. 428

DRAWINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF JAMIE BRUCE LOCKHART

Chapter 2

- 'Road from Ijanna', p. 117
 'Mountains of Kong', p. 127
 'Duffo', p. 128
 'Onisikoso', p. 135

Chapter 4

- 'Oli River', p. 179
 'Wawa', p. 188

Chapter 5

- 'Blacksmith Huts', p. 208
 'Maingyarra River Bridge', p. 210
 'Kulfo', p. 223
 'Womba', p. 242
 'Zaria', p. 254
 'Dye Pits, Auchan', p. 258

Chapter 6

- 'Zamfara', p. 279

MAPS

Introduction

- M-1. Clapperton's Travels in the Central Sudan, 1822-27, p. 4
 M-2. Pearce's Map, the West African Coast, p. 32
 M-3. Pearce's Map, Interior of Sierra Leone, p. 34
 M-4. Clapperton's Route into the Interior of the Bight of Benin, CO 2/15,
 f. 126, p. 38

Appendix V – Contemporary Maps

PREFACE

The publication of this edition of Clapperton's second expedition into the interior of Africa is intended as a reference work for the study of West African history. The editors have attempted to remain close to the original texts while at the same time providing sufficient annotation to make sense of Clapperton's shorthand and personal style, and therefore to allow some assessment of the scientific importance of the manuscripts for historical and cultural research. Undeniably, the information provided in the Clapperton texts is important, providing details that are unique on the coast of West Africa from Sierra Leone to Badagry, and upon the inland regions of the Kingdom of Oyo, the Borgu towns, and the Sokoto Caliphate.

This project is an extension of earlier work on Hugh Clapperton. Co-editor Bruce Lockhart has previously published two volumes of Clapperton's unpublished memoirs from his first expedition into the interior of West Africa, as a member of the so-called 'Borno Mission'.¹ Moreover, Bruce Lockhart has also completed a biography of Clapperton that recounts his early life in Scotland, his assignment to the Great Lakes of Upper Canada, and his adventures in North and West Africa.² Co-editor Lovejoy has been concerned with the publication of primary texts relating to the interior of the Bight of Benin and other parts of West Africa.

The National Archive (Public Record Office), Kew, allowed us access to ADM 55/11, CO 2 series (13,14,15,16,17) for the transcription of documents, including the two copies of the journal, the remark book and miscellaneous letters, maps and other documents (CO 2/16). We have acquired special permission to reproduce illustrations and photo prints of selected documents from CO and ADM.

We are grateful to Diana Madden, Librarian, Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg, RSA, for generous help with respect to the Clapperton material in the Library's manuscript collection. We also would like to thank Dr. Hamid Bobboyi, Director, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, Nigeria, for opening the library and archival holdings to Lovejoy during a brief visit to Nigeria in June 2004.

We are pleased to acknowledge the Royal Geographical Society for access

¹ Bruce Lockhart, ed., *Clapperton in Borno. Journals of the Travels in Borno of Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton, RN, from January 1823 to September 1824* (Köln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 1996), and Bruce Lockhart and John Wright, eds., *Difficult and Dangerous Roads: Hugh Clapperton's Travels in Sahara and Fezzan 1822-1825* (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2000). Also see Bruce Lockhart, 'In the raw: some reflections on transcribing and editing Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton's writings on the Borno Mission of 1822-1825', *History in Africa* 26 (1999), 157-95.

² See Bruce Lockhart, *Rais Abdullah, Barrow's Pioneer: the Life and Travels of Commander Hugh Clapperton, R.N.*, forthcoming.

to its map collection, especially W.D. Cooley, 'A Collection of Route Maps of the Niger River, together with original letters³ from Clapperton and Others' (nr Nigeria S/S.39), the Denham MSS collection, and the H. Beechey papers. We wish to thank Francis Herbert, Pauline Hubner and Justin Hobson for their assistance during a difficult period in the modernization of the RGS facilities.

We wish to acknowledge with gratitude permission from John Murray Archive, 50 Albermarle Street, London, to reproduce extracts from John Murray's 1829 edition of a *Journal of a Second Expedition*. We also would like to thank Virginia Murray for her kind assistance in searching the archive for materials relating to Clapperton, a selection of which are reproduced in this edition.

Bruce Lockhart received much appreciated commentary and advice from many scholars, researchers and librarians, as well as from the successors of many of Clapperton's interlocutors in capital towns and small settlements, during his field work in Northern Nigeria at the turn of the 1990s. He received valued advice in particular from Usman Geidam and the late John Lavers in Kano, the late Wazirin Sokoto, Alhaji Dr. Junaidu, in Sokoto, and the late Dr. William Seidensticker in Maiduguri, and in England generous assistance and encouragement from Dr. Jean Boyd and Dr. Philip Jagger at SOAS.

We are grateful to Surgeon Commodore Baldock, Medical Officer in Charge, and Ms Jane Wickenden, Historical Collections Librarian, of the Institute of Naval Medicine, Gosport, for their transcription and annotation of Dr. Morison's list of drugs and medical supplies. We have similarly appreciated help from numerous experts who have elucidated technical terms in specialist fields; these have been acknowledged in annotations to the text (such as in relation to guns, weapons, poison for arrows, etc.).

It has been a great pleasure to work with Yacine Daddi Addoun on the Arabic correspondence, accounts, and mapping that comprise Appendix III and V. His assistance in relation to calligraphy was also much appreciated. Sulaiman Salau obtained copies of the Arabic documents in the Sokoto Museum, which are not originals but copies of letters held in London and published in several places, but brought together here. At the time Sulaiman Salau was fulfilling his NYSC in Zamfara state. Musa Sahil Muhammad, Archivist, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, assisted in the identification of place names on the maps and in confirming the preliminary translations of Yacine Daddi Addoun. His participation in the project was most generous.

We also wish to recognize with gratitude the advice and assistance of Martin Lynn, Robin Law, Olatunji Ojo, Ibrahim Hamza, Femi James Kolapo, Martin Klein, Muhammad Bashir Salau, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, Mariza Soares, and Allen Howard, who provided useful responses to our many queries on names, places, language, and things. Henry Lovejoy assisted us in

³ Two letters dated 1822, in Murzuq.

obtaining digital versions of the illustrations. Toyin Falola read the manuscript and offered useful suggestions. We have also much appreciated expert help from Flip Bruce Lockhart in making out the intricacies of Clapperton's handwriting and in correcting and proof reading the transcriptions of the manuscripts.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Canada Research Chair in African Diaspora History, without whose assistant Lovejoy could not have been involved in the research on this project. The Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora (Department of History, York University) provided the technical support for this project, and we are grateful to Eugene Onutan especially.

Jamie Bruce Lockhart
Paul E. Lovejoy

10 July 2004

INTRODUCTION

An Expedition into the Interior of Africa under the Command of Captain Hugh Clapperton, R.N. (1825-1827)

Jamie Bruce Lockhart and Paul E. Lovejoy

Hugh Clapperton, Scottish explorer and diplomat, made two expeditions into the interior of West Africa, the first across the Sahara Desert and the second inland from the Bight of Benin. His first expedition in 1822-24, an official British expedition referred to as the 'Borno Mission' under the command of Major Dixon Denham, crossed the Sahara to Borno, with Clapperton continuing to the Sokoto Caliphate before returning to Borno and once again crossing the Sahara. A second expedition, also an official mission of the British Government, was undertaken in 1825-27 and is the subject of this volume. This expedition, under the command of Clapperton, traveled from the Guinea coast through Yorubaland, Borgu, Nupe and Hausaland to Sokoto with the intention of following the Niger River to its delta on the Guinea Coast. Unfortunately, Clapperton's ambitions were unfulfilled; he died in Sokoto on 13 April 1827. Nonetheless, in the course of his two expeditions, he visited the three most important states in the interior of what is now Nigeria – Borno, the Sokoto Caliphate, and Oyo – and he visited various places along the West African coast from Sierra Leone to Badagry. Although he was principally interested in laying claim to the discovery of the course of the Niger River and establishing his reputation as one of the leading 'explorers' of his day, in fact his observations on the contemporary politics and economies of West Africa mark his account as invaluable. The preoccupation with geography aside, the significance of Clapperton's diplomatic and commercial missions in understanding the changing relationships between European and African states in the early nineteenth century, at a time when Britain was engaged in the suppression of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, overshadows his role in the fashionable but exaggerated 'discovery' obsession of his day.

An account of his second expedition was published posthumously from his notes and diaries in 1829 as the *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo* by the London publisher, John Murray.¹ John Barrow, Second Secretary of the Admiralty and eminent geog-

¹ John Murray (1778-1843), publisher and founder of the eponymous firm, and founder of the *Quarterly Review* in 1807 as an opposition review on Tory principles. Responsible for publication of some of the most important books of his day, including numerous travel accounts as well as the poetry of Lord Byron.

rapher, prepared the manuscript for publication and wrote an introduction.² The published version included a short biographical sketch of Clapperton by his uncle, Samuel Clapperton,³ and ‘The Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the Sea-Coast, partly by a more eastern route’, written by Clapperton’s servant who had accompanied the second expedition. Also included were translations by A.V. Salamé⁴ of five Arabic letters. There are also short vocabularies of Yoruba and Fulfulde, the language of the Fulani, and the published text also included two maps and translated descriptions of these maps and itineraries from Arabic by Salamé. Moreover, Lander completed his own account of the whole mission in October 1829 and subsequently published it as *Records of Captain Clapperton’s Last Expedition to Africa* the following year, which was based in part on Clapperton’s journal as well as his own observations and experience.⁵ Lander later returned to West Africa with his brother, John, and after retracing his journey into the interior and traveling down the Niger, laid claim to the ‘discovery’ of the mouth of the Niger on the basis of information that was actually well known in West Africa and that he was able to learn in Clapperton’s service.⁶ Thus the Lander brothers received the recognition that Clapperton and many others had coveted.

This edition is a complete text of the expedition, drawing on diaries, remark books, correspondence, maps, itineraries, and sketches. The various unpublished texts are compared with the published version and also with Lander’s *Records of Clapperton’s Last Expedition*. Because of the importance of the Clapperton text, the editors have opted for scientific accuracy, rather than readability, staying as close to the rough text as possible. The second expedition was particularly important because it is a detailed eyewitness observation of the internal make-up and politics of Oyo in 1825-27, a few years before its

² Sir John Barrow (1764 – 1848), 2nd Secretary of the Admiralty under thirteen administrations (Tory and Whig), with only a short break from 1803 until 1845. Elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1806, he was a prolific contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and other learned journals. Traveller and writer of books on South Africa and China, it was he who suggested Napoleon’s exile to St. Helena. Created a Baronet in 1835, he published *An Autobiographical Memoir* in 1847 (London: John Murray).

³ Son of Dr. Robert Clapperton of Lochmaben, appointed 2nd Lieutenant of Marines, Portsmouth, 24 April 1793, Captain in 1803, served inter alia on Cape of Good Hope, Atlantic and North American stations, appointed Brevet Major at Portsmouth in June 1814, and Lieutenant Colonel at Chatham on 6 September 1827; died 1830-31.

⁴ Abraham V. Salamé, a native of Alexandria who entered government service as an Arabic interpreter in 1816 and accompanied Admiral Viscount Exmouth to Algiers in that year; see Salamé, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Algiers in the Year 1816, under the Command of the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Viscount Exmouth*. London: John Murray, 1819, with an autobiographical note in the Introduction (ii-xv). Also see E.W. Bovill, ed., *Missions to the Niger* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), vol. IV, 723.

⁵ Lander kept a journal, as noted in *Clapperton’s Last Expedition*, vol. I, 195. Between 21 June, after leaving Kulfo, until the mission reached Kano on 20th July, Lander noted that he was sick with dysentery and hence ‘I was unable to keep a regular journal of occurrences until my arrival at Kano’.

⁶ In fact the Lander brothers were attacked by pirates near Onitsha, and sold down the river to an Igbo official at Aboh, which they reached on 8 November. They were taken to Brass in the Niger delta, where they were redeemed by Captain Lake of the brig *Thomas* and taken back to Britain.

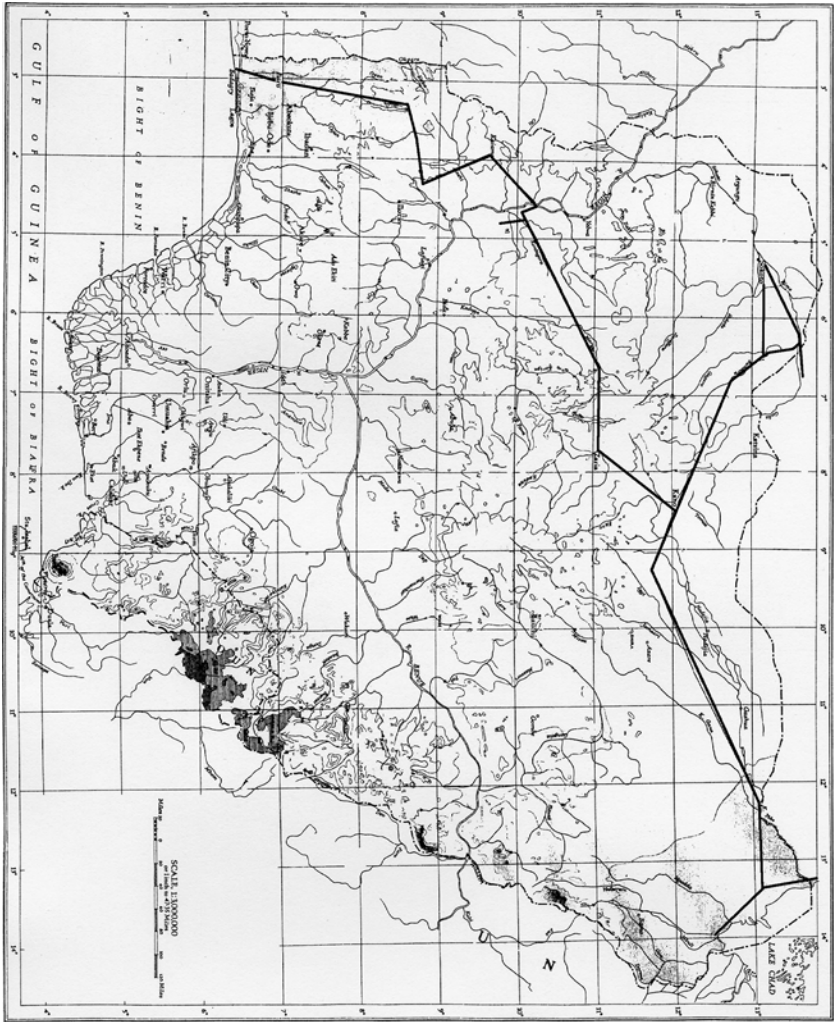
collapse, Nupe during its period of civil wars, and the Sokoto Caliphate during a renewed period of war with Borno. Previously, scholars have relied on the published version, and until this edition, the unpublished materials have almost entirely been ignored. Hence, while this volume is not intended for a 'popular' audience, it will be essential for students and scholars working on West African history and the African diaspora during the period of Yoruba dispersion through slavery.

Hugh Clapperton – the Man

When Clapperton was given command of the second expedition in 1825 at the age of 37, he had already demonstrated his character as tough, independent-minded, spirited, and enterprising, and by then was much traveled. Born in May 1788 in Annan, a small town in Dumfriesshire in southwest Scotland, he had been brought up in a community of agricultural small holders and a handful of merchants in a region somewhat outside the mainstream of the early industrial development of the late eighteenth century. His father and grandfather were town surgeons; his mother came from a yeoman farming family. He was the seventh surviving child of his father's first marriage. When he was four years old his mother died and his father married a woman twenty years his junior. It is unlikely that the boy was given much time and attention either by his step-mother, soon pre-occupied with her own many children, or by his father who by this time reputedly had become a hard drinker and something of a wastrel. Older brothers had left home to go into the armed services or medicine. Clapperton began early to make his own way, and family and friends recount stories of a competitive, physically strong, rambunctious boy.⁷

After a modest but sound education at a village dame school and with a privately hired tutor, Hugh left home at around the age of thirteen to go to sea, as a ship's boy on a 258-ton schooner trading out of Maryport on the Solway Firth on regular passages to the Baltic states and across the Atlantic to North America. Aged seventeen, he was press-ganged into the Royal Navy after an incident at Liverpool in which he was caught trying to smuggle a parcel of salt ashore for his landlady. He started at the bottom – as a cook's mate on a 600-crew man-of-war. After six months he ran to serve in a privateer, only to rejoin the Royal Navy in Gibraltar a few months later; this time as a volunteer. He started again before the mast; but through the intervention of his uncle Samuel Clapperton, a Major of Marines, also serving on the Mediterranean Station, Clapperton finally joined the ranks of officers whose naval careers could be developed by personal connection as well as ability. Two years' service in the Mediterranean, now as a midshipman, saw Clapperton in cutting out actions off the coast of Spain, before he was posted to the East Indies Station. On the

⁷ See Jamie Bruce Lockhart, *Rais Abdullah, Barrow's Pioneer: the Life and Travels of Commander Hugh Clapperton, R.N.*, forthcoming.



Clapperton's Travels in the Central Sudan, 1822-27

voyage out he survived capsizing in a ship's boat deployed in a mid-Atlantic rescue operation in a storm. He participated in the capture of Mauritius in 1810 and was among the first through the breach in the shore action. There followed two years on patrols around the East Indies and the China seas, now as master's mate (responsible for the actual sailing of the ship), attached to a fleet supplied with ill-maintained ships, and in harsh conditions in which numerous shipmates succumbed to disease and fever. On return to England in early 1814 he was one of a handful of officers selected for training to give instruction in a newly introduced system of cutlass fighting.

Turning down an offer of a staff post with the commanding Admiral on the North Atlantic Station, Clapperton chose instead deployment to the Great Lakes of Canada in the war against the United States, to see more action and obtain preferment. Here he was posted in a number of acting commands afloat and, finally, in 1816 he received formal confirmation of a Lieutenant's commission and command of his own schooner. For two years he was involved in pioneering and hydrological survey work in remote outposts on Lake Huron – a frontier existence that put a premium on qualities of toughness and self-reliance and demanded a considerable degree of tolerance of unfamiliar cultures. Clapperton was well suited to this life. Indeed, frustrated at one time by delays in gaining promotion, he is alleged to have considered remaining in Upper Canada as a backwoodsman.⁸ Demobilized on half pay in 1817, Clapperton returned to Scotland but could not settle into life in Dumfriesshire, where he drifted into a round of rural sports and drink, and had an affair with a local girl who bore his illegitimate son. Impatient with provincial life, he moved back to Edinburgh and the more stimulating company of a circle of former naval friends. It was here that he got to know Dr. Walter Oudney who subsequently recruited him for the expedition into the interior of Africa that came to be known as the 'Borno Mission'.

Under the overall command of Major Dixon Denham,⁹ the Borno Mission took Clapperton across the Sahara from Tripoli to Kukawa, the capital of Borno, and Sokoto, the capital of the caliphate of the same name. Although Denham and Clapperton had personal problems and half the personnel of the mission died, Clapperton met many important merchants and officials, including Muhammad al-Kanemi, the de facto ruler of Borno, and Muhammad Bello, the ruler of the Sokoto Caliphate. The results of the mission were published in 1828, although widely reported through the *Quarterly Review* and

⁸ An island in Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, is named for him, as is a street in Barrie, Ontario, located on Lake Simcoe.

⁹ Dixon Denham, Major, then Lieutenant Colonel (1786-1828), joined the Army as a volunteer in the Peninsular War, serving subsequently in Belgium and after the Wars on the staff at Sandhurst Military Academy. After the Borno Mission, he was appointed to the experimental post of Superintendent of Liberated Africans at Sierra Leone. In 1826, he surveyed neighbouring areas of Freetown and was on a visit of inspection to Fernando Po when Lander appeared from the West Coast with news of the death of Clapperton. He died in 1827 in Freetown.

other journals before then.¹⁰ The Borno Mission propelled Clapperton into the forefront of geographical exploration, although it should be observed that while Clapperton's account of his trip from Kukawa to Kano and Sokoto was actually published at the time, only recently have his observations on North Africa, the Sahara, and Borno been made available.¹¹

Clapperton was a down-to-earth type with a certain prickliness of character. He held strong views on right and wrong, rooted in a strict Christian upbringing; but he was essentially a tolerant man, with a gift for integration, and considerable empathy for the populations he encountered on his travels. His natural instinct was support the underdog. In his references to slavery, for example, Clapperton's objections are not to the system itself but to its abuses. We have various accounts of him: his friend Oudney referred to him as 'stout' in the sense of strong and steadfast. Consul Warrington in Tripoli saw him as 'uncomplicated', but was wary of his rough and ready manner. Dixon Denham considered him 'vulgar, conceited, quarrelsome', obstinate and quick to take offence, 'this Son of War or rather, of Bluster'. By contrast, the posthumous eulogy by his servant Richard Lander is no doubt over-romanticised. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. Oudney, recommending Clapperton for preferment, highlighted what he thought was a key point:

He possesses spirit and enterprize. He has good sense and has several acquirements usefull for a traveller. He has not the faculty of making trifles appear as matters of great moment and clothing in fine words what ought to be plain language. Caution is very well but it is unbecoming a traveller to have too much of it.¹²

Indeed Clapperton demonstrated in his missions that he was of strong character, although we can question his sense of proportion and judgment in his assessment of the influence of Arab merchants on Muhammad Bello or his interpretation of the rights of a British diplomat in a situation of war between Sokoto and Borno.

When Clapperton set out from Portsmouth in August 1825 on his second mission, he was not entirely ready physically and mentally for all the challenges ahead. Three wearying and frustrating years in the field had created psychological as well as physical strain. In Borno during the rains of 1823 he had suffered six weeks of fever and nearly died; he came near to total collapse from repeated bouts of illness again the following year. This grave debilitation, from which he had still not completely recovered on departure from England

¹⁰ Published as Dixon Denham, Hugh Clapperton, and Walter Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824* (London: John Murray, 1828), and republished in E. W. Bovill, ed., *Missions to the Niger* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964-66), vols. 3-4. In this volume, we refer to Bovill's edition unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*; and Bruce Lockhart and Wright, *Clapperton's Travels in Sahara and Fezzan*.

¹² Oudney to Barrow, 4 November 1822 [RGS Mus. No. 408/7].

in September 1825, must have affected particularly deeply a man who had taken pride in, and always been able to count on, his own physical strength. At the same time the constant wrangling and one severe altercation with Denham that could neither be resolved nor put to one side even after return to England may well have left a psychological mark. In addition, the dilemma he had faced in Borno in July 1824 in terms of his personal ambition to be the first to trace the course of the middle Niger had not resolved itself either. Then he had had the choice of remaining in Borno through another season of rains to make an immediate second attempt to follow the Niger which he was confident he could do with success – or to return to London as fast as possible to mount a new expedition. The upshot was that the delays in departure from England meant he could no longer meet his promise to Muhammad Bello to be on the coast in July 1825, although considering the problems of travel a delay could not have been unexpected.

Historical Context of Clapperton's Second Expedition

Clapperton's account is part of a broader literature of African discovery and exploration that arose in the context of European Enlightenment and nascent imperial ambitions. In the language of the time, he was considered an 'explorer' and his mission one of 'discovery'.¹³ As John Murray wrote to Dr. Julius MD, Hamburg, on December 15 1825,

... The event which has excited the greatest sensation in the scientific world of late have been the recent discoveries in Africa made in the years 1822, 1823 & 1824 extending across the great Desert to the 10th degree of northern latitude and from Kouka in Bornou, to Sockatoo, the capital of the Soudan empire – the expedition consisted of 3 Englishmen, Major Denham, Capt Clapperton, Dr. Oudney. The latter gentleman sank under the fatigues. The two officers succeeded in making the most brilliant & astonishing discoveries – New nations in the interior of Africa enjoying a degree of civilization worthy of ancient Carthage, received the adventurers. In some of these the royal Cavalry was clothed in complete armour of exquisite workmanship, to the amount of many thousands. The travellers have returned laden with presents & curiosities & their narratives illustrated with many plates of peculiar novelty & interest will very shortly be submitted to the public. Clapperton has just left England upon another adventure into Africa.¹⁴

'Discovery' and 'exploration' are terms that need to be contextualised in any analysis of the mission. In the contemporary discourse of western Europe, Clapperton was seeking to establish the course of the Niger River and particularly where it entered the sea. In reality, the flow of the river into its delta was common knowledge in West Africa, and learned travelers within Muslim

¹³ For a discussion, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

¹⁴ John Murray archives, London.

networks of trade and pilgrimage had full access to such common knowledge. This does not mean that all Muslim merchants knew this geography. Nonetheless, the broad details of the Niger's course were in fact known in Britain and elsewhere in Europe at least since the 1780s, even if not usually recognized.

The incorporation of information into the geography of the world was an old tradition in Europe, dating back to Herodotus and continuing through the medieval era, but the current phase of geographical conceptualization being standardized in Britain and elsewhere in Europe at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth century required first-hand 'European' confirmation of geographical details. The resolution of 'unknown' facts was filtered through an institutionalized coordination of knowledge, most especially in Britain, through the acclaim of the geographers. Hence the purpose of the various expeditions was reconnaissance. It is not surprising, therefore, that Clapperton reported on occasion that 'Arabs' and others thought he was a spy. Since only 'European' observation could verify the actual course of the Niger, including its termination in the 'sea', theories that had no basis in fact continued to influence policy in Britain and elsewhere in Europe as late as 1830.¹⁵ In fact as early as 1789, Henry Beaufroy, Secretary of the African Association, had been told that '*Below Guinea is the sea, into which the river of Tombuctoo disembogues itself. This may therefore be considered the prevailing idea at Houssa and Tombuctoo*'. Beaufroy's source was a merchant who had lived in Timbuktu 'altogether about 12 years'.¹⁶ However, the initial attempts to penetrate the interior were via the Senegal and Gambia Rivers and not the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and theories that the Niger might connect with the Nile or even the Congo retained considerable credence.

The determination of the course of the Niger had been a central concern of the African Association since its foundation in 1789, and the Association assumed responsibility for collecting information and mounting various expeditions, perhaps the most famous being those of Mungo Park in 1796-98 and 1804-05. James Rennell,¹⁷ the acknowledged head of British geographers, was a principal figure in the compilation of this new knowledge, and in 1790 he constructed a map of Northern Africa for the African Association that is revealing in the extent of its inaccuracy and the range of its misinformation. Rennell subsequently published the charts from Park's two expeditions and

¹⁵ See E.W. Bovill, *The Niger Explored* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 4, citing African Association, *Proceedings*, I, 533. There is no reason to believe that this was the first source of such information.

¹⁶ The source of information was the Moroccan merchant, Ben Ali, who was held in disrepute in Britain and was disbelieved as much because of his character as because he provided information that conflicted with the then dominant theory that the Nile and the Niger were connected; see Robin Hallett, ed., *Records of the African Association, 1788-1831* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 27, 70-6; and Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. I, 4.

¹⁷ James Rennell (1742-1830); see Robin Hallett, *The Penetration of Africa: European Enterprise and Exploration Principally in Northern and Western Africa up to 1830* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), vol I, 215n.

was widely consulted by travellers and explorers whose projects he approved and whose results he publicized. The difficulty was that the information from African sources conflicted with the competing theories that the Niger flowed into the Nile or disappeared into Lake Chad or otherwise found its way to the sea via the Congo River, and hence the truth was actually suppressed or ignored. Confusion arose from reports of the Niger passing through the mountains of 'Kong', which were variously identified with mountains and hills mythically stretching across West Africa and ultimately identified with the hills at the confluence of the Niger and Benue. Clapperton's editor, John Barrow, even referred to the 'Mountains of Kong' in one of the chapter titles in the published version of Clapperton's second expedition. Clapperton himself did not refer to these mythical mountains by name in his journals or remark books, although he was aware of the theory and concerned that mountains might impede his travels inland.¹⁸ As late as the 1840s, Kong still figured in accounts of the region, including Duncan's account of Dahomey in the 1840s and the pilgrimage of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, who traveled to Ouidah south from Djougou through mountains that were given that name in his biography, written in Canada in 1854.¹⁹

Hence Clapperton's second expedition was undertaken in the context of wide public interest in Britain in sensationalized accounts of European 'exploration', and the course of the Niger figured high on the list of 'discovery' projects, at least since Mungo Park had journeyed inland in the 1790s and especially after he died on his second expedition down the river in 1805 near Bussa, which Clapperton visited on his second expedition. Clapperton paid close attention to every rumor about Park's fate, whose death had caught the public imagination in Europe although seemingly without resolving to European satisfaction the issue of whether the Niger flowed into the Atlantic or whether it somehow crossed Africa and reached the Nile.²⁰ As a subject of speculation in Britain, this interest in solving the apparent riddle of the Niger's course was good public relations for British geographers and the African Association and held out the prospect of fame for the person credited with the 'discovery'.²¹ A

¹⁸ While Clapperton does not use the term in his writings, it was used on the coast and more generally, apparently, as noted in Willis to Croker of 2 Feb 1826 and in Willis to Hay 10 February 1826, where it is remarked that 'Mr Houtson writes me on the 10th Ultimo after being five days in travelling over the Mountains of Kong, which he describes as most beautiful and romantic scenery he ever saw'.

¹⁹ John Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa in 1845 & 1846* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), Vol II, 218; and Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mohommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2001), 142.

²⁰ On his second expedition down the Niger, Park was accompanied by two officers chosen by him (his brother-in-law, Alexander Anderson and George Scott), John Martyn (a 20 year old Lieutenant in the Royal African Colonial Corps as a volunteer), and 35 soldiers and 2 sailors recruited at Gorée. By the time of the time the party left Sansani on the Niger, all but five had perished, and when Park reached Bussa, the mission consisted only of Park, John Martyn, a guide, and three soldiers, one of whom was crazed. See Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 7-31.

²¹ For Clapperton's efforts to collect information about Park on his first expedition from Muhammed Bello, among others, see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, 680, 683, 776.

related issue to the course of the Niger was the puzzle of Lake Chad and its tributaries and whether or not this system connected with the Niger. The debate over the flow of rivers in the Sudan was complicated by the fact that the upper Benue River and the western Logon, and their tributaries, rise in the same swamps, and that there is a virtually continuous, though not navigable, course of water during the rainy season between Garoua, Lere and Bongor, through a gap in the Mandara mountains. Reports of the trade routes in this region could easily be misinterpreted to suggest that there was a river or at least a continuous watercourse, and hence the determination that Lake Chad has no outlet was a 'discovery' of the Borno Mission.²²

The considerable confusion in understanding the geography of West Africa in political circles in Britain and elsewhere in Europe is interesting in the context of European intellectual history. Why knowledgeable North African Muslims and West Africans (both Muslim and non-Muslim) were not generally believed, and why it was often thought that information was falsified or otherwise not to be trusted are questions that obviously arise and deserve fuller attention. Be that as it may, our concern here is to place what was known in Britain in the context of the political geography of the Central Sudan, where the Niger was known as the Kwara in Hausa and Oya in Yoruba. In the Central Sudan, according to what both Clapperton and Oudney verified, the Niger was thought to enter the sea at the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers, near Opanda or Funda, where the river is exceptionally wide and apparently gave the appearance, to some at least, of being the sea. It is the area that was known as 'the lakes of Nupe', a reference which Clapperton credited to an Arab source of 'years before', an allusion to the early reports to the African Association and ultimately medieval Arab geography.²³ The 'lakes of Nupe' apparently arose because of extensive flooding during the rains, combined with the width of the confluence itself. In fact Clapperton also had access to *Infraq al-Maysur*, Muhammad Bello's important geographical and historical study of the Central Sudan that provides a history of the Sokoto *jihād*. Bello gave Clapperton a copy in Sokoto in 1824, which was brought back to England and portions of geography translated into English and published as an appendix to the Borno Mission.²⁴ Although Bello does not explicitly state in *Infraq al-Maysur* where

²² Also see E.F. Gautier, *Sahara, the Great Desert* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, trans. Dorothy Ford Mayhew), 70-71, 226-7, describing the linkage between the upper Benue and the watershed of the Logone and its tributaries.

²³ Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 108. Oudney wrote that he 'suspects very much it [the Niger] ends in the lakes at Nyffee'; see W. Oudney to R. Wilmot, dated Kukawa, July 14, 1823, in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol III, 567.

²⁴ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 444-61; *Journal of Second Expedition*, 337-8. Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate Clapperton's copy of *Infraq al-Maysur*. While he was in Sokoto, he had a number of documents copied into a memorandum notebook, which Lander brought back to London. Material from this memorandum book was published as an appendix to the Borno Mission, and a map was redrawn from an original that was in Arabic as well. We have chosen to republish eight of these translated items. A note by Salamé states that a number of items bore the date the 5th of Sháában, 1242 A.H., 3rd March, 1827 A.D. As Clapperton notes in his entry for 27th February, his next to last entry, he paid Malam Mohamed 20,000 cowries for composing the 'chart' and at least one of the texts.

the Niger enters the sea, the general geography is in accordance with other information gathered at the time, and Clapperton had Bello's own statement on the subject.

According to Philip Curtin, the first European geographer to identify the Bight of Biafra as the outlet of the Niger was Christian Gottlieb Reichard in 1802.²⁵ Subsequently, the French geographer, C. Malte-Brun, translated Reichard's work into French, and the theory was first published in English in 1816. However, this is not entirely accurate, since Ben Ali had reported as much to Beaufroy in 1789, and undoubtedly it was known much earlier. Moreover, there are reports from the early nineteenth century of Hausa merchants travelling overland to Lagos, which was known as Eko in Yoruba and Hausa.²⁶ James Macqueen learned that slaves came down the Niger River before being sent to the Americas from information he acquired in the West Indies well before the Borno Mission.²⁷ The Brazilian geographer, d'Andrada, also collected information from enslaved Hausa Muslims who led him to believe that they had been taken down the Niger and that the delta connected by lagoon with Lagos. Menèzes du Drumond published this information in *Journal des Voyages* in 1826, including biographical information on his Hausa inform-

²⁵ Curtin, *Image of Africa*, 203-5, citing C.G. Reichard, 'Ueber die Vermuthung des Dr. Seetzen zu Jever, dass sich der Niger in Afrika vielleicht mit dem Zaire vereinigen könne', *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd-undHimmels-Kunde*, V (1802), 409-15; and "Ueber den angekündigten, nun bald erscheinenden, Atlas des ganzen Erdkreises," *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, XII (1803), 129-70 and map opposite p. 265. The map is reproduced in Curtin, *Image of Africa* between pp. 206-7.

²⁶ According to an article on 'The Niger', in *The Times* (London), 18 May 1816, 'A gentleman who has resided at different intervals, a considerable time at the settlement of Lagos, and other stations on the African coast in the Bight of Benin, states that Haoussa traders, who previous to the abolition of the slave trade, were continually to be met with at Lagos, still come down to that mart, though in smaller bodies'. The account was summarized in Robert Adams, *The Narrative of Robert Adams* (London: John Murray: 1816, ed., S. Cook), xxxvi-xxxvii, and is reprinted in Robin Law, ed., *Contemporary Source Material for the History of the Old Oyo Empire, 1627-1824* (Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, 1993), 68. In 1819, George Robertson also noted the presence of Hausa merchants at the coast, apparently referring to the first decade of the nineteenth century; see *Notes on Africa, particularly those parts which are situated between Cape Verd and the River Congo* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819), 287. On the basis of what he learned from a merchant who had lived at Lagos, Thomas E. Bowdich questioned the veracity of these reports; see *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London: Frank Cass, 1966 [London: J. Murray, 1819]), 223-6. Bowdich insisted that *The Times* report was 'incorrect' in 'stating that the Houssa traders were constantly to be met with at Lagos, previous to the abolition of the slave trade', although it seems likely that there were Hausa merchants at Lagos in the second decade of the nineteenth century, at least.

²⁷ James Macqueen (M'Queen) (1778-1870), geographer, whose *Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa, containing a Particular Account of the Course and Termination of the Great River Niger in the Atlantic Ocean* (London, 1821) was based on the accounts of slaves interviewed in the West Indies. Macqueen managed a sugar plantation in Grenada and travelled extensively in the Caribbean. He settled in Glasgow as editor and co-owner of the *Glasgow Courier*, where he became a leading authority on African geography. According to Curtin, however, Macqueen first learned of this theory from his reading of Reichard's interpretation via Malte-Brun's translation into French; see *Image of Africa*, 205; Macqueen's map is reprinted between pp. 206-7.

ants.²⁸ It seems clear that this knowledge was common in Brazil by 1819 and probably as early 1807, when the first of a series of ‘Hausa’ uprisings occurred in Bahia. From a European perspective, therefore, the course of the Niger was geographical information that was discovered and rediscovered many times.

Clapperton came to recognize the true geography when he realized that the lower stretch of the Niger was considered to be part of a continuous water system that included the Niger delta and the lagoons that connected with Lagos and beyond. When he was in Sokoto in 1824, Muhammad Bello explained to Clapperton several times the broad details of the river’s flow, and he drew a rough map twice to show the course of the river. However, a map that was drawn on paper at Clapperton’s request offered room for confusion, as did some details of the place names mentioned in Sokoto. Clapperton appears to have had no doubt about the accuracy of his information; his second expedition traveled north to Sokoto from the Bight of Benin in 1826 with some certainty, therefore, but he died before he could verify his ‘discovery’ through a return to the coast via the Niger. It remained for Lander, on yet a third British mission into the interior in 1830, to demonstrate to European skeptics that the Niger did indeed flow into its delta, which he succeeded in doing after being enslaved along with his brother and being sold down the river and redeemed by Captain Lake of Liverpool, whose ship was in the Niger delta. As astonishing as it may seem today, British ships had plied the Bight of Biafra in the eighteenth century, dominating the trade at Bonny and neighbouring ports, but apparently no one realized that ships were sailing into the delta of this great river. How the local merchants were able to keep the secret deserves study. The delta came to be known as the ‘Oil Rivers’, not the Niger, because of the rapid growth in the export trade in palm oil after c. 1815.²⁹

John Barrow and Exploratory Missions, 1815-20

After the Napoleonic Wars, the Department of Colonies and War, under Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst,³⁰ coordinated the continued interest of the British government in sponsoring missions to explore the interior of West Africa, and while not formally his responsibility, John Barrow quickly assumed the direction of these missions. As a young man, Barrow had accom-

²⁸ Menèzes de Drumond, ‘Lettres sur l’Afrique ancienne et moderne’, *Journal des Voyages*, 32 (1826), 203-205.

²⁹ Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to ‘Legitimate’ Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁰ Lord Bathurst, Henry, Third Earl Bathurst, MP (1762 – 1834), a personal friend of Pitt, he held numerous ministerial posts from 1783 – 1807 and in Lord Liverpool’s ministry was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, finishing his political career under the Duke of Wellington 1828-30 as Lord President of the Council. A Tory of the old school, in 1825 he was heavily involved in work supporting reform to enfranchise Britain’s Catholic population.

panied Lord McCartney on his official missions to China and Cape Colony, and on return to England in 1803 had obtained the appointment of Second Secretary to the Admiralty – a post he held for 41 years through numerous governments. Whereas the First Secretary was a Member of Parliament and responsible for political aspects of the navy's affairs, the Second Secretary was responsible for the practical execution of their Lordship's administrative decisions. Barrow was an able bureaucrat, a tireless worker. His main personal interests, however, lay in the fields of geography, history and the customs of little known countries; and his voluminous contributions to the learned journals of the day, principally the conservative *Quarterly Review*, soon brought him a reputation as an authority in the field of geographical discoveries. He formed a close friendship with John Murray, the publisher with whom he launched numerous accounts of naval officers' travels and voyages and who published Clapperton's account. From his office in the Admiralty Barrow persevered with remarkable success, sometimes against the will of his own masters and frequently in the face of objections from the Treasury, in sponsoring journeys of 'discovery'. His own theories and opinions sometimes damaged the results of projects he backed, but as an efficient administrator, he was trusted and respected by naval officers and outsiders alike as someone who could make things happen.

As far as Barrow was concerned, there were two principal geographical issues unresolved in the early nineteenth century, the northwest passage across Canada to the Pacific and the course of the Niger River to the sea. Barrow's favorite theories held that there was a viable avenue to the Pacific across the Arctic and that the Niger connected with the Nile. He was proved wrong on both theories. His acceptance of reality was, of course, demonstrated by his editing of Clapperton's papers. Interestingly, Clapperton must have shared this two-fold fascination, having served in Upper Canada before his ventures in Africa, as noted above.

The first of the missions after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars began in November 1815 and continued to 1821. Major John Peddie was appointed to lead an expedition of more than 100 men of the Royal African Corps overland to Bambara country in the western Sudan, but Peddie died in Senegal in November 1815 before the mission began; command passed to his deputy Thomas Campbell. The expedition was bedevilled by poor organization, shortages of water and supplies and widespread dysentery and fever. Campbell, too ill to continue himself, handed over to Captain Gray and Staff Sergeant Dochard. Dochard took an advance party to Segou to arrange safe onward passage but was warned that a British military mission would be viewed with suspicion both by local leaders fearful of outsiders after recent Fulani incursions related to the outbreak of *jihad* in the interior delta of the Niger, and especially in Massina, and it was alleged that resident Arab merchants were anxious about commercial competition and were hostile. Rather than risk the lives of yet more men, Gray eventually called off the expedition in 1818. It should be

noted that similar rumours of Arab conspiracies plagued both Clapperton expeditions, although in fact Clapperton had close friends and business associates among the Arabs of Kano and Sokoto, as he had earlier maintained in Kukawa as well.

In 1816 Barrow approved another expedition, in which Captain J.V Tuckey was to lead an expedition to establish whether the Congo and the Niger might turn out to be one watercourse.³¹ Determined to avoid the mistakes of past expeditions across country into the interior, Barrow proposed that the expedition should sail up river from the coast, something that was apparently not contemplated for the Niger. Barrow commissioned a purpose-built sloop, with a wood-burning engine, to save the men from having to haul and row, and he insisted that the expedition should sail unarmed. If opposition was met, Barrow wrote, 'better to give up the expedition altogether than to go to war'. But the boat turned out to be too heavy and the river too difficult to navigate. When fever took its toll, the British crew and the African carriers were too weak to march. Some 280 miles into the interior along the river, Tuckey turned back. Three days later he died. Of the 56 men who had left England 21 did not return.

Because of this high mortality, the avenue of 'discovery' shifted to a trans-Saharan gateway thought to be relatively healthy, and in consequence, Britain launched a series of new diplomatic initiatives in North Africa. There had been European consulates in the Muslim countries of the Mediterranean for some time, but whereas the consulates had once been necessary to secure the release of enslaved Christians, after 1816 they spearheaded the commercial and diplomatic penetration of the Sahara and Sudan.³² Fortuitously, attention was drawn to the possibility of using an overland route across the Sahara to Timbuktu and the Niger from Tripoli. In 1817, Commander W.H. Smyth, RN,³³ visited Tripoli to collect ancient stones and monuments from Lepcis Magna, a gift from Pasha Yusuf Qaramanli (1795-1830) for the Prince Regent, and while there was impressed by Hanmer Warrington,³⁴ British Consul-General, whose relation-

³¹ See 'Review of a *Narrative of an Expedition to Explore the River Zaire... by J.H. Tuckey*', *Quarterly Review* 18 (1818), 335-79, which was almost certainly written by John Barrow, the editor.

³² There were British consuls in various places in North Africa; see Adu Boahen, *Britain, the Sahara, and the Western Sudan 1788-1861* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). There were also French, American, and various Italian consulates.

³³ W.H. Smyth (1788-1865), admiral and scientific writer. In 1815, appointed Commander, began a career in hydrological survey. While in Tripoli, Smyth learnt about the interior from Warrington and others, and pointed out to Barrow, via Malta, the possibilities inherent in a new route to the Niger and central Sudan, starting from Fezzan and over the Sahara, preferable to starting from West Africa. His major work was a survey of the North African coasts, constructing charts which are the basis of those still in use. A founding member and later president of the Royal Geographical Society, he was an author and distinguished member of other learned Societies.

³⁴ 'Colonel' Hanmer Warrington, British Consul-General, Tripoli 1814-46. His long exile to Tripoli was the result of youthful money troubles, and, despite some diplomatic blunders, held on to his post because of high level, possibly royal, patronage at home. Thanks to a particular influence and personal relationship with Pasha Yusuf Qaramanli, was able to do much to make the central Saharan routes a uniquely British highway across the Sahara to the Sudan; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol I, 151-6.

ship with the Pasha appears to have been close. Smyth reported to London that the Pasha offered to protect British travellers in his territory and beyond. The Qaramanli regime, effectively independent of the Ottoman Porte, attempted to maintain this autonomy by currying favour with Britain, which had imposed the abolition of corsairing and the holding of Christians to ransom in 1816. As Boahen has shown, Warrington was instrumental in the new diplomacy that spread British influence into the interior via Tripoli, and the quest for the course of the Niger River, not the further pursuit of abolition, was the immediate aim of this forward policy.³⁵ Warrington proposed establishing a vice-consulate in the interior that would spearhead the new mission to explore the Niger. Smyth misread Warrington's (limited) knowledge of the Sahara and Sudan and, unaware that the Pasha's imperial ambitions were far greater than his real influence beyond Murzuq, supported the idea of the mission. At the Admiralty, Barrow was enthusiastic as well: 'I am very much for encouraging the spirit of adventure and I am sure the public feeling is for it'. Bathurst was less enthusiastic but did not withhold his agreement for an expedition starting from Tripoli.

In January 1818, Joseph Ritchie, a 29-year old Scottish surgeon, was appointed temporary consul to be posted at Murzuq and was instructed to undertake an expedition that also included George Francis Lyon, a young naval officer, and John Belford a shipwright from the Malta dockyard. Ritchie's instructions were 'to facilitate the discoveries now attempting in the Interior of Africa', to gather information, to learn the appropriate local languages, and to accompany any southbound expedition under the authority of the Qaramanli regime for the 'grand object' of proceeding under proper protection to Timbuktu.³⁶ If he reached Timbuktu, Ritchie was to sail down the Niger to its outlet. There was no mention of the promotion of trade or the abolition of slavery. Officially the members of the mission were travelers in search of geographic knowledge, and the Pasha was assured that Britain had no political, commercial or colonial ambitions in sending this mission.

Ritchie and Lyon reached Murzuq, the great caravan crossroads of the northern Sahara, in the summer of 1819 under the protection of the Bey of Fezzan, Mohammed al-Mukni, but there they ran out of funds, partly because Ritchie mismanaged the finances; his baggage contained mostly useless sampling equipment in support of his interest in natural history. Marooned in one of the unhealthiest places in the Sahara, Ritchie sickened and died, and Belford fell half-blind. Only Lyon was able to function, and while he collected information about conditions in the interior from Fezzani and other merchants at Murzuq, he was not able to travel beyond central and southern Fezzan before aborting the mission. Back in Tripoli, Lyon wrote a long despatch to Bathurst on the slave trade, the horrors of which he had witnessed at first hand in Murzuq when al-Mukni returned from a raid across the Sahara with booty of

³⁵ Boahen, *Britain, Sahara and Western Sudan*, 45-74.

³⁶ Bathurst to Ritchie, 1 February 1818, FO 8/7, quoted in Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 55.

'800 lean cripples'. However, what attracted most attention in London were his remarks on the course of the Niger after it left Timbuktu. According to Borno merchants whom he had met in Fezzan, the Niger flowed through Lake Chad and then through Bagirmi: 'All agree ... that by one route or another, these waters join the great Nile of Egypt to the southward of Dongola'.³⁷ As noted above, the confusion appears to have arisen because of the flooding that occurs in the rainy season in the region of the headwaters of the Benue and Shari Rivers, giving the appearance of a continuous waterway into Lake Chad and its tributaries. This does not mean that the informants did not know that the Niger flowed into the Gulf of Guinea. There was every possibility of misunderstanding on what was being asked, since the premise of the question was wrong or best unclear. In any event, the actual flow of the Niger remained debatable in Europe. The focus now shifted from Timbuktu to Borno, and Barrow, more than ever convinced of his own theory that the Nile and Niger were one river, began preparing a new mission to Borno through the auspices of Warrington even before Lyon reached London in July 1820.

Clapperton's First Expedition: The Borno Mission, 1822-24

Borno was the nearest Sudanic state to Tripoli and an obvious objective for this phase of British activity. Lake Chad was within its sphere of influence, and there was regular contact between Tripoli and Borno via a route that passed south of Fezzan through Kawar. Moreover, Shehu Muhammad al-Kanemi, who headed the reform government of Borno, had strong connections with Fezzan and hence also with Tripoli, which was demonstrated by the fact that the Shehu left three of his children in the care of the Bey of Fezzan. At the time of Clapperton's visit to Borno, al-Kanemi was consolidating his rule. Legally, the legitimate government was still the Saifawa dynasty, but *jihad* forces loyal to Sokoto had occupied central Borno in 1806, indeed destroying the capital at Birni Gazargamu, resulting in considerable population displacement and enslavement, and as a consequence effective political power had shifted to al-Kanemi, who had organized the defence of Borno and the ultimate expulsion of the *jihad* forces. However, as Clapperton learned to his chagrin on his second expedition, relations between Sokoto and Borno remained precarious. The Shehu attempted to consolidate an alliance with Tripoli as part of his strategy for maintaining the independence of Borno from Sokoto, and in 1817, even asked Tripoli for military aid.³⁸ By the time the Borno Mission was conceived, the Pasha's troops had been engaged in several military campaigns in Borno between 1819 and 1824.

³⁷ G.F. Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 1819 and 1820* (London: John Murray, 1821), 148.

³⁸ Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa. A History of the Al-Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973).

Tripoli's motives for its intervention in Borno were related to military recruitment, imperial designs, and financial difficulties from the collapse of revenues from corsairing. According to Kola Folayan, Pasha Qaramanli supported al-Kanemi as a first step in establishing an empire to the south of the Sahara, with the involvement of soldiers under al-Ahmar in the Bagirmi campaign of 1821 'representing the culmination of friendly relations between Tripoli and Bornu which began with al-Kanemi's overtures of 1817'. Thereafter, 'the Pasha continued to keep up the appearance of *entente cordiale* between Tripoli and Bornu... [but] it becomes obvious that the friendship between the Pasha and the Shaikh [al-Kanemi] was a question of appearance rather than reality'.³⁹ More likely, given the close association of al-Kanemi with Fezzan, Qaramanli was planning an alternate strategy for Borno, should al-Kanemi prove unsuccessful in deposing the Saifawa dynasty, which still had pretensions about maintaining its authority. It could not have been certain that al-Kanemi would survive, but the suspicion of a conspiracy seems unnecessary.

Qaramanli, like Muhammad Ali in Egypt, envisioned sub-Saharan Africa as an important source of slaves to be drafted into his army and a possible area of military expansion. Despite the potential conflict between British and Tripolitanian interests, Lord Bathurst approved a mission to Borno with the intention of cementing cordial relations with Borno by establishing a vice-consulate in Kukawa to promote commercial development.⁴⁰ Warrington and London were aware of the Pasha's ambitions, although perhaps not the extent of his determination. Warrington negotiated an arrangement with the Pasha for the protection of a mission, which included a payment of £5,000 to provide an escort of 1,000, armed men. The Pasha charged Bu Khulum directly with this responsibility, including the arrangement of credit, transport, and introductions.

Hence the Borno Mission, unavoidably perhaps, found itself in a delicate diplomatic situation, and while the intention was to establish diplomatic relations with Borno, and ultimately with the Sokoto Caliphate, there were inherent difficulties that affected the operation of the mission and would subsequently affect Clapperton's second expedition. Nonetheless, Clapperton met high officials of both the Borno and Sokoto governments, and thereby provides first hand information on two of the major states in Africa in the early nineteenth century and most especially provides eyewitness reports on two of the most enigmatic leaders of their day, Muhammad al-Kanemi of Borno and Muhammad Bello of Sokoto.

In recruiting officers for the new mission, Barrow turned to his connections at Edinburgh University, and Dr. Walter Oudney was recommended as a

³⁹ Kola Folayan, *Tripoli during the Reign of Yusuf Pasha Qaramanli* (Ife: University of Ife, 1979), 88-90.

⁴⁰ Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 139.

suitable person to lead the expedition of scientific enquiry.⁴¹ Originally, Warrington had offered to go to Borno himself, but when he changed his mind, Oudney was invited to recommend a travelling companion. The choice was Clapperton. Independently, Earl Bathurst appointed Dixon Denham, a well-connected, English army lieutenant, to lead the work of geographical exploration. This arrangement caused confusion over command and responsibilities and resulted in bad feelings from the start of the expedition. Oudney was told that he was merely to establish himself as consul and promote trade, instead of exploring as he had hoped to do; and Clapperton, although he had volunteered to accompany Oudney, and despite his service seniority, was expected to travel as Denham's assistant. When the three officers met to discuss the mission in London in August 1821, the antipathy between the two Scottish friends and Denham was immediate, mutual and lasting.

Denham and Oudney were instructed in separate orders to travel to Borno under the protection of the Pasha, and, once there, to establish good relations with the government of Borno, and also to familiarize themselves with the languages and peoples of the country and then to obtain information about the geography of the region for the use of future expeditions and with particular reference to identifying the final course and termination of the Niger. The instructions to Denham allowed for travel eastward from Borno on a journey expected to take him to the Nile, an obvious path that corresponded with Barrow's preferred thesis that the Nile and Niger watercourses were unified. Oudney and Clapperton started for Tripoli in September 1821, arriving in October, and Denham followed a month later, with William Hillman, a naval carpenter whom he engaged at the Malta dockyard. John Tyrwhitt, a former naval midshipman attached to the consulate-general in Tripoli, also joined the mission.⁴² An enterprising young man, rather given to extravagant habits, Tyrwhitt was informally attached, as a volunteer, to the Mission in February 1822 on its departure for Fezzan – with Warrington hoping to persuade the Colonial Office to agree to Tyrwhitt's remaining in Murzuq as Vice Consul to act as a forward base for communications and supply. Permission was not forthcoming, however, and Tyrwhitt returned to Tripoli in August. In October, the Colonial Office changed its mind and decided to appoint a fourth officer to the Mission on account of the strained personal relations between Clapperton and Denham, appointing Tyrwhitt, but by that time he was too ill to undertake

⁴¹ Walter Oudney, born in 1790 the son of an Edinburgh artisan, had studied medicine at the University before joining the Royal Navy as an Assistant Surgeon. He served on various stations including a short spell in the East Indies and was promoted Surgeon in August 1815. On his return to Edinburgh worked as a doctor, while continuing medical research and studying natural history. He joined the Wernerian Society, taking a special interest in botany, and writing papers for the Linnaean Society. By 1820, Oudney contemplated devoting himself full time to botany, and the idea of joining an expedition to Africa appealed greatly. He was suffering from consumption, and believed that a change of air and travel could restore his health. Professor Robert Jameson, doyen of the School of Natural History at the University, supported his application with John Barrow, and in November 1820 Oudney formally volunteered for the post. See Oudney to John Bynon, 11 November 1820, [FO 76/14; quoted by Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol II, 11].

⁴² John Tyrwhitt (1797-1824) was employed privately by Warrington as a favour to his father, John Tyrwhitt Sr (1768-1844, Marshal of the Court of Admiralty at Gibraltar) to whom Tyrwhitt was personally indebted (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol II, Introduction, 25-6, 31-2).

the journey and a replacement had to be found, Ensign Ernest Toole. Toole reached Borno in December 1823, but died nine weeks later. After Tyrwhitt had recuperated in London, he made his way back to Tripoli and finally set off on 24 February 1824 to join the Mission in Borno, arriving in Kukawa on 20 May 1824 and accompanying Denham south and east of Lake Chad with al-Kanemi's army on a campaign to reestablish Borno's eastern borders.

In Tripoli the Mission also recruited several freed slaves as personal servants. Jacob Deloyce, a Gibraltar Jew, who had served for some years at the Pasha's castle, was appointed as the mission's mess steward and store-keeper. Adolphus Simkins, a native of St. Vincent known as Columbus, was taken on as general guide and interpreter. He had left St. Vincent to join the merchant navy and had travelled half the world, hence his soubriquet, before being captured by corsairs and taken to Tripoli, where he was subsequently employed in the Pasha's Castle. He evidently had a gift for languages – speaking French, Italian, English, and Arabic. He also knew Kanuri and Hausa, which he apparently learned in Tripoli, where both languages were spoken among the enslaved population, although he may have had origins in the central Sudan.

The Europeans decided, with the Pasha's approval, to wear European dress, hence travelling openly as alien and Christian. The Mission proceeded to Murzuq, the capital of Fezzan, where they arrived in March 1822, but they were unable to proceed until the following December. In mid-1821, the Pasha had sent 450 cavalry and 1,300 infantry to assist Borno under the command of the new Bey of Fezzan, Mustafa al-Ahmar, in a joint campaign with Borno against Bagirmi, to the south of Lake Chad, and previously tributary. The Pasha delayed supporting the Borno Mission until the return of al-Ahmar, who was to provide the escort. The Bey was in charge of the booty from the Bagirmi campaign (which was large), and the Pasha awaited a report on the state of relations with al-Kanemi; allegedly the Pasha had issued secret instructions to consider the conquest of Borno itself, although this seems unlikely.⁴³ Frustrated by the repeated delays, the mission even explored the option of travelling with an escort provided by Abu Bakr Bu Khulum, a wealthy Arab merchant from Murzuq and contender for the Beyship, who was seeking the Pasha's favour. Denham returned to Tripoli to complain, while Clapperton and Oudney used the delay profitably to travel through western Fezzan, to Wadi al-Ajal, across the Dawada Sand Sea to Wadi ash-Shiati and to Ghat.⁴⁴ Then in July, Bu Khulum organized the recruitment of an escort of some 200 Arab tribesmen, half mounted, half infantry, mainly drawn from the Sirtica and Wadi Shiati, whose leaders were frank about their objective of raiding for slaves, some of whom were intended for the Pasha's army. When the mission finally left

⁴³ According to Warrington, the Pasha also wanted 'a loan of £25,000 which he would repay in a few years, & which would enable him to take Bornou and Sudan... He tells me with 6,000 men he could take & keep both places.' The British government declined to consider the latter suggestion. See Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. II, 9-10, quoting Warrington to Bathurst, 5 August 1820 [FO 76/14].

⁴⁴ Denham also returned to England to try to obtain confirmation of overall command of the expedition; an absence from the mission which his two colleagues considered tantamount to dereliction of duty, and served to further aggravate bad feelings between them.

Fezzan in December 1822, it consisted of 33 transport camels and four camel drivers, as well as three horses for the British officers and a mule for Hillman. They carried firearms for hunting and protection, navigation and scientific instruments, writing materials and medicines, common trade goods for barter and presents for rulers and their senior officials. A dozen Arab merchants valued the escort's protection, as well as 30 freed slaves returning home. Despite sickness and the other hardships of desert travel, they made good time on the ancient Garamantian road, the shortest Saharan crossing, over the central plateau between Hoggar and Tibesti, through the salt producing oasis of Wadi Kawar and across the sand dunes of the southern Tenere desert to Lake Chad. The caravan arrived in Borno in February 1823, and the British officers spent the rest of the year exploring the region, especially the rivers flowing into Lake Chad. Clapperton, along with Oudney, explored the outlet of the River Shari.

To some extent, the British mission of 1822-24 was a factor in the politics of the central Sudan, and especially in the affairs of al-Kanemi of Borno. Hillman undertook the construction of carriages for the small 2-pdr guns provided by Mohammed al-Mukni, Sultan of Fezzan, which enabled the deployment of these weapons in several military campaigns, and Denham oversaw the manufacture of cartridges for the Borno army.⁴⁵ The Borno artillery is credited with making the difference in the campaign of late March 1824 against Bagirmi. Relations between Tripoli and Borno were complicated because the Saifawa dynasty maintained ambitions to re-establish royal hegemony, but these ambitions were effectively checked with the betrayal of Mai Dunama in the battle for Bagirmi, well before Clapperton arrived in Borno.⁴⁶ Admittedly, the effective impact of British support was probably minimal, and indeed sometimes useless. Denham accompanied the Borno army on a raid against a Fulani contingent that *de facto* was a Sokoto army south of Mandara, but the joint forces of Borno and Mandara accompanied by Bu Khulum and his Arab troop were defeated, Bu Khulum was killed, some 40 Arab tribesmen also died, and horses and baggage were lost.⁴⁷ Denham was

⁴⁵ Denham witnessed the use of these guns in the battle against Bagirmi in the plains southeast of Ngala; the Bagirmi forces attacked the Borno center where al-Kanemi stood with the flag of the Prophet and armed with an English double barreled shot gun and English sword, and where the artillery was located. The Bagirmi rode directly into the artillery fire and came off badly; see Denham's account in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. III, 449-51. Denham noted that 'The two Guns for which Hillman made Carriages and myself the Cartridges with Canisters holding 16 Musket balls each, appear to have done great execution, altho' only fired once, and have greatly alarmed the people, even in whose defence they were leveled', Denham to Warrington, Kouka, April 16, 1824, quoted in A. Schultze, *The Sultanate of Bornu* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913, trans. and ed., P.A. Benton), 371-2, Appendix XV, unpublished correspondence, and Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative*, vol I, 429.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the betrayal of Mai Dunama, see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 52-53.

⁴⁷ For the betrayal of Bu Khulum by al-Kanemi, see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 133-4. According to Clapperton, 'It is evident that B.k.m. has been deceived by the Sheikh El Kanemi & the Sultan of Mand[ara] who is the Sheikh's son in law – the Sheikh could not bear B.k.m. for bringing the Arabs with him he sent to him when we were at Wudi [Wudi, in February 1823 on arrival in Borno] to know whither [whether] he came as a friend or an enemy and What he brought the Arabs for'. Also see Denham's account in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. III, 317-58.

lucky to escape with his life, but losing his clothes. Apparently, al-Kanemi withdrew his support in Mandara, thereby causing the defeat, because relations between the *jihad* government at Sokoto and his regime were not good and he may have wanted to maintain the truce that was in effect. Despite its adventures in Borno, Tripoli maintained cordial relations with Muhammad Bello of Sokoto,⁴⁸ although whether or not the misadventure in Mandara damaged these relations is not known. Later in the summer, the British officers accompanied al-Kanemi on a short excursion to suppress a rebellion in Manga. Nonetheless, in the politics of the central Sudan, the British presence at these military activities was compromising if minimal in terms of actual impact.

The following year, while Denham concentrated his enquiries on the eastern shores of Lake Chad, Oudney and Clapperton made their way to the Sokoto Caliphate, aiming to travel to Nupe, where they believed the riddle of the Niger's final course would be solved. Unfortunately, Oudney died on the way to Kano, and Clapperton had to continue alone. In Kano, Arab merchants confirmed the detailed route to Nupe and the Niger. We have reconstructed the mapping, which is presented in Appendix V. Although Clapperton wanted to go to Nupe, he had to accede to the instructions of Emir Ibrahim Dabo to proceed first to Sokoto to meet Caliph Muhammad Bello. In Sokoto, Clapperton found his onward travel restricted and he was not allowed to go to Yauri or the Niger River. Bello apparently suspected that the British mission might be one of imperial reconnaissance, which in fact it was. He had been warned by al-Kanemi, although how this was interpreted is open to question.⁴⁹ Instead Bello and Clapperton negotiated an agreement for a return visit to Sokoto the following year bringing a doctor and a consul with him. In essence, the agreement provided assistance to Sokoto in developing cheaper and quicker trade with the coast. The agreement also included medical and technical advice, with an allowance for modern arms, even if in limited amounts, in exchange for which Bello would halt the trade in slaves to the coast. Bello offered to arrange an escort for the return mission.

Clapperton returned to Kukawa in July 1824 with the intention of leaving for Tripoli as soon as the rains were over. The Borno Mission would continue under reinforcements, leaving Tyrwhitt as Vice-Consul in Kukawa. Denham and Clapperton left in late September 1824 with a large caravan, eventually reaching Tripoli on 25th January 1825. By the end of May, after a month in quarantine in Livorno, they reported the findings of their mission to Barrow and the Colonial Under-Secretary. Unfortunately, Tyrwhitt, who had accompanied his colleagues to the desert frontier when they departed, died in Kukawa

⁴⁸ Folayan, *Reign of Yusuf Pasha Qaramanli*, 85-6.

⁴⁹ According to Waziri Gidado, Bello did not allow Clapperton to proceed to Yauri as he wished in 1824, in pursuit of information and the belongings of Park, because Yauri was genuinely in civil commotion at the time. Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994.

on 22 or 23 October 1824,⁵⁰ according to news of his death sent by al-Kanemi to Yusuf Pasha, who informed Warrington on 22 June 1825. Clapperton most certainly would have received that news before departure. A second letter from Warrington was sent to London on 20 August, informing the Colonial Office that Tyrwhitt's servant had arrived from Borno with the sad news, and while this letter would not have reached Clapperton, who left England on 28 August, he nonetheless already thought it probable from reports received in Tripoli, that Tyrwhitt had died in Kukawa in late 1824.⁵¹ This was ominous, since Clapperton would find out that Borno and Sokoto were at war and the road was blocked. A line of communication with Borno proved to be impossible anyway, but it is apparent in the text that Clapperton was frustrated with his inability to communicate with al-Kanemi and visit Borno.

The Second Clapperton Expedition

Interest in further expeditions to determine the course of the Niger was strong in British government circles in the 1820s, and indeed in the long run the results of these missions proved useful in opening the Niger to steamship travel, which was not effectively achieved until after Baikie's expedition in 1854, and otherwise laying the foundation for British colonial rule in Nigeria.⁵² These missions were costly in human lives, as Clapperton's second expedition proved to be too. Only two members of the Borno Mission survived, Denham and Clapperton being the exceptions. Despite this mortality, the British government decided to sponsor two other attempts to solve the Niger 'riddle'. These were also directed across the Sahara, but by default the second one switched attention to the Bight of Benin. Despite the fear of disease and suspicions of local African rulers and merchants, Europeans only began travelling inland from the Bight of Benin at this time, which may seem to be a curious historical oddity, since the Bight of Benin had been such an important source of slaves for almost two hundred years and European trading 'forts' were long established in the coastal towns. The fact remains that until Clapperton's second mission, few Europeans are known to have travelled through the kingdoms of Dahomey, Oyo or Benin, and certainly no important documentary evidence appears to have survived.⁵³

⁵⁰ Although Clapperton and Denham's journals do not state the date they bade Tyrwhitt farewell, it must have been sometime between 14 September when the caravan left Wudi and 23 September, when it arrived at the Wells of Bel Kashifra. Tyrwhitt's unpublished remark book refers to his being in Lari at the beginning of October – the inference being that he remained along the north shores of Lake Chad for a brief period before returning to Kukawa.

⁵¹ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, 734 n1.

⁵² For a convenient summary of mortality on the various African missions from the 1790s through the 1830s, see Curtin, *Image of Africa*, 483-7.

⁵³ An officer of a French slave ship visited Old Oyo in the late 1790s or so, according to John Adams, *Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the Congo*, London: Frank Cass, 1966 [1823], 93-94, but apparently left no account.

The first of the two new initiatives was launched in 1824 while Clapperton was still in Borno was that of Giovanni Baptista Belzoni, engineer and traveler born in Padua in 1778, who attempted to reach the Niger travelling inland from the Bight of Benin, as Clapperton would also do, in 1826. He had taken an interest in exploring the Niger after returning from Egypt in 1820, where he had collected a number of valuable antiquities. He initially hoped to reach the western Sudan via Morocco, but when this plan failed, he made his way to Teneriffe, where a part of the British West Africa Squadron was stationed, and was taken aboard HMS *Owen Glendower*, the flagship of Captain Filmore, who had only recently assumed command of the squadron. Belzoni still intended to approach the Niger via Timbuktu, travelling inland from the West African coast, but in late 1823, he was introduced to British merchant, John Houtson, who then had a factory in the kingdom of Benin and advised an expedition through Benin.⁵⁴ Belzoni was advised that he could reach the Niger River just above the delta by passing through Benin, but his expedition inland ended in failure when he died of dysentery at Gatto, in the kingdom of Benin, on 3 December 1823 shortly after beginning his journey.⁵⁵

The British government, responding to Barrow's further initiative, sponsored another expedition to the Sudan, based in part on the findings reported by Clapperton and Oudney from Fezzan in 1822. In late 1824, Gordon Laing, a former officer in the Royal African Colonial Corps, and an enterprising traveller and gifted linguist, was authorized to mount a solo expedition to the Niger at Timbuktu. Laing had previously undertaken journeys to 'Soolima' country, near the source of the Niger, on behalf of the governor of Sierra Leone, and he also had experience on the Gold Coast.⁵⁶ He subscribed to the theory that the

⁵⁴ The only information on the enterprising Liverpool trader, John Houtson, comes from the Clapperton files, despite searches in Manchester and Liverpool records. He first established a business on the coast at Gatto near Benin in or around 1818. As a result of the *oba* of Benin's displeasure with British anti-slavery operations, he moved his business to Lagos and Badagry, which at the time were dominated by Portuguese and other non-British merchants. He died in Accra in May 1826; see Appendix II.

⁵⁵ For the background of Belzoni's mission, see *Royal Gold Coast Gazette, and Commercial Intelligencer*, 45:1, October 25, 1823.

⁵⁶ Alexander Gordon Laing, b. 27 December 1794, the son of an Edinburgh school master, studied at Edinburgh University. In 1811, he went to Barbados and in 1813 obtained an ensign's commission in the West Indian Regiment, in Antigua. In 1819, after a spell on half pay, he rejoined as a Lieutenant and went to Sierra Leone. In 1821 Governor Sir Charles MacCarthy selected Laing to lead a mission into the hinterland to Kambia and Mandingo country for information on the region and especially to gauge local opinion on the abolition of the slave trade. Laing made three expeditions in all. He traveled 200 miles inland to Falaba, the Solima capital three days journey from the source of the Niger at Mount Soma. In 1823-24 he commanded a company of RACC, ordered to the Gold Coast, and spent 12 months on active service in the Asante war. For an account of his experiences, see his *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko and Soolima Contries, in Western Africa* (London: John Murray, 1825). In 1824 after MacCarthy's death in action, Colonel Chisholm sent Laing to Britain to report personally to the Secretary of State on the affairs on the Gold Coast, at which time he came to the notice of Lord Bathurst. He was assisted by his friend, Colonel Edward Sabine, Royal Artillery (1788-1883), who was engaged on scientific work in West Africa and recognized as a scientist of distinction and an authority on the Arctic. With these connections, Laing obtained Bathurst's support for a mission to Timbuktu via Fezzan, and arrived in Tripoli 9 May 1825, where he married Warrington's youngest daughter, Emma, before departing on his travels. See Bovill, 'The Letters of Major Alexander Gordon Laing, 1824-1826', in *Missions to the Niger*, Vol 1, 123-394.

Niger ended in the Bight of Benin, and like Park, thought that the best way to establish this was to travel down the river from a known spot deep in the interior that could be reached via the Sahara crossing. After discussions with George Lyon, Laing conceived a plan to make his way to Timbuktu, via Ghat and Air, with the aid of Hatita ben Agden, a Tuareg chief who had assisted both Lyon and Oudney and Clapperton. In a rush to claim the 'discovery', Laing was already on his way to Malta when Denham and Clapperton reached Tripoli on their return journey from the central Sudan. Leaving Tripoli in July 1825, he travelled through Ghat to In Salah in Tuat. On 9 January 1826, accompanied by a guide, Bombani, Laing set off south from In Salah into territory disputed between the Ahaggar Tuareg and the Ulad Delim. He was attacked and mutilated on 25th January 1826 in Wadi Ahennet, but made his way, lame and crippled, to Bled Sidi Mohamed, the settlement of Mukhtar, a Kunta Arab Shiekh whose influence was dominant in Azouad. There he remained for some three months, recuperating and waiting until political conditions in Timbuktu appeared more auspicious for his arrival. He eventually reached Timbuktu on 13 August 1826, remaining there five weeks. He left on 22 September on the road to Arawan, heading for Sinsani (Sansanding), but by a more northerly route to avoid the region held by the Fulani *jihād* forces of Massina. He set off with a caravan of merchants bound for Fez, accompanied by a guide, Bongola, and an Arab boy, and was murdered three days later at a desert camp by his escort leader Mohamed ben Abayd, who had been suborned by the jihadists.⁵⁷

Despite Laing's mission and the death of Belzoni, the British government agreed to Clapperton's proposal for a return expedition starting from the coast. The aims of this second mission were construed in the light of the findings of the Borno Mission and were reflected in considerable detail in Lord Bathurst's letter of instructions. As seen from London the purpose was to establish and consolidate political relations and open communications and trade from the Guinea Coast, and as far inland as possible by sea, with the two most powerful states in the central Sudan: the Caliphate of Sokoto and Borno. The orders were drawn up at the Colonial Department in June 1825 by the responsible Under-Secretary R. Wilmot Horton in coordination with John Barrow, both of whom were conscious that the instructions to the Borno Mission had been wanting in a number of aspects, not least with respect to clear command and control. In sum, the instructions required Clapperton to travel to Ouidah (Whydah) on the coast and send a message to Bello, who should escort the mission to Raka. For this purpose, instructions were sent to the appropriate officials along the West African coast, including Captain Willes of the HMS *Brazen*. The African Station of the anti-slave trade squadron was in Sierra Leone under the command of Commodore Charles Bullen, who was stationed at Cape Coast Castle. The Royal African Colonial Corps and the African Station squadron's anti-slavery activities were under the command of Major General Charles

⁵⁷ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol I, 311-18.

Turner, who arrived as Governor of Sierra Leone and West African possessions in February 1825. In short, the extensive British network in West Africa was put at the disposal of Clapperton's expedition, which was seen entirely as compatible with its activities in attempting to suppress the slave trade.

If Clapperton was unable to communicate with Muhammad Bello, or this course of action appeared unpromising, he was to find John Houtson – the same Houtson to whom Belzoni had turned – at Benin or Lagos and proceed north as advised by him. His primary task was to establish relations with Sokoto; to offer a cheaper source of trade via the coast than via the desert; to obtain an agreement to halt the trade in slaves to the coast; to collect details of the slave trade in the interior and make recommendations on how it might best be stopped. In addition Clapperton was required to obtain details of trade goods suitable for and required from European markets. He was to report on the major features of geography of the country and the course of the Niger, in particular on whether or not it flowed into the Bight of Benin and, if so, was navigable. He was to explore the rivers that emptied into the Bights of Benin and Biafra. The mission was asked to proceed to Timbuktu if it had not already heard that Laing had done so. They were expected to use 'leisure time' to collect samples of local products and raw materials and rare or curious objects of natural history. Clapperton was instructed on arrival in Sokoto to send Pearce to Borno to greet al-Kanemi and to explore east of Lake Chad, the river Shari and Adamawa. When Clapperton considered his mission completed, he was to leave a consul in Sokoto or Raka, to promote Britain's trade and abolitionist interests, and he was to return to England by way of Tripoli or the Bight of Benin as he saw fit.

Personnel of the Second Expedition

The membership of the Mission was shaped by its objectives. With Bello to be obliged with a consul and a doctor, and with a dual approach to both Sokoto and Kukawa, it was decided to form a team of four officers in all – Robert Pearce, Robert Morison, and Thomas Dickson would complete the mission. Clapperton was allowed to choose himself one volunteer to join the expedition, and he selected Dickson, in recognition by the organisers, perhaps, of the bad experiences of conflict of temperament between Clapperton and Denham in the Borno Mission. On the new mission, each officer would have a personal servant of whom at least one could act as general interpreter and guide, and be competent to travel as a representative on his own or in advance of the main party. Clapperton selected Richard Lander as his servant.

Robert Pearce, from Bath, was selected for the expedition because of his skill as a hydrographer. He had joined the Royal Navy as Volunteer First Class in 1804, serving in the Channel Fleet, and in the Mediterranean as Midshipman from 1806 and Master's Mate from 1808 before being promoted Lieutenant in

1812. From 1814 to 1817 he served on the North American Station and in the West Indies again before being posted back to the Channel and Mediterranean fleets for a further seven years. He had been promoted to the rank of Commander in July 1824 and had acquired a reputation as a natural scientist and a fine draughtsman. Barrow envisaged that he would serve as Clapperton's deputy.

The third officer was Dr. Robert Morison, a former surgeon, although we have been unable to locate information on him in the Admiralty archives. He is not listed in the surgeons' lists, perhaps because of a spelling problem; his own spelling is correctly Morison. Barrow had heard that Morison was 'a skilled naturalist' and envisaged that he could be attached to the Sokoto court as vice-consul to free the rest of the mission to travel to Borno, or Timbuktu, and, as Barrow wrote to Horton 'If you are proposing to gratify the Sultan with a doctor, perhaps we may not find a better'. At Cape Coast, George Dawson, Ordinary Seaman on HMS *Brazen*, volunteered to join the mission as Dr. Morison's servant.⁵⁸

The fourth officer was Dr. Thomas Dickson, who came from Annan, like Clapperton, and had served as an assistant surgeon in the wars. Dickson's father was Minister of the Church in Annan, and Clapperton had known him since school days. Dickson was trained as a physician in Edinburgh, and after his appointment as a naval surgeon, had travelled widely in the West Indies. He worked in Demerara for some years, then traveled in Europe before returning to Scotland in c.1825, and there was recruited by Clapperton to the expedition.

Clapperton's personal servant, Richard Lemon Lander, had been born in Cornwall, 8 February 1804, fourth child of John and Mary Lander, innkeepers in Truro. He had left home aged nine on the death of his father and subsequently was employed as a personal servant. In 1815 he accompanied an employer to the West Indies and lived in Saint Domingo for a number of years. There he acquired an interest in Africa. When he returned to England in 1823, he was taken on as personal servant to Major Colebrook, a member of the Commission of Enquiry into the State of the Colonies, and in 1824 he spent a year employed by a Colonial Commission official on tour in South Africa. After he returned to England in 1825, he was looking for further adventure and applied for the job as personal servant to Clapperton, since, as he wrote himself, 'There was a charm in the very sound of the word Africa, that always made my heart flutter'. He died 6 February 1834 at Clarence Cove in Fernando Po.⁵⁹ Clapperton's personal servants also included a Shuwa Arab named Ali,

⁵⁸ George Dawson was listed as aged 33, born in Canterbury, in Supernumeraries for Wages & Victualling, HMS *Brazen*, Captain Geo W Willis, ADM 37/7060 and 7061, 16 November 1825, 'Entrd- at request of Dr. Morison as Servt to proceed with him with the Mission as above. D[ischarged] 30 Nov. 1825 to proceed with the Mission'. Dawson was with the mission at Badagry on 30 November, with instructions to proceed inland, dying on the road to Ijanna.

⁵⁹ For an outline of his life, see his autobiographical account, 'Sketch of the Author's Life', in Richard Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), 1-14.

who was saved from sale to a Brazilian slaver and emancipated in Badagry, and another freed slave, Mohamed Allah Sirkie.⁶⁰

The interpreters for the mission included Columbus, Denham's former servant from the Borno Mission, who was rehired in the same capacity and to act as Dr. Morison's servant. However, it turned out that Columbus was suffering from the advanced stages of venereal disease and was declared unfit for travel and put ashore in Ouidah, where he died not long afterwards. Hence the principal task of interpreting was left to William Pasco[e], whose Muslim name was Abubakar. He had been born in Gobir, seized during the *jihād* by a marauding party of Fulani in 1805, sold to a Gonja trader, and re-sold to an Asante trader. He was taken to the coast at Ouidah and sold to a Portuguese schooner destined for Bahia. The British navy captured the ship he was on, and after his liberation, he served as an ordinary seaman.⁶¹ In October 1823, he was serving on board HMS *Owen Glendower*, at which time Belzoni recruited him as his interpreter and guide. After Belzoni's death in December, Pasco was re-enlisted on HMS Sloop *Bann*, and was on board her when she returned to home waters in June 1825. In England, he must have been introduced to Belzoni's widow, and received the present referred to in the text as a gesture of thanks. Barrow now had him detached from HMS *Ranger* to join the mission as interpreter and as Pearce's servant.

Frederick James, a merchant with interests in Ouidah and Badagry, was also associated with the mission as an agent, accompanying Dickson to Abomey, the capital of Dahomey. James was Commandant of Accra in 1817, an officer of the Royal Africa Company, and a member of the Council of the Committee on West Africa. In 1818 he accompanied Thomas Bowdich on an official mission to Kumasi, the capital of Asante to negotiate trade relations with the coastal forts.⁶² However, James apparently tried to further his own personal interests and bring trade to Accra. Bowdich complained to the Governor, his uncle, and the case was examined before the Committee. Rather than be removed from the Council for a year, he resigned and set himself up as a merchant in Ouidah, where he maintained good relations with Francisco Felix de Souza, the leading merchant there and whose influence in Dahomey was strong. James was appointed on contract en route to Badagry, which was cancelled once Clapperton reached Katunga.⁶³ Dickson meanwhile had continued into the interior of Dahomey, where he died. P.J. Fraser, apparently an officer at Accra, was also appointed an agent for the mission.

⁶⁰ Mohamed Allah Sirkie was formerly a slave of Bu Khulum, and had rescued the flag of Yusuf Pasha, and re-captured Denham's horse, at the ill fated battle at Musfeia in Mandara. Clapperton bought him in Kulfo for 25,700 cowries, from a Fulani [chapter 6, entry for Friday 20th October, and published text, p.194]. Allah bar Sarki was a common name for male slaves.

⁶¹ According to Royal Navy records, Pasco was reckoned to be 34 in 1823. We wish to thank Ken Lupton for this information (Lupton to Bruce Lockhart, 12 January 1992). The probable date of enslavement is from Menèzes de Drumond, 'Lettres sur l'Afrique ancienne et moderne', 318.

⁶² For an account, see Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*.

⁶³ See Appendix I, letter 2.17.

Assessment of Clapperton's Journal of the Second Expedition

Clapperton's literary experience and interests were limited. His schooling was sound if modest, and his family, in particular his grandfather, Dr. Robert Clapperton the antiquarian, may have had a positive influence during his youth, but Clapperton's own further educational studies were confined to midshipman's examinations in the Royal Navy. Subsequent writing experience was essentially utilitarian: keeping the ship's log and writing up logistical or technical reports. In this sense, his style is essentially bare bones. On return to his native Scotland in 1817, he was recorded as being one of the founding subscribers to a new library in his Dumfriesshire home, but this may reflect the social position of his family rather than personal interest. In Edinburgh in 1820-21, he was also in touch through friends with scientists at the University, and had an opportunity to meet the intellectual elite of the city through a would-be patron, the dowager Countess Seaforth, whose son he had befriended some years earlier. His contact with these circles, however, was limited, and he did not come to develop a philosophical or literary bent.

On his travels in Africa, Clapperton's method of collecting information was not always systematic; and we need to take account of the possible motives of his interlocutors or of the influence of subsequent discussion of a topic with others, for instance, Gidado dan Lemu in Sokoto. The strength of the diaries, however, lies in their immediacy and in the manifest objectiveness of Clapperton's visual observations – for example, his lively account of the theatre at the annual customs in Katunga, or of Bello's raid on Konya. Although his interests may not have been profoundly intellectual, Clapperton had no difficulty in expressing himself clearly in writing, nonetheless. His official correspondence and a handful of private letters show a considerable vocabulary, an articulate phraseology, competence in grammar, and a practical, somewhat terse, down-to-earth style. His natural authorial habitat remained the log or report rather than the essay, but the meticulousness of his approach in maintaining his journals is noteworthy. From his experiences on the Borno Mission, Clapperton had come to devise his own way of coping with the business of keeping what he considered suitable records for a mission of scientific, diplomatic and commercial purpose. His diaries give a matter of fact account of his activities, the challenges he faced and his achievements, but they do not pander to the perceptions and pre-occupations of the men of learning and letters in Britain who were to be the eventual audience for his reports.

What most mattered to Clapperton in his journal keeping was an honest record, for himself and successors. He was preoccupied with the logistics and security of the expedition, the daily routines and disciplines of travel, the geographical features of the road, the welfare of servants and the care of live-stock, and relations with hosts, escorts and guides. He was always interested in things military – the weaponry of others and how used. It is clear too that he came to identify with the people around him and their daily lives. As Philip

Curtin has observed, ‘more important, and unfortunately more rare among his colleagues, he portrayed the culture of the Western Sudan sympathy and an unusual degree of modesty’.⁶⁴ He enjoyed all opportunities for sports. He was proud of his cartographic work. Clapperton’s enquiries into more intellectual subjects – traditions, history, politics, etc. – are *ad hoc* rather than sustained. His attempts at summaries of information, for instance, are rather disorganised, but when he did not know, or if he felt unqualified to comment, he said so. The pressure of expectations, official and private, on a mission of this kind were considerable, but Clapperton did not bow to them in writing his journals.

A number of factors inevitably affect the value of Clapperton’s account as historical source material today. For example, Clapperton had a good working command of Arabic, but had less knowledge of Hausa and almost nothing of the other vernacular languages, notably Yoruba, Fulfulde, Nupe and Baatanu. His rendition of Hausa is particularly revealing. He seems not to have understood some of the most common expressions, even though he had passed through Hausaland in 1824 and was traveling with Hausa merchants on his second expedition. He was reliant on translation, sometimes no doubt double translation, through others such as Pasco, who was from Gobir, or other employees or contacts from time to time. His normal language of communication was Arabic, and hence his ability to communicate must have been severely constrained. He seems to have relied almost entirely on Pasco’s command of English, for which we have little evidence. Certainly, Clapperton’s dependence on translation must have affected his daily activities and the information he collected.

Clapperton’s accounts of the interior are of course Euro-centric – and he does not rise to the detailed descriptions of such observers as Heinrich Barth⁶⁵ – but they are less coloured by the fashions and prejudices of the day than the writings of many other travellers of the 19th-century, such as Dixon Denham or James Richardson⁶⁶. Clapperton’s diaries may be in some respects naive in both preparation and style, but his commentaries on life around him make a spontaneous, and uncomplicated record: a solid benchmark against which to measure other accounts of the interior of Africa in the early to mid 19th-century, oral and written, indigenous and external.

Despite the inherent limitations of the material and Clapperton’s comprehension of African cultures and societies, the expedition of 1825-27 provides a unique view into the interior of West Africa, occurring at a time when there were momentous events taking place, and because of Clapperton’s previous experience, his observations are relatively well informed and hence important

⁶⁴ Curtin, *Image of Africa*, 207.

⁶⁵ Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H. B. M.’s Government in the Years 1849-1855* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857-59), 3 vols.

⁶⁶ James Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa performed in the years 1850-51* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), 2 vols.

in deciphering and otherwise interpreting the history of this period. Moreover, there is much valuable information in Clapperton's accounts, especially with reference to economic history and trade. His itinerary in itself was significant, and he gained a lot of information because he traveled with caravans. Clapperton passed along a major route that was historically important in the history of Oyo and the slave trade, and he consequently observed places that were subsequently destroyed in the collapse of Oyo in the early 1830s. Hence his observations document historically important places now long abandoned and worthy of archaeological excavation. Moreover, Clapperton also documents the turbulence of Nupe during its civil wars of the 1820s, and provides details on the conflict between Sokoto and Borno in 1826. Although lacking in detail or sensitivity, he records invaluable information on *orisha* worship and Islam in the 1820s, which are particularly important for comparative purposes considering religious developments among Yoruba and Muslims in the Americas.

His contribution can be divided into several sections for purposes of discussion, first, his observations on the slave trade in the Bight of Benin and West Africa more generally; secondly, the chronicle of his travels through Oyo in the decade before its collapse; and third, his second journey through the Sokoto Caliphate.

The African Coast and the Slave Trade

Clapperton's account is important as a source on the operation of the slave trade and attempts at its suppression in West Africa in the crucial years of the mid 1820s, when the trans-Atlantic demand had revived to levels that were close to the height of the trade in the 1780s, despite the presence of the British navy offshore. His account, and those of his companions on the Mission, provides considerable detail on Sierra Leone, and especially on the migration of the Kru from the coast between Cape Mesurado and Cape Palmas, and on a number of slave ships that were intercepted. There is additional information on the commercial activities of various European, Brazilian, and African merchants along the coast, including observations on the Gold Coast and the area eastward to Lagos. Clapperton's party visited or obtained information on Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, Accra, Little Popo, Ouidah, Porto Novo, Badagry and Lagos, which were the principal ports and commercial centres for much of West Africa.

His account documents the commercial structure of the West African coast in the 1820s, including the activities of individuals who had migrated in pursuit of commercial opportunities. These individuals came from diverse background, among who were merchants from Britain and various people who had returned to Sierra Leone from the Americas. There is reference to the 'mulatto' merchant Stephen Gabiddon, a Maroon from Jamaica who had been taken to

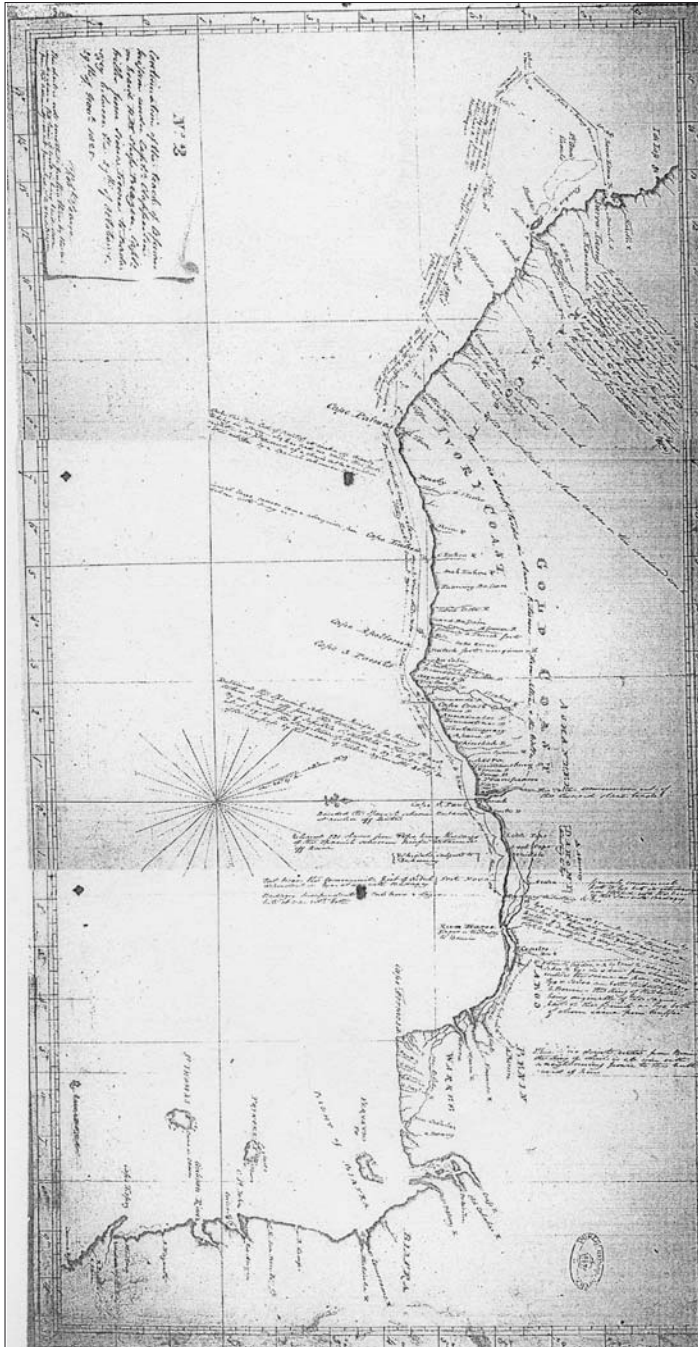
Nova Scotia before settling in Freetown.⁶⁷ He appears to have been one of the sources of information on the interior of Sierra Leone. Gabiddon, a prominent citizen in Freetown, was appointed sheriff in 1822, served as alderman and justice of the peace in 1824, and became a major in the militia in 1831. He was representative of the cosmopolitan character of Sierra Leone, where the diverse population not only included those who had been freed from slavery by the British navy but also Kru, who had migrated from Liberia in search of wage labour, and Muslim merchants who traveled to the coast from the interior. This multicultural feature of Sierra Leone also characterized other ports visited by Clapperton, where a sprinkling of Europeans, mulattoes, and returnees from the Americas, especially Brazil, were also to be found.

The various reports dealing with the voyage along the West African coast, principally Pearce's report and other correspondence, contain some information on the Muslim interior of West Africa. The sources for this information appear to be Gabiddon and a Muslim cleric from Segu who is identified as the son of Shaikh Ahmad Lobo, who had launched a *jihad* in the region of Massina. Because of the interest in obtaining information on the movements of any Europeans in the interior, and the discussion of possible routes that might be of use, there is important information on routes to Futa Jallon, Segu, Koronko, Temne, and 'Solima' or Susu country. At the time, the region was strongly undergoing a transformation resulting from *jihad* propagated by reformist Muslims, especially Fulbe or Fulani, and centred in Futa Jallon, which had been founded in *jihad* in the eighteenth century, but also including the region south of Timbuktu, known as Massina, where the non-Muslim states of Segu and Kaarta were challenged and ultimately defeated, being incorporated into the Caliphate of Hamdullahi. Hence the *jihad* states of the interior were a subject of investigation and notice; Clapperton, of course, was on his way to the Sokoto Caliphate, which had been founded in *jihad* after 1804, and which until 1817, was the sponsor of the *jihad* in Massina, as well as in Oyo and Nupe. It should be noted that references to Timbuktu in this period refer to the period when this major caravanserai, river port and intellectual centre was dependent on Hamdullahi.

The information on the Kru is particularly important, supplementing existing studies, especially that of George Brooks.⁶⁸ The 'Kru Mariners' were a principal source of hired labour on European ships, including British naval vessels, all along the West African coast from the end of the eighteenth century and especially after 1815. As Brooks has observed, in the 1820s, there was a distinction made between the Kru who came from the 'five towns' between

⁶⁷ Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 123, 142, 147, 155, 176, 179, 196, 211; and James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (New York: Africana Publishing Co.: 1976), 279-80, 293, 311.

⁶⁸ George E. Brooks, Jr., *The Kru Mariner in the Nineteenth Century: An Historical Compendium* (Newark, Delaware: Liberian Studies Association, 1972), 71, 73, 107.



Pearce's Map, the West African Coast

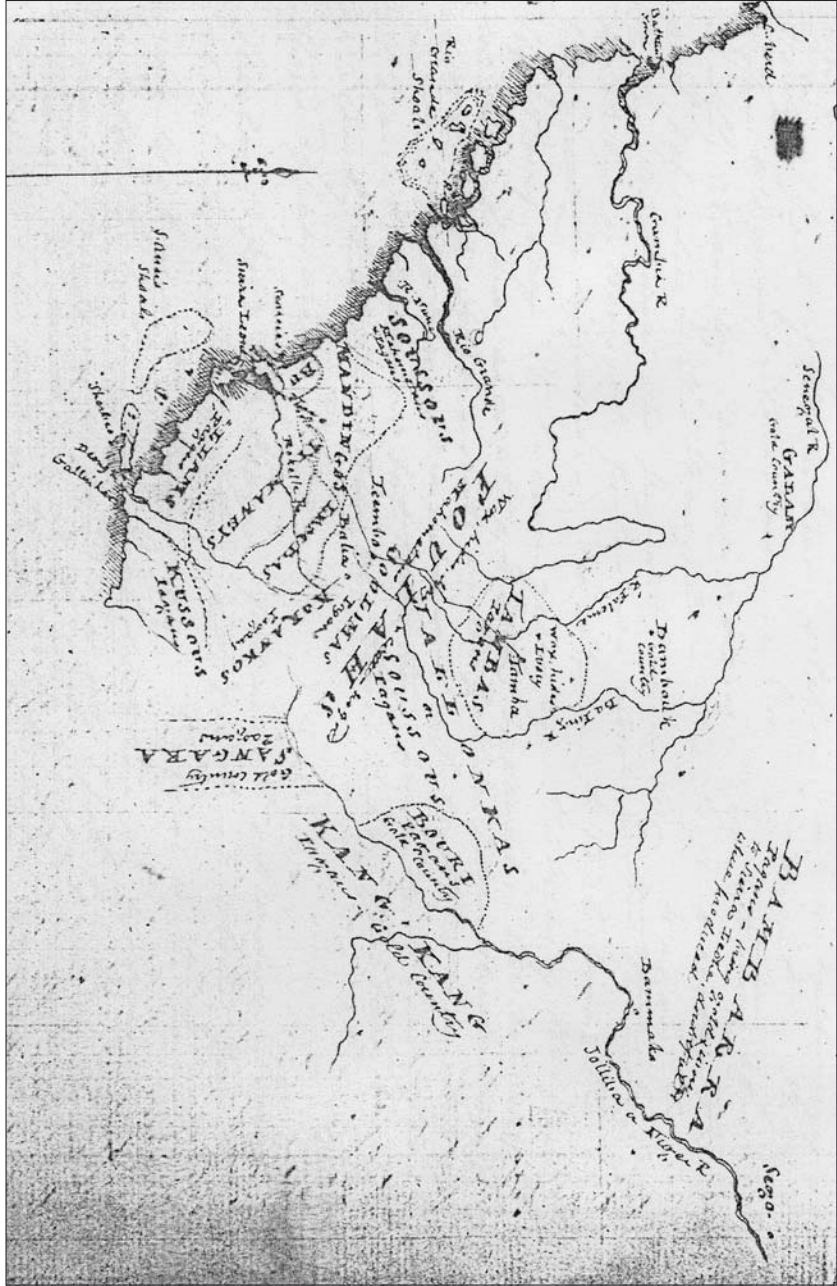
River Cess and Cape Palmas and other ‘Fishmen’ people who lived at other places along the coast from Cape Mesurado, the site of Monrovia, founded only a few years before Clapperton’s expedition, as far east as Grand Lahou, in modern Côte d’Ivoire.⁶⁹ By the 1820s, the Kru occupied a district of Freetown, where there were usually several hundred males residing, most working on contract for commercial firms, as agricultural labourers or in any occupation that paid a wage in money or in kind. As noted in the accounts below, the Kru worked in gangs under a headman who had recruited them, and they returned to their homes once they had earned money or had acquired goods. They consciously remained illiterate, but relied on written certificates, called ‘books’, that established previous employment.⁷⁰ In this period, the Kru of the five towns and the ‘Fishmen’ would not work together, and considerable hostility characterized their rivalry for employment. The details provided by Clapperton and Captain Robert Pearce accord well with other descriptions from the early nineteenth century, but are here presented for the first time.

Clapperton’s and Pearce’s observations on the slave trade are worthy of note. They mention seven slave ships and their locations from October through early December 1825, and the *Brazen* report includes other ships not discussed by Clapperton himself.⁷¹ The slave ships that are documented include *L’Éclair*, under Captain Henry and owned by Paul Gautier of Nantes, of 134 tons, with a Brigantine rig, three feet between decks, and 169 slaves; many more slaves had been lost in the surf and its surgeon had died of fever. There is also a report on *La Modeste* of St Pierre, Martinique, under Captain Degourney, and owned by Feliz Lamoyne of St Pierre, and registering as 67 tons, with 2’ 8” between decks, a schooner rig, with 269 slaves destined for Martinique; there was no surgeon and it was sighted three days from the Galinas. There was also *La Clarita*, a Spanish schooner, originally from Havana but latterly from Gibraltar; 55 tons, with 56 slaves heavily ironed, who had been brought to the coast from Timba, the capital of Futa Jallon. It had a 12 pounder gun on a pivot. *La Constance*, under Captain Mathias Jean, who was also part owner, from Martinique, was reported off Little Seetis. The *Nymph*, a Dutch schooner, had 30 slaves from the Dutch fort at Accra, and was loading 200 more at Popo. According to Pearce, *La Norifa*, a Spanish schooner with 46 men and 5 guns, loaded 50 slaves at Accra and landed them at Popo in November 1825. *La Barbanta*, a Spanish schooner, 45 tons and one gun, anchored off Keta awaiting slaves from Popo, while *El Marqueio*, a Spanish schooner at Ouidah admitted that it was in quest of slaves with *Il Compisdor*, a Spanish brig of 16 guns and 60 men. There was also a small, unnamed Portuguese schooner that apparently

⁶⁹ According to P.E.H. Hair, the Kru languages include the Bete, Bakwe, Grebo, Kra and Bassa. See P.E.H. Hair, ‘An introduction to John Clarke’s “Specimens of Dialects...”, 1848/9’, *Sierra Leone Language Review* 5 (1966), 77-8.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of Kru labour migration and the conditions of work in the 1820s, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 14-61.

⁷¹ See Appendix I.



Pearce's Map, Interior of Sierra Leone

belonged to Francisco de Souza at Ouidah (which originally flew Spanish colours), and there is reference in Dickson's report to other de Souza ships.⁷² Apparently Spanish authorities had seized ships owned by de Souza allegedly carrying 1,200 slaves, which may have involved 5-6 ships.

Clapperton's observations on the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin supplement what is known about the operation of the slave trade, the forts and trading depots along the coast, and the merchants who handled the trade. At the time, the British establishments on the Gold Coast were under the command of Lieutenant Governor Purdon, who resided with a military garrison at Cape Coast Castle. The Gold Coast possessions had come under the direct command of the British Government in 1817; the first Governor was John Hope White, whose nephew, scientist and diplomat Thomas Bowdich, was a junior employee, and whose visit to Kumasi in July 1817 should be noted.⁷³ The incidental information on J.P. Fraser, George Hansen, George Lawson, James Houston, James Fawckner, and other traders verifies the important role of expatriates in the coastal trade in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Of particular importance are details on Francisco Felix de Souza of Ouidah, who moved to the Bight of Benin from Brazil, first locating his firm at Badagry in the first decade of the nineteenth century and later moving to Ouidah, where he became the leading merchant in the slave trade to Bahia. His close association with the Dahomey monarchy has been noted; he was a principal supporter in the *coup d'état* that brought Gezo to power in 1818.⁷⁴ Hence the information he claimed to have received from the Dahomey king should be given some credence, although actually what he was told is open to question because it comes through the words of Captain Bullen.

Clapperton's Journey through Oyo, Borgu and Nupe

Clapperton's journey from Badagry north to the Oyo capital at Katunga (Old Oyo), and then continuing on through Borgu and Nupe, to Zaria, Kano and

⁷² Of these ships, *Modeste*, *Clarita*, *Barbarita*, and *Conquistador* are identified in David Eltis et al., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), although *Barbarita* is listed twice, once under the Bight of Benin and once under Africa unspecified. *Modeste* is listed in the voyage database as #2794, a French vessel under Captain. Dejourney, departing from Martinique in March 1825, 67 tons, with a crew of 19; its owner was Lemoine, and it carried 239 slaves from the Gallinhas. The *Claria* (entered as *Clara* or *Clarita*, #2346, from Havana under Captains José Perez Munoz and José Morano, 55 tons, was carrying 36 slaves from the Gallinhas. The *Barbarita*, #2372, 65 tons, with a crew of 19, under Captain Pedro Blanco, was from Havana, and also to be identified with #451 under Africa unspecified, with 190 slaves. The *Conquistador*, #2359, under Captain N. Escala, was from Havana, and loaded 514 slaves at Ouidah. The *L'éclair*, *La Constance*, *La Norifa*, *Nymph*, *El Marqueio*, and the ships belonging to Felix de Souza appear not to be in the database.

⁷³ Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*.

⁷⁴ Robin Law, 'Francisco Felix de Souza in West Africa, 1800-1849', in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Western Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst NY: Humanities Books, 2004), 187-212.

Sokoto. He has left us with an eyewitness account of the interior of the Bight of Benin at a crucial period in the history of this region. The period was one of war and devastation, beginning with the eruption of the *jihad* in the Hausa states in 1804-08, which spread to Nupe in 1810-12, and continuing with the Muslim uprising at Ilorin in 1817, the ascendancy of Malam Dendo as the leader of the Nupe Muslims by 1819, and independence of Ilorin from Oyo in c.1823 and its incorporation as an emirate within the Sokoto Caliphate to the north. By 1831-33, the *jihad* forces would achieve complete victory in Oyo, and by c.1836, the capital city and much of the district around the capital had been deserted and destroyed, with the population either being enslaved or fleeing southward to new centres, such as Ibadan and New Oyo.

Moreover, the course of the *jihad* in Oyo was closely related to the struggle for supremacy in Nupe, where competing factions of the Nupe aristocracy attempted to exploit the *jihad*. Clapperton arrived in Oyo in 1826 just after the combined forces of Oyo, Borgu and Nupe had suffered a major defeat in attempting to crush Ilorin, in the 'Mugba Mugba' war, a name derived from the fact that soldiers were reduced to eating the fruit of the locust bean tree.⁷⁵ The victorious Muslims pursued the retreating Nupe army, allowing Malam Dendo to retake Raba on the Niger. Clapperton arrived at a time when the *jihad* in Nupe and Ilorin was at a height, although the advantage would take another decade to consolidate. The *jihad* in Nupe was complicated by civil war over succession to kingship and the title of *etsu*. The Fulani-inspired jihadists had been drawn into this conflict, which had a dramatic impact in further destabilizing the situation in Nupe as their defiance of central authority in the empire of Oyo was displayed through the Muslim-inspired uprisings at Ilorin in 1817 and again in 1822-23. Following the rebellion of Muslims in Ilorin, the Fulani and their supporters campaigned to seize territory and power throughout north-eastern Yorubaland. Eastern Borgu, through which Clapperton passed, with its small Islamic community, remained autonomous, but vulnerable and fully involved in the struggles of the region. Clapperton's account demonstrates that the *jihad* emanating from Sokoto infected the politics of the whole region to the coast. Needless to say, these wars generated slaves for a flourishing market in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, one that catered not only to trans-Atlantic demand but also supplied Muslim merchants from Tunisia, Morocco and elsewhere.

Clapperton's expedition provides one of the earliest reports on Oyo and its immediate neighbours, there being relatively few sources on this region for this period or earlier. Clapperton's assessment is all the more valuable because earlier accounts of Europeans reaching the Oyo capital, if they ever existed, have not survived, and in any event his account is the most substantive of any European source, the French ship captain who traveled to the Oyo capital in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century leaving no account. After crossing

⁷⁵ Law, 'Chronology of Yoruba Wars', 216.

the Sahara in 1798, Hornemann died in Nupe and his accounts were lost.⁷⁶ Similarly Mungo Park almost reached Bussa in 1805, but the records of this part of his journey also did not survive.⁷⁷ There are important indigenous sources for this period, particularly Muhammad Bello's description in *Infāq al-Maisūr* (1813)⁷⁸, and there are other Arabic manuscripts that describe the *jihād* in Oyo and the establishment of Ilorin as an emirate within the Sokoto Caliphate.⁷⁹ There are several accounts by individuals from the area through which Clapperton passed who were enslaved during the turmoil of the 1820s, including that by Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who later would become the Anglican bishop of the Niger Diocese,⁸⁰ Ali Eisami of Borno, who was a slave in Oyo,⁸¹ and Joseph Wright, who came from one of the Egba towns destroyed in the 1820s.⁸² Other biographical accounts of individuals enslaved during this period also provide additional information, but these accounts only enhance the value of the reports of the Clapperton expedition.

Because of the centrality of Clapperton's journey to the history of Yorubaland, the published version has been the subject of much discussion. Robin Law relied on this account in his masterful study of Oyo. Also noteworthy are the contributions of William Bascom, Peter Morton-Williams, S.O. Babayemi, Babatunde Agbaje-Williams, M.A. Mabogunje, J. Omer-Cooper, Robert Soper, Frank Willet, I.A. Akinjogbin, and Kola Folayan, while the work

⁷⁶ Friedrich Konrad Hornemann, 'The Journal of Frederick Hornemann's Travels, from Cairo to Mourzouk, the Capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa, in the Years 1797-1798', in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. I, 1-122.

⁷⁷ Mungo Park reference, 2nd expedition

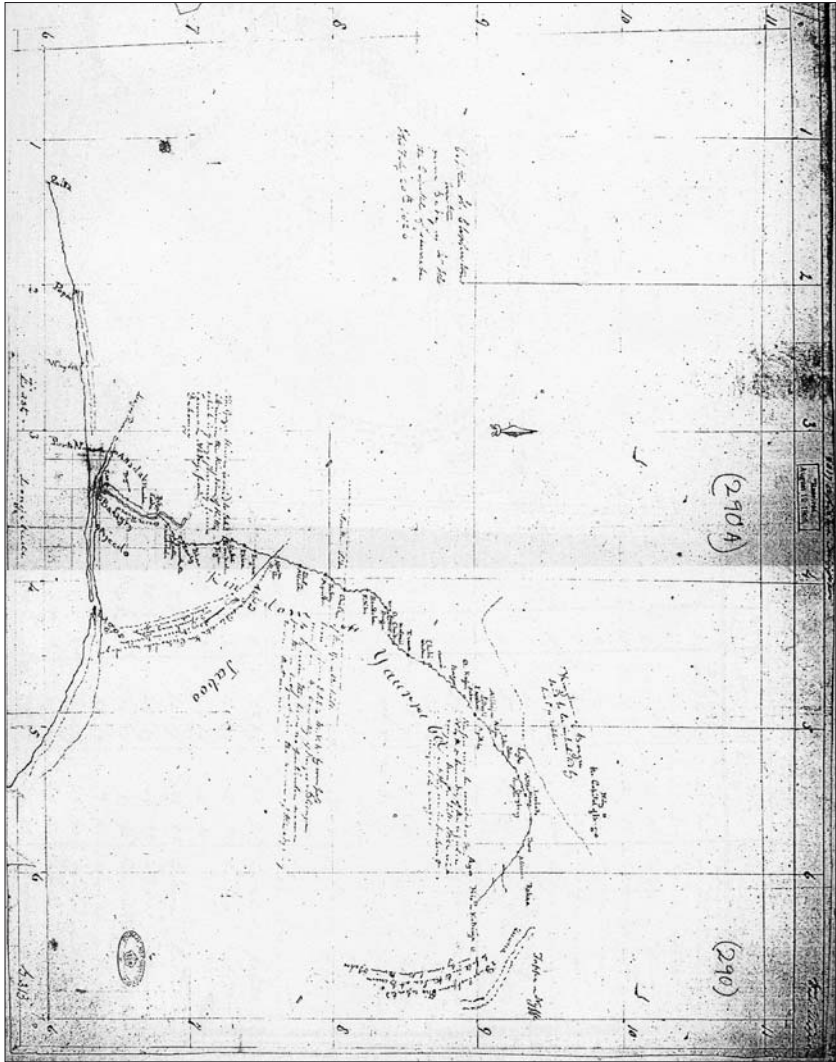
⁷⁸ *Infāq al-Maisūr*, translated and paraphrased in E.J. Arnett, *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani* (Kano, 1929).

⁷⁹ Abdullahi Smith, 'A little new light on the collapse of the Alafinate of Yoruba', in *A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith* (Zaria: Centre for Historical Research, 1987), 149-91, including Arabic documents on Ilorin; see Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997); T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba 1841-1908* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1978), Law, *Contemporary Sources*; and B.G. Martin, 'A new Arabic history of Ilorin', *Research Bulletin* (Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan) 1:2 (1965), 20-7. At least two Katsina Arabic manuscripts that describe Oyo so far have not been located.

⁸⁰ For an authoritative account of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, see J.F.A. Ajayi, 'Samuel Ajayi Crowther of Oyo', in Curtin, *Africa Remembered*, 289-316. Also see Jesse Page, *The Black Bishop in Yoruba, 1830-1890* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 285; "Bishop Crowther: His Life and Work," 10-11; 'Letter of Mr. Samuel Crowther to the Rev. William Jowett, Feb. 22, 1837', *Church Missionary Record*, 8 (1837), 217-23; 'A Liberated African's Account of his Slavery, and Subsequent Course', *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 6 (1846), 16-18; and James Frederick Schön and Samuel Crowther, *Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schön and Mr. Samuel Crowther* (London, 1854), 371-85.

⁸¹ See Ali Eisami's account as annotated in H.F.C. [Abdullahi] Smith, D.M. Last, and Gambo Gubio, 'Ali Eisami Gazirmabe of Borno', in Curtin, *Africa Remembered*, 199-216. The account was originally published in S.W. Koelle, *African Native Literature* (London, 1854), 115-21 [in Kanuri], 248-56 [in English]. In Sierra Leone, he was known as William Harding.

⁸² Philip D. Curtin, 'Joseph Wright of the Egba', in Curtin, *Africa Remembered*, 318-20. Wright's account was originally published in John Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast* (London, 1841), 349-58.



Clapperton's Route into the Interior of the Bight of Benin, CO 2/15, f. 126

of Michael Mason and Femi James Kolapo should be noted for Nupe.⁸³ These scholars, whose publications are included in the bibliography, have related Clapperton's observations to the traditions recorded by Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, and other local traditions dating to the late nineteenth century, including colonial documentation.⁸⁴ Various archaeological excavations and surveys have also relied extensively on Clapperton's account, since he saw ruined towns and visited places that were soon to be destroyed.⁸⁵

At the time of Clapperton's visit to Oyo in 1826, the very survival of the central government was at stake. The capital, known to Muslims as Katunga, the term used by Clapperton as well, the city is usually cited in the literature as Old Oyo, Ile-Oyo, to distinguish it from the city of the same name to the south, founded by refugees after the destruction of Katunga in c. 1836. Hence, Clapperton provides information, the significance of which he probably was not fully aware, on the state of turmoil within the Kingdom of Oyo. Clapperton followed a route that took him through the region of Egbado, which Oyo still controlled in 1826, to Katunga and then through allied but autonomous states in Borgu before entering northern Nupe. This circuitous route was necessary because of hostilities between Oyo and Ilorin arising from the *jihad*, which also involved much of Nupe. Clapperton's description of the trade routes that crossed Borgu, Nupe and northern Oyo more generally fits in well with other studies of the region.⁸⁶

⁸³ For a survey of Yoruba historiography, see Toyin Falola, ed., *Yoruba Historiography* (Madison: African Studies Program, 1991); and Robin Law, 'Early Yoruba Historiography', in Toyin Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch. Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People* (Madison: African Studies Program, 1993), 47-63.

⁸⁴ Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas* (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1937). Also see Robin Law, 'How Truly Traditional is Our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral Tradition', *History in Africa* 11 (1984), 195-221; and the various studies in Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*.

⁸⁵ There has been some archaeological work done at Old Oyo and its surroundings, see J.D. Clarke, 'A Visit to Old Oyo', *Nigeria Field* 7:3 (1938), 139-42; Babatunde Agbaje-Williams, 'Oyo Ruins of NW Yorubaland', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 17:3 (1990), 367-73; Agbaje-Williams, 'Archaeological Reconnaissance of Ipapo-Ile, Kwara State, Nigeria: An Interim Report', *West African Journal of Archaeology* 19 (1989) 21-36; Agbaje-Williams, 'The Discovery of Koso: An Ancient Oyo Settlement', *Nigerian Field* 54 (1989), 123-7; Agbaje-Williams, 'Archaeology and Yoruba Studies', in Toyin Falola, ed., *Yoruba Historiography* (Madison: African Studies Program, 1991), 5-29; Agbaje-Williams, 'Samuel Johnson, Yoruba Origins, and Archaeology', in Toyin Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch. Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People* (Madison: African Studies Program, 1993), 105-14; S.O. Babayemi, 'Oyo Ruins', *African Notes* 5:1 (1968), 8-11; Robert R. Soper, 'The Palace at Oyo Ile, Western Nigeria', in Bassey W. Andah, C.A. Folorunso, and Ikechuwu A. Okpoke (eds.), *Imprints of West Africa's Past* (Ibadan and Owerri: Wisdom Publishers Ltd, 1993), 295-311; Soper and P. Darling, 'The Walls of Oyo Ile, Oyo State, Nigeria', *West Africa Journal of Archaeology* 10 (1980), 61-81; and Frank Willet, 'Investigations at Old Oyo, 1956-1957: An Interim Report', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2:1 (1960), 59-7.

⁸⁶ Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980); Lovejoy, 'The central Sudan and the Atlantic slave trade', in Robert W. Harms, Joseph C. Miller, David C. Newbury, and Michelle D. Wagner (eds.), *Paths to the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta: African Studies Association, 1994), 345-70; Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade', *African Economic History* 27 (1999), 69-92.

Alaafin Majotju, whom Clapperton met, had come to power in c. 1802 at a difficult moment in the politics of royal authority. At the time, the central government was not firmly in control of the military, stationed at Ilorin under the titled official, *are ona kakamfo*. In particular, Afonja, who held that position, harboured ambitions of dominating the state and hence embarked on a campaign to increase his independence. Technically the *alaafin* were not permitted to engage directly in war, but instead attempted to balance the ambitions and interests of the various military leaders, including the *are ona kakamfo* at Ilorin. The backbone of Oyo military power was cavalry, which relied on slave soldiers, many of whom were at least nominally Muslim and who responded to the call for *jihad* then issuing from Sokoto and Gwandu and currently tearing apart Nupe. Clapperton did not visit the breakaway Muslim emirate at Ilorin, which had been in virtual rebellion since the Muslim faction staged a *coup d'état* in 1817, and the death of Salih in 1823 and the subsequent killing of Afonja by the Muslims under Salih's son, Sulayman. Thereupon, Ilorin became an emirate within the Sokoto Caliphate, with Sulayman as emir.⁸⁷

The expansion of Muslim influence in Yorubaland in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was directly related to the *jihad* emanating from Sokoto to the north and being propagated in Oyo by the Yoruba cleric, Musa, and the Fulani, Amiri Salih. Salih preached for a time in the Oyo capital before being welcomed at Ilorin in Afonjo's scheme to weaken Oyo and strength his own cause by appealing to Muslims. After the revolt at Ilorin in 1817, there was an attempt in Oyo to suppress Muslim influence. Clapperton's account is important in helping to date these events. He reported that the reaction in Oyo to the Muslim uprising was to 'put all Mahometans to death, whether natives or in caravans trafficking',⁸⁸ and he provides confirmation on the dating of the killing of Afonja and the succession of Sulayman. The personal account of Ali Eisami, a slave from Borno, is instructive; his Oyo master sold him to the coast out of fear that he would desert and join the Muslim revolt, and hence he ended up in Sierra Leone after being liberated from a Portuguese slave ship.⁸⁹ Clapperton provides important confirmation of the extent of the unrest among the Muslim population of Oyo.

The early 1820s were a crucial period because Oyo faced war on several fronts. In the south, the dependent province at Owu was destroyed in a protracted war of 5-7 years, involving Ife and Ijebu over a commercial dispute involving a market town and ultimately access to the coast at Lagos.⁹⁰ There was little Oyo could do to relieve Owu, since the continuing deprecations of the

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the historiography, see H.O. Danmole, 'Samuel Johnson and the History of Ilorin', in Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*, 139-49; and Ann O'Hear, 'Samuel Johnson and the *Dramatis Personae* of Early Nineteenth-Century Ilorin', in Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*, 151-61.

⁸⁸ Clapperton, *Journal of Second Expedition*, 204, and quoted in Law, *Oyo Empire*, 258.

⁸⁹ Smith, Last, and Gubio, 'Ali Eisami Gazirmabe of Bornu', 199-216.

⁹⁰ For the Owu war, see M.A. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper, *Owu in Yoruba History* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1971), and Curtin, 'Joseph Wright of the Egba', 318-20.

Fulani bands associated with the *jihad* now emanating from Ilorin preoccupied the government. Crowther's account of the destruction of Osugun in c. 1821 dates to this period.⁹¹ After 25 years in Sierra Leone, Crowther was reunited with his mother and two sisters in Abeokuta, residing in the small town of Abaka. His mother's account of how she redeemed her two daughters from slavery confirms the importance of recognizing the internal dynamics of slavery within West Africa and the prevalence of slavery and pawnship.⁹² And it also demonstrates the destructive impact of the *jihad* and the collapse of Oyo.

The collapse was almost complete in 1823. In the west, Dahomey declared its independence, and invaded Mahi country to its north, which had hitherto also been a province of Oyo. The ongoing war centred on Owu in the south virtually closed trade between Oyo and the coast, as Clapperton was to discover in 1825-26. At Ilorin, Alimi Salih, the *jihad* leader, died in 1823, and the *are ona kakamfo* Afonja attempted to reassert his authority over the military, but in the confrontation that followed, Afonja was killed, and Salih's son, 'Abd al-Salaam, declared Ilorin an emirate within the Sokoto Caliphate, with the resulting polarization reported by Clapperton. Clapperton's reports on the activities of Fulani and other *jihad* forces are therefore important, and his discussions with various officials of Oyo as well as Muslim merchants whose sympathies were with the *jihad* offer rare insights into the contemporary scene. His audience with Alaafin Majotu is unique, and his descriptions of different *orisa* invaluable.⁹³ Clapperton provides important information on the actual extent of Oyo authority in 1826, which his account makes clear had been severely reduced by this date.

Our own assessment of Clapperton's journey north into Oyo accords with Morton-Williams reconstruction of trade routes, although our analysis enables the identification of more places than previously. Because of the war with the *jihad* forces, Clapperton had to follow a route into the interior through the Egbado district of Oyo, which had been settled in the last third of the eighteenth century as the result of a conscious policy to develop a trade route to the coast that bypassed Dahomey. Previously, the principal route to the coast went to Ouidah, which meant traveling to the coast to the west of Weme River, which flows into Lake Nicoue. In the early eighteenth century, the route passed through the Kingdom of Allada, located on the western shores of Lake Nicoue. With the Dahomey conquest of Allada in 1723, the control of this route became the subject of concern for Oyo, prompting an invasion and the subjugation of Dahomey, and tributary status subsequently established. However, concern over the route to the coast was a preoccupation of Oyo authorities, and in the

⁹¹ Ajayi, 'Samuel Ajayi Crowther of Oyo', 289-316.

⁹² "Meeting of the Rev. Samuel Crowther with his Mother," *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 7 (1847), 63-5.

⁹³ For a discussion of religion, especially pertaining to *orisa*, see J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 93-4, 224-45; and Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 26-38.

last third of the eighteenth century, particularly under Alaafin Abiodun, a route was developed that avoided Dahomey, positioned to the east of the Weme River, with a destination first at Porto Novo, the displaced home of refugees from Allada, and hence sometimes called Allada. This portion of the lagoon, to the east of Lake Nicoue, connected via lagoon to Badagry and Lagos. The rise of these ports resulted from Oyo policy. Hence the choice of Badagry as the entry into the interior reflected the status of the various ports with respect to the trade with Oyo. As Peter Morton-Williams and Robin Law have demonstrated, the commercial corridor developed under Alaafin Abiodun, who reigned from the overthrow of Basorun Gaha in 1774 until 1789, marked a shift in policy that pitted the commercially minded monarchy against the entrenched military interests of the major titleholders of the Oyo state, a rivalry that would ultimately undermine the state itself.⁹⁴ Clapperton's observations on the central districts of Oyo confirm our understanding of this period in Oyo history, when the state was imploding, subjected to Fulani raids, the militancy of local Muslims, and struggles for power among officials in control of military forces. The result was the destruction of numerous settlements, and ultimately the abandonment of the city of Oyo itself in c.1836.⁹⁵ The locations of the towns and settlements on Clapperton's route are not always easy to establish, and hence co-editor Bruce Lockhart's journey of rediscovery and his sketches of the route supplement the documentary record.

The information in Clapperton's account, and other scattered information, suggests that by 1826, Oyo was no longer heavily involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and that instead, many of its citizens were being enslaved and ending up as victims of the trade. Oyo's decline, therefore, was compounded by its inability to replenish its military, seriously weakened by the Ilorin revolt. Without sufficient slaves for export, it was not possible to purchase imports that could in turn be used to import horses and knowledgeable cavalry recruits from further north, and in any event the *jihad* altered the conditions of trade, and it is likely that the difficulty of trade between the *jihad* loyalists and their enemies impeded the sale of horses and related military gear.⁹⁶ As Clapperton observed, in the mid 1820s, slaves were being sent through Borgu to Dahomey for export from Ouidah, thereby skirting Oyo to the west. Undoubtedly, other slaves were being shipped to the coast south from Ilorin, ultimately ending in

⁹⁴ Peter Morton-Williams, 'The Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic slave trade, 1670-1830', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3:1 (1964), 25-45; Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600 – c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); I.A. Akinjogbin, 'The Economic Foundations of the Oyo Empire', in I.A. Akinjogbin and S.O. Osoba, eds., *Topics in Nigerian Economic and Social History* (Ife: University of Ife Press, 1980), 35-54; S.O. Babayemi, *Topics on Oyo History* (Lagos: Lichfield Nigeria Ltd., 1991); and Kola Folayan, 'Trade Routes in Egbadò in the Nineteenth Century', in Akinjogbin and Osoba, *Topics in Nigerian Economic and Social History*, 83-95.

⁹⁵ S.O. Babayemi, 'Oyo Ruins', *African Notes* 5:1 (1968), 8-11; and Babayemi, *Topics on Oyo History* (Lagos: Lichfield Nigeria Ltd., 1991).

⁹⁶ Robin Law, *The Horse in West African History: The Role of the Horse in the Societies of Pre-Colonial West Africa* (Oxford: International African Institute, 1980),

Lagos. Clapperton's route from Badagry through Egbado was a shadow of this once important commercial corridor, that had originally gone to Porto Novo but was diverted to Badagry when Adele moved there from Lagos in 1821. Clapperton refers to a route north through Ilesa, but by the early nineteenth century, this route was generally not used. Similarly, a second route went north from Lagos to Ijebu and Ikorodu to Ogbomoso, which Clapperton notes now and then. Presumably this route was in use in the 1820s, unlike the western route, apparently being the main corridor between Ilorin and Lagos.

In the early nineteenth century, the trade to Oyo had gone north through Iseyin, originally passing from Porto Novo through Egbado to Ketu and Meko before heading NW to Iseyin, but by 1821, Gezo's incursions from Dahomey had closed this route. Hence in 1825, Clapperton had to go from Badagry to Ilaro and Ijanna and then through Aibo to Shaki. The intensive destruction of Oyo towns, mapped by S.O. Babayemi, left the capital of Old Oyo virtually isolated, with large areas subjected to civil disorder and chaos, from Iseyin (and indeed Ijebu), along the trade routes that had been developed to avoid trade through Dahomey.⁹⁷ The Ogboro – Igboho – Igbeti triangle in the north was clearly another zone of anomy, and the region between Ago Ora and Ogbomoso must also have been in chaos. The triangle of land between Osogbo, Iwo and the site where New Oyo would be founded in the late 1830s was a zone of ruin already in Clapperton's time. To the west, there was considerable destruction in the old Oyo occupied lands north and south of Iwere-Ile. Consequently, it is no wonder that Iseyin was not visited in 1826. Clapperton was taken along a narrow corridor, the only one available at the time.

Apparently the Clapperton mission followed a route to Ilaro and Ijanna through Egbado country via Ipokia and Ihumba on the west side of the River Yewa, rather than on a route to the west via Ado, because of the strained relations between Badagry and Lagos and its allies. Clapperton's accounts reflect the degree of insecurity in Egbado by 1826, as Ilaro and Ijanna competed as centres of Oyo's declining power in the south. The description of the near-by slaving wars at Tibo and the reports of villages tucked away behind strong defences suggest that the breakdown of Oyo's effective power was well advanced. According to Folayan, the crisis in Egbado began in 1821 and reached a conclusion around 1830.⁹⁸ Clapperton's visit came half way through this period when Oyo retained only the merest toe-hold in Egbado, Oyo influence extending to only a few towns along the trade route, and with the Onisare of Ijanna being virtually independent.

From Ijanna, Clapperton travelled north on high ground skirting Ayetoro and did not descend into the upper Yewa river valley, as Morton-Williams first established.⁹⁹ Clapperton's account provides evidence that these Egbado

⁹⁷ Babayemi, 'Oyo Ruins', 8-11.

⁹⁸ Folayan, 'Trade Routes in Egbado', 83-95.

⁹⁹ Morton-Williams, 'Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade', 25-45.

villages and towns were long established at their present locations.¹⁰⁰ Having crossed the River Oyan, to head for Saki, the mission apparently travelled up the middle of the high plateau, winding round granite hills and passing close to Iwera Ile rather than staying on a more easterly, and more direct, route on the rim of the Ofiki valley. Our identification of the first part of that route is reasonably clear because of a small sketch map by Clapperton showing the line of hills surrounding the route from Assadoo to Bendekka (Gbenleke). Why Clapperton followed this route is not clear. Today this central plateau is thinly populated and the main track runs along the western slopes of the Ofiki valley. The latter would seem to have been an easier route for a trade caravan bound for Saki than one winding through the hills, but in 1826, a period of wars, the Onko villages were located on the higher ground, close to the granite hills, for defensive purposes. It is not known who occupied the Ofiki valley at this time, if anyone.

The *jihad* can be attributed as a major cause of unrest. Marauding bands of Fulani pillaged large areas, as Clapperton testifies, and these can generally be associated with Ilorin and the *jihad* of Sokoto. Crowther's account of the enslavement of his family at the hands of these forces is an example, as discussed above. Furthermore, a consequence of the *jihad* and the resulting insecurity, Oyo refugees of these incursions moved south and west in search of land and safety and almost inevitably came into conflict with local people. The activities of these disruptive bands are particularly obscure in the zone north of Apomu, as far as Osogbo and Iwo. In 1826, it was not safe to travel to Old Oyo from Ilaro via Iseyin. In effect, Oyo had imploded by 1826, with the Opara and Ogun River valleys and the higher ground east of the Ofiki River badly affected. In northern Oyo, Clapperton had to by-pass Ogboro and Igboho (the normal route from Saki, or from Iseyin, direct), presumably for the same reasons. The *alaafin's* writ in western Oyo – from south to north – appears to have been limited to a handful of trading towns, mostly in the west. Certainly the claims that Oyo still held sway over Mahi, Dahomey, Porto Novo and Badagry were more than greatly exaggerated – they were false – except with respect to Adele's Badagry, which was at best an ally and not a dependency. As noted, Dahomey had already secured its independence in 1823, and in the same year had mounted a successful campaign into Mahi country, which Oyo had no means of preventing or reversing, thus leaving its former control in shatters and exposing the Mahi to ongoing incursions from Dahomey.¹⁰¹ Oyo was at war on all fronts.

The collapse of Oyo, which Clapperton witnessed, has been attributed to a

¹⁰⁰ The key to identifying this itinerary is the recognition that Clapperton's Egga is to be equated with Igan Ikoto not Eggua, which Morton-Williams recognized. However, Morton-Williams failed to identify 'Liaboo' as Aibo, and he incorrectly identified the river Clapperton crossed as the 'Ishaka', today known as the Ka, but most certainly Clapperton crossed the River Oyan, probably near Inawole.

¹⁰¹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 271-2.

constitutional crisis, which ultimately pitted Ilorin against the capital, and resulting in the disintegration of central authority. This internal weakness was exploited by the *jihad* leaders who looked to Sokoto. The history of Oyo, Nupe and Borgu were intertwined in part because of the exposed location of Oyo's capital in the extreme northern part of Yorubaland. The decline of Oyo which accelerated in 1817 with the uprising of Muslims at Ilorin came to a peak in 1823, but Oyo still had allies in Borgu and Nupe, and there was strong anti-Muslim sentiments among many Yoruba, demonstrated by the steady migration of Yoruba southward, which would transform Yorubaland in the 1830s. The continuing unrest achieved by the Muslim community lasted through the mid 1820s and is recorded by the Clapperton expedition. Clapperton's observations are particularly valuable, therefore, coming less than a decade after the uprising at Ilorin in 1817, and less than a decade before the final collapse of the capital city and central district of Oyo, which were abandoned by 1836.¹⁰² Moreover, as Clapperton observed, Borgu and Nupe continued to be involved in regional politics, providing sanctuary for various Nupe factions. The Borgu towns – Bussa, Nikki, Wawa, and Kaiama being prominent – were divided politically between Bussa, on the Niger, and a confederation centred on Nikki to the west. They all opposed the *jihad*. In the 1820s and 1830s, the Borgu towns under Nikki were allied with the *alaafin* against Ilorin, and also supported intervention in Nupe.¹⁰³

The turmoil in Nupe can be traced to 1810-12, when the *jihad* was launched by the Nupe cleric, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nufawi, also known as Dan Tsatsa (d. 1829). 'Uthman dan Fodio duly recognized 'Abd al-Rahman as the leader of the *jihad* in Nupe with a flag. It is said that 'Abd al-Rahman visited the Shehu and pledged his submission. In 1813, Muhammad Bello confirmed this relationship in *Infaq al-Maysur*:

there returned our people [to Sokoto] who had gone to Nupeland to help 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nufawi against the army of Nupe. And indeed they fulfilled their trust. We put forward our best endeavour and brought back what there was to bring [i.e., booty].

While he was at Kulfo, Clapperton received a letter from 'Abd al-Rahman, the 'learned malam,' whose influence was much reduced, although he was still revered as a pioneer of *jihad* and a saint. He was murdered three years later, apparently under the instructions of the *jihad* leadership at Raba.¹⁰⁴ 'Abd al-

¹⁰² Law, *Oyo Empire*, 291-6.

¹⁰³ P. Mercier, 'Histoire et légende: la bataille d'Illorin', *Notes africaines* 47 (1950), 92-5; and Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade', *African Economic History* 27 (1999), 69-92.

¹⁰⁴ Mason has established conclusively the complicity of the Raba regime in the death of 'Abd al-Rahman, suggesting a plot to undermine indigenous Nupe leadership. Some traditions claim he was killed in c. 1819, but Clapperton's report shows that he was still alive in 1826. He actually died in April 1829; for a brief biography, see Michael Mason, 'The Nupe Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century: A Political History' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1970), 59-63.

Rahman was a Nupe cleric and hence had been marginalized, and like ‘Abd al-Salaam of Zamfara, who was Hausa, almost all non-Fulani leaders were eliminated as the *jihad* was consolidated along ethnic lines.

Malam Dendo rose to prominence after the death of ‘Uthman dan Fodio in 1817 and the division of the Caliphate into two spheres, the east under Sokoto and Muhammad Bello and the west under Gwandu and ‘Abdullahi dan Fodio. ‘Abd al-Rahman owed his allegiance to ‘Uthman dan Fodio, but the Gwandu regime which became the direct overlord of Nupe (and Ilorin) favoured Malam Dendo, and through him Majiya, who had been Dendo’s student, and who held the position of *etsu* after Jimada was killed in 1819. Jimada’s son, Idrisu, challenged Majiya’s claim to the throne but initially was unsuccessful in dominating the Nupe scene. At first, Majiya relied on the support of the Muslim faction in consolidating his position as *etsu*, but once in power, he tried to limit the influence of the Muslims, perhaps seeking to circumvent a crisis similar to the one in Ilorin in 1823, when ‘Abd al-Salaam took over the leadership of the Muslim community there upon the death of his father, Salih. Dendo withdrew to Ilorin, where the Muslims repulsed two campaigns mounted by Oyo and its Borgu and Nupe allies, including Majiya. The defeat of the Oyo allies near Ilorin led to the retreat of Majiya to northern Nupe, where he established his base at Tabria, near the important market at Kulfo, leaving Raba in the control of Malam Dendo. According to Lander, Gwandu had sent an army to support Dendo in early 1826, and the Gwandu forces returned with 1,000 slaves and 4,000 gowns, Nupe being a center of textile production.¹⁰⁵

Clapperton was in Nupe at this time, and when he arrived at Tabria he found Majiya’s mother and entourage in waiting. Clapperton was duly forwarded to meet Majiya himself at his war-camp at Zugurma. Majiya soon went to Raba to meet Malam Dendo and the victorious forces from Ilorin, apparently to offer his submission, in return for which Dendo recognized Majiya as *etsu*, abandoning his erstwhile ally, Idrisu. Although the allied forces of Ilorin Muslims had supported Idrisu in defeating Majiya, forcing him to withdraw to Tabria in 1825, Dendo changed his mind and apparently summoned his former student to Raba for his submission. Although Idrisu persisted in his bid for the throne, Majiya reigned until his death in c. 1841, residing at a small town near Raba.¹⁰⁶

Further Passage through the Sokoto Caliphate

In the 1820s, travel between Nupe and the central emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate was also seriously dislocated by unrest throughout the region – a result of the general uprising against the central authority of Sokoto begun in 1818, following the death of ‘Uthman dan Fodio. Resistance was endemic and

¹⁰⁵ Lander, *Records of Last Expedition*, vol I, 175. also see Mason, *Bida Kingdom*, 29.

¹⁰⁶ See Femi James Kolapo, ‘Military Turbulence, Population Displacement and Commerce on a Slaving Frontier of the Sokoto Caliphate: Nupe c. 1810-1857’ (Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1999), 43-46, 236-48.

known as *tawiya* – ‘those who shook the spear’. The rebellion had not been suppressed easily, and the period had been characterized by episodes of marauding and pillaging, burning of settlements and plundering for crops, animals, goods and slaves. Forces were small and outcomes indecisive. In these regions in 1824, anomy prevailed; and merchants active in Hausaland might well have taken a dim view of the prospects for secure and rewarding long-distance trade, with its necessary requirements for investment in stock, labour and baggage animals that required protection. In 1826 there was worse to come, when Sokoto and Borno came to blows – a result of gradually heightened theological-political rivalries combined with economic-territorial ambitions in the border zones of Bede and south-west Mandara. Clapperton’s account is useful in assessing the disturbed state of Nupe, providing important documentation of the region of the Mariga valley, the area inhabited by the Gwari and Kambari, and Kotonkoro, which underwent major changes after 1850, with the creation of the emirate of Kontagora under ‘Umar Nagwamatse, grandson of ‘Uthman dan Fodio.

Clapperton’s account of his journey through Kontagora and Kotonkoro, from Kulfo to Birnin Gwari, provides a unique account of a zone that in 1826 was a no man’s land, economically and politically set apart from neighbouring countries. The first part of the caravan route went broadly north-east from Kulfo, on the southern side of the ridge that forms the watershed between the upper Kontagora river and the tributaries of the River Mariga – a country populated by Kambari people. At Ragadawa (some three miles south of today’s Kontagora) the road crossed the border from an area under Nupe influence into one under Yauri’s political authority. Clapperton encountered a son of the Sultan of Yauri visiting Ragadawa. We learn that in this period of anomy, the local populations were armed with bows, arrows, daggers and hatchets or hoes, and distinctly nervous of large Hausa caravans, which they often took to be a Fulani army. The route continued East of NE, through the fertile, cultivated country on the headwaters of the southwards-flowing Farin Ruwa and the River Beiri, both tributaries of the Mariga, to Uzawo (10.27.30N, 5.41E). This was an abandoned land. The towns were deserted and their walls in ruins, and the Kambari population severely at risk. Clapperton informs us that Hausa merchants took advantage of any easy opportunity to seize slaves on the road.

Clapperton records that Uzawo was the first town in Kotonkoro (and border dues were paid there), and lay at the junction of the territories bordering Yauri, Nupe, Gwari and Kotonkoro. The latter description was broadly, but not entirely, correct. When Clapperton passed through, the writ of none of those states extended into the area at all. The land to the south was occupied by Bassa people quite independent of Nupe, and to the east, in the middle River Mariga valley, were the Uregi, Kuseriki, and Kakangi districts, unrelated to the Gwari. From Uzawo, the caravan road turned NNE, through the well watered valleys of the upper River Kura’a and its basin, also tributary to the Mariga, passing to the south of the hills near the walled town of Kwau. The towns he

names as Worm and Worzou were in the vicinity of today's settlements of Makura and Uchichi. Dues were claimed at most towns. After leaving Uzawo, the caravan entered Kamuku country, which extends east beyond the River Mariga to the watershed with the Kariga and Kaduna tributaries, where Gwari territory began. There is no evidence in Clapperton's account of any vestige of the traditional connection of this southern part of Kotonkoro with Katsina, nor of economic or political integration with the outside. The region around Womba was a settled zone, more closely integrated to Kotonkoro in the north. From Womba the caravan travelled east past Galama, crossing the River Mariga, and continuing roughly NE to Kakangi and Kurigi to Goran Duchi, and then east to Birnin Gwari. Once across the Mariga, the caravan was still in Kamuku country (today's Kamaku Forest Area), an area between Nupe and Gwari of low population.

These southern areas of insecurity were not unusual in the Sokoto Caliphate. Those who rose up against Sokoto authority after 1818 included Zamfarawa, Gobirawa and Burmawa, followed by the peoples of northern Katsina and part of Daura Emirate. Then the populations of Katsina's southern dominions, the Katsinawa Laka and the northern Kamuku people, made their own bid for independence. Soon after, the people of northern Gbari took their chance. In 1826 much of the region around Birnin Gwari evidently was in rebellion. In the West, Yauri found itself isolated. The Dukawa and Dakakari broke their ties, the Kebbawa joined the confederation; and south of Yauri, the pagan Kambari were never reliable vassals. Hence, for Sokoto, there was a period of consolidation after the *tawiya* rebellions, and the exiled governments of Gobir and Katsina at Maradi, Tassawa and Konya continued to be a problem.

The *tawiya* following the death of 'Uthman dan Fodio and the continuing inroads of Maradi and Gobir raised issues of national security, the result of which was the construction of numerous fortified towns (*ribat*) throughout the hinterland of Sokoto and near all the major cities of the Caliphate.¹⁰⁷ Clapperton provides invaluable information on several of these, including Fanisau, near Kano, which he had also visited in 1824. He provides considerable information on the *ribat* at Magaria, which was later replaced by Wurno, both located in the Rima River valley northeast of Sokoto. According to Murray Last, 'the establishing of ribats was an extension of Bello's own practice of living in fortified camps, first at Karindaye, then at Magaria and finally at Wurno where he had his own ribat'.¹⁰⁸ Magaria, Wurno, and Karindaye were located on the eastern edge of the Rima valley, Magaria a short distance north-east of Wurno, Karindaye southwest of Wurno. Of the other major ribats, Silame was established on the frontier against Kebbi, standing on a ridge where the river Rima

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion of *ribat*, see John Edward Philips, 'Slavery on Two Ribat in Kano and Sokoto', in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2004), 111-24.

¹⁰⁸ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Humanities Press, 1967), 77-8.

runs in a narrow valley between high escarpments. Silame was first entrusted to Muhammad Bello's son, Muhammad Mudi.¹⁰⁹

Clapperton witnessed the military engagement between Sokoto and the exiled government of Gobir at Konya in October 1826. Clapperton reported that the king of Konya had died in the siege, but he must have either got the information wrong or was referring to someone other than the king. According to Clapperton,

News from Magaria this day arrived, that the people of Goobur had formed a camp outside the walls of their capital, and there elected a new sultan or chief, in the room of the one killed at our attack on Coonia; that he must go on some expedition against their enemies before he returns to his house, such being their custom: but at what part he is going against they do not as yet know. The custom of the Gooburites is at first that, when they elect a chief, which they do outside the walls of the capital, where they sacrifice a bullock, a sheep, and a goat, under a tree, they must go on some expedition against their enemies before they return to their house.

However, Clapperton was mistaken in thinking that the Gobir ruler, Ali Dan Yakubu, was killed; he actually reigned from 1817-1835.¹¹⁰ In fact, according to Gobir tradition, Dan Yakubu sued for peace, betraying the forces under the Galadima and the Inna and resulting in their defeat.

Muhammad Bello laid siege to Konya. For three days there was fighting and there were three areas of conflict, one under the Sarkin [Gobir], one under Galadima and one under Inna.¹¹¹ At night Sarkin Gobir went to [Bello's] camp in secret and said he wished to acknowledge Bello as leader. In the morning hostilities were resumed against Dan Galadima and Inna, but not on the section commanded by the Sarki. At nightfall Inna was told "The Sarki spent the night at Bello's camp and has acknowledged him". Then Inna went to Dan Galadima and said "your efforts are in vain Jibo: the Sarki is spending the nights with Bello & only in the morning does he return here. Wait and see." And this is what he did. He saw Ali go to Bello's camp with Baraya and Yan Ruwa and return at dawn. Jibo ta Uba said "Well, it's true but I for one will not make peace with the Fulani". So he left and went to seek refuge with Sarkin Katsina in Maradi.¹¹²

These divisions among the exiled forces of Gobir and Katsina (Maradi) did not result in their incorporation into the Caliphate, and in fact both continued to raid and otherwise harass Caliphate territory for the rest of the century and was

¹⁰⁹ Besides the information in Clapperton's account, also see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries*, vol IV, 162, 168f.

¹¹⁰ According to information collected by Jean Tilho (*Documents scientifiques du Mission Tilho, 1906-09* (Paris: Imprimerie, 1910), Vol II, 475), Muhammad Bello pursued 'Ali 'Dan Yakubu for three years, eventually seizing his fortified town at Konya, forcing 'Ali to seek refuge in the bush of Gayo, southwest of Tibiri. Bello accepted 'Ali's submission and authorized him to settle at Gawon Gazau, although peace was maintained only until 1831.

¹¹¹ i.e., the Queen Mother.

¹¹² Mss CELHTO, Centre d'études linguistiques et historiques par tradition orale, Niamey, collected by Abubakar Mahamame and translated by Jean Boyd. The text is written in a dialect that suggests a Gobir source.

a major reason why Bello promoted a policy of establishing frontier *ribat*.

Clapperton provides an interesting overview of the structure of the Caliphate in 1826, at which time the empire was divided administratively between Sokoto and Gwandu. The politics of the state were based on personal relationships and the legacy of the early *jihād* campaigns. Hence Clapperton's observations on the politics of the Shehu's family, including information on the uncle, brothers and cousins of Bello, are useful. The political details on Zaria, Kano and Sokoto put Clapperton's expedition in context. Clapperton's visit at Zaria suggests that the rivalries of the various Fulani clans had been stabilized through the rotation of the position of emir among the principal clans. The leader of the *jihād* in Zaria was Mallam Musa, a Fulani cleric from the region of Timbuktu, who had been a pupil of 'Uthman dan Fodio. However, there were several Fulani lineages in Zaria, including the Bornawa, Bapaiyo and Suleibawa, and succession was a serious problem that had been resolved through the intervention of Waziri Gidado of Sokoto (see below).¹¹³

Clapperton's sojourn in Kano was at an auspicious time. Emir Ibrahim Dabo was preoccupied with Dan Tunku, the rebel Fulani leader in the northern part of the emirate who had challenged Dabo's accession in 1819. At the time of Clapperton's visit in 1826, the Emir was at Fanisau, his *ribat* to the immediate north of Kano, which was the principal military defence against Dan Tunku (today the site of the Kano airport). In 1824, Clapperton had also visited Fanisau. However, in 1826, the political context had changed dramatically. Kano was faced with a threatened with an invasion from Borno, whereas the dispute with Dan Tunku was being resolved, again through the intervention of Waziri Gidado. In 1826, Muhammad Bello created the small, independent emirate of Kazaure, bordering Daura, and actually carved out of Kano territory, and appointed Dan Tunku as emir.¹¹⁴

In Sokoto, because of his status as a diplomat and foreigner, Clapperton was in the care of the Gidado dan Laima, i.e., 'Uthman b. Abubakr dan Laima, who held the office of *waziri*. Known as Gidado ('Beloved') for his devotion to 'Uthman dan Fodio and Muhammed Bello, he was *waziri* from 1817 until his death in 1842.¹¹⁵ The best authority on his career is Murray Last in his study of the Sokoto Caliphate, in which the position of *waziri* and the career of Gidado are prominently discussed.¹¹⁶ In this regard, Gidado's direct descendant, Junaidu, subsequently held the position of *waziri*, which he held until his death, and thereby continued a tradition of scholarship that had begun in Gidado's time. In the 1820's, the *waziri* was responsible for many of the eastern emirates, including Kano, Zaria and Adamawa, sometimes intervening in succession disputes. Moreover, Waziri Gidado was married to Nana Ashma'u, daughter of

¹¹³ See M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

¹¹⁴ See Smith, *Government in Kano*, 231-33.

¹¹⁵ Waziri Gidado was born near Gwandu in 1776, he was three years older than Muhammad Bello and was his close companion during the *jihād*; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 149-50.

¹¹⁶ See the extended discussion in Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 145-226.

‘Uthman dan Fodio and sister of Muhammad Bello. Jean Boyd and Beverly Mack have collected her poetry and described her importance in the education of elite women in the Caliphate.¹¹⁷

Waziri Gidado was well known for his generosity to foreigners, and indeed one of his responsibilities was their welfare. In a poem by his wife, the Waziri was eulogized as ‘untiringly hospitable to strangers’ and ‘was exceedingly generous in every respect: he provided accommodation for all who came. He was the same with everyone, stranger and kinsman alike’. Clapperton was a recipient of this generosity, specifically through ‘Moodie’, i.e. Muhammad Mudi, a brother of Muhammad Bello who was assigned responsibility for Clapperton’s entourage. In fact the *waziri* was also responsible for the general well being of Muslims, again as noted by Nana Asma’au,

He worked conscientiously to put things to right and Benefit Muslims... He constantly tended to the needs of the common man, making sure they had food and drink. He calmed them down. He was tireless. He explained matters to them. He sent presents (to those in need, without being asked) for the sake of God’s reward.¹¹⁸

Clapperton saw him at work building a new mosque in Sokoto in 1824. He was in charge of repairing the Shehu and Bello mosques and other city buildings.¹¹⁹

Clapperton described the position of the Arab community at length. On the one hand, much of Clapperton’s information came from Arab merchants, Hadje Hat Salah of Kano is one example, and yet on the other hand, he had an inflated view of their intrigue against him and their influence with the governments of both Sokoto and Borno.¹²⁰ There were only a few Arabs in Sokoto when Clapperton was there; men such as Muḥammad b. Ḥājj ‘Umar Ghamzu were mainly businessmen and not intellectuals, and they had little if any influence on Bello. They could not have persuaded Bello to constrain Clapperton because of commercial jealousy, if they had wished. Hence, according to Waziri Junaidu, Clapperton’s fears were a product of his own imagination, and in Sokoto thinking, at least, Bello’s attitude would have been a normal, polite and friendly reception of a foreign guest. Junaidu insists that there were no suspi-

¹¹⁷ Jean Boyd and Beverly B. Mack, eds., *Collected Works of Nana Asma’u, Daughter of Usman ‘dan Fodiyo (1793-1864)* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997).

¹¹⁸ Boyd and Mack, *Collected Works of Nana Asma’u*, 201.

¹¹⁹ See Clapperton’s comment from his earlier expedition, ‘we rode by appointment to view a new mosque which was building at the expense of the Gadado, not far distant from Atteeko’s house... Some workmen were employed in ornamenting the pillars, othes in completing the roof; and all appeared particularly busy, from the circumstances of the gadado being here to receive me (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 693-4).

¹²⁰ For example, in 1824, Clapperton thought that the Arabs were opposed to his plans to travel to Yauri to pursue information on the death of Mungo Park. He thought that the Arabs ‘well knowing how fatal this scheme would prove to their traffic in the interior, probably now attempted to persuade both the sultan and the Gadado that the English would come and take the country from them; by which insinuations they induced the sultan to embrace this disingenuous expedient to disengage himself from his promise [to allow Clapperton to travel to Yauri]’ (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 685).

cions; Clapperton's use of Arabic may have helped. According to Waziri Junaidu, Gidado and Bello would have spoken with one and the same voice towards Clapperton. If Clapperton felt he had a special friend at court through Gidado, he was wrong because the two men had an 'immensely close' relationship.¹²¹

His sojourn in Nupe, and his stay at the then important market town of Kulfo, enabled him to learn about events as far away as Asante and the middle Volta basin, to the southwest, as well as in the centers of the Sokoto Caliphate. His knowledge of Kano and Sokoto, based in part on his previous visit and the people he had met at that time, is particularly useful. As we document in Appendix III and IV. Clapperton relied on information from several well-known and knowledgeable individuals whom he knew well. As noted previously, he also had used Bello's *Infaq al-Maysur*, some of which was translated for an appendix to the narrative of the Borno Mission, and other excerpts were included in an appendix to the published version of the second expedition.¹²²

The considerable amount of information on itineraries and the several maps that were drawn in his quest to establish the geography of the Central Sudan are assembled in Appendix IV and V, documenting caravan routes covering the regions from Kordofan to the Niger bend, and hence is a compendium of contemporary information on trade and geography. Recognizing full well that Clapperton's account was filtered through language barriers and poorly understood current events, Clapperton nonetheless allows us to appreciate the geography of communication and interaction within West Africa. Such a political geography included the orbits of the various *jihad* states, Futa Toro, Futa Jallon, Futa Bondu, and Hamdullahi (Masina). His account provides important observations on slavery, trade, and production. He gives details of caravan organization, the costs of travel, including hiring of animals and porters, and information on trade at various market towns, especially details on the prices of commodities, the scale of craft production, and the agriculture. His extensive commentary on daily life and society offer considerable insight; an example is the 'widow Zuma' at Kulfo. His discussions of food, clothing, funeral rites, marriage, and other aspects of life, including some vocabulary, especially Hausa, require fuller analysis than possible here. His scientific observations are less valuable because subsequent information is more accurate, but nonetheless, he collected considerable information on birds, animals, flora, fauna, and the natural landscape. His description of the Gundumi bush between Sokoto and Kano is a good example.

If Clapperton had lived, he undoubtedly would have recovered information that was in his lost journals on the road from Kano to Sokoto, and his illness in Sokoto undoubtedly limited his collection of information, although as we have noted he was soliciting information; his next to last entry is the payment for a

¹²¹ Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994. Also see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*.

¹²² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 444-61; *Journal of Second Expedition*, 337-8.

map and Arabic text on geography. To some extent his servant Richard Lander continued his observations, but with less command and certainly with less skill. When he died in Sokoto on 13 April 1827, Clapperton was on the verge of the fame that he sought. He knew the course of the Niger to the sea and was now preoccupied with meeting other commitments that might well have resulted in diplomatic and commercial initiatives that would have furthered British interests. The Lander brothers returned to fulfill the mission, and later British adventurers opened the Niger River to steam navigation and pioneered in health measures to combat malaria that severely restricted the ability of European outsiders to withstand the risks of the tropics. Clapperton probably died of malaria himself, or complications therefrom. He was buried at Jangebe, five miles north-east of Sokoto. The inhabitants of Jangebe have a legend about their village being chosen for the site of the burial of Clapperton, a *kafir*, because they had not built a mosque and so they moved the village and built one.¹²³ Official Sokoto accounts dismiss this tradition, according to Waziri Gidado, as just 'village talk'.¹²⁴ Clapperton's remains were disinterred and re-buried in the new Christian burial ground in Sokoto in or around 1908 on the orders of Major J.A. Burdon, British Resident in Sokoto. The colonial officer who carried this out apparently also took a gun of Clapperton's, which had been in the possession of the Murtowali of Jangebe. The memorial in the European Cemetery consists of a metal cross at the head of a plot surrounded by stone, with the simple inscription: 'Commander H. Clapperton, RN, died 1827'. He has also been immortalized through the attachment of his name to an island in North Channel, Lake Huron, and to streets in Barrie, Ontario, in Dumfriesshire, southwest Scotland, and in Sokoto, Nigeria. A variety of locust bean tree has been recognized as *Parkia clappertonia*, and a species of francolin of the northern savanna as *Francolinus clappertonii clappertonii*.

Sokoto-Borno Relations

Unfortunately for Clapperton on his second expedition, the first British mission had been involved in the military exploits of Borno, and the strained relations between Sokoto and Borno in 1826, resulting in war, raise the possibility of misinterpretation of the importance of the actual military assistance and technical advice that had been provided and was potentially available to Borno. War broke out again in 1826, to the detriment of Clapperton's goal of reaching Borno and resulting in his journey to Sokoto and his eventual death there. The caution on the part of the governments in Kano and Sokoto is understandable, and the war between Sokoto and Borno seriously compromised the second British expedition to Sokoto in 1825-26. In 1822-24, Borno and Sokoto were at peace, although the bitter exchange between al-Kanemi and Bello over the

¹²³ Bruce Lockhart interview, Jangebe, March 1994.

¹²⁴ Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994.

activities of the *jihad* forces in Borno indicates that the truce was uneasy. When Clapperton returned to the Caliphate in 1826, Borno and Sokoto were at war. Although militarily of marginal importance, British armaments and military skills were nonetheless being used by Borno against Sokoto. Hence Clapperton's insistence on his diplomatic right to travel to Borno, despite hostilities, should be measured against the suspicion that the mission carried arms for al-Kanemi at a time of threatened hostilities, and in fact war erupted, thereby fully undermining any diplomatic immunity Clapperton may have thought he had. His entourage was ordered from Kano to Sokoto; his baggage was found to contain arms and ammunition, although in fact only handguns intended as gifts for the Borno court. It was very possible that such weapons would have been used in the hostilities between Borno and Sokoto. This embarrassment, in the wake of the exaggerated rumours of earlier military assistance to Borno, still might have been overcome, but further negotiations to confirm the Sokoto-British accord on abolition and commerce ended when Clapperton died.

Relations between Sokoto and Borno were a legacy of the *jihad*. There was ongoing diplomatic confrontation, occasionally breaking out into war. The initial period of correspondence, 1808-12, concerned the legitimacy of the *jihad* in Borno, which was a Muslim state that from some perspectives should not have been attacked.¹²⁵ The ongoing correspondence reveals theological disagreements as well as political considerations. Nonetheless, both states were Muslim, and al-Kanemi sent a warning letter to Sokoto about British aims, which according to Waziri Gidado, was regarded in Sokoto as a provocation. It became an incident. A photocopy of the letter is in the Sokoto Museum.¹²⁶ The situation was tense and hostile. In an effort to regain lost territory, al-Kanemi ordered the invasion of the border region, even sending his troops into Kano Emirate.¹²⁷ In the subsequent treaty Bello conceded land for peace, and gave back Missau.¹²⁸ Local accounts speak of the war in terms of a 'cloud' because thousands of troops were involved. In Borno tradition, the campaign was likened to shooting an arrow into a cooking pot, and the special symbolism was brought home when a pot was afterwards taken to the home of Gwoni Mukhtar,

¹²⁵ For a discussion, see Louis Brenner, 'The *Jihad* Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse in Nigeria', in J.A.F. Ajayi and J.D.Y. Peel, eds., *People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder* (London: Longman, 1992), 21-43; Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The Bello-Clapperton Exchange: The Sokoto *Jihad* and the Transatlantic Slave Trade', in Christopher Wise, ed., *The Desert Shore: Literatures of the Sahel* (Boulder CO: Lynn Rienner, 2001), 201-25; and Al-Hajj and Last, 'Attempts at Defining a Muslim', 231-40.

¹²⁶ Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994.

¹²⁷ For al-Kanemi's invasion of the Caliphate in 1826, see Victor N. Low, *Three Nigerian Emirates: A Study in Oral History* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1972; Smith, *Government in Kano*; Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*).

¹²⁸ Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994. For details of the war, see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*; Smith, *Government in Kano*.

the man who had led the sack of Birni Gazargamu in 1806.¹²⁹ Gwoni Mukhtar was long since dead, but his son, Muhammad Manga, had inherited the leadership of the Borno *jihad* when his father was killed in 1809 and the *jihad* army was expelled for central Borno. Muhammad Manga established a new base at Deya, from where al-Kanemi expelled him in the campaign referred to here.¹³⁰

By 1819, al-Kanemi was chiefly concerned with reestablishing control over territory lost during the *jihad*, and this involved humbling the various Fulani contingents who had sided with Sokoto, and also provinces such as Manga and Bagirmi which had attempted to assert their independence. Muhammad Manga and other Fulani clan leaders continued to harass Borno territory, stealing cattle and slaves. There were other Fulani leaders targeted by al-Kanemi. Clapperton refers to Muhammad dan Kauwa, the nephew of Malam Ibrahim Zaki, the founder of Katagum Emirate, who assumed the emirship in 1816. Another leader was Muhammad Wabi, the son of Ardo Sale, and the head of the Fulanin Mare, centred at the small emirate of Marma, who had also received a flag and hence was one of al-Kanemi's targets as well.¹³¹

The campaign launched by al-Kanemi in late 1825 undertook to secure the western frontier and to end Fulani raids from Deya and the border emirates. In response, Muhammad Manga fled westward, and the Sokoto Caliphate prepared for the Borno invasion into the border emirates. Al-Kanemi's forces camped near Murmur, on the border between Hadejia and Katagum, and close to Kano Emirate. Despite considerable raiding, no decisive battle was fought between Borno and the Sokoto armies, and in June 1826, at the beginning of the rains, al-Kanemi withdrew to Borno. His campaign was hardly successful, although Emir Dan Kauwa was driven out of Katagum and was not able to return for several years, and the pre-*jihad* dynasty at Shira was reinstated.¹³² In December 1826, al-Kanemi resumed his campaigns in the west, and especially sought Muhammad Manga and his forces, which resulted in a general alarm in Kano, which Clapperton reported. As al-Kanemi wrote after this campaign, his intention was punitive and was not intended to seize territory.¹³³ As the Borno army retreated, there were skirmishes with Emir Yakubu of Bauchi that were indecisive, although Muhammad Manga and his army gave up their pretensions to Borno territory, and instead Sokoto allowed Manga to settle at Missau, which became the center of a small emirate and had the authority to collect the cattle tax from all Fulani who had originally pastured their herds in Borno.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994. The destruction of Birni Gazargamu, see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*.

¹³⁰ Low, *Three Nigerian Emirate*; and Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 55-8.

¹³¹ Low, *Three Nigerian Emirates*, 115-23. Last lists Muhammad Nema as a flag bearer, but on the western frontier, which may be an error; *Sokoto Caliphate*, 54.

¹³² Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 55-8; Low, *Three Emirates*, 118-23; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 476.

¹³³ Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 58, citing a letter written by al-Kanemi after the 1826 campaign.

¹³⁴ He held the title Sarkin Borno ta Gabas (Emir of Borno in the east); see Low, *Three Emirates*, 112-3, 124.

From 1826, Borno maintained its control over the frontier through a garrison stationed at Gubja and administered by Abdullahi Turmusoama, a royal slave.

Jihad, Slavery and Abolition

As an agent of the British Government, Clapperton was inevitably involved in issues relating to the slave trade, and his observations on both slavery and the slave trade are important. Clapperton reveals this concern in speaking notes that were apparently prepared for a meeting with Muhammad Bello, drafted in June or July 1826, which read as follows:

1st In the event of the King of Great Britain sending a consul to regulate the trade to reside in any of the Sultan of Hausa's – towns ~~under~~ in his dominions that he shall be allowed the same privileges that are allowed to the Consuls of Great Britain in other Mohamedan countries – that is he shall be allowed to hoist a flag of great Britain on his residence – & that his house shall be a refuge to criminals &c- & he shall regulate all affairs between the Subjects of Great Britain and those of the Sultan Bello – [illegible passage, faint, in a different style of his handwriting]

2nd That the Sultan Bello will use all his influence in putting a stop to the selling of slaves to the agents of Slave dealers who frequent Koolfu and the other towns on the East^l bank of the Niger and in his towns of Rabba, Rakah and Affaga or Elora in Youriba – and that he will cause this article to be published by the Gov^{ts} of Kano, Zeg zeg and Raba and to order them to put it [in] force that no merchants will be allowed to carry slaves to the Westerd- for sale but only such as are necessary for carrying their goods. That he will also write to the Magaia Mohamed the present Sultan of Nyffe to induce him to so the same & to the King of Boussa and all the other powers whom he is on terms of Friendship to follow his example.¹³⁵

In this context, it should be recognized that the Sokoto leadership was deeply concerned over matters of slavery, so much so that Humphrey Fisher has been prompted to label 'Uthman dan Fodio a 'Muslim Wilberforce'.¹³⁶ According to Fisher, the illegal enslavement of free Muslims was a fundamental reason given by the proponents of *jihad* for their actions against Gobir, and hence those who pursued the *jihad* advocated the partial abolition of the slave trade. These reformers promoted the amelioration of slave status through conversion to Islam, and they instituted or reinforced mechanisms for the emancipation of slaves. Whether or not these reform policies that attempted to protect Muslims were fully implemented is not the issue addressed here. In fact, the *jihad*

¹³⁵ Remark Book, CO 2/16, at f 31, there is one sheet of 13" x 8½" foolscap, folded longwise. By inference, from the location of the loose sheet among other papers, the ink and handwriting, this note was probably written between Kulfo and Zaria in June-July 1826 on his way to Kano.

¹³⁶ Humphrey J. Fisher, 'A Muslim William Wilberforce? The Sokoto *Jihad* as Anti-Slavery Crusade: An Enquiry into Historical Causes', in S. Daget, ed., *De la traite à l'esclavage: actes du Colloque international sur la traite des noirs* (Nantes: Centre de recherche sur l'histoire du monde atlantique, 1985).

resulted in extensive enslavement of populations that countered the hesitant commitment to partial abolition of the slave trade and the amelioration of the status of slaves who were Muslims.

The debate in western Africa over issues of slavery was at least three centuries old when the Sokoto *jihad* broke out in 1804. As is well known, the writings of al-Maghili, Ahmad Baba, and other Muslims on issues of enslavement and the problems in legitimising slavery in Islamic society were basic to the curriculum of Islamic studies in western Africa.¹³⁷ This context is important in understanding the possible motivations and influences underlying the policies of the Sokoto leadership. Muslims, at least, were engaged in an active debate over their identities as free people or as strategy of identification to ameliorate the condition of slavery both in Muslim and non-Muslim contexts. The difficulty in the Islamic context was the justification of enslavement when the status of the individual as a Muslim was in doubt. Needless to say, the preoccupation with this issue suggests that many of those who were enslaved found a strategy of their own in claiming to be Muslims. In particular, the official statements of Muhammad Bello in the early 1820s reveal knowledge of issues and a concern for reform that has been too frequently overlooked, despite Fisher's contribution.

As the writings of Bello make clear, the Sokoto leadership was opposed to the sale of slaves, particularly Muslims, to Christians. In 1812, Muhammad Bello, in *Infaq al-maisur*, condemned the sale of slaves to Christians: 'The people from Yorubaland catch slaves from our land and sell them to the Christians so we are told. I mention this to stop people selling Moslem slaves to them, because of those who buy them. Harm will result from this'.¹³⁸ The enslavement of freeborn Muslims continued to be a factor after the success of the *jihad* in 1804-08, and Bello for one was deeply concerned. Nonetheless, the trade to the Guinea coast continued under Bello, reaching significant proportions in the 1810s and 1820s. Enslaved Muslims from the Central Sudan were heavily involved in revolts and disturbances in Bahia, where they were concentrated, culminating in the famous 1835 Malês uprising.¹³⁹ According to Clapperton, 'the greater part of the young Male Slaves are carried down and disposed of in the Bight of Benin; & Bello exacts an annual Tribute from the Traders for permission to carry those unfortunate Beings down to the Coast'.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Slavery, the Bilad al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African diaspora', in Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2003).

¹³⁸ As translated in Arnett, *Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, 16. Also see, translation by A. Salamé, used by Clapperton (Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative*, II, 454): 'Yarba [Yoruba, i.e. Oyo] is an extensive province, containing rivers, forests, sands, and mountains, as also a great many wonderful and extraordinary things... By the side of this province there is an anchorage or harbour for the ships of the Christians, who used to go there and purchase slaves. These slaves were exported from our country, and sold to the people of Yarba, who resold them to the Christians'.

¹³⁹ See João Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Also see Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Background to Rebellion: The Origins of Muslim Slaves in Bahia', in Lovejoy and Nicholas Rogers (eds.), *Unfree Labour in the Development of the Atlantic World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994), 151-80.

¹⁴⁰ Clapperton to R. Wilmot Horton, 6 June 1825, in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, 774.

Whether or not the Sokoto government taxed this trade as Clapperton reports, there were Muslim merchants, at least one of whom was Hausa, operating between Lagos and Bahia as early as the 1820s.¹⁴¹

In any event, both Clapperton and Bello independently confirm that the Sokoto government was fully aware of this trade. In an official letter to King George IV, Bello confirmed the preliminary accord reached with Clapperton. The ‘friendly relation’ being proposed included an agreement

to prohibit the exportation of slaves by our merchants to Atagher [Atagara, i.e. Idah, on the Niger], Dahomi, and Ashantee. We agreed with him upon this, on account of the good which will result from it, both to you and to us; and that a vessel of yours is to come to the harbour of Racka with two cannons, and the quantities of powder, shot, &c. which they require; as also, a number of muskets. We will then send our officer to arrange and settle every thing with your consul, and fix a period for the arrival of your merchant ships; and when they come, they may traffic and deal with our merchants. Then after their return, the consul may reside in that harbour (viz. Racka), as protector, in company with our agent there, if God be pleased.¹⁴²

The letter was dated 1 Ramadan, 1239 (18 April 1824) and demonstrates that Bello’s commitment to the ending of slave sales to Christians was conditional on the receipt of arms and ammunition.

Clapperton suggested that the military commitment was insignificant; the number of firearms, artillery pieces, and ammunition was presented as such. He concluded that Bello could enforce abolition, not assessing the impact of the military wares on the political stability of the Central Sudan.

With regard to the Foreign Slave Trade, I should think that through our intercourse with Bello there is a fair opportunity of cramping, if not totally abolishing, this nefarious traffic. I urged many arguments for his discontinuing to permit the Trade from his domains, and appealed to their own Law, which forbids them to sell their Slaves to Christians; & ultimately I succeeded in obtaining from Bello a promise that ‘a total stop should be put to the Traffic immediately’.¹⁴³

Clapperton believed that the Sokoto government would be able to achieve abolition with ‘very little assistance’ from Britain. The means would be

¹⁴¹ Mieko Nishida, *Gender, ‘Ethnicity and Kinship in Salvador’* (Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 43–4.

¹⁴² According to Clapperton, ‘The Sultan restated that Fundah is the name of the place where the Quorra enters the sea, during the rainy season; and that Tagra [Atagara], a town on the sea-coast, where many Felatas reside, is governed by one of his subjects, a native of Kashna, named Mohamed Mishnee’ (*Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, p. 689). In a letter dated 9 February 1825, Warrington told Bathurst, ‘I conceive Lt. Clapperton’s arrangements with Bello to be admirable ... and requesting him to send an escort to Taggara or Benin to afford him safe conduct to His Presence’ (*Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, Additional Documents, p. 757). Atagara is to be identified with Idah; see Sydney Kanya-Forstner and Paul E. Lovejoy (eds.), *Agents, Pilgrims, and Interpreters: French Reconnaissance Reports from the 1890s* (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1997), 144, n60.

¹⁴³ Clapperton to R. Wilmot Horton, 6 June 1825, in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 775.

through ‘opening to him a free and uninterrupted Passage to the Sea Coast, from which he is now no more than ten days distant; By doing this he would disperse those Gangs of Slave Dealers, who dwell in that short distance from the Bight of Benin, receiving whole Kofilas of Slaves from the interior of Soudan’.¹⁴⁴

Bello’s need for military wares was urgent. War with Borno was imminent.¹⁴⁵ ‘Let me know the precise time, and my messengers shall be down at any part of the coast you may appoint, to forward letters to me from the mission, on receipt of which I will send an escort to conduct it to Soudan’.¹⁴⁶ Before leaving Kukawa, Clapperton wrote to Bello informing him that he would be at Ouidah the following July, and would expect to find messengers waiting there to conduct him to Sokoto.¹⁴⁷ Later, however, Clapperton learned that Bello ‘had never received my letter from Bornou appointing where his messengers were to meet me on the coast’.¹⁴⁸ Given the tension between Borno and Sokoto, this failure in communication is not surprising. It is even possible that the modest ‘arms race’ between Borno and Sokoto was a factor in the hostilities that erupted between the two governments in 1826.

As the Clapperton-Bello negotiations reveal, Muslim governments might well have their own reasons for abolishing the slave trade. While a formal treaty was not ratified, many of the terms of the proposals of the 1820s were in fact implemented, as a survey of Caliphate-British relations between 1820-56 reveals.¹⁴⁹ From the perspective of the Caliphate, especially as articulated by Bello, the concern over the rights of Muslims was the equivalent to the European preoccupation with the ‘rights of man’. In the European debate, the attack on the trans-Atlantic slave trade also contained its own contradictions that led to the protracted movement to end slavery. The increasingly racist

¹⁴⁴ Clapperton to R. Wilmot Horton, 6 June 1825, in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 773.

¹⁴⁵ Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 55-64.

¹⁴⁶ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 695-6. Clapperton wrote to R. Wilmot Horton, 7 June 1825, ‘I answered that I would acquaint Him so soon as I had rejoined Major Denham at Bornou; from which place I wrote to Bello, mentioning “July” as the probable period, and name the “Town of Widdah”, on the sea-coast, as the place to which I gave preference. I then conceived that I should have returned earlier to England’ (C.O. 2/13), as quoted in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 776-7. Also see Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 136.

¹⁴⁷ Clapperton also wrote to Bello and Waziri Gidado from Katagum on his return to Borno, and while there are no details of this correspondence it is possible that he reconfirmed his arrangements to arrive at the coast; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 717. In his Remark Book, he noted that he ‘wrote a letter to the Gidado to tell him it was most likely I shd- return in the Spring’ see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 202; also see Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 140. The Remark Book also records a letter to Bello on 20th June, with a sword recently received by courier, but does not mention the content of the letter or give a date. The same is reported in *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 718. A propos, Clapperton and Denham had a serious disagreement over these intentions to return via the coast rather than across the Sahara; see Denham diary quoted in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 753-4. Later, Warrington fully endorsed Clapperton’s initiative as admirable; see letter of 9 February 1825, in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 756-8. Clapperton’s report to the Colonial Office on Sokoto and his negotiations with Bello are reprinted in *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 771-7.

¹⁴⁸ Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition*, 184; also see Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 211.

¹⁴⁹ Lovejoy, ‘Bello-Clapperton Exchange’, 201-25.

arguments that were subsequently imposed seriously limited the effectiveness of the anti-slavery movement as a humanitarian endeavour. Similarly, Bello's concerns about the enslavement of and the trade in Muslims revealed a fundamental contradiction in the *jihad* movement that prevented its vision of partial abolition being fully realized. How was it possible to determine who was a Muslim and therefore subject to the protection of the Islamic state? The issue was not easily settled.

Bello's commitment to abolition was both ideological and pragmatic. On the one hand, he was committed to the consolidation of the *jihad* and the prohibition on the enslavement of free Muslims and the sale of enslaved Muslims to Christians. On the other hand, he continued to prosecute a war that resulted in the enslavement of many people, some of whom, at least, claimed to be Muslims. Ultimately, the tentative moves towards partial abolition that emerged in Bello's writings, the debate with al-Kanemi over 'just' enslavement, and the negotiations with the British came to naught.¹⁵⁰ The export of slaves to the Americas continued. Al-Hajj 'Umar has provided a condemning report on the external slave trade of the Caliphate in his *Risalat Sawq al-Habib ila Ibrahim al-Labib*, which he wrote after returning to Sokoto from Mecca in c. 1835:

no one can be more ignorant and arrogant than sinful and criminal people who legalize enslavement of free people by an act of fatwa... To sell Muslim slaves to the Europeans or to others, is totally prohibited...but despite this prohibition, people who pretend to be knowledgeable, let alone the ignorant are still competing in this hated transaction...worse still we do not see anyone condemning it, nor is there any one from among the 'ulama' or the amirs, trying to put an end to this illegal practice. They act as if it were no longer obligatory upon them to do so.¹⁵¹

Considering 'Umar's pretensions to the Caliphate when Bello died in 1837, these comments on the continuation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade indicate that Bello's abolitionist policies were not successfully implemented.

We do not know enough about the debate within the Sokoto Caliphate over issues of slavery, although it is clear that there was such a debate. Nor do we fully understand the efforts to ameliorate the conditions of slaves within the Sokoto Caliphate or address issues of abuse. Eventually, a port was opened to

¹⁵⁰ Al-Hajj and Last, 'Attempts at Defining a Muslim'. According to Brenner (*Shehus of Kukawa*, 40-2), at least twenty letters were exchanged between the *jihad* leadership and al-Kanemi between 1808-12. Many of the letters are in Muhammad Bello, *Infraq al-maysur*; two are translated by Abdullahi Smith and Muhammad Al-Hajj (Thomas Hodgkin, ed., *Nigerian Perspectives: an Historical Anthology* (London: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1975), 261-7). Another letter from al-Kanemi to Goni Mukhtar, the leader of the *jihad* forces in Borno, dated 17 Rabi' al-Awwil 1223 (13 May 1808), is in the University of Ibadan Library (Mss 82/237) and is translated by Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 39-41.

¹⁵¹ *Risalat Sawq al-Habib*, Ms Arabe BNP, No. 5724; as cited in Omar Jah, 'The Effect of Pilgrimage on the Jihad of Al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi 1794-1864', in Yusuf Fadl Hasan and Paul Doornbos, eds., *The Central Bilad al Sudan: Tradition and Adaptation* (Khartoum: University of Khartoum Press, 1977), 239.

British trade, not at Raka, which had been destroyed in the Nupe wars, but at Lokoja, at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers and in the emirate of Bida. In effect, the British-Caliphate accord that was reached in the early 1820s was implemented thirty years later, and consequently its impact was certainly different from that envisioned. The Bello-Clapperton accord reveals another perspective on the course of abolition – the Muslim dimension. While the Islamic discourse on the legitimacy of slavery is revealed in the correspondence of al-Kanemi and Bello, and in the discussions both leaders had with Clapperton, it is clear that the impact of this debate on western thought was marginal. Nonetheless, the effects on diplomatic history were important. With respect to abolition, British policy was based as much on expediency as that of Sokoto and Borno. While committed to the abolitionist ideology of its day, the British Mission did not object particularly to the continuation of slave raiding, which indeed was observed. For Denham, Clapperton and their compatriots, the British mission could overlook enslavement in the interests of ‘scientific’ discovery. For Bello and al-Kanemi, abolition was desirable with respect to Muslims, but not when there was war, as in 1826. Shaikh ‘Uthman dan Fodio was indeed a contemporary of Wilberforce, as Fisher reminds us, and Muhammad Bello was a contemporary of Buxton. Abolition and commercial ‘progress’ found proponents both in Britain and in the Caliphate and Borno. Attitudes towards the emancipation of slaves were another matter.

As Clapperton’s death as well as the deaths of so many others demonstrates, the British presence in the interior of West Africa in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was fragile, to say the least. Once the Niger ‘riddle’ was solved, British interest focused on the lower Niger and the overland routes to the interior from Ouidah and Lagos. After 1830, most expeditions were directed up the Niger River, and a British outpost was attempted at the confluence in 1841. This initiative was a disaster, however, and a permanent trading post was only established at Lokoja following William Balfour Baikie’s successful 1854 expedition, which used quinine as a prophylactic against malaria. In 1857 Macregor Laird was issued a five-year contract to run steamers on the Niger, which resulted in the establishment of factories along the lower river. Thereafter, the Niger was a regular avenue into the interior for British trade. Clapperton’s first, hesitant move into the interior failed to establish British influence to any extent and rather revealed the autonomy of the Muslim states of the Sudan. If there was an ‘informal’ British empire in the making, it would have been difficult to recognize it as such at the time.

The Texts

For much of the expedition, Clapperton kept two sets of journals – a normal practice for the security of documents, which naturally involved much writing.¹⁵² One was a ‘remark book’, sometimes written up in the course of the day, for example at the noon halts, in which he entered course details and brief jottings by which to recall encounters and incidents for writing up later. The second was a journal proper, in which he re-wrote these jottings in an expanded and more organised form. Clapperton normally only made use of his remark books when on the road, although he used them, and apparently loose paper as well, for miscellaneous records as well, for example, barometrical and thermometrical notes, sketches or places or objects, rough maps of the lay-out of a town or a line of hills, expenses in cowries, language notes, drafts of notes in Arabic, or correspondence or lists of presents given or received. Publication, if any, would be a quite separate exercise – and one which for most of the journey was probably only at the back of his mind.

At various times Clapperton sent his journals and papers to London, and Lander brought home what had not been sent and these were deposited with the Colonial Office in June 1828.¹⁵³ These papers are now held in the National Archives, Kew, London. There is a miscellany of material, much of it, unfortunately, incomplete, in the following series of records in the Colonial Office Papers (CO) and the Admiralty Papers (ADM) of the Public Record Office:

*CO 2 Exploration: original correspondence, 1794 - 1844**CO 2/15, Missions to the interior of Africa*¹⁵⁴

- Correspondence from the Mission [ff 202 - 271]
- Clapperton’s journal version II, sent from Katunga, March 1826 [ff 272 - 326]
- Letters from Pearce and Dickson [ff 327 - 348]
- Miscellaneous letters relating to the mission [ff 350 - 392]

CO 2/16, Missions to the interior of Africa

- Lander’s papers [ff 1-23]
- Clapperton’s Remark Books [ff 24 - 100]
- Correspondence with the Mission [ff 101 - 299]
- Tyrwhitt’s papers [ff 300 - 539]

CO 2/17, Missions to the interior of Africa

- Letters from the Admiralty, Treasury and other Departments [ff 3 - 206]
- Letters from miscellaneous correspondents [ff 207 - 410]

¹⁵² On Clapperton’s second mission to Africa, the single copy of one diary was stolen and never recovered, leaving a hiatus of six weeks in his records; see *Journal of a Second Expedition*, 178.

¹⁵³ See Appendix I, items 5.2-5.3.

¹⁵⁴ The first 200 pages relate to the Laing Mission.

CO 392, African Exploration Entry Book 1825 - 1844

CO 392/3, African Exploration Instructions 1825 - 1826

– Instructions [ff 47 - 75]

ADM 55, Supplementary logs and journals of ships on exploration, 1757 - 1904

ADM 55/11, HMS Brazen, journal kept by J. [sic] Clapperton

– Clapperton's journal, version 1 [ff 1 - 151]

We identify the copy of the journal in ADM 55/11 as the primary version of Clapperton's journal. It is the only item in ADM 55/11 and appears to have been misfiled, a clerk perhaps mistakenly thinking that the HMS *Brazen* had been on the mission of exploration, rather than only transporting the mission to West Africa. Except for Barrow's perusal of this version of the journal, the account in ADM 55/11 has apparently been overlooked until now. This version runs from 27th August 1825 to late November 1826 and covers the journey out to the Guinea Coast, and all proceedings on landing at Badagry, including a short commentary on current affairs at Badagry, Porto Novo and Lagos by John Houtson.¹⁵⁵ This is the only portion of Clapperton's papers, published or unpublished, that covers these early stages of the mission. The ADM 55/11 version ends in late November 1826, however, before Lander's arrival in Sokoto, the seizure of the mission's baggage and their effective confinement at the height of the war between Sokoto and Borno. This primary journal was presumably continued on separate paper, since lost.

The text edited by John Barrow and published by John Murray in 1829 as *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, was composed from the copy of the journal sent home from Katunga with Houtson in March 1826 (CO 2/16) and from journals brought by Lander when he returned but since lost. This published version starts later than ADM 5/11, at the point of departure inland from Badagry on 7th December 1826, but continues until Clapperton's final illness in Sokoto in mid-March 1827. The version in CO 2/16 has been used to check the primary text in ADM 55/11 and otherwise supplement that version after it ends in November 1826. In addition to the two versions of the journal, we have consulted Clapperton's remark books (CO 2/16), which theoretically cover the whole expedition, but were only kept up when he was on the road. By force of circumstances, Clapperton used the remark books in different ways at different times. They contain short daily travel notes for the journey from Badagry to Katunga and from Katunga to Bussa. Once over the Niger, however, the remark books became a rough journal, with more extensive daily entries than usual covering the journey from Kulfo through Zaria to Kano. After departure from Kano, Clapperton made

¹⁵⁵ See below, pp. 100-102.

ever less use of this form of note taking, and after arrival in Sokoto, he made almost no entries.

In using these various materials in the preparation of the current edition of Clapperton's second expedition, we have constructed a complete journal of the journey itself, with a series of appendices, including correspondence on the preparations and progress of the mission, the correspondence of Pearce, Dickson and Houtson, relevant Arabic correspondence of the mission, itineraries collected during the expedition, contemporary maps, and descriptions of medical supplies. These are assembled into six appendices. In addition a number of sketches from Clapperton's journal are included because of their importance as documentary sources. Clapperton's sketches have been supplemented with the more recent drawings of one of the co-editors (Bruce Lockhart), who traversed the entire route that Clapperton followed and whose depictions of particular places and things provide authenticity to the methodology of research and perhaps have interest in themselves.

From an editorial point of view the evolution of Clapperton's diary from log to journal was straight forward. The remark books represent the raw log of the journals. New information was added, but there were few changes of any substance to existing information. Jottings in the log become sentences in the journal, but language change is minor, with Clapperton employing the same private style in both log and journal. One or two corrections were made, after reflection or perhaps after consultation with others, but Clapperton's approach remained essentially unaltered. On occasion, Clapperton expanded upon his observations and analysed information in the journal but generally not in the log. Records of conversations were also normally reserved for the more developed journal.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, passages summarising observations or information received were attempted in the journal but not in the log. Records of conversations were also normally reserved for the journal. The log contains more cartographic information than the journal, serving as a notebook from which Clapperton could draft maps and charts of routes. While some notes and scribbles in the remark books, for example, the name of a guide, or lists of food or presents received, are of only minor interest today, other entries – such as landscape sketches or weather records, notes of expenses, jottings of names in Arabic script, details of navigational calculations or of medicines and instructions in their use – can shed interesting light on the conditions of travel and the temper of the traveller. By the time Clapperton reached Hausaland in July 1826, however, he virtually made do without a remark book. Jottings become fewer and fewer as reaching his objective became progressively a more powerful imperative than recording the process of doing so. At times, he was close to despair.

This spontaneous, natural approach to diary-keeping can be compared with Clapperton's more careful approach when writing a fair copy journal – an

¹⁵⁶ And, in the case of the Borno Mission records, especially for the fair copy version where he expanded accounts of conversations recalled even further.

official account for publication – as he did with respect to his journey from Borno to Sokoto and back in December 1823 to July 1824. Levels of literacy are of course relevant here: some writers constantly have second thoughts while drafting: Clapperton did not. As the present text shows, Clapperton made a number of deletions and alterations within the journal itself. These are for the greatest part quite normal corrections of grammar or of slips of writing. Some were amendments after a pause for reflection; others related to turns in thought for a variety of unexceptionable reasons. The insertions in the journals are for the most part routine additions or notes made in the process of recalling, reflecting and writing in order to improve accuracy rather than embellishments. They need give us little if any cause for concern today as they represent merely a re-organisation of information, and the self-editorial quotient is low.¹⁵⁷ The insertions in the journals are similarly largely routine additions or completions, made in the process of recalling, reflecting and writing in order to improve accuracy, rather than for purposes of embellishment.

The style and content of the journals was sometimes also affected by other factors that cannot easily be reflected in a printed transcription of the text, such as the pressures of time, illness or poor writing conditions. When Clapperton was ill or feeling pressed his remark book jottings are few and sketchy – for example during the time when he and his companions were suffering from malaria in southern Oyo in December 1825. It is striking how Clapperton, even when very ill, took particular care, and perhaps found solace in, keeping up his records of daily temperatures. In several places in the remark book, for example after arrival in Kano in July 1826, there are no other observations at all. Accidental factors, such as shortage of space on a page already crammed with writing or natural reluctance to embark on a new page for a short entry may also have played a role, or when he was hurrying through the ruined villages of northern Oyo to the capital, or on the moonlight flit from Tabria to pay his respects to Majiya at his camp in southwestern Nupe. By contrast, when he felt less pressed, or perhaps had fewer management or logistical tasks on hand, the remark book reflects a wider interest in his surroundings or interlocutors. It then becomes, as it were, a primary diary, recording the day's events quite extensively.¹⁵⁸ We have, for instance, an extended remark book for the section of the journey from Kulfo through Gwari to Zaria and Kano. On some sections of the journal he kept up both this extended remark book and also a separate set of brief travel notes as well. On occasion, a different hand-

¹⁵⁷ His diary for the second expedition can be compared with the more careful approach adopted in writing an official account of his journey from Borno to Sokoto and back in December 1823 to July 1824. This version (Brenthurst Library, MS 171/2) reveals a higher degree of self-awareness and audience-awareness than in his diary for the second expedition. The changes from the original journals to the fair copy are substantial and significant throughout, obviously with publication in mind.

¹⁵⁸ On the Borno Mission, Clapperton kept an extended remark book of this kind during his travels in Fezzan, but also he prepared a main journal. On the Saharan crossings he maintained a similar remark book but, as far as we know, no main journal.

writing or strength of ink indicates a change or an addition made at some later time. While such changes could, in theory have editorial significance, there is no way of identifying the period of delay and, fortunately, the instances are few.

Clapperton re-wrote these rough jottings or more extended diary notes in an expanded and more organised form into a main journal (ADM 55/11). When he could make time he prepared a second version to send home by first available safe hand. This is the version in CO2/17 written up in the Oyo capital and despatched by Houtson to the Mission's agents on British ships at the coast. This second version was tidied up, but only in minor respects in language and grammar. There are a few corrections and a number of additions that are irregularly scattered throughout the text, and occasionally substantial passages where Clapperton perhaps suddenly recalled or chose to add commentary or description. There are some omissions too, which occur in the form of one or two passages at random – and were probably unintentional. The second version of the diary does not, however, have the characteristics of a fully edited or 'fair copy' version. The Brentthurst manuscripts from the first expedition include one such fair copy version of Clapperton's journey from Kukawa to Kano in December 1823 – January 1824, where the careful, sometimes multiple, alterations to language and grammar are different in kind not degree.¹⁵⁹ So far as we know, Clapperton only kept one journal in Sokoto after mid-November 1826: the version brought home by Lander and used in the published text, but which has subsequently disappeared. Hence we have included the published version of this portion of the Mission here, set off with grey tone. For these sections, the remark books contain a handful of rather illegible jottings and scribbles, written behind – or sometimes over – other entries, mostly brief records of travel outside Sokoto, e.g. to Magaria. Another point to make is that Clapperton only attempted a complete journal when he was on the road. Once stopped for any length of time, he often did not bother to make entries. Some of the confusion in the text has its origin in this. The journals were, as we have said, in naval fashion, logs of his travels, not diaries of his stopovers in ports on the way.

Clapperton's notion of the purpose of his written records changed in the course of his two expeditions to Africa. The journals of the early part of the Borno Mission, for example, are mostly concerned with logistics and personal interests, but after Oudney's death travelling to Kano in 1824, Clapperton seems aware of new responsibilities and the journal becomes more rounded, more careful and more detailed. Then, by the time of the return journey to Borno and Tripoli, ill, exhausted and with his mind already turning to a second mission, the entries become shorter. It was a hurried journey, covering old ground and there was little he felt like adding. Because Clapperton was in command of the second mission, he was eager as well as obliged to report in full – this time something far more substantial than a mere log of practical and routine matters – and he was certainly anticipating publication of the journal –

¹⁵⁹ See Bruce Lockhart, 'Some Reflections on Transcribing and Editing Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton's Writings on the Borno Mission of 1822-1825', 157-95.

in or not far amended from its raw form. At the outset he could count on his colleagues Pearce, Morison, and Houtson to keep systematic journals as well, but from the city of Oyo northwards he had sole responsibility. There are indications that Lander also kept a journal or notes, at least for parts of the expedition, although what happened to these materials is not known.¹⁶⁰ Clapperton kept up his journals on the road as normal and regularly made at least an effort to assemble what information he could about places where he made a more prolonged stay. His full account of Sokoto is a prime example. Nonetheless, there are gaps: Clapperton's published version jumps from 8 May to 14 May, from 15 to 23 May and from 25 May to 17 June. Then in Kano it jumps without any word of explanation from 20th July to 20th August.¹⁶¹ All accounts suffer the hiatus from 28 August (on the aborted journey, rescued by Gidado) to 11 October.

As the original sponsor and organiser of the expedition, Barrow assumed responsibility for editing the journals for publication with the firm of John Murray of London. Barrow had to contend with papers of mixed legibility and value. As discussed above, the papers in front of Barrow consisted of a tidy account of the first stage of the journey which Clapperton had sent home from Oyo and a variety of other rough journals, remark books and loose papers brought by Lander. It is not surprising that Barrow had difficulties piecing together and editing a full narrative. On 23 November 1828, he wrote to John Murray 'Clapperton, thank God, is finished'. At the same time, Barrow and Murray asked Richard Lander to write up an account of his return journey to the coast to complete the narrative of the Mission. Lander was intelligent, enterprising and a man of much common sense, but as can be seen from his letters, his literary skills were minimal. His account was appended as a closing section as 'Journal of Richard Lander, Servant to the Late Captain Clapperton'. Hence the published version of Clapperton and even Lander's recount of the circumstances of the mission come to us in a filtered form, and in this form the account of the mission was published on 23 January 1829.

The *Journal* was printed in quarto format, but without engravings or any illustrations except one facsimile sketch and one facsimile map at the frontispiece. The map of the expedition was based in part on Clapperton's detailed chart of the route from Badagry to the city of Oyo; and, for Hausaland and

¹⁶⁰ Richard Lander's journals and notebooks from the 1825-28 expedition appear not to have survived. Mercedes Mackay, in the course of research for her biography of Lander, *The Indomitable Servant*, was unable to find the unpublished texts at the National Archives, Kew, in the Royal Geographical Society or in Truro, Lander's hometown where he composed his published account and where there is a statue to him. Lander or his brother may have destroyed the papers, perhaps partly out of embarrassment, preferring their enriched published edition to the raw notes. There is evidence that Lander was keeping a journal in Borgu and in Kano, since he specifically notes that he did *not* keep a journal when he was sick during the trip through Nupe, Zaria and southern Kano. Lander clearly kept a journal when he left Sokoto after Clapperton's death, which may have been a mixture of short journey notes (*à la* Clapperton) and a series of scribbles on the lines of the memorandum that he wrote in recording Clapperton's last instructions (See Appendix I, 4.4. and 4.5).

¹⁶¹ *Journal of a Second Expedition*, 169, 171.

Sokoto derived from Clapperton's and Lander's course notes applied to Clapperton's charts drawn up on the Borno Mission. Murray had commissioned Gildon Manton for a portrait of Clapperton in the summer of 1825, which was painted but this was not used.¹⁶² A total of 750 copies were printed, of which 17 were presented to John Murray's official contacts and friends, 11 sent to Stationers' Hall, and 722 sold at two guineas each. The copyright cost £400 and after publishing costs Murray realized only a small profit. The book ran to one edition only; but in 1831 Murray published an abridged version alongside the *Narrative of the Borno Mission* as a three-volume publication in a newly launched popular *Family Edition* series. An engraving by E. Findon of Manton's portrait of Clapperton was reproduced as the frontispiece. It should be noted that Barrow and Murray evidently decided not to publish any records of the journey out on HMS *Brazen* from Spithead via Sierra Leone to the Guinea Coast, nor, perhaps more significantly, of the few days spent in Badagry preparing for the journey inland, which includes John Houtson's account of the history of Badagry and Lagos and notes on the coastal towns. It is also to be noted that, unfortunately, no manuscripts exist today relating to Clapperton's last months in Sokoto.

Lander undertook to write his own account of the Mission, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, which was published in 1830 by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley in London and included 'the subsequent adventures of the author'. Lander's accounts are important in assessing Clapperton's second expedition because his observations verify some points and add information on others, although there is a problem of knowing to what extent, if at all, Lander drew on Clapperton's journal and remark books. Clearly Lander's accounts rely on his own personal experiences and memory, as well as whatever journal and notes he kept, but Lander also had access to at least some of Clapperton's journal and remark books, and some passages are clearly plagiarized. For example, Lander's account of Mungo Park's death must be second hand through Clapperton, the accounts being virtually identical, and Clapperton, not Lander, had access to this information.¹⁶³ Moreover, there are gaps in Lander's account, especially the journey from Kulfo in Nupe through Zaria to Kano. Nonetheless, Lander's account of Clapperton's death and his return trip to the coast at Badagry are singular, and miscellaneous information contained therein informs Clapperton's account of the journey north to Sokoto. There is a minor problem of chronology, variations of one or two days in the dating of events in the accounts of Lander and Clapperton, although usually no disagreement on the day of the week of events.

John Murray had considered publishing Lander's manuscript, which was originally entitled 'Wanderings in Africa', but Barrow wrote such a blistering

¹⁶² Manton made two versions, one copy remained in the Murray family until it was purchased at auction by the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland in 1929; the other was presented to the dowager Countess Seaforth, at Clapperton's behest, and remained in the Mackenzie family until presented to the Royal Navy art collection in 1960.

¹⁶³ Lander, *Records of Last Expedition*, vol. I, 145-8, and compare with Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition*, 134-5.

report that Lander had to turn to Colburn and Bentley. According to Barrow's assessment, which we cite in full:

It appears to me that Mr. Lander's 'Wanderings in Africa' which I have attentively read, would scarcely justify the experiment of a substantive publication. The 'Journal' which is appended to the 'Journal of a Second Expedition of Captain Clapperton' published by Mr. Murray in 1829, obviously comprises all the essential notes of Mr. Lander's Diary; and the addenda to be found on the M.S. of these 'Wanderings' are not, in every case, improvements upon the general text of those notes as already in print. For example, the 'Short and hasty sketch of the life of the author' (with which the M.S. before me opens -) is, to say the best of it, utterly unimportant and uninteresting to any reader; and there is nothing in the nature of the reminiscences which it records to redeem the deficiencies of style or the sins of egotism that are the most prominent features in that Sketch. The incidents, too, of Mr. L's boyhood are as trivial and as gravely related as any in Pope and Arbuthnot's "Memoirs of P.P. a Parish Clerk" – Again, the whole episode of 'Zuma', – notwithstanding that Mr. L himself assures us that it is 'amusing in the extreme'* [*Introduction, p. 483] is written in very bad taste; (see from p.109 to p 127 et al.) and would require a great deal of toning before it could be prudently submitted to the public eye. The story has the further disadvantage of being told with a degree of heartlessness which is quite out of keeping with the general text of the intelligent author. This Preface, however, as well as the last Chapter of the 'Wanderings,' which is devoted to an account of the abominable sacrificial rites of the Badagry people, – and many passages containing detailed notices of the Slave Trade both in the Interior* [*Mr Lander's account of the sufferings of Slaves in their journeyings through Central Africa is a remarkable, (and perhaps unknowing) confirmation of the statements in Mr. Legh's 'Travels in Nubia', with reference to the cruelties exercised by the Jelabs or Slave Merchants who supply the Eastern markets of that Continent (1813) and on the Western Coast of Africa] – comprise matter that, in my humble opinion, might be advantageously published in some cheap but useful form. The same remark may apply to the information collected upon the subject of Mr. Mungo Park's death and papers – and the melancholy story of that lamented traveller's Son's decease near Accra, three days before Mr. Lander's return to Badagry. It would be, however, indispensibly necessary, I should conceive, to publish together with any portion of this M.S. some sort of chart of the route from Badagry to Soccatoo, and of the return journey. At present, the M.S. is unintelligible, without having before one, the chart in the Journal of Clapperton's Second Voyage. Passing over all notice of grammatical inaccuracies etc., I should further observe that the poetical versions of the native songs¹⁶⁴ are a little startling; unless we are to suppose Mr. Lander as profound a scholar in African literature, and as nicely cognisant of the thousand barbarous dialects of the countries passed through, as Mr Champellion would seem to be in the various Phonetic Alphabets of the hierarchy of ancient Egypt; by virtue of which he peruses an obelisk or a mummy case from top to bottom without stumbling at a single letter! We may allow much for the community of sentiment to be expected in the war songs of all nations; but the connivance of a Badagrian warrior and a Scottish Chieftain addressing their compatriots in such very kindred terms as (In Mr L's M.S. p.453), 'Who so base as turns in fight/ May his spirit sink in night' etc- And 'Wha' so base as be a slave/ Wha' wou'd fill a coward's grave/ Traitor turn & flee'¹⁶⁵ supposes, almost, the necessity of Mr Braham's having made

¹⁶⁴ The songs referred to appear in Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition*, vol. II, 262-4.

¹⁶⁵ Robert Burns' poem, 'Scots, wha hae', verse 3, reads correctly:

Wha will be a traitor-knave?
Wha can fill a coward's grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Let him turn, and flee!

J. Currie, ed., *Works of Robert Burns*, 1800, reprinted in Henry W. Meikle and William Beattie, eds., *Poems of Robert Burns* (London: Penguin Books, 1946).

'Scots! wha' ha' – popular even among the black amateurs of Badagry. Again, it renders one a little sceptical as to the *bona fide* character of these songs to find the verses broken by innumerable stage directions, if I may call them so, and at [p.] 454, they amount, in point of effect to a decided 'coup de theatre', for we have, successively, all these parenthetical instructions in one Song: 'Multitude dancing, sings' etc. etc., then 'People from their dwellings', then 'Spearmen', – and finally 'All the people in chorus'. It is certainly not an objection to be urged against an individual, who, under such trying circumstances and the disadvantage incidental to his station, has done so much, so well and so sagaciously as Mr. Lander, – that his M.S. is so deplorably meagre in notices connected with the Botany, Zoology, and Climate, even, of that portion of Africa which he traversed. The same deficiency is unhappily experienced by all who refer to the gallant Captain's Journal for information on such subjects. Major Denham's Narrative of the first expedition is less defective indeed, but very imperfect in the same way; and with the exception of a few scattered notices under the dying hand of Dr. Oudney, both expeditions have contributed little or nothing to our knowledge of geology & mineral productions of the extensive regions of Soudan etc. But these facts being so, – and Mr. Lander having supplied *none* of these desiderated particulars, nor any with reference to the birds, the beasts, & the reptiles of Africa, the productions of the soil, etc., his 'Book', I am afraid, would have but little chance of ultimate consideration or immediate popularity.¹⁶⁶

In fact, Lander's younger brother John was a Truro journalist and is acknowledged as having assisted in writing the account,¹⁶⁷ and his help was probably intended to appeal to a wide audience. Brother John would accompany Richard on the return expedition to West Africa in 1830.

Public reaction in Britain to Clapperton's second expedition was mixed: the courage of the explorers and the perseverance of their sponsors were praised, but acclaim for their achievements was muted. In reviewing the *Journal of a Second Expedition*, commentators in the leading journals of the day could not avoid a tone of disappointment: the Mission had failed in its 'Grand Objective'.¹⁶⁸ Typical was the opinion of *The London Literary Gazette* in emphasizing 'the perils attending our brave countrymen', 'their strange adventures' and their 'melancholy sacrifice'. Referring to new knowledge gained by 'guesses, rather than approximations, on features of African geography' the author had to conclude that 'Science it is true has gained little by this attempt'.¹⁶⁹ The *Literary Gazette's* review reflected a view of the world defined

¹⁶⁶ 'Mr Barrow's Opinion on Lander's "Wanderings in Africa"', John Murray Archives, London.

¹⁶⁷ Lander acknowledges the assistance of his brother, who was a newspaper compositor in Cornwall, in the introduction to *Records of Last Expedition*: 'It is not to be wondered at...that my printed Narrative, drawn up in haste, and without having received the benefit of even the slightest assistance, except from a younger brother, should be incomplete, and in many instances carelessly expressed' (p. x), and in an addendum, dated December 1829, where he notes his forthcoming expedition, with his brother, to West Africa, who he identifies as 'John Lander, whose assistance in the composition of this work I have already acknowledged' (p. xxi).

¹⁶⁸ The phrases 'the Grand Objective' and 'the Grand End' were frequently used by Clapperton and his colleagues. See for example Clapperton's letter to John Barrow dated Mourzouk, 4th June 1822. The goal in question was to solve the riddle of the Niger, and to open the interior of Africa to European commerce and influence, and to replace slaving by trading.

¹⁶⁹ *The London Literary Gazette – Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c*, No. 627, January 24 1829, 49-51 and 67-70.

by the evangelist mood of the day and political preoccupation with the final reduction and abolition of the slave trade. The Mission's fate, the *Gazette* argued, had been sealed by jealousy and cruelty at the hands of indigenous people whose minds had been poisoned by parasitical communities of Arab merchants and slave traders. A large part of the *Gazette's* article was devoted to an account of Lander's return journey – and his stoutness of heart, intelligence, zeal and intrepidity. The 30-year old mystery of the disappearance of Mungo Park remained a subject of fascination and speculation. However, the *Gazette* also felt able to recommend the book to its readers for its accounts of the usages of the peoples of Africa. *The Scotsman* of 18 February 1829 similarly stressed the pestilential influence of the climate, the disappointment arising from local suspicion and the unfriendly conduct of the Sultan which had undermined Clapperton's strength; but it appreciated some general accounts of the state of the country, the arts, manners and characters of the people. An obituary note, with some biographical detail, of Hugh Clapperton 'the celebrated explorer', was carried, with little if any comment, in some of the minor journals of the day (for instance, the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹⁷⁰) and provincial newspapers (*The Loyalist*, Halifax).

The review of the *Journal* published in *The Quarterly Review* featured a 40-page article prefaced by a full account of the background of the Mission, by none other than John Barrow.¹⁷¹ Barrow provided a comprehensive summary of Clapperton's journey, rich in examples of incident and adventure, the quaint and the exotic. The court of Katunga, for example, was likened to 'the provincial towns of the Celestial Chinese Empire described by Lord Amherst'. Proper respect was paid to the perseverance and fortitude of the travelers, although Clapperton was reprimanded for irresponsibly sleeping out in the open near the lagoon at Badagry. Barrow did more than other reviewers, however, to underscore Clapperton's observations on the 'manners and customs of tribes of people entirely unknown'. A lengthy extract reported Bello's raid on the Gobirawa at Konya.

Although Barrow highlighted Clapperton's comments on the honesty and natural nobility of indigenous populations, he was critical of his treatment at the hands of Bello:

This mean conduct of Bello detracts sadly from the reputation which his treatment of Clapperton on his first visit to Sokoto had gained for him in Europe. We blame him not for taking every precaution that no contraband of war should pass over to his enemy ... It is not surprising that his jealousy should have been awakened; though it was not necessary to accompany it with acts of robbery and brutality, – but Bello is an Arab, and the Arabs are, and always were, a cruel hearted and treacherous race.

¹⁷⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828, Part I, 568-70.

¹⁷¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1829, Vol. XXXIX, No. 77, Article 5, 143-83.

Barrow also accused Bello of influencing Ahmadu of Massina in expelling Laing from Timbuctu ‘in such a manner as to leave him no hope of returning’.

On matters of geography, Barrow congratulated Clapperton for charting the degrees of latitude from the coast to the desert, but nonetheless put forward his own further speculations about the final course of the Niger. While he acknowledged that the two missions to the central Sudan had ‘demolished every possibility of its [the Niger] being the Nile’, Barrow still was not convinced that the Niger, after reaching Funda (Opanda), penetrated what he believed were granite mountains before emerging as the River Formosa of the Benin Kingdom. He believed that the river turned east from Fundah and flowed, under the name of the River Shari, into Lake Chad.¹⁷² Barrow contended that Clapperton’s evidence did not resolve the issue of the course of the Niger. He concluded that the question could readily be decided by firing a shot from Fernando Po:

Any single person with a few scissors, needles, and brass ornaments for the wives of Badagry, Yoruba, Kiama, Bussa and Yauri, would make his way without interruption and from the last mentioned place to Bornu avoiding altogether the Fellatas of Bello... It is by means of single travellers that we shall eventually be able to settle the geography of northern Africa.¹⁷³

In short, there were many ways to get into the interior, and hence commercial penetration did not depend upon the course of the Niger.

The tone of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*,¹⁷⁴ with whom the *Quarterly Review* was in regular debate and competition, was rather similar. A note of disappointment is sounded at the start: ‘This volume records another expedition, and another sacrifice, made for African discovery; and still the grand mystery is not solved’. Gains in knowledge were allowed, curious and sentimental incidents highlighted, and Mungo Park’s fate discussed once more. The reviewer, however, took a more sensitive view of Bello’s position in his dealings with Clapperton:

The first intercourse between men in dissimilar situations and states of Society is very generally friendly and even cordial. ... Insensibly this gay colouring fades; the hostile principles of man’s nature begin to stir within him; grudges and jealousies arise, which the very ignorance and inexperience of each other render deep and difficult to remove. On seeing the King of Great Britain send such repeated embassies to such distant regions, on motives to them incomprehensible, there arose a very natural suspicion that they were sent as spies.

¹⁷² The arguments were confused, as had happened so often in the past, in the matter of interpretation of reports of the direction of flow of rivers. In this case the direction of flow of the Benue, or Tshadda, was based on one particular passage in Lander’s account of information he acquired at Dunrora on his return journey [*Journal*, 297].

¹⁷³ This was indeed the formulation subsequently used by Barrow to persuade the Colonial Office to accept Richard and John Lander’s offer of service in October 1829.

¹⁷⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, 1829, Vol. XLIX, No. 97, 127-49.

The author found it understandable that precautions should be taken with respect to English travellers and that common talk should be that the British were coming to invade their land:

There does not and probably never will exist in any quarter throughout this country a single idea of annexing to Britian the immense regions of Central Africa yet much apology may be made for the opposite conclusion formed by its potentates.

Less persuaded than other reviewers about the treachery of all Arabs, the author found faults on both sides. Bello's seizure of Clapperton's goods, the presents and the letter for al-Kanemi was reprehensible, but Clapperton was charged with intemperate behaviour.

These were high provocations, and such as afforded ample room for remonstrance; yet do we again demur somewhat to the language used by Clapperton as not altogether wise or suitable to be used to a great potentate, at whose disposal, moreover, he was entirely placed.

On the subject of the Niger's final course and termination the *Edinburgh Review* also found Clapperton's new evidence inconclusive. The author reviewed the suggestion that the river ended at 'Fundu' in what might be a great lake, and, like Barrow, still thought it likely that the Niger and the Shari were one river by different names which flowed into Lake Chad; 'The fact established, that the Shari has this long course along the southern border of Hausa, gives a strong probability to the hypothesis of its being the Niger'.

The *Edinburgh Review* pondered more thoughtfully than the other reviews the conclusions to be drawn from Clapperton's observations about the state of affairs in the interior, concluding that there were considerable natural resources and human talents but substantive improvement in living conditions had been impeded by wars, geographical terrain and lack of access to the sea.

They have lands under regular culture, a few fine manufactures, some extemporary poetry, not without sweetness and beauty – cities or rather huge assemblages of mud and straw huts, surrounded with walls of earth, yet containing ten, twenty or thirty thousand people utterly destitute of letters and of any regular or enlightened forms of politie [polity]. They are held together by attachment to old customs and by a blind superstitious veneration for their princes and chiefs. They appear in short to have remained as exactly as possible in the very state described by the Arabic writers of the twelfth century; and consequently neither have made, nor seem in the way of making, any advance in the scale of civilized society.

The review did consider 'Uthman dan Fodio a learned man as well as a great prince who 'cultivated the arts of peace as well as of war'. The reviewer was struck by the extent of caravan routes and the volume of traffic and trade and concluded that the newly explored regions would afforded considerable scope for commerce, provided it was conducted with discretion and taking due precautions, including carrying arms. Finally, reviewing scientific gains from

the expedition, the writer, perhaps more detached than Barrow, felt able to give due credit to the Mission.

The expedition, however, has been important; and in a great degree even successful, notwithstanding the gloom of its issue. It has made us acquainted with a long range of African kingdoms, scarcely known hitherto even by name; and, combined with the former journey, in which Captain Clapperton also shared, it has completed a section across the entire breadth of Africa and enabled us to form a pretty correct estimate of its interior contents.

Portions of Clapperton's *Journal of the Second Expedition* were included in other compendiums of travel published in the 1830s, but Clapperton's work of exploration was soon eclipsed by the success of the Lander brothers in gaining credit for determining the final course of the Niger and then the adventurous, if not fully successful, attempts to penetrate the lower Niger by steamers in the next two decades. By the second half of the nineteenth century the pioneering work of Clapperton in today's Nigeria was overshadowed by the imperialism currently raging in western Europe, and Clapperton's achievements were subordinated to the ambitions of a new generation of explorers, missionaries and colonialists. The high empire mood and European 'scramble' for Africa in the last years of the century renewed public interest in the feats of earlier travelers, and extracts from the *Journal of the Second Expedition* again featured in anthologies. Clapperton's accounts came to notice again when the independence movement in Africa in the 1960s inspired a new interest in the continent's pre-colonial past. The *Journal of the Second Expedition* was republished in facsimile in 1966 by Frank Cass & Co. Ltd of London, as part of a high quality series of reprints of early travel and writings on Africa. No further detailed research has been done on Clapperton's second expedition, however, although scholars have occasionally examined the Colonial Office records from time to time,¹⁷⁵ and E.W. Bovill published extracts in his book, *The Niger Explored*.¹⁷⁶ Modern research on pre-colonial Nigeria has drawn extensively on the published *Journal of the Second Expedition* as a first and seminal European account of the interior of the Bight of Benin and its people at a crucial historical moment. The editors therefore believe that the time has come to revisit the original material in order to re-assess this important historical source.

Editorial Problems and Practices

The present diaries have been transcribed and reproduced in a form as close as possible to the original raw material. The MS is on double sized paper, and we have assigned a number to each folio. For ease of reference we have dubbed

¹⁷⁵ For example, Ken Lupton reviewed papers relating to Bussa for his work, *Mungo Park: the African Traveller* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979).

¹⁷⁶ London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

the left hand page A, and right hand page by the number alone – thus 127A (LH) and 127 (RH). The chapter titles have followed the same form as the published version of the expedition for ease of reference to the published version, with the addition of a first chapter on the outward journey to the Bight of Benin, which was not included in the version published by Murray in 1829. As noted, the previously published portions of Chapters 6 and 7 included here are distinguished with grey lining.

There are some instances in the texts of confusion in days and dates. These we have attempted to clarify where we can. Both Clapperton and Lander sometimes got their dates wrong. Clapperton thought he made a mistake in May 1826, allowing only 30 days instead of 31, but in fact he did not; he just made no entry for Wednesday 31st May, crossed out Wednesday, and started a new entry for Thursday 1st June, which is accurate. His efforts to ‘correct’ himself introduced an error one day. He began his corrections on Friday 8 July, which he changed to the 9th [p. 136]. He was actually correct for Friday 22nd July and Saturday 23rd July but then again is off on Sunday the ‘25th’. Curiously, Lander was off by one day in the other direction, and hence the dating of Lander and Clapperton are two days apart from the point where Clapperton ‘corrected’ himself. Presumably neither of them was wrong on the day of the week, given Friday prayers in Muslim areas. But the date was another matter.

The various editorial difficulties that are encountered and the mechanisms for dealing with them are summarized below.

- i) Illegible words and passages. Damaged or torn paper, or ink smears sometime obscure words or groups of words. Some text is squeezed in at the end of lines or around deletions. Insertions meander between paragraphs and down margins. Poor quality pens and ink – reflected in scratchy, thin writing, where tails of letters have faded, or large blobs of ink – take their toll. Where words could not be made out clearly, italics have been used to signify ‘illegible but looks like’. Otherwise we have accepted the best guess. Some words have had to be marked as irrecoverable or illegible [word(s) illeg.].
- ii) Poor grammar, confusion in word order, missing words or gaps in the text. Clapperton’s vagaries of phrase and grammar often seem to arise from loss of train of thought – for example, when sentences are left hanging in mid-air, or are repeated or begun again half way through. No editorial alteration or guesswork has been attempted. Gaps, including some left intentionally by Clapperton for later completion, as in the case of proper names, or latitudes, are indicated by a space surrounded by square brackets [].
- iii) Punctuation. Clapperton’s approach to punctuation is to employ an irregular system of dots and dashes to annotate his thoughts. These dashes often delineate thoughts rather than punctuation. At moments of pause – for reflection or emphasis, or when there was a definite end to a

subject on his mind or a start on a sudden new recollection – Clapperton marked a dash, or perhaps two or more. He treated breaks in and between sentences similarly. A full stop is rare, but is occasionally brought into play in place of a comma. Commas sometimes appear, as in lists, but are usually written as dashes. Parentheses and quotation marks are also sometimes included – and do not always close – but are at other times signified by a dash. Clapperton's dashes have been retained, except when they occur at the start of a paragraph. In the absence of punctuation, we have inserted the symbol ‘-’ where Clapperton appears to have intended sentence breaks or where the meaning is thereby clarified.

- iv) Paragraphs, pagination and spaces. Clapperton's paragraphing follows no regular pattern. Course details were sometimes written on a line below, and often to the right of, the day's entry. On occasion a large space was left at the end of a day's entry, or a passage of text, presumably to allow for any, or intended, later additions. Wherever possible the lay-out of the original has been retained, or indicated, but for reasons of lack of space cannot be systematically followed. Some new paragraphs have been created to make massive blocks of text easier to follow.
- v) Deletions and insertions. These have been retained, in order to show the degree, or absence, of self-audit, with the exception of very minor corrections, such as deletion of a repetition. Clapperton occasionally uses asterisks to mark where passages were to be inserted. In the last section of the journal he also underlines words to indicate a marginal note. These have all been retained. We have indicated Clapperton's insertions and marginal notes with ‘inserted’ and ‘at margin’.
- vi) Indecipherable handwriting. Clapperton's tightly-written, sloping handwriting is reasonably regular, but under pressure of circumstances – hurry, confusion and especially at times of illness – it becomes ill-delimited, more upright and rounded, and sometimes larger, but the words shapeless and letters trailing. Throughout the journals Clapperton uses a speed-hand of his own. This can leave a run of letters, such as *i* (rarely dotted), *m*, *n*, *u*, *w*, *r*, *s*, *a* and *e*, indecipherable or ambiguous. Some numerals (e.g. 5 and 8, 1, 6 and 7) are similarly easily confused. Uncertainty has been indicated by the use of italics.
- vii) General spelling. Clapperton's orthography is both idiosyncratic and casual, although not quite as wayward as it might seem to us today, belonging as it does to an age, before the widespread use of dictionaries, when a considerable degree of freedom in spelling was entirely acceptable. Some variations reflect contemporary practice, such as *inclosure* (‘enclosure’); others are personal habits, for example, *genearly* for ‘generally’; and others merely slips. Certain anomalies relate to particular sounds, usually vowels or diphthongs, e.g. *neuclus* (‘nucleus’), *neally* (‘nearly’), *smoaking* (‘smoking’); *fowel* (‘fowl’), and *bowel* (‘bowl’); *carring* (‘carrying’); and the spelling of long vowel sounds such as

streams, beeds ('streams', 'beads'). Confusion appears over double letters, *pallace* ('palace'), or presence or not of the letter 'e' as in *alternatly, squabbeling*. Inconsistencies, such as *watered/waterd/watred*, make it harder still to decide what is the norm and which the slip or exception. These forms and variations have been retained, but where the spelling makes for lack of clarity or could disturb the train of reading, the text has been annotated accordingly, by insertion, e.g., *off[f]*, or use of '[sic]'.

- viii) Spelling of proper names. Names of places and people no longer identifiable are the most significant casualties of all these variations. Clapperton was evidently often content to write down an approximation of what he heard, or what seemed appropriate, but he was not consistent. Where a name is recorded differently on different occasions, or where it is only partially legible and occurs more than once, extreme variants have been replaced by what seem to be the more usual forms – to avoid confusion, rather than for the sake of harmonization. We have retained his spelling of place names, inconsistent as it often appears to be, e.g., *Koolfu*, not *Kulfo*, *Socketoo*, not *Sokoto*, *Kouka*, not *Kuka*.
- ix) Abbreviations. Clapperton was given to using abbreviations, not only at the end of a line or page, where space was cramped, but regularly throughout his journals; such as *obs^d* (observed), *ac^{cy}* (accompany), *st^d* (started), *w^d* (would), *w^h* (which), or *occl^{ly}* (occasionally). Some have naval derivations, e.g. *Isl^{ds}* (islands). Many, such as *n^o* (or *N^L*, *No-*, or, confusingly, *no* for 'number'), are shortened in several different ways. These short forms have been retained with annotation of the more obscure or potentially ambiguous.
- x) Capital letters. Like many of his contemporaries, Clapperton deploys capital letters liberally, and often inconsistently, for a variety of purposes: for some, but not all, words of foreign derivation and some proper nouns, for instance animals; for emphasis; to start a quotation; or to mark a pause for thought. They can sometimes be likened to a drawing-in of breath; at other times they seem merely a habit of handwriting, for instance when the preceding word finished with an upward stroke. These have been retained.
- xi) Repetitions, duplications, simple slips and omissions. Minor errors of repetition (for example over a line- or page-end), have been corrected as appropriate for ease of reading, as have obvious slips or omissions making for ambiguity (such as *w[h]ere*, *the[y]* or *there* for *their*). On some occasions slips giving rise to possible ambiguities have been annotated with an explanation in brackets, to suggest what Clapperton had evidently meant to write [= ...].

The elements listed above fall into three broad categories. In some cases editorial guesses or alterations could put accuracy at risk [e.g. i, ii, iii, v, vi,

viii]; in a second group of cases there could be an argument for some editorial massaging of the text [vii, ix, xi]. In a third category [iv, x] editorial alteration is probably of little or no material significance, but rather a matter of style and personal preference. It is here that the argument in favour of keeping the flavour of the original applies, even if it may not be strictly necessary – as in the retention of both *&* and *and*.¹⁷⁷ A purist approach to transcription could make for absurdities but, equally, partial editorial correction risks error and inconsistencies, sometimes with a potentially cumulative effect. Words, particularly proper names, are unlikely to be retrieved once given the hallmark of published authority. The transcriber has therefore attempted to steer a course between openness and pedantry: to seek accuracy but to declare doubt, with the addition of any appropriate editorial comment or guess, for the sake of preservation of the original material.

¹⁷⁷ The antiquated ß, double 'ss', form used by Clapperton has not been retained.

CHAPTER 1

Voyage to the Bight of Benin and Arrival in Badagry

[f. 1A]¹ Oil Croton – one or 2 drops – purgative
Salph [= Sulphuric] Acid² - 4 or 5 D³ after diluting 7 to 1 in water
Tartaric ant[imon]y – 1/4 gr – & upwards – an emetic –
Pul. [= Pulveris] Ant[imon]y 5 to 8 gr- with 2 gr. calom¹
Oil Pepp⁴ 1/2 drop in water
Goul⁵ Solution³ 5 d- to a pt cold water in – (sore eyes)
Sub. Carb. Mag^{ac} [= bicarbonate magnesiae⁴] 2 tea Sp. in Water
Carb. Soda – Saline d[ra]ft 1 tea sp – in water with 1 tea sp [sic]
Sulphate Quinine – 1/2 or 1 gr

Ext. Colycynth – 4 or 5 grs – with or without Calomel;
Sulp[h] Esce⁵ –

Arsenical Solution – begin with 2 drops two or three times a day and increase it to five or 8 drops each time in water or with bark – 4 drops laudanum with it prevents griping⁶ -

150lbs of Natron at Kano	[sketch of face
7,000 cowries or 2\$ & a 1/3	with cheek scarifications,
before the War with Bornou	wearing small turban,
3000 or 1\$ ⁷	long moustache, no beard
	low, round cut neck to shirt]

[f. 1][index of place names from Cape Coast to Katungah, with page references to the journal]⁸

¹ Originally Folio 1A merely had the heading 'Journal of Hugh Clapperton R.N. August 27th 1825', but Clapperton later used the blank space for medical notes and for a sketch.

² Also called oil of vitriol. Sulphur (brimstone) was used as a bleach and a disinfectant; and in a refined state, medicinally, to make a laxative, a resolvent and a sudorific.

³ A solution used to treat inflammations, named in 1806 after the French surgeon Thomas Goulard.

⁴ *Magnesiae sulphates*, Epsom salts.

⁵ Possibly spirit(s) of vitriol, a distilled essence of vitriol.

⁶ This entry is written in a different script, presumably at a different time, from the other medical notes.

⁷ A remark evidently written in Kano in 1826.

⁸ See Appendix IV, Itineraries.

[stamp bearing Clapperton's family crest, with the motto *deo juvante*, and inscribed 'Hugh Clapperton R.N., Augt- 1826']

[2] **August 27 1825** left Spithead⁹ in HM Ship Brazen commanded by Capt¹⁰ G. Willers¹⁰ and anchored at Cowes to embark troops for the African Corps¹¹ at Seira [Sierra] Leone

on the 28th having embarked 50 of the most refractory of the troops on board the Brazen for better security and the rest on board transports – we left Cowes with A light breeze and proceeded through the needles the transport in Co- - in the evening we had light Airs and thick hazy W^t - all night we fired guns blew horns and beat the drum but on the Weather clearing up next day the transport was not to be seen - we spoke several ships but no intelligence could be got of our convoy

We had a fine fair wind sometimes a gale untill Sept^r 8th when we anchored at Porto Santo¹² – in Lat^{de} [] – Long^{de} [] N –

We went on Shore with Capⁿ Willies and Waited on the Governor Cosmi Damiao da Cunha Fide Brigadier Gen^l a man of about 50 years of age [3A] a gentelman like man in his appearance and looks and he presented us with wine and cakes drinking the King of Englands health standing - we asked his permission for a guide and to measure the height of the Mountains with the Barometer – after leaving the Gov^r Pearce Dickson and Morrison went up Mountain - after taking the height of the Barom^r at the beach I went to the foot of this peak but finding it too much I returned to Captⁿ Willies –

On enquiring at a wine Merchant he informed me that this Isl^d produced 1000 pipes of Maderia anually which were sent to the Isl^d of Maderia none being allowed to be sold of[f] the Isl^d – they raise barley Indian corn Water Mellons pumpkins figs and a few vegetables ~ they have a few date trees which do not bear fruit from their not knowing how to impregnate the female trees – they have also a few Cows sheep & goats - I saw no fowels but plenty of ducks and one lean pig - the sea produces fish in abundance – the Water on the Isl^d- is the worst I ever tasted and it is all alike - the Wells are about 2 feet deep – The Face of the Isl^d is rugged and barren – yet more might be made of it than they do - the soil is apptly- decomposed [3] Magnesian limestone and basalt broken into drifts in ravines and gullies by the rains - it was a holiday and people were dressed in their best but the lower classes of the Women are ugly in the ext^{rm} but men and Womin are all very civil

⁹ Portsmouth.

¹⁰ Captain George N. Willes, R.N.

¹¹ Royal African Colonial Corps.

¹² One of the Madeira islands.

They have got a few guns mounted about 300 y^{ds}- above the beach in front of the Gov^t house with which they returned our salutes but a smart firing with them for a quarter of an hour w^d bring battery and guns down –

The Gent^s Made the height of Monte Castello []

in the Evening we weighed & stood out of the roads

[September] 9th at day light passed Maderia Light Airs & fine

10th Maderia in Sight Light Airs

11th Light Airs divine service

[12th – no entry]

[4A] 13th Arrived and anchored at Santa Cruz in the Isl^d of Tenerife - [“went ashore at 12 – and at 2-30 P.M.-” inserted] hired mules through the Vice Consul *Duplon* – and with our baggage and *serv^{ts}* and servants left for Oratava at which place we arrived at 11 P.M- – the [“only” inserted] Inn was shut up & we had considerable difficulty in rousing them up when we had tea and having brought provisions from the ship

The road was difficult and dangerous [“&” inserted] to any other animal but those of the country Impossible - part of the Way we travled by torch light – but the bearers of which were more anxious to look after them selves than us – the 2 asses carring the baggage ran ahead all the way without drivers – the horses are [“vicious” inserted] and kick when ever they get any thing within their reach - Mr. Morrison was kicked in the stomach by one & Captⁿ Pearce on the shins

[4] 14th having compared the Barometers – in the room of the house we lodged which was 45 feet above the level of the beach – the Gents set off] accomp^d by Lieut^s Walker & Wakefield Mr *Imbry* surgeon & Mr. *Lakin* a young Mi^d 13 years of Age – I remained below to look after the Barometer – being a little unwell

[5A] Saturday 24th at Noon we anchored in the Bay of the Isl^d of St. Antonio Vincen one of the Cape Verdes & went on Shore for 2 hours – there are a few stragling houses - the Gov^t was clean & well dressed – the people obliging and all speaking a little English which they have learnt from frequent intercourse with English and American Whalers - they have a great quantity of sheep and goats with asses mules horses and bullocks - they offred any of the above for sale but only 2 goats were bought - they could not agree about the price for any

thing else – the Gents- collected minerals and plants – the isl^d volcanic – And the Anch^g is bad shoaling suddenly from 10 to 4 fm^s –

we had plenty of milk when on shore and the inhabitants were very civil

at 3 P.M- weighed and made sail

[6A] The rainy season is now near a close and every evening there is a Tornado & some times during the day - yet all the inhabitants look healthy

[6] **Friday Oct^r 21st 1825** – At 1-30 P.M. arrived and Anchored in Seira [Sierra] Leone Roads - went on shore with Captain Willies and Waited on His Excellency G- Turner¹³ Gov^r and Com^r in Chief-

So much as been said and will be said by much more able pens than Mine on this colony that what few remarks I would be able to introduce would be superfluous if not incorrect and as Commissioners are coming out by order of Gov^r that will investigate into all matters concerning the state of the Colony as to its capabilities &^c I shall conclude by thanking the Gov^r and the Inhab^{ts} for their kindness and Hospitality to us –

the country has a fine appearance – and the necessarys of life are in abundance – and it is a curious thing to contemp[late] if ever the english language by this colony will be introduced as one of the native languages of Africa – I here saw the Goro¹⁴ nut so much prized by the Arabs and natives of the intereour - it is here called the coula and grows on the Bulam shore a parastical plant¹⁵ – Captⁿ Pearce & Mr. Dickson Measured the height of the Sugar loaf and collected many specimens – Captⁿ 2193 – 22 above high water mark

[7A] **Thursday 27 October** we weighed & made sail from Sierra Leone with a Light Air - in the evening we had a severe tornado –

Krou [Kru] Men¹⁶

Owing to the difficulty in landing in the ships boats on the coast to the southd of Siera Leone and the more fatiguing duties of wooding and watering which

¹³ Major General Charles Turner, appointed Governor after the death in action of his predecessor Charles McCarthy in the intervention in Ashanti in 1824, arrived in Sierra Leone in February 1825.

¹⁴ Hausa: *goro*, kola nut (*C. nitida*).

¹⁵Bulum. It is not parasitical.

¹⁶ For a discussion of Kru labour organization, see George E. Brooks, Jr., *The Kru Mariner in the Nineteenth century: An Historical Compendium* (Newark, Delaware: Liberian Studies Association, 1972), 14-19, and for their employment on British naval vessels in particular, see pp. 38-39.

subject english seamen to great sickness and mortality – H.M. Government however most wisely and humanely ordred that every ship serving on the African station shall be allowed a certain number [of hired men] to be paid and victualled on board for those duties during the time she is on the station – and every merchant ship is obliged to do the same [“at Siera Leone” inserted] [“~~they~~ are also the only serv^{ts}” inserted] ~ I have also for the purpose of being able to land at all places and at all times hired – 14 – the head man of whom is called Tom Freeman – his country name is Ona Wattie¹⁷

Their country lies to the N.W. of Cape Palmas – and is in Lat^{de} [] N. and Longde- [] W^l but small districts containing 25 Miles of beach and 4 days in land in which are 5 towns called Krou Settra Dide Krou, Settar, Krou, ~~bar~~ a Krou bar – & King Wills Town¹⁸ ~ The following account I had from Tom freeman – of the country –

It is bounded by the country of the *Woolers* to the N.E- by the *Tuo*, *Chetong*, & *Waw tuo* Tribes¹⁹

[7] It is principally a flat country with a few low hills – dry and covred with wood

It is cooler than Siera Leone and not sickly

The soil is black loam and very fertile ~ it is well cultivated – and planted with rice potatoes, yams, Indian corn and Guinea corn,

There are no horses or asses but abundance of bullocks Sheep and goats as domestic animals – antilopes and Elephants as the wild

No large rivers but the small rivers well supplied with fish

¹⁷ According to the Wages and Victualling Superintendent, October 24, 1825, the Kru included Tom Freeman as Quartermaster, Bottle of Beer, Black Will, Prince Will, Jack Monday, Ben Coffee, Jim George, Tom Nimblo, Jack Tartar, Yellow Will, Jack Morgiana, Jack Purser, Tom Briggs, and Peter Johnson. In addition ‘Native Africans’ so employed included Ben Clapperton and Bob Pearce. The ‘Quartermaster’ referred to the headman who had recruited ‘apprentices’ on the Kru coast, and who assumed responsibility over their labour, thereby guaranteeing the maintainence of ‘Kru’ norms of behavior; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 8-11.

¹⁸ The five towns, Great Cess, King William’s Town, Nana Kru, Setra Kru and Little Kru, are located on the coast between the Cavalla River, at Cape Palmas, and the Sinoe River, to the northwest. See Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, end map. Based on information collected in Sierra Leone in the late 1840s, S. Koelle listed the five towns as: ‘Irufa, called little Kru, Wote, called Setra-Kru, Nimbeo, called Kru-bar, and Wiao, called King-Will-Town’; see *Polyglotta Africana* (London, 1854), 4. Klemu was the collective name for the five towns; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 73, citing Cyrenius Forh of Nana Kru.

¹⁹ Apparently, references to Bassa, Bete, Bakwe, Grebo, who inhabit the coastal area between the Bandama River (Grand Lahou) in the east and Cape Mesurado (Monrovia) in the west.

No – Wells. The towns are built on the Banks of streams of fresh water -

The Inhabitants may amount to 100.000 when they are all at home – and they are increasing from their peacable habits – and going to other countries to work- and when they have made a little money return to their native country²⁰

At home they live by agriculture also practicing ~~the~~ Trade hunting and fishing

Their Agricultural instruments are the hoe & pick Axe

The timber is the same as that sent home from Seira and is in great plenty

The lands descend to the brother or nearest male relation if the son is too young – if not the son inherits – and is oblig[ed] to take care of the rest of the family – in the event of the brother or other relation succeeding – he has to take care of the deceased[’s] family untill the son grows up to man hood - the females only inherit their cloths

There is much waste land – lands are sold or lent but never lent for rent. Europeans may buy land and labourers are plenty

They trade in Ivory, Palm oil and Rice in exchange for cotton cloth hard ware &c

[8A] They are not acquainted with money neither are they with weights and measures – [“except” inserted] those who are in the habit of trading with the english

An English man of all other nations would receive encouragement and protection to settle amongst them

Government -

The Government is Monarchial but the advice of the Elders has to be taken before any thing of importance can be under taken - this authority decends by inherit. if the son is too young the deceased kings brother is elected - if he behaves ill they depose him – the Elders of the people are the electors - his authority is limited by the elders of the people who form a council

²⁰ On Kru labour migration along the coast for wages, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 14-39.

The distinction of rank is riches none are great by birth - No rank is hereditary but the kings which is called in English Duke in the Krou language *Yaurao*²¹ -

There King must be a good man - many are better - The people are submissive and obedient to their King - tumults and revolutions are uncommon - When the choice of the people is divided between 2 candidates - and they go to war to settle the affair it must not continue longer than 2 years

The king appoints governours to the different towns Subject to his authority - there is no revenue except voluntary gift - all those returning from Sierra Leone or other countries at their return have to give the king a present according to their ability or circumstances

There is no Military - in the event of a war every man able to bear arms must turn out - they seldom have any war and only when some of the people are injured by [8] the neighbouring tribes they make war until due satisfaction is given - they have had no wars these 33 years²² - If the enemy is strong they attack him in the night if weak in the day time - they have no regular mode of attack - but make predatory inroads into the enemy country - They never kill their prisoners or sell them for slaves but keep them until ransomed by their friends

They have no hereditary feuds or family feuds

When a man commits a theft he is discovered made to restore the property or its value besides paying a fine if he is unable, his friends must assist him - if this is not done he must hire himself to some person for a certain period until it is paid for him by his employer -

For Murder - the criminal is bound and a stone tied round his neck - taken out to a good distance from the shore and thrown overboard and drowned as they fear were he put to death on shore his spirit would appear in some other person under another name

There is no regular judge - the king and elders settle all - affairs - in the case of murder there is no evasion - the relations of the criminal do not suffer in reputation or person - Their laws are traditional and administered by the whole

²¹ Probably the *krobo*, or 'father of the town', who was selected by a council of the *nyefue*, the eldest male members of the basic social units - the *panton*, described by Brooks as an 'exogamous patrilocal', towns being divided spatially into "quarters" inhabited by individual *pantons*'; see *Kru Mariner*, 74-75.

²² According to Fyfe, the Kru first came to Freetown in 1793, apparently after peace was restored in the Kru country to the south. By 1818, there were 500 Kru in Freetown and another 200 outside the town; see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: 1962), 78. Also see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 3-8. They occupied a section of the town that was named after the five towns.

General Appearance Disposition, Morals Religion &c

[9A] they are middle sized lighter than the generality of Negroes with a tattooed stripe from the hair on the fore head to the top of the nose²³ – This mark distinguishes the freeman from the slaves – some indeed the greater N^o are Marked also on the temples breasts and arms – but the latter are only ornament – They are well made strong and active gay and chearfull in their dispositions – Their affections warm and sincere and not impet[u]ous but deliberate in their manners and conduct – They are kind and hospitable and they have taken the most humane care of [“the crews” inserted] [of] several english vessels that have been wrecked on the coast - They are said to be brave and bravery is esteemed

They are industrious and those who cannot get employment in their own country go to the diffrent english settlements on the coast and hire themselves as servants or labourers and are much respected for their honesty – they remain untill they have earned a littel money when they return buy another wife or something else – as a man is esteemed according to the N^o of his wives

They have a fair moral character for Negroes [“and they are very anxious to have written characters from the Masters they serve and preserve them with the greatest care” inserted] and some slight regard for the truth

They believe in one god who lives above and is the author of good things – God they call *Misswas* heaven *Jackwoo* – They pray to god in affliction or when they want any thing – and offer a part of their food and drink – by throwing or spilling it on the ground²⁴

By the advice of their priest or doctor they offer a bullock or sheep to god by killing it and leaving it to rot – likewise when they desire they are to give [9] one to god it must be done – None is allowed a piece of the offering without the doctor or priest orders it when some times a half of the sacrifice is allowed

Their doctors or priests are much respected and are paid for their advice and medecine - they do not work and have considerable influence with the people – They hold human sacrifice in abomⁿ

They are not allowed to learn to read or write as they say their country men would kill them as they would savy too much if they knew how to read – They appear not to want capacity to learn²⁵

²³ A blue tattoo from the forehead to the tip of the nose; the Kru usually filed their front teeth, as well; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 94, 108.

²⁴ Also referred to as the ‘Grand Devil’, believed to inhabit a cave at Hedié, the site of a large rock near the mouth of the Cavalla River; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 97-98.

²⁵ For the prohibition on literacy, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 14, despite their use of written certificates, referred to here as ‘written characters’ but at the time often called ‘books’, as verification of previous employment, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 14. The certificates were often kept in leather binders or small boxes.

Individuals arrive at eminence by Riches or by superiour sense and virtue

They have no written language ~ their no^s are

1 Dodo – 2 Dipo – 3 Deta – 4 Demea – 5 Demau – 6 Mumendo – 7 Munesso – 8 Munito – 9 Sapaadoo – 10 Pooa – Water, ni – Fire, Nea – Bread, Peli – Flesh, Swadidi- Man, Neaju – Woman, ~~Neaju~~ Euna – Boy, Dajubal – Girl, Inola – Bullock, Brie – Sheep, Brobree – Goat, Boughla – Antilope Nemea – Elephant, Dua ~~Donia~~ – Elephants tooth, Donia; – Come, Gewo go, Mou – Sun Giro Moon, Cho Stars, Tinea- Rain Yakee Thunder Zakoo – Wind pupolo, Sea Gido, River Nebo, Salt To, White Deprui – Black Agrepou – Red Eylu Iron Preda, Wood; Nomba,²⁶

They can count to a thousand have no literature, have a few songs – They have put a stop to the slave trade and are very industrious and peacable and if proper means were used they would all turn Christians

Poly gamy is allowed to an unlimited extent and the authority of husband over wife is unlimited

Europeans particularly English men are held in the highest estimation

[10A] Slavery

The Slave trade appears – to be carried on with great barba[rity] and to a great extent between Siera Leone & Cape Palmas - we have boarded the following slavers ~~between~~ who had got their cargoes between the above places Viz –

- Octe^r [] 1825 L'Eclair of Nantes Henry M^r [= Master] Paul Gautier of Nantes owner bound to the Havanah – of 134 Tons – 3 feet high between decks Brigantine rig – with 169 Slaves having lost a great many in the shipping by the surf she had lost her surgeon and several of her crew by illness

- Nov^r 1st 25 La Modeste of S^t Pierre Martinique Dègournay Master, Felix Lamoyne owner of S^t Pierre 67 tons 2[ft] – 8 Inches between decks schooner rigged with 269 slaves bound to Martinique – 3 days from the Galinas – and no surgeon when she left S^t Pierre

- Nov^r [] 1825 La Clarita Spanish schooner originaly from Havanah but last from Gibraltar ~~with~~ 3 55 tons 56 slaves all ironed heavilly with a long 12 p^r on a pivot -

²⁶ Handwriting not easily decipherable, particularly in a run of similarly formed letters, e.g. 'u' and 'ee', 'ne' and 'm'. For the Kru language (Krawin), see Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 4.

- Nov^r [] 1825 La Constance fitted for slaves Mathias Jean, Master and part owner Martinique belonging to Martinique of[f?] the ~~Grand~~ little *Seetiss*²⁷

[10] **Nov^r 15** Arrived and anchored at Cape Coast where we remained for 2 days - I here got 2 Canoes for the purpose [of] landing at the different places on the coast to collect infⁿ as the boats of the ship cannot land on account of the surf - we also got a bugle horn which we could not get at Siera Leone - Appointed M^r J. P Fraiser Agent for the Mission at cape coast - we could [ob]tain no information at Cape coast to guide our future proceedings - the Whole of the Officers here Col. *Purdon*²⁸, Captⁿ Fraiser and the whole of the Officers of the settlement showed us every attention and kindness - they are at present expecting an attack from the Ashantees

[**November**] **17th** ["in the forenoon" inserted] we anchored in the evening off Accra ~~Landed and~~ before anchoring detained the Spanish S[c]hooner Nymph - trading for slaves she had got 30 from the Dutch fort at this place - the rest 200 in No- were stopping [at] Pop[o]e & she had come here to get others - We received every attention from Mr. Hanson²⁹ and the Officers of the garrison but could gain no information about the interiour - or of M^r Houtson -

at 10.30 on the **19th** left Accra -

[11A] **Novr 21st** Came to an anchor of[f] Popoe³⁰ after a little the whole of the Slaves were sent off to the ship

Tuesday 22 - fell in with M^r Houtson

24 Came to an anchor of[f] ~~Popoe~~ Whydah

26 left Whydah

[11] Little popoe has long been a place of considerable trade for slaves - and the greatest for Ivory in the bight of Benin. It is situated close to the beach and may contain about three thousand people, including the town where the King resides, which is inland about half a Mile³¹ - the King's Power is limited and his counsels assisted by the chief Caboceers and traders of the town - the authority of the Popoes formerly extended westward as far as Quitta³² - and is yet partially acknowledged, and custom paid, by most of the intervening towns - the Caboceer of the Dutch part of the town, having become rich & powerful

²⁷ i.e., River Cess or Cestos.

²⁸ Possibly Burdon, Commander of the garrison force.

²⁹ J. W. Hansen, listed as a trader in McCarthy to Bathurst, 11 Nov 1822 (CO 267/56).

³⁰ Little Popo (modern Aného).

³¹ Gliji, on the northern bank of the coastal lagoon.

³² Keta.

by an extensive trade with the Portuguese and Spaniards, at length refused to pay the usual Custom on the arrival of the vessels, and set the Kings authority at defiance – a fight took place in consequence in April 1822 in which the Dutch town was burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants with their Caboceer driven away – they retreated along the beach about nine miles towards Whydah to a small village called Agwey³³ – where they settled and built a considerable town – preserving their independence – making trade and twice or three times have returned to the attack on Popoe – but have every time been defeated and driven back with loss – They accuse the Popoez[e] of violating the graves of their fathers, and plundering the gold buried there – on the town being burnt and will hear of no accommodation until that matter is settled. The Popoes were commanded by George Lawson³⁴, a clever little fellow, who was bro^l up on board an English vessel as Cabin boy and [12A] who has always shewn much kindness and attention to Englishmen visiting his country – assisting them in trade, and showing a hospitality not often experienced in Africa.

The Popoes are descended from the Accras and Fantees, and still preserve most of the superstitious manners and customs of their ancestors – the River Sacoom to windward of Accra is still considered their tribal main fetish – to which they appeal on every difficulty or danger and to which they sacrifice sheep goats and fowls – they have also many other fetishes in their houses which they respect and worship – they are a tall well made people – civil to strangers – and understand trade better than most of the natives on the Coast – they have a strong feeling of independence – and are proud of their country – their government being municipal and no one afraid of the King – every Caboceer and woman can dress as they please without the fear of being called to acco[un]t emulating the King – which so frequently prevents even the first caboceers of other countries in Africa from appearing otherwise than in the meanest dress – the consequence of this freedom is that all the Caboceers dress as well as they can in a large arab cloth of native or english manufactures in the fashion of the Cape Coast people – the womin also who are clean, well made and, for negroes, handsome – dress well, their Kanky³⁵ being much durable than [the] highly prized, yet fantastic, part of the dress of a Cape Coast beauty – the Popoe traders travel far into the interior for Ivory and Slaves – visiting Mahu³⁶, Ketou³⁷ and countries behind Dahomey in which journeys they are frequently gone five [12] or six months

³³ Agoué.

³⁴ For Lawson, see Adam Jones, 'Little Popo and Agoué at the End of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Glimpses from the Lawson Correspondence and Other Sources', in Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt, eds., *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)* (Stirling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, 1999), 122-34.

³⁵ Perhaps *kente*, cotton cloth woven on narrow looms on the Gold Coast and in Asante.

³⁶ Mahi, to the north of Dahomey.

³⁷ Ketu, north-east of Dahomey.

The country behind popoe is intersected with Rivers and creeks and is remarkably fertile and inhabited by an industrious race of people – who supply the Popoe Market with an abundance of yams, plantains, Sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, corn, and Calavances – with pine apples, papaws, Limes, oranges, – and with bullocks [“pigs” inserted] Sheep Goats Turkeys, and Ducks and fowls in great plenty – The Creeks abound with mullet of the finest flavour – Oysters and various other fish – The Hippopotami and alligators are also numerous – The best Aitro (a fermented liquor made from Corn[]) is made here and poured in copious libations – the Kanky bread also made from cornflour is good and very wholesome – Like most other africans they spend the greater part of the night in singing playing & dancing

Whydah [“or *Grighwi*³⁸ (by the natives)” inserted] is now frequented only by the Brazilians and Spaniards who have since 1819 carried on a great trade in Slaves – there seldom being less than seven or eight vessels in the roads – This trade since the above period has almost entirely been t[r]ansacted by M^r Da Souza³⁹ – a native of Brazil, who has the unlimited confidence of the King of Dahomey – and has at Whydah an extensive establishment both as regards his business and household affairs – He has been a resident at Whydah and Popoe upwards of twenty five years – and partly adopted the fashions and customs of the natives – He [13A] having upwards of fifty wives and nearly as many children – He has had several vessels running between Whydah and Bahia these five or six years, which have been generally fortunate in escaping His Majesty’s cruizers on the Coast, and must have realised him immense profits – although the Spaniards accuse M^r da Souza of not fulfilling his contracts with them (on account of which they have taken the law into their own hands and plundered his vessels of upwards of twelve hundred slaves besides other property in the year 1824) yet in his engagement with the English and Americans, he is said to be exact to the last farthing – and has frequently shewn traits of a disposition truly generous – notwithstanding the traffic which he follows is now reprobated with the greatest severity by those who formerly were most actively engaged in it – and whose fortunes and families were thereby enriched and exalted

This observation is not meant to excuse in the minutest degree the continuance of a trade which in every point of view is injurious to Africa & degrading to humanity – but merely to remind those who are loudest in declamation that – “Man is not all evil” – that although a man be not a saint – he is not therefore a devil – and that the same degree of moral censure and reprobation is not equally due to the individuals of those nations where the abolition of African slavery has been carried completely into effect – where legal punishment and the public [“voice” inserted] are raised against it – and those whose country

³⁸ Glehue, the indigenous name for Ouidah.

³⁹ Francisco Felix de Souza.

still protects and encourages them in the trade, and where the voice of humanity is not seconded by public opinion -

There were formerly three Forts or rather slave factories at Whydah – the French Portuguese and English – but they are now in a state of rapid decay – though the King of Dahomey still keeps the English fort in some degree of repair – in the hope that the English may return and occupy it, and bring a renewal of the slave trade The french fort is occupied by M^r Da Souza as a warehouse and the portuguese one by the Captains of the vessels as a lodging house – The town is not as populous as it was some years ago – nor the country around so well cultivated – though no finer exists in Africa for the cultivation of every kind of tropical produce – the country to the north of Whydah as far as Dahomey being well cleared and studded with clumps of beautiful shady trees –

There is a regular market every four days, held under a number of wide spreading trees on an open space between the Eng[lish] and Portuguese forts – the stalls are very numerous and covered with mats – the market is well stocked with yams corn Calavances⁴⁰ peas beans & potatoes, ground nuts & the finest oranges and limes, pine apples and various other kind of fruits and shallots – the butchers market is well stocked with fresh pork mutton and occasionally beef – and when there are not many vessels in the roads poultry ducks turkeys pigs sheep and goats are plentiful – In the market are also exhibited for sale cloths of native manufacture – many of which are of excellent quality and durable colours – and might adorn a table, or even the bridal bed of an englishman – also beautiful dyed leather pouches and a variety of Indian and English manufactures beads Brazil tobacco & &

~~There were formerly three forts – or more properly slave factories at Whydah~~

In the year 1818 Adan Louzan King of Dahomey,⁴¹ who had become much addicted to [14A] drunkenness, and when in that state indulged in the most wanton cruelties – was deposed by a conspiracy, at the head of which was his brother *Madaghogan*⁴² – who took the stool – allowing Adanlouzan to retain his establishment of houses wives horses and Servants to attend him but no power nor authority in the state – This was the first instance of a deposition in the history of Dahomey and shewed that, even amongst barbarians there are exceptions to the general adage so frequently quoted, of there being only one step from the throne to the grave!

Adanlouzan has ever since exhibited the reverse of his former conduct –

⁴⁰ Sp., *garbanzo*, chick pea; a name for a variety of pulse.

⁴¹ Adandozan, reigned 1797-1818.

⁴² His brother was Gankpe, who took the name of Gezo when he became king in 1818.

abstaining from excess in spirits and wine – and waiting with patience, as he says, for the time when he shall again take charge of his Kingdom – *Madoghogan* has latterly become unpopular in consequence of his selling great numbers of his own people – and destroying his own towns and villages for the purpose of procuring slaves – this was never done by *Adanlouzan* – and together with their frequent defeats of later years by the Mahus, has led the people to turn their eyes towards their deposed Sovereign – It is said that last year when the King was defeated by the Mahus and obliged to save himself by scattering a bag of loose coral beads, which he always carries ab^l with him in battle for the purpose of engaging the enemies attention in case of his being surrounded – he on his return to Abomey with his army, offred the stool again to Adan Louzan who replied “Place my country in the same situation it was when you took it from me – bring back my people you have sold to Cha Cha (De Souza) – raise up my towns you have burnt to the ground – and get back my brave soldiers you have given to the Mahus [14] to whom I never shewed my back and I will then take my father’s stool – but no, no, you cannot do this! – by and bye my time will come and my people shall then see their old Adanlouzan once again”! This was delivered in the presence of the assembled Caboceers and Captains, and with much vehemence of gesture and expression.

In so far as the individuals sold to Slavery are concernd I think there can be little doubt of their situation being comparatively better on the other side of the Atlantic than in their own Country – for there they never knew what freedom was – and were the evils of this traffic confined to its general effects on the condition of the Captives perhaps it would be difficult to show that on the whole it was not beneficial – but in regard to Africa there can be still less hesitation in holding it up to the execration of mankind as a desolating curse on the population of that ill fated country – and calculated to perpetuate the same state of barbarism and savage superstition which have prevailed upon the finest parts of that extensive continent for a thousand generations – and there cannot be a more convincing example of this than the present state of Whydah from what it was under the government of its ancient Kings before the invasion of Dahomey in 1727 – It is described by Snelgrave,⁴³ who had seen it before that period – as so populous that the traveller could not walk three Miles in any direction without [15A] passing through large towns and villages, nor a spot of ground uncultivated – the people all well dressed and living in peace and plenty – but on the King of Dahomeys conquest those who were not Killed or ran away were sold – and the policy of Dahomy has been ever the same – to make war on their neighbours and even their own people, for the purpose of catching slaves to fulfil contracts entred into by the King with the vessels in the roads – which has reduced the country from the flourishing state in which Snelgrave and others describe it to its present state – nature still is fair and fertile – but man is not there to cultivate and enjoy it

⁴³ William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (London: James, John, and Paul Knapton, 1734).

Whydah was once five times as large as it now is – viz the limits of the old town which are shewn – Xavier⁴⁴ a large City only eight miles from Whydah & the residence of its Kings – is now a ruined village⁴⁵ – Alladah⁴⁶ once the residence of the Kings of Dahomey exhibits ruins only of its ancient extent – Torree⁴⁷ a small town on the road to Dahomey and *Calamia*⁴⁸ – a beautiful little town five miles from Abomey – Abomey the Capital of Dahomey, or rather Dahomey itself is a large City surrounded by a mud wall and ditch, with corn and yam plantations within the walls – the population has been much decimated as has also the power and extent of the Dahomian Kingdom – the fact is that Dahomey has been powerful from the weakness of its neighbours and the terror of its name – of the annual Customs and the human sacrifices offered to the memory of the royal Ancestors and of their worship of the snake and tiger fetishes I shall only say these things are still continued with the same barbaric pomp and pageantry described by Dalziel & others⁴⁹ – Dahomey pays tribute to the King of Yourriba⁵⁰ for every vessel at anchor at Whydah⁵¹ –

[16]⁵² **Novbr 30th 1825** having sent all the stores except the field pieces and ~~guns~~ ["muskets" inserted] which we left on board the Brazen – after taking leave of all the officers – we left with 3 Cheers and landed at Badagarye⁵³ [- in landing one of the canoes was swamped – and all the ~~servts~~ baggage and stores compleatly wet however none were lost – M^r Houtson and one of the Kings head men were ready to receive us – and after we had seen our baggage on the road we got into hammocks – and after riding for a 1/4 of a mile in this way – we came to the banks of the Lagos river⁵⁴ where canoes were ready when we embarked and were paddled across to the Town of Badagry the ["King's" inserted] Captⁿ and his men firing their muskets – we directly proceeded to M^r Houtson's house where we found dinner prepared – we had no disturbance during the night except from the Musquitoes – the bar or sand bank over which the rollers break with great violence was very bad this day – and at eleven o'Clock M^r Houtson in attempting to go on board was capsized and nearly lost his life – the Canoe having swamped on the outside breakers –

⁴⁴ Savi.

⁴⁵ The site has been excavated by archaeologist Ken Kelly; see "Recent Excavations at Savi: an 18th Century West African trade town," *Nyame Akuma* 41 (1994), 2-8.

⁴⁶ Allada.

⁴⁷ Tori.

⁴⁸ Cana.

⁴⁹ Archibald Dalziel, *A History of Dahomey: An Inland Kingdom of Africa* (London, 1793).

⁵⁰ Yoruba, i.e. Oyo.

⁵¹ In fact, Dahomey was no longer tributary to Oyo, having successfully revolted in 1823; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 270-1.

⁵² Folios 16 and 16A were originally left blank and later used by John Houtson in writing his account of Adele; see pp. 100-02 below.

⁵³ More commonly, as later, 'Badagry'.

⁵⁴ i.e. the coastal lagoon; see Robin Law, 'Between the sea and lagoons: the interaction of maritime and inland navigation on the precolonial Slave Coast', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 29 (1980), 209-37.

[17A] Thursday Dec^r 1st 1825 We arose at day light and had messengers sent us from the king and all the principal people of the Town to enquire after our health – at 11 A.M- we went to pay our respects To King Adooli⁵⁵- his house is surrounded with a wall or fence of Bamboo – filled with huts and shids [*sic*] in an oblong shape [“angular roofing” at margin] ~ the King was not long in entering – he was dressed in a red striped dressing gown and bare headed – he is a good looking man below the middle size and rather spare with [a] preposs[ess]ing and intelligent countenance – he saluted us in the European manner and after shaking hands and cracking the thumb, we sat down on chairs and he asked us a no- of questions after our health – his head men assembling not in regular order when they sat down on their knees leaning forwards and clapping their hands – they then shook hands with him & drawing back cracked their little finger in the hollow of the hand – which all the by standers repeated – rum [17] peppermint and water – with glasses were brought when a white cloth being spread over a small board which was laid over a chest in the middle of the shed – the King began, to rinse the Glasses out [one] after another like an old woman rinsing out her tea cups – the servant who brought them in held his mouth up ~ the King poured the water he had rined the cups with into his mouth [“This Custom is prevalent over a great part of the Coast and is called taking out the Fetish out of what is offered and making the serv^v act as cupbearer – that no poison be introduced into the beverage” at margin] – he then rined them out with rum – he poured this rinsing ~~out~~ into his mouth also – - then a wine glass of rum was then filled for each –

we drank the Kings health and he ours touching our glasses together before we drank – The Kings principal Men then had a dram each – with what relish they sucked it round their mouths keeping it in as long as they could – several drams went round but we only tasted – some Mohametans from Haussa were there who refused passing it allways to others when the glass was offred to them-

After remaining here some time we passed into another apartment where We had some conversation about our Journey when we told him that we want to collect plants medicines &^c & to make [a] book for all white men know books and if he would send us on he would be well rewarded by the King of England our master – he promised to do but he made **[18A]** objections to Mr. Dicksons being Forwarded up as he said that he and the King of Dahomey ~~was~~ were not good friends and if he sent him up after the King of Dah[omey] refused the King [of] D- would make war upon him – we said he need not be affraid of that as if the King of D. made war upon him the King of England w^d assist him – Will [*sic*] says he it shall be done – he looked at our swords and adm^d them very much – after another dram drinking we took leave of him when from a square near his house an old iron 4 p^f lying on the ground without a carriage was

⁵⁵ Adele was the king of Badagry after his exile from Lagos in c. 1820-21. For his activities see, Robin Law, “The career of Adele in Lagos and Badagry c.1807-1837,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9:2 (1978), Robert Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yorubas*, 14-15.

fired off – which had also been fired several times while we were in the house and was fired as we passed

we went with Mr. Houtson to see some other great men and had to repeat the drinking - a glass of water is always drank first in every house then spirits- but we nearly put the latter to our lips and then handed it to the by standers who were all eager to receive it – In one of the houses they were at work making fetish which I shall as near as I can describe -

the room or hut was about 12 [feet] long by 9 broad having two doors at the opposite sides – the first thing was a no- of people sitting near the door – and close to the opposite door to which we entered was seated the Master of the house – upon a white cloth spread on the ground in the centre was the Fetisha which consisted of first two things of this shape [Sketch of two mushroom-shaped objects] on a piece of wood about [18] 18 inches high and about 4



Mushroom shaped fetishes at Badagry – ADM 55/11, f. 18,

inches in diameter groo[ved] horizontally with a cap or hood in imitation of a circular house top – excepting one was stuck all over with pins and on their tops as if soup had been poured over them – next to them were 2 small iron rods ~~with~~ about a foot in length stuck in the ground with tops split out as if some thing was intended to be burn[t] on them – next and opposite wth strings of cowrie shells and several other articles lying in regular order – then behind these was a little figure painted yellow like a little man stretching forward smoking a pipe with a rude imitation of a dog beside him – these were inclosed in a sort of imitation of a ~~cubard~~ – or four posts [“which supported” inserted] with covered at top – next was the figure of a man inclosed in a sort of cage - this they said was a King who the little man [“and his dog” inserted at margin] had confined in this place untill he had finished his pipe – saying when you had plenty of riches and I was poor I asked and you refused me - now I will show you my power – They allowed us to handle all the articles without scruple – and said they were callculating an affair of importance -

a blacksmiths shop was next door – the bellows were the only thing remarkable to me they were formed of two [“earthen” inserted] pots sunk to level of their edge in the ground a nosel leading from each but joining before they entred the fire [“which keeps up a constant blast ~ the black smiths were making some Musquet balls” at margin] – the tops of the pots were covred slackly with skin and a long stick to each which a person standing between them with one in each hand halles [= hauls] them up & down alt^y

[19A] We then went through the market place which has nothing but a little palm oil raw beans pepper and indian corn – and in every qua[r]ter palm wine besides a large shed appropriated for the purpose where the more notorious pass the qua[r]ter part of their time ~ near the Market place is the place of execu^{tion} which [is] a bamboo fence of about 30 feet in diameter – surrounding some trees ~ there was the body of a criminal stretched up to the fence his head being taken for fetish ~ his feet were uppermost his legs being at full stretch the shoulders resting on the ground – he had been a Caboceer of Porto Nova⁵⁶ whom they had taken by surprise ~ he had killed Adooli’s ~~the Kings~~ Brother

Friday Dec^r 2nd – We this morning got all our baggage and presents ~~and~~ for the inspection of the king and to see how many bearers it would take also selecting those things we would not take with us at this time -

At 1 P.M. the firing of guns and beating of drums announced the approach of the King ~ in a few minutes afterwards he made his appearance and with such a Mob as I never witnessed ~ he was mounted on a small horse dressed in [a] red coat richly embroirdred with gold lace – an immense broad brimmed hat turned up in front trimed with gold and ostrich feathers and an immense broad band of gold around the crown in which was ~~placed or~~ stuck a green feather ~ [19] instead of breeches he had a satin petticoat trim[med] with blue silk and a silver mounted dagger stuck in his belt or military sash the ends of which after tying round the middle were turned up to his eapulets and hung down from each shoulder like a generals epulates – before him marched 4 boys carr[y]ing large musquets ~ two of the boys had red coats and hats like the king only theirs were cocked ~ next came his caboceers and his captains his pipe bearer and a littel girl who – carried a small gourd wraped up in a pocket handkerchef for his majesty to spit in – he was supported on horse back by a man on each side of him and others [“he was attended by all the Moors⁵⁷” at margin] wriht [= right] be hind him with umberellas who tossed them up and twirled them round while the band and the mob roard as loud as they could roar or rather yell

he rode into the court yard of M^r Houtson’s house where we were ready to receive him ~ we had our servants with drawn swords and my servant Richard

⁵⁶ Porto Novo, which was currently at war with Badagry.

⁵⁷ The reference to ‘Moors’ probably refers to Muslims in general.

gave a blast on the bugle when he entred on dismounting – we went up & shook hands with him and led him to a chair – and sat down along side of him – the brandy and rum had to fly round freely – [“The Fetisha trees” at margin] after remaining some time we asked if he would look at the baggages ~ he said he could not leave his people untill we had gone under the Fetisha trees that we should accompany him there and would return with [him] ~ these trees are only a [few] yards from the door – we walked this distance [20A] with him where we had again to sit down and more rum had to be served out at last before he would come and see the things ~ then he begged for 8 gallons of rum for the people – which I had to apply to M^r Houtson to give him ~ he then said we had better return and at night he would return and arrange every thing with us as he had only come to pay a visit of ceremony – during the time we sat under the Fetisha tree his head captain Bumbane⁵⁸ – danced with the Musicians throwing himself into the most extrordinary attitudes – which threw the spectators into raptures – he is a drunken barbarian but one of those amongst people of that description that by his acting the fool could lead them to any thing ~ about 9 P.M. M^r Adooli the king came attended by only one or two persons – he was as drunk as a lord – but made a n^o [of] difficulties as to our going saying he had to consult the caboceer of another town ~ that it would be necessary to carry three Anchors of rum with us to give the Caboceer of the next town to get his good will ~ I cut this very short said if we were to carry rum I would not go but return to Dahomey

[20] **Saturday 3** – W^t Calm & Clear

Saturday 3 – Morning Calm & Clear – we had a visit from the King at 1 P.M. with two [or] 3 of his head men with him ~ we got all our baggage out – every thing was opened before him and explained to him that it was not merchandise – for they are excessivly zealous that we should carry no goods with us – after they drank and consulted for an hour or so they said it would require 85 Men for the Baggage at 5 strings of Cowries per day⁵⁹ – 42 Hammock men at the same [rate] – the Whole of the baggage has to be carried on Mens heads at about 40 lbs weight per man ~ we have also to give the King 100 ounces trade for his safe conduct to Genawah⁶⁰ where we are to be delivered into the hands of the King of Hio’s officer – the Caboceers – 20 ounces – Bambonie the King’s Captain 10 Ozns⁶¹ – –

⁵⁸ Recalled in local tradition as ‘Bobani’: see Kola Folayan, ‘Egbado to 1832: the birth of a dilemma’, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 4/1 (1967), 32.

⁵⁹ Cowry shells were strung in units of 40.

⁶⁰ Ijanna.

⁶¹ The ‘ounce trade’, originally derived from the value of an ounce of gold, but by this period a unit of account, was equivalent to 16,000 cowries: see Marion Johnson, ‘The ounce in eighteenth-century West African trade’, *Journal of African History*, 7/2 (1966), 197-214.

[21A] The king before he left us first begged a sword and then a gun neither of which I could spare him but said what ever he wanted I would write to England for and they would be sent to him

In the evening morning we Obs^d the medⁿ [of] the 1st satalite of Jupiter making the Long^{de} [] E.

Sunday 4 Calm & Clear – in the evening we had a visit from the King ~ he is extremely anxious that the English would assist him to take Lagos again – we would not assure him that they would but held out promises – I am daily visited by natives of Haussa – some of whom are Fellatas, Negroes and one Showa Arab from Bornou – they all describe Hio as Yarriba – and Katungwa⁶² as the Capital – which is only 2 days from the Niger – agreeing with all my Obs^{ns} at Sockatoo and Kano

[“Mn Alt^{de} Form^t []” at margin]

[21] **Monday 5th** Morning Cloudy with rain th^r & light^a - engaged in writing and packing our Stores for the journey

This afternoon I ~~gave~~ bought the freedom of a Shouac [Shuwa] Arab of the Tribe *Nagri* who had been brought down here four months ago and was going to be sold to [a] Brazilian Slaver here – he was taken at Gondami⁶³ on buissness [sic] for Hameda⁶⁴ at [=of] Katagum & del^d [= delivered] to *Maseduwa*⁶⁵ near Sansan ~ I gave 66\$⁶⁶ for him – and he returns with me to his own country as a servant

Tuesday 6 Cloudy – emp^d writing to M^r Hay⁶⁷

[“Noon Latde of M^r Houtsons Factory 6^o 22’ N by Mn Alt^{de} Q

[22A] Badagry is situated on the left bank of the River Lagos which is here from three to five fathoms deep and upwards of a quarter of a Mile in width – and distant from the beach one Mile from Badagry to Porto Novo or alladah (ardrah on the Maps)⁶⁸ twenty miles up the River and fifteen Miles from the

⁶² Katunga.

⁶³ The Gundami bush between Zurmi and Sokoto.

⁶⁴ Tripolitan merchant resident in Katagum, see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 192-3.

⁶⁵ Unidentified.

⁶⁶ Along with gold mithqal and cowries shells, silver dollars also circulated as currency in the interior, see Paul Lovejoy, ‘Interregional monetary flows in the precolonial trade of Nigeria’, *Journal of African History* 15:4 (1974), 563-85.

⁶⁷ Robert W. Hay, Under Secretary of State at the Colonial Department.

⁶⁸ Porto-Novo, founded by refugees from Allada after its conquest by Dahomey, and so commonly called by the same name.

beach – to Whydah 44 M[iles] and to Lagos the same – twelve Miles down the river is Ageedo⁶⁹ a town of considerable trade for slaves oil &^s and the only place where vessels anchor between Badagry and Lagos

Badagry was formerly situate on the right bank of the River but great numbers of Whidahs having in 1727 ~~when~~ fled hither on the conquest of their country by Quadjo Trudo King of Dahomey⁷⁰ that warlike monarch pursued them to their refuge, destroyed the town, said to be then large and flourishing, and drove the inhab^{ls} across the river where they built the town on its present scite [*sic*] – the dispersion of the original inhabitants of Whydah on this conquest must have been complete, as their descendants are to be found in great nos in Alladah, Apa^q⁷¹, Ageedo and many other towns – besides forming the majority of the population of Badagry They still retain the national marks, worship the Snake – Tiger fetish⁷² and many other Customs of their ancestors – their national mark is a Scarification of the forehead and cheeks which in a few years gives the exact appearance of the persons having had a severe small pox

The town of [“Badagry” inserted] contains at present abo[ut] five thousand inhabitants – is governed by its own Caboceers [22] – but subject to ad’deley, the ex-King of Lagos – to whom on account of his bravery in difending them against the Dahomies, Alladahs and the people of Lagos united – they some years ago delivered up the sovereignty of their Country – He has within a few years raised their character from that of an insignificant people, subject to the inroads of their enemies, the Alladahs, Lagos and Dahomey – to be accepted & feared by the two first and regardless of the friend ship or enmity of Dahomey itself – They are subject to Eyeo or Yarriba as tributaries – indeed the Country may now be regarded as likely to become the chief port of trade to that powerful and extensive Kingdom – and to occupy the same rank in that point of view that alladahs did formerly

The inhabitants are poor and subsist chiefly by War – and the Commiss^{ns} they receive as brokers on the trade with Eyeo with the whites – they are polite and courteous to white men and their friends – but ferocious and cruel in war. They do not offer human sacrifices – but pay much attention to their different fetishes

⁶⁹ Ajido, a few kms east of Badagry, although politically subordinate. It was the site of the de Souza factory, which was established on Felix de Souza’s first visit to West Africa in c. 1792-5; see Robin Law, ‘Francisco Felix de Souza in West Africa, 1800-1849’, in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Western Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst NY: Humanities Books, 2003).

⁷⁰ Agaja Trudo, who according to Robin Law reigned from 1716 to 1740; see *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 266-7.

⁷¹ Apa.

⁷² Dangbe, the royal python, was the national deity of the Hueda. However, the reference to the ‘tiger [i.e. leopard]’ seems to be a confusion, since this was identified with Agasu, the totemic ancestor of the royal family of Dahomey.

and are idolators – tho' believing in a supreme being – they consider him too far removed from mankind to attend to their prayers and their wants – excepting thro' the medium of the fetish which they worship – they say God will not hear the poor mans cry – [23A] but he will hear the fetish – and the fetish will pray to God for good to those who do what is right and who give the fetish some thing to eat - they sacrifice to the fetish Bullocks, Sheep Goats and fowls Cowries and rum – with which the fetish men make free –

The Chief exports of Badagry are Slaves Palm Oil Ivory and large quantities of cloth, the manufacture of Eyeo – which is held in high estimation by the natives on other parts of the coast and also by the black and mulatto population of Brazil – where they sell at a high price ~ The Commerce of this Country has been almost wholly in the hands of the Brazilians and Spaniards since the abolition of the slave trade by the British- When M^r Houtson established a factory here early in 1824 there had been no english vessels anchor'd in the roads since 1819 – and then only one for a few days -

The Country around Badagry is populous and well cultivated – producing Corn Yams plantains Cassava oranges lime pine apples and various other fruits and vegetables and Palm Oil – with all of which the market is well supplied every five days – The market is extensive and the produce and manufactures exposed for sale in stalls covred with mats – Here you see a bask[et] shop under a tree – there a regular and well frequented Palm wine shed, where the thirsty soul may be regaled- with half a gallon for seven cowries – the fourth part of [a] farthing -

[23] They have only about 4 or 5 horses which belong to Adooli and the other head men - their cows are very small and their ammount not more than 250 or three hundred hogs and fowel in plenty as also Turkeys & Ducks, Fruits Oranges, Limes papa[w] apples pine apples with some few vegetables peculiar to the country - plenty of Corn but no rice Yams calavances & beens of various kinds

* * * * *

An Account of Adooly Ex Caboceer
of Lagos [“English” inserted), Onim [“Portoguese” inserted], Ako⁷³
[“native” inserted].
by John Houtson Esq^r⁷⁴

Before the middle of the last Century the port of Lagos was comparatively insignificant – Whyday and Alladah having much the greater share of the Guinea trade – but about that period the king of Dahomey having been successful in repeatedly breaking the Canoes and capturing the Canoemen of the vessels trading at alladah. the trade was removed in a great degree from thence to Lagos – which rose rapidly into the first importance – and, as a mart for the export of Slaves has continued the greatest in the Bight of Benin – Lagos is tributary to Benin and pays an annual custom as well as a custom for every [“vessel” inserted] that trades there ~ The King of Benins sanction is necessary to the appointment or succession of a Caboceer [24A] and his command can remove him -

Caboceer Lago[s] died in 1802 or 1803, leaving great riches – and two sons Adelle and Ajan⁷⁵ the latter by a Jaboo⁷⁶ woman – He [= Ajan] was brought up with much care – taught the arts of trade and encouraged in trading to a great extent whereby he amassed a larger fortune than even his father was possessed of – on Lagos death Ajan instead of assuming the comand of the Country – to which he was entitled both by his fathers will and his own seniority – he sent for Addeley, who had been brought up with his mother at a sack[ed] town – placed him on the Stool as Caboceer of the Country – and made the people promise obedience to him – by professing that he had money enough, and did not wish to be troubled with the affairs of Government further than in giving advice to his brother who was yet a boy of twelve to fifteen years of age – Ajans motive in thus voluntarily declining the station to which he was entitled was not altogether disinterested – as he expected to have the sole direction of affairs, whilst he brother should have had all the responsibility – but the

⁷³ Eko, the Yoruba and Hausa name for Lagos.

⁷⁴ This account of Adele was written by John Houtson in Clapperton’s journal before departure from Badagry. Houtson began the account on folio 23, continued on folio 24A, and finished the account on folios 15 and 16A, which Clapperton had left blank. Houtson inserted a note on folio 15, ‘History of Addeley – from page 44 [= 24A]’. On Houtson, see Introduction, p. 23.

⁷⁵ The king of Lagos who died in the early 1800s was Ologun Kutere. Adele’s elder brother is called Osinlokun in local tradition; the name ‘Ajan’ may possibly represent a shortened form of this name, Osin. As Houtson’s account suggests, Osinlokun may have succeeded his father, although perhaps never formally installed: a document of 1807 refers to the ruler of Lagos as ‘the prince Ajan’, suggesting that Osinlokun, as he eldest son, was expected to become the ruler; see Pierre Verger, *Trade between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to the 19th Century* (Ibadan, 1976), 235. Adele’s accession to the throne must have taken place after 1807 and possibly as late as 1811; his expulsion in favour of Osinlokun apparently occurred in 1821. See Robin Law, ‘The Dynastic Chronology of Lagos’, *Lagos Notes & Records*’ (Ph.D thesis, University of Stirling, 1995), 178-80.

⁷⁶ Ijebu.

moment Addeley mounted the Stool he shewed a spirit of independence totally incompatible with Ajan's views – judging and acting for himself in every instance without reference to his brother – and with a capacity both for trade and government much beyond his years.

[15] The burial place of the Caboceers of Lagos is in the City of Benin – and until the reigning Caboceer carries the body of his father there, and buries him with the accustomed ceremonies, his title is not recognized by the King ~ Shortly after his accession Addeley accordingly proceeded with his fathers body through the Cradoo⁷⁷ Lake and up the Jaboo Creek – where he was attacked by above fifty of the King of Warrees⁷⁸ War Canoes – and after fighting a whole day he escaped with the body and returned to Lagos – having lost the greater part of his canoes. He despatched immediately a Messenger to the King of Warrie to enquire the reason he had done this thing – the King frankly told him that Ajan had paid him plenty of money and promised him the Lagos annual customs instead of the King of Benin, in case he should secure possession of the late Caboceers body, and carry it to Warree – Ajan in the mean time had removed a great part of his property to his Mothers town in Jaboo, and on Addeleys return fled thither – and engaged the King of Jaboo to assist him against his brother – this led to a war which lasted about five years, and ended in Ajans return to Lagos – addeley being obliged to fly with only one attendant in a small fishing Canoe – He went to a town near Badagry – belonging to his mother – where he was soon followed by his friends from Lagos and those who were dissatisfied with the Gov^t or apprehensive of the vengeance of Ajan and soon found himself at the head of a multitude of hungry adventurers

about this time Badagry was attacked by Alladah [Porto Novo] and Dahomey which were speedily joined by Ajan – In this extremity they applied to Addeley who assumed the Command and defeated the Dahomeys, while Caboceer Popu dispersed the Alladahs – that day the Lagos [“fleet of” inserted] war Canoes came up the River and landed a little below Badagry agreeably to an appointment with the Alladahs – Addeley took possession of the whole of their Canoes – followed them into the bush [16A] – Killed and took prisoners the whole of their forces – On this he was immediately appointed by the people of Badagry as their King – though not with the same unlimited authority as he possessed at Lagos - Hence he has remained in residence and has become a terror both to the Alladahs and the Lagos people – the People of Badagry consider themselves in perfect safety under his Government and their town is rising into commercial importance and likely to supercede in that point the port of Alladah.

Addeleys sole desire and ambition is to be again in possession of Lagos, and should the British government assist him in regaining his fathers country there

⁷⁷ Ikorodu.

⁷⁸ Warri.

is little doubt but a treaty might be made with him to abolish the slave trade entirely from the River Formosa to the confines of Dahomey and thus confine the trade in the Bight of Benin to the port of Whydah alone which might be declared in a state of blockade should the King of Dahomey refuse to accede to the terms necessary for destroying that nefarious traffic in his dominions – Some such measures as these would be more effective than all that have yet been tried and I think would not only affect the total abolition of the Slave trade in the Bight of Benin but lead to an intercourse with the natives which would gradually pave the way for their better civilization – and the extension of our Commerce⁷⁹

⁷⁹ John Houtson's account ends here.

CHAPTER 2

Journey from Badagry over the Kong Mountains¹ to the city of Eyeo or Katunga

[24] **Wednesday 7th** – After a great deal of palavering and drinking We succeeded at 5-30 P.M- in getting every thing of[f] and starting in the canoes the canoe in which I was in with the stores being very heavy ~ we proceeded slowly up the Lagos [river] untill the entrance of the Gazie creek² [up which [we] proceeded a mile & a half up and landed on the West bank at 11 P.M- ~ the banks of the Lagos and Gazie are low and covred with reeds³ and the place on which we are halted is a market place for the Badagry people and those of Puk⁴ and other neighbouring towns and is called Bawie – the river or Gazie creek takes a course to the N.E. running through part of Hio and afterwards between Dahomey and the Mahee country and takes its rise in [“a” inserted] country called Keeto ~ from any further they can give no account⁵ [“WNW 4 Miles N- 1 Mile up the Gazie Creek (5 to Bawie)” inserted at margin]

[25A] **Thursday 8** Morning thick and hazy and though sleeping Close to the river in the open air we for the first time since we have been on shore did not hear one Musquito – Adooli & his Cap^{tn} B [= Bombani] attended in their canoes – which were armed with small guns in the bow to guard us from any dangers – Adoli had his cook and one of his wives with [him] in the canoe the after part being covred with a mat roof -

At 7-30 A.M- M^r Houtson and I walked on to the town of Puku leaving the Baggage and stores to come on after us ~ the path over which we travled – was in part – clear & covred with high grass where clear of wood and appt^{ly} once cultivated – the Woods were thick & the trees high – the spaces between wh

¹ Clapperton does not actually refer to the ‘Mountains of Kong’ in his account; the chapter title was chosen by John Barrow for the published version, deploying the term used widely by European geographers to describe the range of mountains believed to run from the ‘Mountains of the Moon’ in East Africa, appearing on the coast at Cameroun and then extending westward to the highlands in the interior of Sierra Leone.

² Yewa River.

³ ‘Covered with rushes and papyrus’ [Remark Book, f. 59].

⁴ Ipokia. For identification of the towns on the route, see Appendix IV, and Peter Morton-Williams, ‘The Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Trade, 1670-1830’, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3:1 (1964), 35-7; and W. Bascom, ‘Lander’s Routes through the Yoruba Country’, *The Nigerian Field*, 25:1 (1960), 12-22.

⁵ This seems to conflate the Yewa (which does indeed have its source in Ketu) with the distinct River Zou (an affluent of the Weme) further west, which separates Dahomey and Mahi. The expedition followed the Yewa.

were full of tangle and under wood so that only [= except] where the path was it was impenetrable to man or beast – the country is low and flat & the soil a red clay mixed with sand – [“From Bawie to Puku N. ½ E. 5 4 Miles” at margin]

At 9-30 we arrived at Puku and halted under a tree - we were Surrounded by immense crowds of people who were very civil - those who could not get near enough to see us from their size were held up on others shoulders and from the great No- of old people and young children – it would appear that they are not given much to selling their Children here — They are Idolaters here from the Fetisha houses I saw in passing but I had not time [to] examine them — at 11 A.M. one of Hio war chiefs⁶ came in state to see us – he was mounted on a small horse as were also two of his attendants – the saddles [25] and ornaments were the same as those of Soudan & Bornow - the rest of the cavalcade were on foot – amongst which was a little boy apparently the favorite slave of the Chief from the conspicuous part he bore and the great attention which was paid him by all the others - his situation was close to the head man – his dress and appearance was most Grotesque consisting of a ragged red coat with yellow faceings – a military cap and feathers apparently Portuguese as it had the crown in front an[d] the N^o 3 on it - this gent- had no breaches and his coat the tails trailed on the ground – the boy being only about 5 or 6 years old – the Captain came curveting and leaping his horse untill wn [=within] 100 yds when he dismounted and came up to within about 20 yds when he sat down - we then sent our umberell[a] as a message or token by the interpreter Hooper⁷ to wish him well [“He first sent his comp^s to us” inserted at margin] at our receiving which the drum beat and hands were clapped and fingers cra[c]ked - We sent his [= him] comp^{ts} in return and on the return of the messenger he came up dancing and capering to where we were and shook us by the hand – his servants bringing him a stool – a few of his attendants with him

He then began his speach saying he was very glad that he now saw [a] white man and pointing to the various part[s] of his dress he said this cloth is not made in my country this cap is of white mans velvet, these trowsers are of white mans Nankeen⁸ this is a white man shawl – we get all good things from white man [26A] and we must there fore be glad when white Men come to visit our country – after giving him a dram he and the rest of his attendants – he drank very little of his ~~two~~ but gave it to his boy

two who appeared next in authority to himself were [“Adamoli” at margin]⁹ stout good looking men natives of Borno they said dressed in the fashion of that

⁶ “The King of Hios son”, as first entered [Remark Book, f. 60].

⁷ A mulatto, formerly a soldier in the garrison of Cape Coast Castle, who served as interpreter to Adele, also mentioned in 1830: Lander and Lander, *Journal*, I, 55-6.

⁸ Cotton cloth, originally made from a yellow variety of cotton in Nanking in China.

⁹ Evidently, this is the name of the captain.

country with blue velvet caps on their heads ~ they would drink nothing being Mohamedans – the one called Seido and the other Ali¹⁰- [“we told him that we were servants of the King of Eng^d going to see his Master and that he must assist us in getting to him ~ he said that the Cab. of Genah was the Kings slave so was this Cab. ~ that he would assist [us] in every thing if not he could lose his head – he held up his little finger by the nail saying I am this much only of a slave I am the Kings son, all prostrate before him lying down on their bellies” at margin]

after the Cap^{tn} and his men had drank – two [or] three drams each he went to see the Caboceer of the town – he returned in a short time and I saw by the dust on his head that he had been paying more respect than was becoming of the Kings son – he asked us to accompany him to the Caboceer of the town – which we did ~ we had only to pass over the ruins of some and through the ruins of one or two other houses or buildings all belonging to the same house we were introduced into the p[a]laver house —

This place is in the form of [a] square surrounded by two clay walls about 5 feet high and about 8 feet between the two walls covered by an angular roof – supported by poles in the centre – going about clear of the wall and forming a verandah about 4 feet broad out side and supported by posts – the roof of thatch – round this verandah were seated the Caboceers Council- [26] An ancient gray headed set [of] men and women ~ the latter were of the greater N^o and appeared to be the principal officers of the house hold and nearest the great personage ~ all bearing imblems of their office – his Highness the Caboceer was a very ancient tall stupid looking man dressed in a red Silken tobe or large shirt ~ on his head was a cap made of sev^lbeads of various colors surrounded by tassels of small gold colored beads and three large coral ones in front – the Cap was the best part of the man for it was very neat ~ in his hand he held a fly flapper the handle of which was covered with beads the brush of hair ~ this he twirled between his hands when he spoke or was spoken to — he was seated ~~behind~~ in one of the doors between the two walls form[ing] a small room [“we gave the Cab- & Cap^{tn} an Anchor of rum each and a piece of Cloth acc^{dg} to [a]greement before we left Badagry” at margin]

after several compts- we were presented with Goro nuts & water – he asked us to stop for the day – ~~and~~ as the other things had not come up — we told him of our intention to go to Hio that we were serv^{ts} of the King and that we wanted carriers for ourselves & Baggage – We gave him a p^{tt} of a piece of cloth & the Cap^{tn} another – the Cab- when he received his retired with his aged female Coun^{ts} [“without sp^{kg} a Word” at margin] ~ the Cap^{tn} followd him ~ the Cap^{tn} returned and said that the Cab. wished his piece of Cloth to be changed which

¹⁰ Seidu and Ali appear to be Oyo officials who had come from the capital, not otherwise identified.

was done - he was still dissatisfied and the Cap- gave him his and after [27A] which he requested the piece he had before refused - we declined giving [it] - ~~it was~~ we at The request of the Capt^d who wished us to stay all night made a virtue of necessity and removed our things that were come up into the house [where] we had had the palaver as all the things had not come from the beach - Cap^m Pearce went down to the beach after them and found them the people [were] going back when he forced them to carry them on - After we had rimoved into the Cab. h^{sc} ["and he had rec^d his anchor of Rum" at margin] he sent us a present of a sheep a basket of yams and some fire wood - his wives had young women came peeping at us thr^o the holes in the Walls and at the doors and when ever we went near them they w^d run off - ["the Cap^m] takes the Cap of[f] one of his attendants heads & spits his quid of tobaco into it which the other takes care of" at margin]

in the evening he paid us a visit - we gave him him a dram & he bade us good night - we were then visited by Capt^d Adamooli who told us to keep a good look out after our things for the people were great thieves - I said he must send his people to keep watch as he must be answerable if any were lost - he instantly sent the greater part of his troops inside he taking up [27] his station at the principal door - and they kept drumming all night

Friday 9th Morning cold raw and hazy - there was a great deal of palavering between the Capt^d and the old Cab. [through] which we sat paitently untill 11 A.M. waiting untill the baggage and stores were taken out - and the Cap^m leading me out [to] where it was I found the old Cab- sitting on a chair near it an umberella was held over his head with a new bead cap on his head which was shaped some thing like the crown part of a hat with port holes cut in the side - his aged councillors ["squated by his side" inserted at margin] by his side he sitting on a chair - the Cap- counted all the things off[f] over laying a small piece of stick on each - they then counted them over a 2nd and a third time - then tyed the bundels up - making me count over first - when I said all was right - one bundle was given to the Cab. of Jenah[']s messenger on[e] the Cap- kept - the other was sent on to the next town to provide Mess carr[ier]s -

After 2 hours waiting for carriers the old Cab. sat with the most invincible gravity and would not find one [28A] saying he had not had enough for a present - We then declared we would return to Badagry and let them do as they pleased, and accordingly all made move to go that way - the old Cab- was not in the least moved but the poor Cap Adamooli prostrated himself before [me] laid hold of my legs and said he would lose his head if I went back ["Mr-Houtson sent Hooper to Adooli to tell him he had deceived us in not sending any Car^s [=carriers]" at margin] I returned and he loaded his own people - the Old Miserable Cab. not sending one man - After the principal part of the baggage and Stores had moved off[f] Capt^d and M^r M [= Morison] followed

with the serv^{ts} M^r Houtson and I rem^d [= remained] to see the whole off before we started -

at 5-30 P.M- the whole of the things having gone on Mr H. [= Houtson] and I took leave of the Cap- gave him an order for a piece of Cloth and one between Siedo & Ali who had been of cons^{bl} assistance to us – their men told me we were now in a dep[t] of Hio¹¹ which is called Yarriba by the Arabs and people of Hausa – and that the name of the capital is called Katunga that they are serv^{ts} of the King and that it is 30 days journey ~ indeed when they were coming in I asked the people who they were [28] they said Yarribanies ~ as we could get no men to carry the Hammocks they brought in My friend Ali a small horse without a saddle with which H. & I agreed to ride & tye¹² as my foot was cut and blisterd with a pair of new boots I had worn yesterday and I could only wear a pair of loose slippers ~ we set off in this state the Cab. of Jennah’s Mess^r old Acra¹³ and M^r H[’s] boys in co-

This Puku has once been a large town surrounded by a wall and deep ditch the wall is now down and all the houses of the town in ruins -

After our leaving Puku it soon got dark – the path being crossed by others often we lost our way – the road for some part was through fine plantations of corn – the rest was through thick dark woods where we could not see the heav[ens] over our heads the path winding in every direction - my slippers being down at the heels I soon lost them off my feet when I got my legs and feet miserably cut and soon getting galled by riding without a saddle I had to walk bare foot - this was rea[l]ly if possible worse for when ever I crossed an ant path my feet were as if in fire and they drew blood from every quarter and I hobbled on with a stick

[29A] At 9-30 P.M- we halted at [a] village called Isako – we had passed near to several others on our road – from the inhab^{ts} of which that we saw we inquired the road – here the people offred us a house for the night but on their telling us that our people were halted at a town a short distance off we remained only a short time and started again - they kindly gave us guides with lamps to show us the way – our short rest and ride had made us worse and the road only wanted thorns to make misery compleate ~ however after struggiling on untill 11.15 P.M. we arrived at a town called Dagmoo wh^{re} we found our servants with the heavy bagg[age] and the Canteen but our beds had gone on before ~ they were halted in the Market place in the open air – even this was better than

¹¹ i.e. the Egbado district.

¹² Said of two, or three, persons who travel with one horse, alternately riding and walking, each one riding ahead for some distance and tying up the horse for the one who walks behind.

¹³ Probably Akere, a war-chief of Ijanna, mentioned in Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas* (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1937), 249.

traveling – Captⁿ P- and M^r Morrison had gone on a head with the light baggage – we had a cup of coffe each and some cold meat which was fortunatly left – the rest of the stores having gone on before so after making our supper we went to rest in the open air [“direct line our Course – N.E. by ~~N~~. E. Due about ~~40~~ 8 Miles” at margin]

[29] **Saturday 10th** the Morning raw cold & hazy ~ we were all very cold and what was worse had nothing to eat [one word illeg. and deleted] ~ at 6-30 we took the road – It lying through the thickest woods I ever saw and ~~only~~ except on the foot path impenetrable to Man or beast – the country rather uneven the soil a Strong red clay ~ we passed several people principally women who were loaded heavilly with cloth plantain and a paste made from pounded Indian corn wrapped in leaves called Acusson¹⁴ going to market ~ they were all extremely civil and never missed saluting us and giving us the road – one woman whom I made signs to that I was thirsty was nearly crying that She had no water to give but would make us take plantains & Acussons – a short while after leaving Dagmoo [“in a direct line from Puku 16 Miles Course N.E by E 5 Miles” faint] we crossed a small stream which the Jennah Mess[enger] carr[i]ed me over – and at a short distance before we halted a hammock come to carry me and at 11-30 AM- arrived [a]t the Town of Humba¹⁵ [“Latde- Mn Q¹⁶ 6-41 N.” at margin] where I found Captⁿ P. & M. in the Cab. house and the Cab. waiting in state to receive us – [“This Cab. has also his female Coun^{ts} ~ they waited a cons^{ble} time for to hold a palaver but H. and I were too unwell” at margin] H. & I bathed our feet but found we had considerable fever— & went to bed – We have excited cons^{ble} curiosity every one comes to have a look

[30A] I got worse in the Afternoon and had a Slight fit of Ague [“several small presents given” at margin] – this house is of the same form as the Cab. of Puku[‘s] and in as ruinous a state ~ we were lodged in the Fetisha room the F. was [a] bullocks skull – the town the little I saw of it was in a sad ruinous state falling houses scattred here and there – they kept singing and dancing all night round our house ~ their songs were in chorus and like our church music

Sunday 11th Morning raw & hazy – after a great deal of palavering with the Cab. and a Captⁿ with a Lepard skin cloak or mantle about our having bearers – we started at 9-30 A.M- and all our palavering or M^r H. paying a good price could not hardly make them carry my hammock I was too heavy – tho very weak I wa[l]ked on for a mile to a town called Akolou where the baggage was halted & I f^d the Lepard skin¹⁷ Cap^{tn} holding a palaver and declaring he would not go on or let the baggage go without a flask of rum [“and a piece of Cloth”

¹⁴ Yoruba, *akasu eko*.

¹⁵ Ihumba, or correctly Ihunmbo.

¹⁶ Meaning the sun’s lower limb.

¹⁷ The leopard skin was a symbol of the *alaafin*’s authority; hence this man must have been an *ilari*.

at margin] – M^r H. – gave him a glass of grog when after keeping it in his mouth for some time he poured it out of his own mouth into the mouth of one of his attendants ~ After M^r Houtson giving him his flask – the baggage started [30] and I had two men to carry my hammock they had not gone twenty yards before they set me down and said they would carry me no further ~ I accordingly was walking on as slowly as I could but on seeing the fellow walking very deliberately walking after me I took the gun and presented it at them when they down[ed] hammock and flew ~ Acra and Akilu the Mess^r took me up – and carried me to a town called Etu¹⁸ where they were changing carriers the Country between in part cleared and part thick woods – running in ravines the towns allways in a hollow ~ the Cab- of this place gave us a goat and a basket of Yams & Mr. H. gave him a flask of rum [“nothing can be more civil and kind than the inhabitants here” at margin]

here I got hammock men and we left Etu & proceed[ed] on through thick woods to Saado or Tsado [“direct line from Humba to Saado ~~E.N.E 7 Miles~~ E.N.E 4 Miles” inserted faint] where we halted in the palaver house ~ here as in other places since leaving Puku our things [have] been strictly count^d before the Cab- ~ we received a present of yams a goat and 2 ducks – The people sang and danced all night around the house -

The soil between this and Humba a strong red clay and they must have plantation at some place near as there is none to be [31A] seen near the towns for the support of the Numerous inhabitants – likewise from the thickness of the woods I judge we are not far from the banks of the river¹⁹ which they say we cross tomorrow but old Acra says that the Fetisha at Gazie would kill any white Man that come up the river and that is the reason we did not come that way – [the] true reason [is] they fear the trade [“E.N.E 4 Miles” at margin]

Monday 12th Morning raw & hazy – our things going off with alacrity this morning – and ham^{ck} men being provided at 8-50 A.M. we left Saado – the road lay principally through thick woods ~ at 9-50 arrived at the town of Badagee [“or Bidgee” inserted] where there are some fine plantations of corn & plantains ~ the Cab was all ready to receive us a fine civil young fellow his name *Lorokikai*²⁰ [“The Cab- of Badagee rec^d us under a tree ~ he would drink no rum as it was Fet- to him – we then visited his house the best I have seen in the country & full of women ~ presented him 2 Flasks of rum & piece of Cloth” at margin] they came in crowds to see us & on our expressing a wish to proceed on without delay he begged we would stop all day as [neither] he nor his people had ever seen white men before and he wished to give us some thing to eat and it was far off any other place and we would have to sleep [31] in the bush –

¹⁸ Itoro.

¹⁹ Presumably still the Yewa.

²⁰ The Oyo officials in this district had various names; this is perhaps a rendition of *olori kika* (twisted head) or *olari kike* (rotten) and hence a nickname.

Mr- Houtson and I went down to the river embarked in a canoe & crossed over to the other side ~ we found there was no place clear of wood except the narrow^w foot path – we found the river about ¼ mile across full of low swampy Islds level with the water and floating reeds – the passage through which sometimes was not above 3 feet wide the depth in gen^l about 8 feet – the current 2 K^{ts} [=knots] ~ it now appears to be in flood though not at the highest ~ the water is now discoloured [“Course direct from Saado to Badgee E by S 5 Miles Lat Bagee Mn Alte- O. []” at margin]

we come back in a canoe with a woman who had come from Jennah – who was over joyed that She had had the good fortune to come over the water with white men and said they were firing guns at Jenah yester day when they heard that the white men were so near — 20 Cowries a head & pay first is the fare over the water – But- [there] are a great no- of Canoes ~ they do not use paddles but a forked pole and ~~use~~ manage them very cleverly ~ when we returned we told the Cab- we would stay all day and requested him to give us a house which we were shown to but found it too small ~ we there fore asked him for his house [“his was a very good one” at margin and over] but he said his house was Fetisha ~ however we got one square of it – in this open space we stored all our things and occupied the small rooms our selves

M^r Morrison was taken very unwell and had slight symptoms of fever – Adooli of Badagry and his Capt^l Bombanee sent their messengers to day to us ~ they had sent ham^k men on but the old invincible of Puku w^d not allow them to come on – the Cab- made us a present of 2 Hogs and some yams – there are some women here very od[d]ly marked having sev^l raised dots like wens²¹ across the fore head about [“½ in apart each on the cheeks about one inch – they are made by cutting & lifting the skin” at margin]

[32A] **Tuesday 13th** [“We had some singing last night” at margin] The Morning raw cold & hazy M^r M. better ~ at 7-30 Left Badgy embarked in the canoes the people of the town cheering and singing as they passed along ~ the Cab. attended on the beach untill all the things were off ~ at 8-40 A.M- we had all crossed ~ we were only able to procure one ham^k for Mr. M ~ Capt^l P is also slightly indisposed ~ I had considerable difficulty in find[ing] the carriers and the Messenger of Jennah exerted himself to the utmost – at 10- all was off and I walked ~ the road was through a dry swamp nearly the whole way ~ the sun was very oppressive and I here de[s]ir[ed] my umberella on – at 11 I sat down in the shade quite ex[h]austed by the heat when a Hausa man come up mounted he kindly dismounted and gave me his horse and walk[ed] with me to the village of Ataliobolu where the baggage and people were halted for carriers to come from the next town — [“Badge across the river E by N, 1 Mile Ataliobolu – ENE – 4 to Taloo E by N – 6 to Laloo East – 5” at margin]

²¹ i.e. warts.



*Cross shaped whistle –
ADM 55/11, f. 32A*

I got rooms in the principal mans house for Capt^l P and Morrison — this town is well planted in the neighbour hood with plantians yams & Corn — ~~saw~~ no^s of people on the road going to the Market in Badge — I saw a whistle of a new form²²

The carriers having arrived from Laloo²³ sent the sick off — and the greater part of the baggage of [f] - Houtson and I started in hammocks [“Capt^l [P.] prefered walking ahead for some time” at margin] the road lying through fine plantations of yams and nearly as level as a bowling green — at 35-30 P.M. I was met by the Jennah Messenger with an officer of the Cab. of Laloo bringing

horses for the party — we got out of our ham^{ks} & mounted — I was the only one that had a saddle but so hard [32] & the stirrups so short that it was a question which had the best bargin — at 6 P.M we ascended a rising ground and arrived at the town of Toloo which stands on the rising ground and is the cleanest [“we have seen” at margin] since our arrival in Africa - we did not halt here though the people were very anxious we should [“Sunset thd^l & Light^lg” at margin] - the country here is beautiful rising into hill and dale from which there are some fine views — part of our road lay through fine plantations of corn & yams and fine avenues of trees — in some places I question if the suns rays ever penetrate

At 7 P.M- arrived at Laloo - the aproach to the town appeared by the Moon light quite enchanting being through an avenue of tall majestic trees with Fetisha house[s] placed here and there and solatary light burning by eatch [of] which some devota was sitting beside as if watching - on entering [“we were taken to” inserted] the kings house where he was sitting under his inner verandah ready to receive us and the house was crowded by spectators he rose as high as the roof would admit — welcomed us to his country and said he was glad to see us — we told him there was one sick gent- behind if he would send light to bring him up and show us what house we were to live in for the night as we were fat^d [= fatigued] and wet with the heavy dew — we were accordingly taken off to another square of his house and our beds and canteen having been sent before — we had tea — 9 P.M- Mr. M. arrived — we had a present of a pig and 5 basket of yams

[33A] **Wednesday 14th** The Morning raw and Cold - Morrison a little better Captⁿ Pearce and my servant Richard Lander taken ill [“The Cab have a *singular set* who come in & prostrate two or three times - I observe that the

²² Cruciform shape sketched at margin — with initials ‘F.R, M.P., T.R. and F.H.’ at the four corners.

²³ Ilaro, and mis-spelled ‘Laboo’ in the published version.

other people only do it once ~ one of his women a native of Nyffe was one of the perfect forms I ever saw lovely in countena[n]ce & elegant in person - her hands and arms were beauty it self the form of her countenance was oval & her eyes had that lovely softness we delight to see in woman - a woman come amongst the crowd with 2 images of Ch^d stuck in her breast - decked off[f] [=out] with beads & cowries - these were images of 2 Children who had died²⁴ - [~~in~~ the Fetisha house is a large square building having a large verandah supported by round pillers against some were images of men one armed with sword & shield or rather with pistol holding it with both hands in the act of lifting it to fire” at margin]

After day light the Caboceer sent to inquire after our health - and at 10 A.M- we paid him a visit - we found him the same place we saw him last night - the whole of the verandah and Square was full of people except a small space for those who came to prostrate themselves - In the centre of the Square was a large Baboon & pole - & a forked stick with water for Pigeons that were continually flying about over head ~ Behind the King sat about two hundred of his wives and concubines. He sat on a Mat leaning on a large round pillow - one of each of which he immedi^{ly} ordred for us - we sat down beside him and gave him a glass of grog - which he drank off with gre[at] relish - turning himself round so that his own people might not see him drink - we handed a few glasses more to his ladies, and a goblet full to his head men - who were sitting in front with every mark of their morning prostration - their obeisance is a complete prostration the body at full length on the ground with the chin resting on the hands - turning one cheek to the ground - then the other and at last Kiss their mother earth and rise ~ Before entering the Caboceers presence their heads and brows must be coverd with dust or clay

The Caboceer rec^d us on the whole with much Cordiality - but seemed to be afraid of communicating any information regarding Hio untill we had seen the Cab. of Jennah - who is his superior in authority - tho not in rank - being the Kings confidential Slave and viceroy over all the western frontier²⁵ - while this man is only Cab. of Laboo, but a freeman of Hio - He told us he had a house in Hio and that half his wives were there.²⁶ When he spoke in a complimentary way to us all the people clapped their hands joyfully. When we told him that a white man had only one wife He and his whole people with his wives laughed immoderately - After staying with him an hour we took our leave, giving him two bottles [of] rum & a promise of something more when [33] the baggage arrived. He told us he would see us in the evening ~ the town is large - and

²⁴ i.e. Ibeji wood carvings.

²⁵ The ruler of Ijanna, the *Onisare*, who was head of the Egbado province of Oyo, was appointed from among the *alaafin*'s slaves; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 115-17.

²⁶ The rulers (*Olu*) of Ilaro were appointed from among the royal princes of Oyo, and served for only limited terms, before retiring back to the capital; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 114-15.

stands on a rising ground – or on the top of a small hill and in some parts commands an extensive view particularly to the south, which is low and flat – Lagos he says can be reached in one day by a Messenger – In the evening he paid us a visit, when we presented him with a piece of Cloth & 19 Coral beads – he bro^t with him a Doctor who anointed Cap^t P- and Richard – he was highly pleased with the coral

Thursday 15th Raw and hazy – our sick better – at eight sent them off in the hammocks – at 9 started on horseback N by E^{1/2}E 1^{1/2} Mile – N 2 to Ekale at 11 arrived at Jennah [“The inhabitants without exception when they meet us or even their own country people take off[f] their cap to us, and bid good day – to one much their superior they prostrate” at margin] ~ On mounting our Horses we waited a short time for the Caboceer²⁷ who came mounted but without stirrups – He attended us some distance out of town with the whole population of *Laloo* around him, the women singing in chorus – and holding up both hands as we passed – and groups of people Kneeling down and apparently wishing us a good journey ~ The Country well cultivated and beautiful, rising into hill and dale – from the tops of the hills we had distant views – the road leading through plantations of Millet, Yams Calevances and indian corn – &c

Arriving at Jennah I found our poor sick halted in the Palaver House or an open shed, surrounded by thousands of people making a great noise. Here we had to wait above an hour before the Caboceer²⁸ made his appearance which however at last he did gorgeously arrayed in a large yellow silken shirt and red velvet Cap with a silver mounted and silver wrought Kind of horse whip [“ornamented with beads” inserted at margin] in one hand – and a child’s silver bells which he rattled or shook when he spoke – he was seated on a large leather cushion – which was placed on a mat covered with scarlet cloth – On this the cloth I was going to sit down but the ladies very unceremoniously whiped it [34A] from under me & I sat on the mat – his female attendants sing in chorus very beautifully ~ the drummers were at a more respectable distance and the whole space in front of his house was covered with people – here also were the worsh[ip]ers – who paid their respects in due form to their master going out & coming in three times

We shook hands with him – He said he was glad to see us – that whatever we had to say to the King of Eyeo we must first deliver to him – that if he approved of our palaver so would the King – but if not neither would the King of Eyeo – this sounded somewhat ungracious and consequential – especially taken with his apparent inattention while the interpreter was speaking to him – but on our explaining to him that we had nothing of particular importance to say to the King of Eyeo – except to request [the acceptance of] the King of England’s

²⁷ i.e. the chief of Ilaro, who accompanied them part of the way towards Ijanna.

²⁸ This time the chief of Ijanna.

respects and to request a passage through his country – he s^d all was right, that he was glad we should look [in] the King of Eyeos face – that God would give us a good path – and that he would forward us right on without any trouble – we then asked him for a house. he said he would give us into the hands of his principal servant who would give us his house – to which we went – we found it pretty well occupied with people but we had a room each for the Sick & Houtson & I took up our quarters in the Verandah – our house is situated on the S.W. side of the town and certainly enjoying a fresher breeze than any other in the towns – the Kings house is close to – in the evening we were invited by the Cab. incog[nito] such are thes[e] [34] crooked potentates of Africa – he was now quite a different man – his servant Akoni [*sic*] who had come with us from Badagry²⁹ – sat down & the Cab. had his knee for a seat he now conversed freely gave us a great deal of good advice and spoke of god more like a pagan Christian than a pagan – He said there was no pass though Eyeo to our country – that the King of Eyeo could not allow us to go through – but that we must return again after having seen him – we told him that we were in the King of Eyeos hand, and if he gave us permission to pass it was well – if not we should return – but that all we wanted of him was Horses and carriers to take us to the King – He said these we should have and not one cowrie should be lost – but that the Eyeo people were unaccustomed to carry hammocks, and we must go on horse back – He repeatedly assured us of safe conduct to Eyeo and said we might start tomorrow if our sick were well. We then gave him the greater [“part” inserted] of a string of coral, which in this country is esteemed as diamonds by a jew – He was most highly gratified by this present – we told him we had but little rum with us, but would send for some to Badagry – we gave to the man in whose charge he had placed us a piece of Cloth and 11 Coral beads

Mr Houtson learned this morning that a Message had arrived to the Caboceer from some part of the Coast, probably Lagos or Dahomey, advising him that the English men were going to make war upon the King of Eyeo – and that we might perhaps [35A] Kill the King – this I appre[he]nd was the reason why he was so positive in wanting to know our business with the King of Eyeo

Friday 16th Morning raw & hazy - we this morning received 2 goats a hog and a large quantity of yams 10 fowels & 2 pigeon - we are visited by great No- of the towns people and when ever we show out of the house we are followed by an immense crowd – we recv^d a present of a goat & a quantity of yams from the towns people – in the morning M^r Houtson [“& I” at margin] took a walk through the town - we were followed by an immense crowd which gathered as we went along but all very civil the Men taking off[f] their caps the women kneeling on their knees & one elbow the other elbow resting on the hand – in

²⁹ Apparently another servant of the Onisare of Ijanna, not Acra or Akere, referred to above.



Road from Ijanna

returning we came through the market which though nearly sunset was well supplied with raw cothton [*sic*] Country Cloth provision[s] and fruit such as orranges Limes plantins bannanas – & vegetables such as small onions chalotes pepper & greens for soup also boild yams and Acusson – here the crowd rolled on like a Sea the Men jumping over the provision baskets – the boys diving under the stalls tho women baweling and saluting them looking after their scattred goods yet no word or look of disrespect to us – Capt- Pearce a little better M^r M. Well – & Richard worse

[35] Saturday 17 Morning Clear ~ Captⁿ Pearce Much better Richard worse – Mr. Morrison bled Richard in the temple in the evening but he has had no relief

Sunday 18th Raw hazy Morning ~ our paitents a little Better – Jannah is situated in Lat^{de} 6-36-30 N & Long^{de} [] E- and stands on the N.W Side of a gentle hill commandg an extensive view to the NN & W- ~ the view to the East is interrupted by thick woods the inhabitants are apparently civil and industrious and may ammount from 8 to 10,000 [“They are great carvers their doors, drums and every thing of wood is carved” at margin] ~ it has formerly been surrounded by a wall & ditch ~ the gates & ditch are now all that remain ~ the streets are irregular and Narrow – the houses occupying a large space – and in the same form as those at Puku – here amongst the Yorribanias is the poor dog treated with respect and made the companion of man – here he has collars rond his neck of different colours and ornamented with cowries and sits by his master and follows him on all his journeys & visits ~ the great man is never without one and it appeared to me a boy was appointed to take care of him – in

no other country of Africa that I have been in is this faithfull animal treated with common humanity

Owing to a Brazilean Brig having arrived at Badagry for slaves – the people here have been preparing themselves for 2 days to go on a slaving Expedition to to a place called Tabbo³⁰ lying to the East^d [“only for this brig such an expedition w^d not have gone” at margin]

[36A] I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, ~~and~~ with a numerous and heavy baggage and about ten different relays of Carriers without losing so much as the value of a shilling [“that there are no thieves in the country all evincing the care that was taken by the Cabs who counted when ever they arrived and when we departed – guards were stationed with^r our knowledge outside & in of the houses and the night Fetisha whent [*sic*] round the town to keep every body in their houses on pain of death – the sound of the Fetisha is the same as the notched stick flut[e] boys have tyed to a string and makes a whizzing or burring sound³¹ – I rather think it is the same thing as the sound rises & falls in the same manner” inserted] public or private – a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to exist amongst a people hitherto considred barbarians – Humanity, however, is the same in every land – Government may restrain the vicious principles of our nature – but it is beyond the power, even of affⁿ [=african] despotism, to silence a womans tongue – In sickness and in health and at every stage we have been obliged to endure their eternal loquacity and noise -

We have observed several looms going here – in one house we saw eight or ten – in fact a regular manufactory – their cloth is good in texture and some very fine – They also manufacture earthern ware but prefer European – tho’ they sometimes misappropriate the different articles ~~to~~ ~ The vessel in which the Cab- of Laloo presented us water to drink M^r Houtson recognised as a handsome blue Chamber pot sold by him last year at Badagry

[36] **Monday 19th** – morning hazy and raw – Cap^m Peace better – Richard continues still very ill – severe head ache and fever -

About ~~ten~~ twelve oClock we visited the King at his own house – he had previously sent us about twenty five gallons rum, saying he heard we had not bro^ut much rum with us – that Eyeo people liked rum too much – and that he sent us

³⁰ Tibo is north of Ijanna, but at the time, the Ijanna war-chief, Dekun, was involved in the devastation of Egbaland; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 277.

³¹ i.e. the Oro masquerade.

this that we might give all his people a dram to get us a good name amongst the inhabitants -

We found his highness seated in the door way of a room in the inner verandah – and on his large leather Cushion behind him were his singing women – and under the verandahs on both sides of the door were his musicians and his headmen – He wore this morning a rich crimson damask robe or shirt and the same red velvet Cap – but during the visit, to display his grandeur – he changed his dress three different times – each time – a richer than before – The whole court, which is large, was filled crowded crammed with people – except a space in front of where we sat – into which His Highness led M^r Houtson & myself [37A] one on each hand and [“there” inserted] we then performed an african dance to the great delight of the surrounding multitude – The tout ensemble of the whole would doubtless have formd an excellent subject for a caracaturist – and we regretted the absence of Cap^l Peirce to ~~set~~ sketch off the old black Caboceer sailing majestically around in [“his” inserted] Damask robe – with a train bearer behind him – and every now and then turning up his old witherd face to myself then to Houtson – then whisking round on one foot – then “marching slow with solemn gait” raising our hands in his – proud that a white man should dance with him – he gave into the humour of the day – and so “cheered we our old friend – and he was cheer’d”! -

We sent for Capt Pierce – who came on his hammock, but he could stay [“only” inserted] a few minutes – the noise being too great for him – The Cab. again gave us two Anchors of rum – on our return to distribute to his people – which they drank with glorious jollification – and glee – In the evening we sent the Mess^{er} to him to ask when the horses were ready – he returned with an answer that the King was drunk tonight – but would see us on tomorrow –

Richard much worse – M^r Morrison put a large blister over his head – which caused a temporary delirium – but as the blister rose he got [37] much better – and promises in the morning to be convalescent -

Route from Jennah to Katanga as per report of the King of Eyeo’s Messenger – (the figures indicate the days journies)

Towns – [

Jennah, Bachey, Chaw 1st, Egah 2 – Modu Ibu 3 – Epu ayah 4 – Ewah 5 – Afora 6 – Asula 7 – *Isacah*, Kettelli Assodu 8 – Tudezeh 9 – Chohchoh 10 – Fodebu 11 – Bendek Kah 12 – Echo, Duffu 13 – Issiah, Eweiah, Leppah 14 – Chiadoo 15 – Matomi 16 – Erawah 17 – Washu 18 – Chaki 19 – Bugoo 20 – Kusu 21 – Yaboo, Insukusu 22 – Okey, Aggidibah, Akkibosu 23 – Adjah 24 – Loko 25 – *Salahi*, *Lagchoock* 26 – Liogallah, Bomgbomg 27 – Atepah 28, *Namabini*, Namah 29 – Leabadah 30 – Ishow 31, Achooni 32 – Katanga 33

in all thirty three days and passing through forty six intermediate towns – the Messenger has on acct- of our baggage given us short and easy stages – as a Kings Messenger or a person travelling without any incumbrance would reach Katunga in twelve to fifteen days, [38A] which would give the distance at nearly 250 Miles – Katunga is about N.N.E- from Jennah

a Copy of the Journal to this date sent to the Colonial office -

[38] **Tuesday 20th** Morning raw and Hazy – The Caboceer called to enquire after the sick – and expressed much concern at their not getting well – Employed in writing letters to Eng^d &^c and copying the Journal – M^r Morrison again languid and unwell – Cap^t Pierce weaker – Richard better – but weak

Tuesday Wednesday 21st The Caboceer came this morning with his headman to overhaul the packages, to see how many Carriers would be requisite – We again tried for Hammockmen and offerd a high price for three setts for the sick – but the Cab^{el} said that the Eyeo [“people” inserted] could not and would not carry a hammock – that a man was not a horse – a truth so obvious ~~that~~ and so ~~aneient~~ ancient that we could not contradict it – I offerd him a string Coral, which to him is most tempting – but he would not make a positive promise – However he sent a messenger in the evening saying that he would find hammocks to the first stage (Bachy) I gave him a Strg [of] Coral and a book on Badagry³² for two good Muskets – with which he was well pleased – He promised to forward any thing that was sent from Badagry for the Mission and any thing from the Mission to Badagry

We again took a walk through the town, [39A] and saw several other manufactory of Cloth – and their Dye houses – with upwards of twenty vats – or large earthen pots – in each – and all in work – the indigo here is excellent and forms a most capital and durable dye – the Women were the dyers – the boys Weavers – their loom is on the same principle as thos[e] common Eng^l loom – but the warp only about four in. wide – the shuttle the same as an eng^l one – M^r H- was anxious to purchase the freedom of a Bornouese slave a dwarf, three feet high – and thirty years of age – a cunning looking rogue – but he was not willing to be sold, and his master would not therefore sell him -

Thursday 22 – Raw and hazy – M^r Morrison looking ill but in better spirits – Cap^t Pierce very weak – Richard better – I this morning stated to both M^r M- and Cap^t P- that I would either make an arrangement for their stay here until they were completely convalescent – or for their return on board the Brazen – providing Hammocks to carry them to Puku, and to go under the care of M^r H^{ns} ~~boy~~ head man Accra – or if necessary, that M^r H- should himself take

³² i.e. an order on the warehouse in exchange for which the bringer receives specific goods up to a certain value.

charge of them and return them safe to Badagry – Cap^t P- expressed a decided determination to proceed – and M^r M- would not even hear that M^r H- speak on the subject of return or stay – but said he would proceed on –

the Caboceer came early – and after much troubled [*sic*] and seemingly much difficulty got three to carry the sick – his own son being obliged [39] to take one end of a hammock – I observed that on the Cab. sneezing all his attendants clapped their hands and snapped their fingers – a custom common in Benin Lagos and Dahomey – similar to our exclamation “God bless us” on the same occasion – The hammocks started at 7.45 – when M^r Houtson’s [“small” inserted] boys owing to some people frightening them with stories of War on the path, and probably a Messenger from their friends at Badagry requesting them to go no further – all run away – He immediately dispatched a letter for another interpreter, who will join us in a few days – at 8-40 I started after the sick – leaving M^r H- to see the baggage off – the Course to this stage (Bachy) is E by N four Miles -

Friday 23rd raw cold morning - at 7 A.M- the ~~sick~~ sick left Beachy M^r M. looking very ill Cap^{tn} P. Much the same R^d better – I remained untill 8- [“30” inserted] A.M- to see the baggage off – [“we had presents as usul of Yams plantians eggs & a goat” at margin] at 10- ~~30~~ arrived at Tshaw – Course N.N.E 4 4½ Miles – N by W 2 Miles the country finely cleared and diversified with hill and Dale – N^o of inhabitants traveling with us – a little after our arrival [40A] a little after our arrival M^r M – sent for me and said that as our proceeding [“onwards as his f [= fever]” inserted at margin] had made him no better he wished me to allow him to return [“to See if the Sea Air would recover him” inserted at margin] which I did thinking his going backwards or forwar[d]s all the same ~ I therefore gave M^r H- an order to see him to Jennah or to Badagry if necessary and they parted at 4 P.M- [“N.N.E 4 N by W 2” at margin]

Saturday 24th raw cold morning Captⁿ P much the same Richard better ~ at 7 A.M. left ~~Tehow~~ Tshow – during last night we had th^r Lightning & rain – the roads dreadful bad in places over the horses belly – in [one] place George Dawson’s horse lay down in the midst of the water and he rolled off ~~then~~ as he was weak and ill with ague³³ – at 10-30 AM- Arrived at Ega³⁴ – [“Course North 6 Miles N.E. 4-” at margin] the Courses North ~~5~~ 6 Miles N.E. ~~6~~ 4 Miles the road mostly through thick woods with here and there patches of clear gnd planted with corn -

receivd [a] present of yams orranges eggs plaintains & a goat

³³ George Dawson, Seaman on the HMS *Brazen*, who volunteered to join the mission as Morison’s servant.

³⁴ Eggua.

[40] **Saturday 24** – at 4- P.M- George Dawson Seaman died he had got the ague at Jennah where his [master] Mr. Morrison had turned him off - not being aware of his belonging to H.M. Service ~~at the~~ untill after his death or I would have sent him down the moment of his discharge at Jennah [“If I had known it” at margin] ~ I had him decently buried and read the service over him making all the servants that were able attend

Sunday 25 Morning raw & hazy our poor sick Much the same ~ I also have been very ill from cold by the journey yesterday [“at 7 AM. left Ega at night halted at Emadoo³⁵ the approach to which is through a long road and beautiful avenue of the tallest trees ~ a strong stockade 18ft¹ high with a wicker gate – and above 100 paces from this another of the Same kind – defends the entrance to the town – The road from Eya [= Ega] to Liabo³⁶ over beautiful rising ground gentle hills and dales – a small stream of water running thro’ each Valley – the land partly in a state of cultivation – but sufficiently cleared of that thick forest which gives such a monotony to this part of Africa -” at margin and below] the country diversified with Hill & Dale and in many places well cultivated - at 9 AM- halted at a town called Eybo course N by W $\bar{5}$ 3 Miles N. by E [illeg.] Miles – received a present of yams – plant^{ms} and a goat

[41A] **Monday 26th** raw Cloudy morning - at 6-30 A.M- left +Eybo [“Liabo” at margin] the country very woody & the road bad - Pearce very unwell – at 10 A.M arrived at a village call[ed] Eggwa or Ekyya [“Epkwayah³⁷” at margin] ~ our lodging was very bad but the village could not afford a better³⁸ - the people made us a present as usual of yams plant¹ a goat &^c - the house we were in was infested with ants – I was very ill all day - Course N.E. 3 Miles North 2 miles N N.E 3

All the towns from Jennah to Engwa³⁹ are situated in the bosom of an inaccessible wood – the approach is thro’ an avenue diffended by three stockades with narrow wicket gates and only one entrance – Liabo only having a mud wall and ditch in addition to the stockades -

[41] **Tuesday 27** Morning Clear for the first time since we left Jannah – a strong – Harmatan wind blowing – our sick & My self much the same ~ had them well wrapped up in their ham^{ks} [“at 7 AM. [Started]” inserted at margin] ~ I suffered much as I had left very lightly dressed – after leaving Ekwu we Crossed a deep ravine and descended a hill on the ridge of which we trabled [sic] untill we arrived [at] Engwa [“at 9 AM arrd” inserted at margin] ~ got

³⁵ Erinmado.

³⁶ Liabo or Eybo = Aibo.

³⁷ Eripa.

³⁸ And ‘our guide very attentive’ [Remark Book, f. 115].

³⁹ Probably Ewon; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 89.

suppl[i]ed with a good house – a goat yams plant⁴⁰ [“Course N by W 6 Miles” at margin]

Poor Pearce much the same Richard better

At 11 [“A.M “ inserted] Pearce got much worse and quite insensible

At 9 P.M. Capt. Pearce Decsd – From the moment of Capt. Pearce’s being taken ill his wonted spirits supported him through the progress of a disease that was evidently wasting his strength from day to day – but after M^r Morrison left us he was less sanguine of getting better, and wished Richard to remain in his room to keep him company, as my duties in attending to the business of the mission prevented me from being much with him – on the morning of our leaving Tshow I gave him some barks⁴⁰ – but afterwards the heat was so great that I declin’d giving any more – and he was too weak to ~~give~~ take any other medicine – I then gave him arrow root soups &^c trusting the disease might take a turn – The death of Mr. Pearce has caused me much concern – for independ[en]tly of his amiable qualities as a friend and companion he was eminently qualified by his talents his perseverance and his fortitude – to be of the greatest service to the Mission – and I therefore cannot but feel his death as the greatest loss I could have sustain’d – both as regards my personal feelings & the public service -

[42A] Wednesday 28th at 6 A.M- Buried Captⁿ Pearce the Whole of the principal peopele [*sic*] of the town attending and all their servants with the greatest attention [“he was buried in a vacant Square of the house with a tree at the head of the grave” at margin] - The grave was staked round by the inhabit^{ts} and a shed put over it ~~set~~ lies over ~~it an inscription carved on a board by Rich^d I being unable to sit up~~ “Here lies the body of Cap. R. Pearce of the Royal Navy – who died at 9 PM on the 27th Dec 1825 much regretted by all the remainder of the Mission – Cap C RL and W^m Pas^{son} his servant in the afternoon I wrote to M^r Hay Captain Willies & Captain Smyth which I could hardly accomplish

Thursday 29th Took a strong Emetic [“took a strong dose of tartar emetic which made me through [*sic*] up a great quantity of bile” inserted] - I was too unwell to write on a board as I could not sit up so I caused Richard to do it – which was here lies Capt- Pearce R.N. who died – Dec^r 27- 1826 [*sic*] much [“regretd by the remain^t of the Mission Captⁿ H. Clapperton – R.L- W.Ps^{on}. this was afterwards cut in the board & the ink filled for which I paid a bottle of rum” at margin⁴¹]

⁴⁰ Chinchona bark, see Appendix VI.

⁴¹ Deletions and repetitions caused by confusion from fever.

Friday 30 Sent letters to M^r Houtson with Captⁿ Pearces things - found my self much better of the emetic took a – strong dose of Calomel

[42] **Saturday 31st** very ill with the Calomel I had taken but as I had heard nothing from M^r Houtson on the fate of M^r M. I determined to stop until I should get a little stronger – or hear from them

at 5-PM. H. arrived M^r M had died at Jennah on the 27[th] at 7 P.M- and I here subjoin his account of that Melancholly event

22 23 Dec^r At four P.M. left Chaw and arriv^d at Jannah at 7- M^r M- very weak – got him to bed – he would take nothing but toast & water

24th M^r M- still weaker and his skin as yellow as saffron – gave him a Seidli[t]z powder⁴² which had not [any] effect on him – advised him to take Calomel – he said he had taken enough already

25th Dec^r – M^r M- still weaker will take no food nor medecine - pressed on him fowl soup and arrow root but [he] refused every thing but toast & water & acusson water in the evening delirium

26th the King sent Akra to know if M^r M- could ride – I got him out of bed – but he could not sit up till the men got the Hmock to their shoulders – still delirious & his speech much affected – nervous twitching in the muscles of the jaw – grasping with the hands – tongue black and furred – in fact ~~even~~ exhibiting every app^{ce} of approaching dissolution – wrote to Capⁿ Clapperton – also to Capt Wills with Captn C's letters &^c

27th Mr. M- very quiet but very weak – tongue and mouth quite black – gave him a little water but [he] could not swallow it – at 2 PM. grinding of the teeth and [43A] nervous twitching allover the face and body – at four a little sleep – at five awoke with a rattling in the throat, which continued with nervous convulsive twitching until a little before seven oClock – When after I had raised his head on the pillow he turned his eye seemingly recognised me – and with one long suspiration breathed his last – With the assistance of Old Accra and the Kings Mess^r I had the body washed and dressed – and at 8 oClock on the morning of the 28th buried him at SW end of the house we inhabited – reading the Church of Eng^d Service the Kings Mess^r and a n^o of people attending - I sent to Badagry for a head board with an inscription stating his name then his place of his death &^c – I then according to the instⁿ of Capⁿ

⁴² A dose of two powders mixed in water: magnesium sulphate with a mixture of potassium tartrate and sodium bicarbonate, drunk while effervescing. Named after the eponymous Bohemian spa.

C.- sent his personal effects and papers to Badagry addressed to the Colonial office – and reserved his astronomical and mathematical instruments for the service of the Mission – which I prepared to follow next morning –

[“masks” at margin⁴³]

Sunday 1st January 1826 – [no entry – left blank]

[“Latitude of Engwa by Magnetic Altitude Q 7. 17. 5 N-” at margin]

[43] **Monday 2nd** in one of the rooms of the house in which we are lodged were a no. of wooden Masques well executed ~ Our Guide told us they were used at the annual yam custom – one was a black head with a cocked hat and a boa incircling the head with a Leopard in its mouth the Leopard & lying over the head formed a nest ~ some of the heads were sky blue others black ~ our guide put them on inside the room to show us how they [“were worn” at margin]⁴⁴

Tuesday 3rd Raw hazy Morning ~ at 7-20 A.M. left the Town of Engwa in a hammock our road over a beautiful country consisting of hill and dale our road lying principally on the ridge of one [“at 8-45 Changed carriers at the village of *Shagru* Course from N.E. to N.N.E 8 Miles 2 – Miles” inserted at margin]

At 11.30 arrived & halted on the banks of the *Akinia*⁴⁵ ~ at 12 I had crossed with much difficulty from the rocky nature of its bed – it is about 20 yards broad but from the strong current and rocks projecting – it winds a great deal ~ its course was from N.E. to S.W – [“from the River to Afora N.NE 3 Miles” at margin] The account given of its course is that it is the branch of another river and that it enters the sea at Lagos

At 1.45 P.M we arrived and halted at the town of Afora [“Town Surrounded by a stockade” at margin] where we were well lodged and had a present of Yams fowls and a goat &c

here the Atmosphere was much changed for the better

[44A] **Wednesday 4th** – Clear and Cool all much better ~ At 7.50 left Afora the country clear and rising into hill & dale – on the rising grounds large blocks [“grey of Granite” inserted] showed their heads above the earth ~ the plains were scattered with the fan Palm or female coca nut and covered with long high grass which in a great many places had recently been burnt down ~ The view leaving Afora was beautiful from the hills all the vallies being filled with

⁴³ An inserted note picked up in entry, Monday 2nd January.

⁴⁴ Reference to *Orisa oko* cult.

⁴⁵ Oyan River, see Appendix IV.

streams of water running to the N.W- to join the river - at 11 AM- halted at the town of Assola

[“Course N.E- E by N. 10 Miles Lat^{de} Mn Alt^{de} O. [of] Assola –
118°- 41’-30”
 7 38 17 N. Lat^{de}” at margin]

we were well lodged and re[ceived] a plenty of yams fowels plantains and a goat – the inhabitants were as usual very kind and civil – and may consist of about 5 or 6.000 people ~ the town is surrounded by a new made ditch on account of this new war – and they are building a no- of houses ~ the Women are very shy and they say adultery is punished with death

[44] Thursday 5th – Morning raw & hazy - at 7- A.M- left the town of Assola country clear & hill & dales ~ at 8 A.M- passed through a village called Itali – the country to day beautifull as usual hill and dale large blocks of grey granite – a range of low hills to the S.E- a hill conical bearing south [“Course to Itali N by E 3 Miles NE 8 Miles” at margin]

at 11- A.M- arrived at Assadoo – the Town of Assadoo is nearly [“a mile in length” inserted] but stragling each side and irregular – the houses not occup[y]ing Above one $\frac{1}{4}$ of the space within the walls – and I may without fear say it contains 10,000 inhabitants – We received a plentiful supply of Yams plantains eggs fowles a goat Wood & Water ~ the people are as cu^{ts} [=curious] here as at other places but very civil - H. & I rode out at sun set and were surrounded by thousands [“The women kept singing all night and the men dancing on account of our arrival” at margin]

Friday 6th Calm & Cloudy - at 7-30 A.M. left the town of Assadoo the country Cleared of wood [“naturally cleared of wood” at margin] and planted with cotton & Corn ~ the hill and dale beautifull to day [“N.E. by N. 6” at margin]

At 9 arrived at a Village called Tudeh where we waited untill 9.30 when we started again - my bearers **[45A]** fell with me from the narrow[ness] of the road they were much alarmed for fear they should have hurt me – The country rises into long ridges which run nearly East & West or more properly speaking they make an angle so L_S.W. & N.N [*sic*] – and a range of low rocky detached hills run parrallel to our road on each side & have done for three days ~ the soil is thin & large blocks of granite appear every little distance ~ it is clear of ~~AHH~~ Wood from this [= natural] cause I think and not from the industry of the inhabitants ~ plantations of cotton & ~~Coffe~~ Corn appear here & there and the long grass is burnt down in a n^o of places [“Course N by E. 11 Miles” at margin] - At 1 P.M- arrived at the Town of Cho Cho – the Cab- out hunting as he did not expect us to day – all the men of the place were with [him] [“They were out hunting the



Mountains of Kong

wild buffaloes” at margin] ~ we got the best house ~ in the evening he [“the Cab” inserted] arrived & we received a present of yams plantains eggs & a goat – This town is pleasantly situated amongst the rocky hills but the inhabitants appear to be few

[45] **Saturday 7th** Dull & Cloudy ~ at 7-50 A.M. left Chow Chow My serv^t Richard much Weaker – our road through beautiful rocky vallies cultivated in many places and planted with cotton yams corn and Calavances ~ in some places were beautiful streams of Water – At 11 AM- halted at the town of Fudaboo where we changed carriers and at Noon left Fudaboo our road the same as before – At 1.10 PM- arrived and halted at the town of Bendeka⁴⁶ where we had as usuall a good house [“Course N.E by N ½ N to Fudaboo 10 Miles N.NE to Bendeka 4 Miles” at margin] ~ here the vally closes more in an[d] the rocky hills are close to the town ~ they are all of Granite ~ We are crossing them therefore they must run from W.N.W- to ~~ENE~~ E.S.E. N ~ a no of little towns are perched on the top and in the hollows of the hills and to them the plantations of the vallies belong – war now is only now a few hours from us not a national war but a slaving one – We were supplied with yams a goat eggs plantains & the Cab. did not make his appearance ~ I in consequence told the King of Hio’s messenger that I should inform the King of Hio of this Cab. and I would

⁴⁶ Gbenleke. CO 2/16, Vol. I, f. 111 contains a small sketch map of this section of the route.



Duffu

complain of him if $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after my arrival in any town the Cab- did not make his respects to me

[46A] **Sunday 8th** That night we had th^r lightning and rain ~ Morning dull & Cloudy – at 8 A.M- left Bendekwa our road through the windy and beautiful vallies formed by the rugged and she[er] Gigantical blocks of Granite which in some places rise to the height of 500 or 600 feet above the valley in which we travled ~ some times the valley is not 100 yds broad and at other times it may widen out to $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile ~ at one time we were traveling over a wide mountain plain – at Noon we changed carr^s at a mountain town – [“there is a rich Soil in” inserted] the vallies ~~are of a~~ but shallow except in the hollows+ [“along side the Precipices” at margin] [“the vallies watred by fine streams of water” at margin] where the streams of water run here there is large tall trees ~ the M^{ts} are bare except the crevices where stunted trees grow – the valley is most[ly] well cultivated & planted with yams cotton corn & c^c [“Course ~~E.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E~~ E.N.E 14 8 Miles” at margin]

12-30 P.M- Arrived at the town of Duffu ~ here we were well lodged but the crowds of people were immense ~ when told to go away they say no if White man come we must see them if they wont come out to see us we will go [“in” inserted] to see them ~ [46] the servants of the King of Katungwa[’s] Messenger and his servants when they would go to whip the crowd out of the square they would tumble over [one] another like sheep –

The Eko hills⁴⁷ or Rocks as they are called and which Eko signifies⁴⁸ ~~rocks~~ rise in the Borgoo country which is behind Ashantee and go East through Jaboo to Benin ~ they do not know how much further ~ there Course is from W.N.W. to E.S.E – about 50 Miles across from N. to S. ~ a singular thing in this country the Kings wives are to be found in every place trading for the King – like other common women carr[y]ing large loads upon their heads from town to town⁴⁹

M^r H- and I went to the top of one of the Mounts ~ I had to be assisted by 2 Men I was so weak that I could not go alone – we had a grand and beautiful view Mountains precipices and beautiful vallies where ever we turned our eyes – the top of the hill or Mount was surround[ed] with women grinding corn ~ they have their holes for grinding on the face of the rock and it may be called a large corn mill

The Fetisash [*sic*] went round to prevent thieves they bur or make a cry like a boy spinning a notched stick made fast to string round his head ~ when this is heard no one on pain of death must stir out of his house ~ this is to prevent thieving of our things

[47A] **Monday 9th** Dull and hazy – at 8.20 A.M- left Duffu – M^r H- unwell and ~~passed~~ rode on early to avoid the sun – the women seem to have much to say ~~here~~ in affairs here – great trouble in getting hammock men – After leaving Duffou the road winding round between the hills – descending over rugged rocks and stones – immense blocks of granite overhanging as if ready to start from their base to the destruction of every thing below – about half a mile came to the village of Issia – surrounded with high trees – and [“close” inserted] at the base of five towering rocky hills – a small stream running thro’ the valley – from this the road ascends and descends still winding round the hills until we arrived at the town of ~~Waqeh~~ [“Way” at margin⁵⁰] at 9-30 Course NE by N ~~three~~ 1 Miles – still hazy – much trouble at ~~Waqeh~~ in getting carriers – they wanted us to stay all night – indeed the curiosity of the people is such that they in every town thro’ which we pass wish us to prolong our stay to have an opp^y of looking at us – after threatning to return to Jennah left at 11 – the road apparently descending through a well cultivated Country – Yams Corn Millet Calavances and more especially Cotton – at 1 P.M. halted at the Town of Lekwa⁵¹ – course NE by E five Miles Here our hamk^l & carriers would not Start until they had quaffed an immense calabash of Otee (mountain ale made from Millet)⁵² which the Caboecer of the town sent to me with some plantains and eggs – the last article almost invariably half hatched ~ we got off [“at 2

⁴⁷ Group of granite outcrops south of Baba Ode.

⁴⁸ Yoruba, *oke*, a rock.

⁴⁹ i.e. Alaafin Majotu (c. 1802-1830/31).

⁵⁰ Eweiah as listed on 19th.

⁵¹ Leppah on list on 19th.

⁵² Yoruba, *oti*.

oClock inserted] – to 3.30 – ENE 5 Miles – NE by N 5 Miles [“From Duffu N.E by N to the town of Way 3 Miles Way N.E^{1/2}E to town of Aloukwa 5 Miles Aloukwa ENE 5 Miles N.E by N. 5 Miles to Chiado” at margin] [47] over a table land gently descendg from the mountains and well cultivated and watred with small streams running S.E. – at 5 P.M- arrived at the town of Chiado – situated on the side of gently rising hill – surrounded by a wall and ditch – and within the wall thickly planted with [“a belt of” inserted] trees – surrounding the town -

Tuesday 10th Morning raw and cloudy until 1 P.M – could not get an obser-
vation -

The Caboceer of this Town is a friend of the King of Jennah and extremely Kind and attentive – He presses our stay may be extended to ten days – & we nor our people should want for nothing to eat. He sent us [an] abundance of Yams some fowls a goat & a turkey the last a rare fowl in this Country – His name is To’ko – Have put up the Barometer and shall wait two days – M^r H-better – myself unwell – headache and langor and weakness – Richard much better but still weak -

Wednesday 11 Calm and clear –

[“Lat by obsⁿ Mn Alt^e Q 119^o – 1 – 30

8 – 23 – 30 N Chiado” at margin]

Caboceer waited on us to day when we gave him ten coral beads and a book on Badagry for a piece of Cloth – with which he was much pleased ~ Old Pascoe cooked the turkey as well as the Cook Major at the London Tavern making use of the arm of a tree as [“a roasting” inserted] spit – and its superlative relish reminded us of old Eng^d wanting only a bottle of [48A] genine E.L. *Anadiena*⁵³ and another of Champagne to quaff the health of our absent friends – This town of Chaido is large and I think contains upwards of seven thousand inhabit^{ts} – whose curiosity regarding us [“is” inserted] insatiable – crowding the square every opportunity – but civil and respectful as elsewhere – no horses here but observe a few bullock and pigs and plenty of Goats and fine sheep -

Thursday 12th Dull & Cloudy ~ at 7-40 A.M. Left Chiado the Caboceer with an immense train of attendants and the Men Women & Children of the town in C^o the Women singing in Chorus & the drums & horns of the Cab- made a sad contrast to the agreeable voices of the women – our road through a well cultivated country apparently descending through the rude & rugged pass between the hills the soil a fine mould but very thin from the Granite underneath which in many places on the plain [“are” inserted] like large sheets of rock – [“E. by N. 3 Miles N.E – 5 Miles EN.E^{1/2}E 5 Miles” at margin]

⁵³ Most likely a sherry, or perhaps a port, of a brand popular at the period.

At 10- AM- halted at the Town of Matoomi where we took leave of the Caboecer whose name was Tuku - we only halted a few minutes until our carriers had quaffed a few calabash[es] of the Matoomi Oti or beer when we started - saw an other range of hills a head - the road very difficult and dangerous over broken rocks and through rocky passes where the people were perched in groups to look at [48] us as we passed - this part was cultivated and planted where ever possible and a n^o of Villages amongst the rocks - at 1 PM- halted at the town of Erawa⁵⁴ - a n^o of people with drums come out to receive us & the Cab- was ready in his house where ["we" inserted] were to lodge to receive us - He gave us fowls a Sheep a goat and yams &¢ and the Caboecer of a neighbouring town sent us a Pig - The people here are curious beyond measure yet Kind - the town large and very populous - the inhabitants more numerous than ["in" inserted] Chiado - a low wall and ditch - part of the town running in between the mountains - our things did not all arrive until morning -

Friday 13 Dull and hazy - The Cab. on coming to bid us good morning said our guide had not told him we wished to go away today - a manaeuvre of the Cab. and the guide to detain us - so that all the people might have an opp^y of seeing us - but we were determined to go and after much palavering about Hmen & Carriers - left Erawa at 9.30 A.M - The road a mountain plain - varied by gentle rising and declivities - waterd by severall streams - running S.E- Halted at eleven ["30" inserted] at a town called Washoo ["Erawa to Washoo N.E. 7 Miles" at margin] At one P.M entered the mountain we saw yesterday our course from Washoo N.N.E - 5 miles - at 2.30 arrived at Chaki⁵⁵ - the Country from Erawa to Chaki well planted and thickly inhabited - and after entering the Hills which were more broken than those we had hitherto passed & appr^d as if some great convulsion of nature had [49A] thrown the immense masses of granite in to wild and terrific confusion - The road runs thro' these this mountain pass was full of grand and imposing scenery - some times rising almost perpendicularly and then descending into deep cliffs and gullies amongst the rocks - then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, ~~over which~~ the rocks above overhanging in fearful uncertainty - in every cleft of the hills wherever there appeared the least soil were small plantations of Corn yams and plantains - which gives a beautiful variety to the scenery - the road continuing rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, several beautiful streams crossing it, until our arrival at the largest populous town of Chaki situated on the top of the highest hill - on every hand on the hills on the rock and crowding on the road the inhabitants were crowded in thousand[s] and the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and choral songs - the men with the common salutation and every demonstration of joy⁵⁶ -

⁵⁴ Irawo Ile.

⁵⁵ Shaki.

⁵⁶ "the gates & walls round the town in an uproar" [Remark Book, f. 55].

The Caboceer was seated on the outside of his house surrounded by his ladies, his musicians, his drums, fifes, and gong gongs – He is a good looking man about fifty years of age and has a pleasing countenance [“& high nose” inserted] - His [“house” inserted] was all re[a]dy for us, and he immediately brought us large quantities of Eggs fowls goats Sheep Yams and pressed [“us” inserted] to stay a day or two – He appeared to consider us as messengers of peace come with blessings to his King and his Country – indeed a belief is very prevalent & seems to have gone before us all the way – that we are charged with a comission to make peace wherever there is war – and to do good to every country through which we pass – The Caboceer of this town indeed told us so and that he hoped we should settle the war [49] with the Nyffe people and the Filanis or Felatahs – and the rebellion of the Houssa slaves who have risen against the King of Yourriba -

When I shook hands with him he passed his hand over the heads of his friends around him as conferring on them a White mans blessing – He was more inquisitive and more communicative than any one we have yet seen – He sat until near midnight talking and enquiring about Eng^d - on asking if he would send one of his sons to see our country he rose up with alacrity and said he would go himself – He enquired as to the n^o of wives an eng-man had – when being told only one – he seemed much astonished and laughed greatly – as did all his people – one of whom said what does he do when his wife has a child? our Caboceer has two thousand! – He told us the Niger passes Jaboo and enters the sea at Benin – but that it passes over rocks – that Burgo⁵⁷ is only one day NNW – and that the mountains through which we are travelling pass through Ghunja thirty five days WNW and that the mountains through which we are travelling come from there, pass through Burgo Yourribu Jaboo to Benin – but of their further course he was ignorant – this was confirmed by the king of Burgo’s Messenger, who was present - on asking for Milk he sent for it and said if we wished to wash in milk there was abundance for us all - The Messenger told us he [i.e. the king] held great authority under the King of Eyeo – & had a large district of country and many large towns under his regency⁵⁸ - As he appeared [50A] a true mountain King and the friend of strangers – I gave him ten coral beads and a book on Mr- Houtsons Factory for a piece of red Taffota and a Keg [of] powder – his name [is] Toko – and he is fond of our tea

Saturday Jan^y 14 – Clear and a fine breeze from the W- ~ much difficulty in getting away the people and caboceer wishing us to stay – at 8.40 A.M. started – accomp^d several Miles by the Caboceer and a great no- of people with about 200 of his wives – one of which was young and beautiful – the Mess^r from Burgo also accompanied us – and was mounted on a much stronger & better

⁵⁷ i.e. Borgu.

⁵⁸ Shaki was the capital of the Ekun Otun province of Oyo: Law, *Oyo Empire*, 105-6.

Horse than I have yet seen – he said it was a war Horse – and set much value on it

at 10-15 passed through a village (Fellah⁵⁹[D]) [“5 Miles” inserted at margin] NE by E. – the country extremely beautiful cleared and partly cultivated⁵⁹ ~ saw some high mountains bearing ESE about thirty Miles – we passed ~~Anari~~ a number of Fellatah villages who live here as they do in [“most’ inserted] other parts of Africa, attending to the pasturage of their cattle without intermeddling with the politicks or customs of their Country ~ arrived at Anari at 10.40 – N.N.E 2 Miles [“N.N.E 2 Miles” at margin] – at 11 started E by N and at 12. ~~50~~ halted at Burgoo – 5 Miles [“E by N 5 Miles” at margin] – the country fine and well cultivated – n^o of plantations – changed Carriers – and at 1.40 P.M. arrived at the town of Koosu⁶⁰ [“E by N³/₄N 6 Miles” at margin] – a large double walled town – the outer wall very extensive and extending from some rugged granite hills on the SE to a great distance into the plains – the walls were crowded with people to receive & welcome us – The Cab- was seated under his verandah surrounded by his wives & [50] headmen and shortly after came to ~~receive~~ welcome us – He was dressed in a Nyffe Tobe made after the Mahometan fashion – and said he was glad to see us white men come to his country and going to see his King – that [he] never expected to see this day – that all the wars and bad palavers would now be settled – He presented us with Yams Eggs fowls Goat Sheep and a fine fat Turkey – and a large Pig from a Caboceer of a neighbouring town – Set up the barometer intending to stay a day –

Sunday 14th 15 Clear and cool breeze from the E- [“Mn Alt^{de} O. 119^o-39’-45 Coosu or Kussu 8-55-13N” at margin] ~ Caboceer came to bid us good morning – bring[ing] abundance of Provisions – which we gave to the Kafila accompanying the Messenger – the large court (about 200 yds Square) in which we are lodged is constantly crowded with some thousands of people, who will not be driven away – party succeeds party in this curiosity to see us – and “wide mouthed wonder strong upon” this is by much the largest town we have yet seen – and at least contains 20000 thousand [= 20,000] people – they describe the Country on every side as being now full of large towns –

[51A] Monday 16 Clear & fine ~ last night we had heavy Thunder & lightning with a few drops of rain the Ther. by Farnh^l had been as low as 62 Deg. ~ they tried very hard this Morning to make us Stay another day but we were determined to go ~ we took leave of the Cab- and at 8. A.M. left Kussu ~ I rode to day as I felt my self much stronger than I have been since I left Engwa having [“been obliged” inserted at margin] rode a hammock from that place – Just as

⁵⁹ i.e. Fulani.

⁶⁰ Kushu (now a ruin).

⁶¹ Onisokiso (now a ruin).

⁶² The title of the *ilari*, Obakosetan, sometimes shortened to “Obako,” and Apeka.

we were starting MFH- being mt^d on a very vicious horse it reared and fell back with him – our road was in a parrelel line with the hills untill Course E^{3/4}N. at which time we passed through the town of Yagbo – the coun^{ty} between Yagbo and Kussu well cultivated & very beautiful – at 10 AM- we arrived at the town of Ensokisu⁶¹ ~ here we had to stop much against our will as Abaco⁶² the Messenger had eaten too much of a pig – we had given part of the provisions we had got at Kussu and he comp^d [= complained] of being unable to go further ~ we therefore took up our quarters in the house of the Cab – Lioli a decent looking old man with an [“long” inserted] iron chain round his neck – this ornament they are all fond of but a pair of Manacles for the hands lay beside him – we were lodged in the Fetisha room which was the [“best room in the house & a very good one” inserted] house -

we had a present of hog goat 4 fowels & a Guinea fowel Milk about 2 bushels of Eggs plantains & yams – [51] The country between Yagbo & Ensokussu was [a] beautiful plain well cultivated and studded with a n^o of Fellatah villages [“Course to Yagbo E^{3/4}N. 4 Miles N.E by E ^{1/2} N E 4 Miles” at margin] ~ here also this curiosity of the people are insat[i]able but the women very shy ~ they are well dressed and have immense brass bangles on their Arms ~ the Fellatah women who come from the villages to see us particularly as also their necks covred wth coarse Jasper bugle beads⁶³ made in the country – We met a n^o of people with much merchandise amongst which were a n^o of the King of ~~Katung was~~ Yorriba or Hio’s trading wives who were loaded as well as the rest an immense load on the head – these trading wives are to be found in every town in Hio they are generally past the middle age – the men also wear the image ~ this we saw to day worn by a twin his twin brother being dead - the people snap their fingers when the Cab- drinks -

Tuesday 17th last night we had a long conversation about England and the belief of my going to make peace with the Haussa slaves and the King gains ground – they have been in rebellion these 2 years and possess a large town ~~between~~ only 2 days Journey from Katungwa called Lori⁶⁴ - the Yorriba people are evidently affraid of them ~ they say they have a great [52A] Many horses and have been joined by a n^o of Fellatahs ~ I told them that if the King made a good friend of the King of Eng^d he would send him every thing he wanted that if ships could come up the Quara there would be an end to the war immeadiatly ~ they said that canoes came up the river from Etsakirie⁶⁵ or Warree to Nyffe and that they were 10 days in going back ~ we surprised him not a little by the

⁶³ Lantana beads, see Ann O’Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 23, 35; and O’Hear, ‘Ilorin Lantana Beads’, *African Arts* 19 (1986).

⁶⁴ Ilorin. The rebellion had in fact begun in 1817; the reference to events two years previously probably relates to the subsequent overthrow of Afonja and the takeover of Ilorin by the Fulani Muslims.

⁶⁵ Itsekiri.



Onisikoso

account of our rivers towns horses but more especially the “great guns[?]” [“we had guards outside & in surrounding the house all night the War trum[pet] blowing all night” at margin]

We had a great deal of trouble in leaving Ensockasu – and it was 8-45 AM- before we got fairly started – the Fellatahs near the town had supplied us with plenty of milk while we remained at Ensockasu

at 9-15 halted at the town of Ladoli [“From Ensockasu NE by E 2½ Miles to Ladoli” at margin] the country between which and En- [= Ensockasu] is well cultivated with numerous villages ~ met several trading men & Women & saw a range of hills bearing from E by S to South – after changing horses at 9-43 left Ladoli and at 10-45 halted at Ajidibu [“to Ajidibu N.E by E¾/E 3 Miles” at margin] the contry well cultivated as before but the Inhts mostly deserted from the town on account of the Haussa slaves who make frequent incursions into this part of the country & have burnt several towns & villages – Stopped here as I was very sick & unable to ride ~ at 12-15 Left Ajidi our road through [52] a Wood of low stunted scrubby trees growing on a soil of sand and gravel - passed through three villages and 2 that had been burnt also the northd of some rocky hills – and at 1-40 P.M arrived at the town of Akibossu where we halted - it [is] thickly surrounded with trees inside the Walls ~ The Cab- was very civil & made us a present of goat fowls about a bushel & a half of eggs planitains &c

[“to Akibosu E by N 3 Miles ~ These 2 days we have not seen the Oil palm tree but to day saw a small one by the side of [a] stream in the valley” at margin]

Mr Houtson and I took some strong Medecine as we were both very unwell I worse than I have been since I left Badag[ry] - the town of Akibosu is large and strageling and surrounded in side the walls which are not high with an impenetrable wood

Wednesday 18th Morning dull & hazy with a little drizzle rain – at 7 AM left Akibossu the country very little cultivated just in patches here & there the trees low & stunted the soil ~~a coarse~~ gravelly – [“from Aki East 3 Miles E by N³/₄N 4 Miles” at margin] at 9-20 halted at the town of *Adju* – where we had to halt as we could not get carriers the people being all at work ~ this cab- was inclined to be uncivil and did not wait on me for a considerable time ~ when he did I would [53A] not shake hands with him but told him I should report him to the King of Hio for his disrespect ~ he first said he was in the country then he said he was asleep and no one told him we were come ~ I Asked him if I was a boy or woman – he said if I would forgive him he would get us every thing we wanted – I said I would forgive him if he would get every thing ready for us starting at day light & forgave him - he gave us a goat yams fowels eggs plantains & ^c and I had my side rubbed with a piece of cord some Malaqueta pepper or Gumah⁶⁶ [“pepper chewed and spit on the part and the cord rubbed back backwards & forwards - it gave great ease & [is] I think an Excellent way of rubbing” at margin]

Thursday 19th Clear Morning every thing was ready at day light ~ the Cab. brought me some Medecine to take ~ it was like lime juice and pepper I was [so] sick that I could not [“Stand” inserted at margin] sit for half an hour after ~ I then got as suddenly well both as to the pain in my side & a severe diarrhoea ~ gave him 6 coral beads and at 6-40 left Adja which is a walled town having an avenue of briar like creeping plant which goes up to the top of the trees & falls down which makes an impenetrable diffence to any thing but a snake as it is allways too green to burn ~ the town is scattering and may contain about 4000 inhabitants – at 8. A.M- ~~arrived~~ passed the town of Loksa where we changed carriers the country well cultivated between Adja & Loksa and planted with yams & ^c Corn & ^c & the cntry rising into gentle hill & dale [“Adja to E¹/₂N 6 Miles to Loksa N.E by E 2 Miles N.NE 2 Miles to Sulu E¹/₂N. 3 Miles to ~~Ajama~~ *Largdooh*” at margin]

[53] at 8-30 left Loksu which appears to be a considerable walled town – at 9-10 halted under a tree to lighten my hammock the course from Loksu N.EbyE- 2 Miles - saw the town of Sulu bearing N.N.E ~~12~~ 14 Miles - at 10 AM- halted

⁶⁶ Malaguetta pepper; the capsules or seeds of *Amomum meliguetta*, used a spice and in medicine. Clapperton’s term does not seem to be either Yoruba or Hausa.

at the Eastth town of Sulu there being three of that name close to gether and all app^{ly} equally large the western one walled the other 2 without walls -

the country between *Lak[s]u* & this place not cultivated but much wooded the soil a red clay and gravel with some large pieces of clay iron stone which looks as if it had passed through the fire being full of holes or the W^r [= weather] wearing away the soft parts – got the flower of the Micadania or [shea] butter tree of Mungo Park [“8 pistels & 8 leaves in the flower of a very pale yellow” at margin] ~ the Tree is nearly bare of leaves when in flower – untill the rains are nearly over and is then luxuriant in foliage – at 10-30 changed carriers and left Sullu

Noon halted at the towns of [~~Ajama~~ Laydooh” at margin] & the Cab- [] at Noon the course E¹/₂N. 2 3 Miles ~ the country began to be cultivated before we reached the town and we have met with great no^s of traders to day - the house of the Cab- was under repair but we got a good corner with plenty & we sent out to the country for Milk & honey the latter we got but the former not to be had

[54A] Friday 20th Morning Clear ~ last night we had a Visit from the C. and the principal people of the town to enquire what would make there town large and flourishing as it was once - I told them that to encourage people to come and settle in it by treating them well ~~by~~ also to encourage people to come & trade – to plant plenty of corn & yams and then poor people would marry and get children – that no man ought to have 100 wives and another man none – that every man ought to have no more than one wife. this advice was laughed at – though the others were highly approved of - I told them that if they had only one wife each they would have more children – that in England the people were as numerous as ants and that ~~no man was~~ I was the youngest of 13 Children and that I was as stout a man as they had in there town that it was no common thing for one woman to have 16 & 17 Children – that they were to avoid quarrels & Wars -

M^r Houtson then gave a lecture on [“the” inserted] riches improvements and happiness of old Eng^d – enlarging on the general cultiv^d of the country – its roads, carriges and modes of travelling – its canals ships trade horses & c^c and the beauty of the men and the beauty of its women with the riches of their dress – and that this prosperous & happy state of things resulted from its good government – the King encouraging people from all parts of the world to come to England to trade and his people to visit the most distant corners **[54]** of the earth to see what in every country was good for England -

it was midnight before we parted and then I had to send them away telling them we had to leave early in the morning and he [*sic*] had nothing to do but sleep –

Burgoo is only a days journey to the north – & west & they often come & steal people from the neighbouring towns

Morning Cold & Clear - at 7 A.M- left Ladoo the country little cultivated and thin woods – soil a red clay mixed with Lum[p]s of iron stone None of the stones being bigger than 3 feet & half on each side – at 8-30 AM. arrived at the ~~town~~ village [of] Leo Galla inhabited by fellatahs who kindly brought sweet milk for us to drink - at 10 AM- halted at the ~~town~~ village of Bong-bong⁶⁷ where we halted untill the carriers & bearers got there breakfasts of Aku which is made of Millet & indian corn meal steeped in water untill sower [= sour] then boiled like a thick paste & then mixed with warm or cold water – the Village of Bong bong is walled – after the people had their breakfast [at] 10-30 Started – close to B.B. passed a burnt village the road very winding the country woody forming gentle dales & downs a fine Harmatan or North wind blowing – at Noon halted at Atipas set up the Bar- [= barometer] and got quarters in the Cab-house – we were supplied with yams a goat eggs fowels & a Turkey likewise a large hog which we gave to our friend Abaco the K.M- [= King's Messenger] ~ the Cab. was very inquisitive about England ~ we said the same as before [“Course to Leo Galla East 4¹/₄ Miles to Bong bong East 4 Miles E¹/₂ N 4 Miles to Atipa” at margin]

[55A] **Saturday 21st** Morning Cold & Clear - the night Th^r had been as low as 55° in the open air - the coldest time in this co^y is allways the hour before sunrise ~ at 7-30 left Atipa – the town is large walled and populus [*sic*] surrounded by a wall trees & [“the” inserted] prickly creeping Briars through which there is only narrow avenues to the gates ~ as near as I could judge it con^{ts} upwards of 6000 inhabitants the country for about a couple of miles outside the gates – saw the range of hills I have seen for these 2 days past running from S.W. to N.E bearing E.S.E ~ at 9-15 Entred the Walled town of Nama – the road now winding & woody changed carriers and at 9-30 left Nama – the road woody & winding the country plain & clay soil ~ at 10 A.M- crossed a small river called *Tuffe* ⁶⁸ which in the rainy season runs into the Niger at [“opposite” inserted at margin] Nyffe – [“Course from Atepa E¹/₄N 5 Miles to Nama E by S.³/₄S to Leobada 5 Miles” at margin]

at 11-30 AM- arrived at & halted at the walled town of Leobada - there is a range of broken rocks like an immense wall running from the North East & join[ing] the hills mentioned above ~ the town stands on the East side of them – we were accompanied by the Cabs- of Atepa & Nama here with all their train to guard us from Borgoo robbers who freq^t the road as the King of that country has his capital only one horse days journey dist[ant] ~ passed 2 ruined villages the road woody & winding – we gave the Cabs- a dram before starting ~ they had been very kind to us

⁶⁷ Gbongbon.

⁶⁸ A tributary of the Moshi river.

[55] **Sunday 22nd** Clear & Cold Wind during the night North The^r at the lowest 56^o of F. - the town of Leobada is situated on East side of ridge of ["red] inserted at margin] Granite rocks the tops of which are loose & broken into large masses some of them forming the most grotesque figures imaginable - the[y] run in a direction N.E- & SW- and are from 50 to 60 feet in elevation above the plain and join the hills to the south & East which I have seen for these 2 mornings past which can not be very high as I never see them but in the morning - The town of Leobadda contains about 160 houses with from 30 to 40 souls in each - it is walled - the inhabitants appear poor but civil - [illeg. word deleted] it is walled and has that impenetrable ["diffence" inserted at margin] the briars & trees - we were well supplied with provisions as before & in addition had milk

The Cab- told us that Niki the capital of Borgoo was only one days journey by a horse from Leobadda - that they were only a band of thieves that their country was small but independant that they infested the roads of Yorriba and stole all they could catch - at 7-10 A.M- left Leobadda accompanied by the cab- and a great No of Atten^{dts} the town [=country] well cultivated for a little out side the town - we met upwards of 600 men, women, & children or boys & girls about 12 or 13 carrying loads - they had travled all night and were guarded by men with bows arrows and swords, 10 or 12 marching between every 50 - the road woody but the trees low & stunted - here for the first time I saw the small stunted acc[ac]ia the soil red clay - ~~at 9-30~~

passed several villages that had been destroyed by the Felatahs some very large - the shady trees are now desolate the walls covered with weeds - After entering the range of rocks which are like stairs [56A] we entred a beautifull valley amongst the rocks planted with large shady trees & plaintins [*sic*] having grand plots and strips of water running through the centre ["where the beauties of Eshow were washing their well formed limbs while sheeps & goats were grazing on their beautiful banks "inserted at margin] ~ after passing this sweet valley we crossed another ridge and at 9-15 arrived and halted at the village of ~~Ershow~~ Eshrow ["from Leobadda S.Eby E ³/₄ E to Eshaw 6 Miles" at margin] - where after getting housed we turned to clean our arms as they say the road is infested with robbers - we after wards heard that the King of Hio [who] had heard we [were] so near was going to send an escort & was quite rejoiced of our near approach - got a specimen of the *Iske* fruit⁶⁹ & leaves - the fruit is the side [=size] of a large pear having [a] large stone inside which is covered with a substance or pulp of creem color which is good to eat - the stone or kernel is poisioneous [*sic*] the outter [*sic*] rind is put in their soups - Here there is no Cab. or they said he was sick - after sunset first one Cab- arrived from the King at Katunga or Hio - their attendants were so numerous ["horse & foot" inserted

⁶⁹ i.e., Yoruba *ishin*, also called achene apple.

at margin] that every corner was filled with them and they kept drumming & singing all night ~ when the Cab[s]. waited on us and after shaking hands with us one of them rubbed all his body over that his hands by touching ours should impart the blessing to his face head & body as well as his hands ~ they were well dressed & said the King of Hio was most anxious to see us ~ they had a good deal of natural good breeding – sent them a flask of rum & they kept firing all night ~ in making an excuse that there was no more to spare that [“I had brought very little they said if I had brought noth^g the King w^d be rejoiced to see me” at margin]

[56] **Monday 23rd** Morning Clear ~ Eshow was all bustle and hubub with [“the” inserted] great men and their attendants of the great grooms and their horses – at 7-30 A.M- left Eshow – which is a poor place with a good wall and may contain about 4000 inh^{ls} ~ perhaps I might call them poor from their not feeding us as we had been wont to be fed – but considering the ravenous host that come to escort us to Katunga who live pretty free when they come this is easily to be accounted for – the road over which we passed was wide though woody and covered by men on horse back and bow men on foot hurrying on as fast as they could get us to go horns and ~~gong gongs~~ or country drums beating & blowing before and behind – some of them dressed in the most grotesque manner others covred with charms – the bow men also had nat[t]ly little hats and feathers with the adorned *jibna*⁷⁰ or leather pouch hanging by their side – these men allways appeared to me the best troops in this country & soudan from their lightness and activity – the horse are badly mounted on small ~~saddles~~ horses as clumsly as it is possible to be dressed – their saddles so badly secured & they sit so clumsaly on their seat that any man in England that can ride a horse with an english saddle ~~or even one of a felata horse~~ would upset him [“a Yorriba dragoon “ at margin] [at] the first charge with a long stick – I had forgot to say that we were acc^d by a no- of traders

[57A] at 9 A.M- halted to the Southd- of a village called Assinu – untill the baggage come up but the heavy things not comming soon the Cab’s thinking that we would be too much exp^d to the sun before we got into Katunga sent us of[f] with a proper escort waiting themslvs- untill the heavy baggage come up [“S.E 7 Miles S.E by E 12 Miles” at margin] ~ at 9-30 left the shade and went on again as hard as the horses could possibly walk the road winding & woody clay iron stone like lava on the spaces between the granite great blocks of which app^d on each side of the ravines and low hills – we had from the to[p] of one [of] the ridges some beautiful views to the East of fine wooded vallies and low rugged bare hills in the back ground – at 10-20 crossd a stream running to the Niger which is only 3 days East ~ here we drank and gave our horses drink – passed the ruins of 2 ~~Fellatah~~ towns burnt by the Fellatas – at 11-30 from the

⁷⁰ Clapperton’s term does not appear to be Yoruba or Hausa.

top of a high ridge of [] on which there was the ruins of a clay wall we saw the City of Katunga or Hio - between us [“& it” inserted] lay [a] finely cultivated valley [“the town” inserted] lying as it were below us surrounded by green shady trees - the town surrounding a ridge or rocky mountain [“compose[d] of Granite” inserted] of about 2 Miles & $\frac{1}{2}$ in length form ~~the~~ a beautiful view as I ever I saw - [“extending far as the eye could reach to the West^d our own [view] was interrupted to the East^d by high rocks broken into large blocks with a broken & rough top or crest” at margin] -

CHAPTER 3

Residence at Eyeo-Ile or Katunga, the capital of the Youriba

[57] Monday 23[rd] cont/... at 12-15 we entred the North Gate of Katunga. There was one Fetisha house out side the gate and a few small ones inside – we halted untill the Escort came up [“he who com^d [= commanded] the Escort” inserted] went into one of the Cab. houses untill the baggage came up – here we got acusson and Abuca’s wife was cooking a little country soup for us but the pot broke on the fire just as it was ready the pot broke and the house was in an uproar in an instant – only for my interference they would have come to blows - Aba[co] was at one time ready to set fire to the house at another like to cry that he had dissappointed us –

at 2 P.M- the baggage having all arrived a messenger come to say the King wanted to see us – we came out and mounted - the people were assembled in thousands to see us a band of musiⁿ[s] – and the escort [“accompanying us” at margin] – we started accomp^d by men women & Children and as there was much open and cultivated ground the dust they caused almost suffocated us and our horses though the escort tryed all gentle means to keep them off – at last after riding one hour which was full 5 Miles we came near the place where the King¹ was sitting under the Verandah of his house marked by 2 blue & red umberellas of Cloth supported by large poles held by slaves with the staff resting on the ground ~ after the head men had some conversation with the King they came back to us they came back to us [*sic*] and I thought they were talking about our prostrating ~ I told them if any such thing was proposed I should instantly go back – that all the ceremony that I should submit to should be to take my hat off and make a bow & that I should shake hands if he pleased – they went & informed the King and came back saying I should make [58A] only the ceremony I proposed take off my hat make a bow & shake hands – we accordingly went forewards – the Kings people had a great deal to do to make way amongst the crowd – and allow us to go in regular order sticks & whips were used² – though with good nature in general – and I cannot help remarking on this as as on all other occasions of the kind that the Yourribanians appear to be a mild and kind people kind to their children & wives and to one another [“and that the gov^t tho Abs^te [=Absolute] is conducted w^h the greatest Mildness” at margin]

¹ i.e. Alaafin Majotu (c. 1802-1830/31).

² A reference to the police functions the *ilemole*, one of the *ilari*; see S.O. Babayemi, ‘Oyo Palace Organization: Past and Present’, *African Notes* 10, 1 (1966), 4-14.

after we got as far as the 2 umberellas in Front the space was all clear before the King and for about 20 y^{ds} on each side we walked up to the verandah with hats on untill we came in to the shade when we took off our hats made a bow and shook hands he lifting our hands up three times repeating Akoo akoo³ how do you do how do you do – the women he [*sic*] standing behind him cheering or calling out Ah, Ah – Ah, hurra [illeg. word deleted] Ah, oh hurra [“which the spect^{ts} out side joined in -”inserted] – it was impossible to count the no- of ladies they were so dense and so numerous - they appeared as glad to see us as their master if I might judge by their smiles – the King was dressed in a white tobe or large shirt with a blue one under round his neck some 3 strings of large cut clear blue glass beads⁴ – on his head the imitation of a European crown made of stiff blue cotton covered over ~~with~~ [a] paste band – made aparently by some European and sent up to him from the coast –

we waited about half an hour untill all [58] inquiries had been made respecting our health and the fatigues of our journey – we [were] conducted by his chief Eunuch⁵ and confidant to appartments in the Kings house and asked if we liked them ~ they certainly were very good but our servants would be to[o] far removed from us so we looked out for one in which we could be more compactly stowed and that both serv^{ts} and baggage could be under my own eye – which is a thing never to be neglected how ever good the servants may be – After we had dinner and tea to which we had a good new milk and it got fairly dark we had a visit from the King in person - he was attended by his favorite Eunuch – the ladies remaining out side – he was very plainly dressed so that he would not have been known out side but as one of the people with a long staff in his hand – he said he could not rest until he saw us that we would only talk about our health and not about business now ~ this was told us by Abaco our friend who for bringing us is in great confidence and favour – after a short stay he went away ~ we asked before he went if we might be left undisturbed for 2 days so that we might rest from the fatigues of our journey

[59A] Tuesday January 24th Morning Clear - we were much refreshed either by the good air or good Fare ~~of the~~ Katungas – we were Employed selecting the present for the King which consisted of the following articles

³ *eeke eeku*, Yoruba mode of salutation.

⁴ Apparently kori beads; see below n. 26.

⁵ There were three principal eunuchs in Oyo, known as Otun Iwefa, Ona Iwefa and Osi Iwefa; strictly, the Otun Iwefa was the senior in rank, but Clapperton's references to a 'chief eunuch' probably relates to the Osi Iwefa, whose actual power was greater; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 68; and S.O. Babayemi, *Topics on Oyo History* (Lagos: Lichfield Nigeria Ltd., 1991), 108-10. Note that he is later called 'Ebah'.

[price annotated in £ and shillings]	Items
3- 5	A large Umbrella (silk)
3- 5	a smaller D ^o D ^o
5 - -	one piece crimson Damask
2-10	half D ^o blue D ^o
3- 5	one piece D ^o silk
3- 5	one D ^o Scarlet D ^o
3- 7 5	25 y ^{ds} Scarlet Cloth
5 - -	25 D ^o Sky blue D ^o
2- 0	3 p ^s Muslin flowerd
8- 8	1 String large Coral
3- 0	1 Silverd crown headed Nuquay ⁶ Cane
1- 0	1 Spy Glass
7- 0	1 Brass gillt mounted fowling piece
2-10	1 handsome Sabre
1- 0	An assortment of Knives, Scissors, & ^c & ^c
2- 0	One Doz White Cotton stockings
1- 0	one - D ^o D ^o gloves
2- 0	A pair leather leggins & leather gloves
1-10	Powder & Shot flints & ^c
3-10	number of large Prints of H. Majesty, the royal family, and celebrated characters in Eng ^d battles & ^c
<u>1- 0</u>	a Demijohn of Rum
66-18	
Paid the Caboceers of the City and Abaco the Messenger – [word illeg.]	
5- 8	36 yards Scarlet Cloth
5- 8	36 D ^o Blue D ^o
6-10	2 p ^s Silk
- 16	4 Gallons Rum
2 - -	1 Doz Cotton Stockings
1 - -	1 - - D ^o Gloves
1 - -	5 - - Knives
1- 5	5 - - Scissors
<u>16-16</u>	2 Strings Coral expended on the <i>path</i> .
58- 3	

⁶ Ornamented walking stick, of cane grown in Newquay in Cornwall.

[Financial notes at right hand side]	[£ – s – d]
	66.18.0
30 Musquets	<u>30.0.0</u>
King	96.18.0
Caboceers	<u>38.3.0</u>
	135.1.0
J. Houtson	644.18.0
Do-	<u>203.5.0</u>
	983.4.0
F. James	<u>200.0.0</u>
	1183.4.0
EWare & Canoes	<u>24.8.0</u>
	<u>1207.12.0</u>

[59] Between 7 & 8 P.M- the King ~~waited~~ visited us accompanied by his favorite Eunuch and Abacco – the Messenger ~ he had had previous information that he was to receive the presents to night – and such is the crooked policy of Africa that no present can be given no business of [=or] trans action of importance can be done openly – all must be conducted ~~openly~~ under the cloud of night and with the greatest secrecy from the highest to the lowest – We first began enquiring after his health ~ I then told him th^t I was the King of Englands servant sent by his M-y [=Majesty] with this present which lay before me – that we had only heard his (the King of Yourribas name) mentioned in England as a great King that we now saw the report was true ~ that three white men 2 of them my companions and one a servant had died on the road ~ that one more was at Dahomey to ask him to allow us a passage through his dominions⁷ for the No. – that all his people had behaved well to us – that the Cab. of the diff^t towns through which we had passed gave us every thing we wanted – especialy the King of Janah – his friend had behaved with the greatest attention to us and had given us a good man for a messenger who had conducted us with safety and attention to his Capital – he ordred him to proste before him and he rubbed his Shoulders with his hand – That the King of England would be glad to make him his friend and that what ever the King of Yourriba might want from England would be sent by one of the Kings ships I would write & it w^d be sent to Badagry –

the King began by assuring us that we were [“truly” inserted] welcome to his country that he had frequently heard of white men but that neither his father or himself or any of his ancestors had ever seen one ~ [60A] he was glad white men had come at this time – and now he trusted his country would be put right his enemies brought to submission and he would be enabled to build up his fathers houses which war had destroyed ~ this he spoke in such a feeling and

⁷ i.e. Dickson, see Appendix II.

energetic manner and repeated it 2 or 3 times so that I felt sincerely for him – he then said we were welcome to his country and he was glad to see us [even] if we had not a cowrie instead of our comming with our hands full as we had done ~ that he wanted nothing from white men but some-thing to assist him against his enemies and those of his people who had rebbeled against him and reducing them to obedience that – his slaves from Haussa and the Fellatas had joined killed the old & sold the young – that he would get plenty of cloth from Jaboo & Ako in [or] Lagos – That he was glad that all his people had behaved well to us that had any of the Cab^s refused us assistance he should have sent for them and cut their heads off – that the Cab. of Janah was his slave whom he put there to look after that part of his dominions ~ that Badagry Alladah & Dahomey all belonged to him and paid him custom for every ship that anchored there – that Addooly of Badagry was his friend and that he would not see him wronged by the people of Porto Nova or Lagos – he concluded by assuring us he wanted nothing but to assist him against his en^s [= enemies] and feelingly deplored the state of his country and his capital Katunga the [“civil” inserted] war occ^d by his fathers death” at margin]^s - asked us if we did not see the ruined towns as we came along the road - these says he – were destroyed & burnt by my rebbelious Haussa slaves and their friends the Fellatas

we then began to give the present[[s] which interrupted [conversation] for some time - with the umbrellas and cane [“and silk damask” at margin] he was much pleased – but for the red & blue cloth which by some mistake was common cloth for soldiers coats we had to make an appology ~ with all the others he was highly pleased – particularly the Coral umberellas [60] and cane the latter he never is without -

After delivering him the presents with which he appeared highly gratified I told him that the King my master had sent me before on a mission to Bornou in which country and Haussa I had pass^d 2 years – the [= that] the Sultans and people of these countries had behaved to me with the greatest kindness and that learning this was the nearest path to Bornou – the King of England had sent me this way to visit the King of Yourriba and to assure him of his friend ship and to request him to give me a safe conduct to Nyffe – from whence I might proceed to Bornou -

He seemed to hesitate much at this request and consulted with his confident [sic] and Abaco the messenger what answer to give – After wh^h he said that Nyffee or Atakapa or Toppa⁹ was involved in civil war caused by the death of

⁸ Law suggests that the reference is to Alaafin Awole, whose overthrow in c. 1796 began the process of the disintegration of the Oyo kingdom; see Robin Law, “Making Sense of a Traditional Narrative: Political Disintegration in the Kingdom of Oyo” *Cahiers d’études africaines*, 87-88, XXII-3-4, p. 393, n. 11.

⁹ Tapa, Yoruba name for Nupe. Atakpa appears to refer to Idah.

the King who had left 2 sons who both claimed the Kingdom¹⁰ - that one son had more of his country men on his side but the other had called in the assistance of the Fellatahs or Fillanees which made him concerned as to my safety in case of his putting me into their hands – I told him I was a servant of the King of England and must go where he sent me live or die I must go ~ that I had nothing to do with wars and had nothing to do with either side – That all I wanted was a passage over the Quarra as they call it the [Niger] into Nyffe and I hoped he would not refuse – After some further consultation with his counsellors he said he would dispatch a messenger to open the road for me and that he would send me safely over the river

[61A] Wednesday 25th – Morning Clear - early this Morning the King sent us a present of a large fat cow – a sheep yams bananas &¢ (he had before sent us a goat yams honey milk night and morning with yams bananas fire wood & water – every thing so dry that most of the Ins^t [= instrument] cases are breaking & splitting – my only Hy'g^r [= hygrometer] was broke at Badagry [“the late “ inserted] M^r M. [‘s] Barometers were fitted with ivory screws at the bottom of the tube they are all split & use less by the heat – the plain [tubes] are the best – Those with ivory or wooden scales contract & break the glass - the Microscope is all in pieces as also several other ins^{ts}

[“Alt^{de} O

123° -20' - 15 ”

1 - 45

123 -16 - 30

61- 39 - 15

31

61- 38 - 44

16 - 16

61- 55 - 0

28 - 5 - 0

19 - 57

Lat^{de} 9 – 4 3 N” at margin]

In the evening we had a visit from the King – to thank me for the presents I had given him and again to assure me of Welcome ~ that he wanted nothing but some thing that would speedily cause the Submission of the rebels – he said

¹⁰ Clapperton is referring to the struggle in Nupe following the death of Etsu Jimada in 1819 and the subsequent wars between Manjiya and Idrisu, and their respective supporters, which ultimately led to the defeat of Manjiya in 1823-4. At the time, Idrisu had the support of the *jihad* forces in Ilorin, especially Malam Dendo. In 1825, Dendo changed sides and supported Manjiya, who regained control of Rabba, where he reigned until his death in c. 1841. See Femi James Kolapo, *Military Turbulence, Population Displacement and Commerce on a Slaving Frontier of the Sokoto Caliphate: Nupe c. 1810-1857* (Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1999), 43-46, 236-48.

that he had sent to his friend the king of Benin for troops to assist him in the war – He said the Customs¹¹ would begin in about 2 Months and he would be very glad if I would stay and see them - that he dressed now as a common man – but after that I should see him as a king – I told him I must go on early to get to Bornou before the rains – M^r H. took this opportunity to tell him he had been at the Customs in Dahomey [“and enquired if the King of Yourriba Killed so many people at his Customs” inserted] - he shook his head shrugged up his shoulders & exclaimed no – no – no that no King or Cab. in yourriba could do that (that is sacrifice human beings) – and if he commanded the King of Dahomey must desist from that practice – that he must obey him” that his (the K.D.) messenger had only gone from here 3 months ago – that he had sent once to Dahomey to put Dahomey in order they having deposed Adonozan¹² & Made his brother King – that the King of Dahomey was his slave and paid him custom for every vessel that anchored at Whydah [“in old times” at margin]¹³ – That one brother became King of Yourriba [61] one of Jaboo one of Benin, and one of Ketoo a country lying to the East of Dahomey & Mahee - that they were independent Kingdoms the other Kingdoms were tributary to them – they were the only great Kings and that they were descended from the Kings of Tappia or Nyfee in old times¹⁴ – The other countrys were tributary to him – that his rebellious slaves traded to Jaboo but that he had lately burnt the large Market where they carried on their barter¹⁵ and if he thought proper he could stop the whole of the trade between Jaboo & Lagos – as he had done that of his rebellious slaves

Thursday 26 – Morning Clear & Cool - we had a sheep from the king – and a hog and some plantians from one of his sons

In the evening set of [f] 5 rockets¹⁶ which astounded all and frightened many - the King was sitting under his verandah and [“we” inserted] waited on him to enquire how he liked the rockets – He was quite delighted but said they should be Kept for War

¹¹ Possibly the *bere* festival, see Babayemi, *Oyo History*, 37-42. The timing of the festival, two months hence, i.e., end of February, is related to the gathering of new thatch for the palace of the *alaafin*.

¹² Adandozan was deposed, and his brother Gezo installed, in 1818.

¹³ The marginal addition reflects the recent (1823) successful revolt of Dahomey against Oyo.

¹⁴ Alluding to the traditions of common ancestry of the major Yoruba kingdoms and Benin. The reference to descent from the royalty of Nupe perhaps alludes to Sango, one of the early *alaafin*, whose mother was a Nupe princess.

¹⁵ A reference to Apomu, which was destroyed by Owu, acting on instructions from the Oyo authorities, an event which provoked the Owu war of c.1820-25; see M.A. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper, *Owu in Yoruba History* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1971); Law, *Oyo Empire*, 272-6.

¹⁶ Devices, with explosive or incendiary warheads, developed by Sir William Congreve on the basis of Indian rocket technology imported in the 18th-century. The rockets were manufactured in 8 different sizes, weighing up to 60lbs.

Friday 27 Employed in reducing the packages & writing &c – Morning dull and hazy – In the after noon the King paid us a visit – when we showed him some presents intended for the three principal Caboceers of the City – He said he did not [know] what to say or do in return for our Kindness – as on our arrival we had given him more fine things than he would have got on the Sales of one hund^d slaves – and now we were giving more [62A] to his Caboceers – that however what he could [do] he would – he said he had sent messengers in different directions to try to find a path where we wished to go – that while we were in his dominions I was perfectly safe – but on leaving them he was sorry to think I might be exposed to danger from the disturbed state of the countries through which I must travel – He then said that the Tappa or Nyffe Messenger who had been here three years was in waiting to give ~~him~~ me any information regarding the course of the River that I might wish to ask him – they [*sic*] were accordingly called in and were certainly the most savage looking Bunch I ever saw – but they either could not – or were afraid of giving my [me] the least acc^t of the River – that I sent them off asking a few questions – indeed there *seems* a great unwillingness in either the King or people of this place to say any thing at all about the subject –

Saturday 28 – At 7 *a.m.* set off on horseback to visit three head Caboceers – who live about three Miles from our house – we were received with much Kindness and attention by all of them at their houses – under their verandahs and surrounded by hundreds of their wives – who all clapped their hands in welcome – they severally presented us with Sheep goats Pigs Yams Calvances Eggs honey & Ducks – inviting us to drink country ale with them and to make merry [62] but I was very unwell and anxious to get home – In the evening we had a visit of ceremony to the King – when I asked him to allow M^r Houtson & myself to go and look at the river & return before closing my dispatches for England – he said he heard what we said and we should go – I also asked for a Messenger to carry letters to Badagry in two days from this – & [he] said he would be ready

Sunday 29th Clear & cool – ~~Capt Clapperton~~ very unwell all night – a bad cold – pains in the limbs and severe headache – with vomiting of bile [“acc^d with slight Delirium at times” at opposite margin, on f. 63A] – [“~~give him~~ took” inserted] Calomel Richard also weak and unwell – ~~JH~~¹⁷

Monday 30th Clear and fine – the harmattan seemingly over – ~~Capt C~~ better this morning – ~~gave him~~ [“took” inserted] a dose of Salts – W^m Pascoe also ill yesterday with cold & nausea of the Stomach – gave him five gr- Calomel – and in the evening 2 drops Croton Oil¹⁸ – He is well this morning – In the early part

¹⁷ Entries for 29th and 30th January were drafted in Houtson’s hand, and overwritten later by Clapperton.

¹⁸ A fatty oil contained in the seeds of the East Indian species of castor oil plant, *Croton tiglium*; a drastic purgative. See Appendix VI.

of the evening we have no wind and it is extremely hot – about ten AM- a cold wind from the NW – which makes Colds very frequent –

[63A] Tuesday Jan^y 31st Clear and cool – I was very restless and very unwell all night – Pascoe still sick – gave him some more Calomel with laudnum¹⁹ – the King sent twice to enquire after my health yesterday and wished to come and see me – but I was too weak to sit up to receive him – the Messenger [who] went to open the path to Nyffee not yet retnd

the King called to see me this evening but I was asleep – he insisted however that M^r H- should allow him to look at me with his own eye – which taking the candle he did – and said that [he] having so looked on me I should be well in the morning.-

M^r Houtson asked for the lend of a horse to take an Airing in the Morning - this His Majesty could not comprehend - what could a man want to ride or walk for nothing - if he rode or walked he ought to go and see some of the Cabs & he would get a present of a pig or sheep or some yams - that would be doing good – so he would send a horse to morrow morning & he mi[ght] go [to] the Cabs & he would send to them

the pain in my head has fallen into my left eye with inflammation & acutes [sic] pain – poor Pascoe still very unwell

Wednesday Feby 1st Strong breezes - my eye a little bet[ter] Pascoe much better – the King agreeable to his promise sent a horse & two Eunuchs to attend ~~him~~ [“M^r H-” inserted] in his ride – He visited one Caboceer and was about to return home – when the whole of the party begged he would see another – as all the Caboceers would make a palaver with this one – as receiving a white man to see him and then telling him **[63]** not ~~to go to the other Caboceers~~ – and so making himself the greater man - M^r H- accordingly went to see the other Cab- who was a friend of Addeley of Badagry – he was received with great Kindness and attention – and came home with a supply of Eggs Milk Honey two Goat a Pig two ducks ~~Cal~~ plantains &^c - He objected to receiving presents but they told him the Kings friends could not come to their house and go away empty-handed. – [“broke a Ther today” at margin]

Tuesday Feby 2nd 1826 Morning Clear and Cool – the pain in my head and eye still great – put a blister on the back of my head.- which gave me much ease – rubbed the forehead also with Ether -

Friday Feby 3^d Morning clear and cool – Mine eye much better, and the pain in my head gone – took bark three times today -

¹⁹ Laudanum, an alcoholic tincture of opium.

Saturday Feby 4 Morning Clear – at 2 *or* 3 PM had a thunder storm -

Sunday 5 Morning Clear & fresh breezes D-

In the afternoon had a visit from his Majesty – I asked him if the Nyffe Mess^{er} had arrived – he said no that he must be dead, sick, or taken prisoner, that the road by [64A] [four illeg. words deleted] - he said we could not go by the road of Nyffe that the road was impassable from the wars – what was my hurry to go - he was not tired of me - he had more Cabs comming from the country to see me - he wished to put every thing right on the road for me - that the King of England did no[t] send me to him for me to run away directly that he wished me much to wait & see the Custom for there he would be a king – I said I would wait with pleasure but that the rains would be on by that time²⁰ and I would be unable to go on to Bornou - says he what do you want to go to Borno for did not the King of England send you to me alone, no says I he sent me to you to procure a passage to that place where an Englishman now resides who was left there when I was there before²¹ – I said I would remain 12 days more - if he did not give me a passage then I would return to England and say he would not give me a passage – he said the Messengers who arrived yesterd[ay] were from one of his provinces called Yara²² five days distant that it was divided from Youri by the Quarra - he would send me by that route which was perfectly safe – I asked if I could not go and see the Quarra here before I went - he said no the Fellatahs had the road –

he gave me his Goura box carved in [the] shape of *tortises* in Ebony – I promised him the 30 Musquets with the powder & ball - he went home dancing but trip[p]ed & fell but was [64] soon picked up by his ladies - he *always* brings us some litle present when he comes and to day he brought us a bottle of honey and some fruit – called Assa²³ about the size of a pear with rather a hard outer skin four [“or five” at margin] large black seeds surrounded by a pleasant Acid pulp like tom^o of a yellow colour – My servant Pascoe met in the Market to day some Fellatahs who told him there was no war in Nyffe - that this King was only affraid of the Fellatahs – that Fellathas of Raka had taken 9 Yourriba men who had been in a suspicious place and were going to return them here on the morrow – Raka is only one days journey N.N.E from here

Monday 6th Morning cool & Clear – in the evening at the request of the King I set of[f] 5 rockets one of which having too low an altitude ran along the

²⁰ First reference to Clapperton’s concerns, after his experiences on the Borno Mission, about risks to his plans, health and life in the season of rains- “a sword in my breast” [entry, Monday 27th March 1826].

²¹ John Tyrwhitt. See Introduction.

²² Yaro, Emir of Kiama, and by extension (or confusion) both the capital and the country of south-eastern Borgu.

²³ Yoruba: *awusa*, also called *asala*.

ground but fortunatly only set fire to some grass – we afterwards went and saw the King who with his ladies and principal men were sitting out side under the verandah to see the rockets set off – he presented us with Gora nuts and said he would come and see us in the Morning as no business can be done in public in Africa in a public manner

at night we had strong Gales from the N. E-

Tuesday 7th Morning Fresh breezes & Cloudy at 8 light Airs & Clear – at Mid day the King visited me ~ he brought a new bottle of honey & 2 cock fowels – for he never comes empty handed – he began with joking me about what I was going to give him ~ I said I had nothing to give him ~ says he dash or give me one of your servants ~ I cant do that says I they are free men as well as myself ~ what says he no slaves in [65A] England ~ no says I as soon as a slave sets his foot on English ground he is free – then says he as you must go either M^r Houtson or Richard must stop with me ~ I will have one says he

after a good deal of conversation of this kind When says I am I to get a day for I want you to fix one ~ he artfully shifted the conversation to that of women ~ would I not like a wife he would give me one [“the King said he never knew how many wives or how many children he had but he was sure his wives hand to hand wou[ld] reach from here to Janah – he sent for one of his daughters whom he had given as a wife to Abaco the Messenger As a wife long ago – his daughters are allowed to take any man they chuse with^d marriage or with – it is death to touch any of his wives – the son has to take all the fathers wives” at margin] did he not give us plenty to eat or did he not use me well – all very true & very good says I but I am not like a black man that has no book to write ~ I must know ^{at} the day on which I am to go as I must have all my book ready for the King ~ every thing I give is in that book every thing I get and every thing I say – all my talk could not make him fix a day but he said I should have a servant of his to the King of Yauri – that that road was safe [“that the Mess^{grs} of Yaroo were here & he w^d send me back with them ~ when he [= they] returned I should go. I promised to let him see all my baggage before I went and to give him an order to be sent by M^r H. for the 30 Musquets left on board the Brazen” at margin] ~ I would go in 4 days to Yaroo in the Kingdom which was tributary to him there I would cross the river Mussa²⁴ which ran in into the Quarra which was three days distant – that it come from the N.W. and in it there were plenty of the Hippotami in it – he is now particula[rl]y shy about giving us information about the Quarra ~ says it turns into the sea between Jabbo & Benin and sometimes at Benin ~ the Fellatahs possess Raca²⁵ only a days Journey N.N.E. and all the land near here from the Quarra therefore he cannot send me there – his skin was rub[b]ed over with pounded or ground red wood

²⁴ River Moshi.

²⁵ Also see the reference to Raka in Bathurst’s instructions, Appendix I, document 1.5.

which is g^d [= ground] very fine made like a paste and rubbed into the skin as a ~~skin~~ shiner ~ it is not seen [65] only [= except] on the nails & palms of the hands being well rubbed in - it is used by all the classes - the wood is brought from Worri & Benin - we gave him a flask of rum on his leaving and he promised to give me some of the stone of wh^h his beads were made which he says comes from a country between this & Benin²⁶ - they are not glass as I supposed them to be

at night Strong breezes & Squally from the N.E

Wednesday 8th Light breezes & Cloudy ~ received a sheep from the King ~ Mr- Houtson went out foraging and got 2 goats a [word illeg.] a duck & some plaintans - Midnight Fresh breezes & Clear

Thursday 9th Fresh breezes & clear - this morning I had to take the Eunuch to task about our provisions - he had been dealing us out too small a share and pocketing the money - he pretended to be in ~~what~~ a great rage and even the Milk is now bad - the hills & ridges as seen from the hills or rock - those to the East^d nearly North & South or N. by E & S by W. ~ Katungas hills or rocks are composed of large blocks of coarse granite much decayed and crumbles away very fast - found all the plants I had collected destroyed - by the white Ants

Friday 10th Morning Moderate breezes & Clear - a no- of Cabs from Distant provinces arrived to day & we had nothing but drumming & Whisteling [*sic*] all day - the King sent us an invitation to see them & we went at - 3 P.M. we found the King seated in an old easy chair covred with crimson damask. the cabs at some distance in front facing him about 20 y^{ds} distance dressed in Leopard skin robes - [66A] their heads well dusted & also their cheeks with prostrating and rubbing their faces on the dust - ["the Cab. were attended by their bow men" at margin] - it is the etiquate here to appear in a loose cloth tyed under one arm one part over the other shoulder and hangs down to the feet gracefully. their heads well dusted before they come in to prostrate - no tobe or beads or coral or grandeur but the King -

the Cane I made him a present of holds allways a conspicuous place ["a long Madras cane handly mt^d [= handsomely mounted] with silver horn a silver crown on the top" at margin] - when he walks he carries it when he sits down it is stuck in the ground at some distance before him - He presented us with Gora nuts - asked me to set off some rockets to night - When equals meet they

²⁶ Also see the 'large blue cut-glass beads' worn by the king, 23 January. The reference to the 'country between this and Benin' is to Ife: cf. Lander and Lander, *Journal*, I, 171. Blue glass beads called *segi* were made at Ife, which may also be identical with the 'akori/aggrey' beads traded to the Gold Coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see O.Euba, 'Of Blue Beads and Red: The Role of Ife in the West African Trade in Kori Beads', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 11/1-2 (1982), 109-27.

kneel on each knee that is on one knee – Women kneel on both knees supporting the hands on the Elbows which rest on the ground [“the Cab. first prostrate and wait on the head Eunuch with dust on their heads ~ when any thing is told to the King the person prostrates & speaks but it must be said through the Eunuch who also prostrates” at margin]

Saturday 11th Morning clear and cool – And other Cabs arrived to day attended by their wild attendants armed with swords bows & arrows – the Chiefs were prostrating before the fat Eunuch covered with dust and sweat – the attendants were dancing in a circle while occasionally one came out danc[ing] one of their minuets in doing which they would only through [= throw] a somerset [= somersault] as well [“as” inserted] old Grimaldi²⁷ himself had he been there – I sat for an hour and a half during all which time the pro[s]trations were repeated, and the dancing & tumbling continued no regard for the heat of the sun - I supposed they were practising [*sic*] before the Eunuch to be perfect before the King – they were dressed in Lepoard skin robes – hung round with tassels & charms – at last they compleated their pt^l [= prostrations] and the Eunuch sent for several jars of Pito²⁸ - the Cabs were admitted to drink their[s] in his house their attendants had theirs under the trees – in the aftⁿ the King sent for us to see them but I was too unwell to go - sent M^r H. & Richard

[66] Sunday 12th Morning Clear & Cool -

Monday 13th Clear & Cool – our friend and Guardion the fat Eunuch drunkk [*sic*] – When in that state he begs every thing he sees – he got M^r H. and I into his house to see him dance – but the most unwealdly performance ever I saw - he begged we would also dance with him but I complained of illness & H- ran off - he followed & Made M^r H- hand out the flask which without waiting for a glass he put to his head and drank up wards of a pint [“of raw spirits” at margin] without drawing breath – he said he had drank 2 quarts to day before he had got that – and given away a small cask – that rum made him fat -

Tuesday 14th Morning Cool & Cloudy – with strong breezes from the S.E – Noon light Airs & Clear – they have a great deal of carving on their doors and the posts supporting the verandahs – as also figures of men & Women standing in their court yards – the figures on the post & doors are various but principally of the Boa – with a hog or antelope in his mouth – men taking slaves sometimes a man on horse back leading slaves -

²⁷ Joseph (Joe) Grimaldi (1779-1837), was a genius of the English Pantomime, performing at London’s Drury Lane and Covent Garden between 1807-1823. He was renowned for his acrobatic tumbling (which eventually crippled him) and as a satirical urban clown who poked fun at the vices of the age – a tradition which has been handed down to clowns over the ages, who are known in the circus profession as Joeys (Personal communication, Hugh Leach).

²⁸ Palm wine.

Their manner of burial is to dig a deep narrow hole where the corpse is put in a sitting posture the elbows between the 2 knees – a poor person is buried without any ceremony a rich man has guns fired and rum drank at his grave and in the house by his friends and retainers - When a King dies the Caboceer of Jannah 3 other head Caboceers 4 women and a great many favorite slaves and others have to take poison given by the Fetish men in parrots eggs – if this does not take effect the person is provided with a rope to hang himself in his house – [“in some cases the person who refuses to die ~~with~~ at the kings death must submit to be made an Eunuch – there is now one living here who had a child before he was cut – Nyfee or Tappa is the great places for Eunuchs – to some few are made here ~ the King has got 100” at margin] ~ No sacrifices are used at least no human sacrifices and no one was allowed to die at the death of the last King as he did not die a natural death having been murdered by his son not the one who is at present King but another²⁹ – Wives are bought [and] according to the circumstances of the bride groom is the price ~ three days after the bargain is fixed he and his friends go and bring her to his house where the Pitto or country beer is sent about freely amongst the guests

[67A] in the Afternoon Waited on the King ~ there is a pleasant walk through a large enclosed park at the foot of the hill between the house of the King and that of his wives enclosed by a clay wall some parts of the park are planted with yams & Corn &£, and there is beautiful shady trees in diferent parts of it – the King was at his fathers house I should have said the ruins – which are now under a repair – the King was sitting in the shade of one of the newly repaired squares – we had a plank for a seat & began by asking after his Majestys health – I then told him that I had been here 24 days and that I was anxious to go on my journey as the rains were near – he asked if all the white men were going. I said only I & my servants – as he and all his people are skilful in inventing evasive answers and allways have one ready. I said fix a day – says he every one Would say the white men com[e] to see the King of Yourriba and brought him large presents – and wanted him to give them a good path to where they wanted to go – he gave them a bad path they were robbed & killed ~ the King of Yourriba did not do good to white men all people would say – he had been very busy these last 4 days with his people but he had sent a messenger to get a good path – I asked him positively to fix a day – ~~after~~ as I could be put off no longer – after consulting with his people he said 9 days - well I said I shall remain that time without saying one word that I had every thing ready to go. -

after this I asked him if he would allow me to have one of his old men that I might examine him how many Kings there had been here where the people came from – &£ – at this last question they all laughed – the King said they

²⁹ Alaafin Majotu came to power c.1802 after an interregnum following the death of Awole in c. 1796; see Law *Oyo Empire*, 55. The previous king, Maku, had been forced to commit suicide after a very brief reign.

came from heaven³⁰ – that no one could tell how many Kings there had been in Yourriba or what were their names but himself he would tell me – he gave me 2 pieces of what I think is glass he said it was the same as his beads and they found [it] amongst the rocks ~ we also got a present of one fowel & some Gora nuts

Foo foo³¹ – 2 kinds white and black [“Inya – black Aka³²” at margin] a common food of rich and poor the white is nearly [*sic*] the boiled yam [“beat” at margin] into a paste with water and sold in balls of about a pound each [67] ~ The black is made as follows - the yam is first peeled and then cut into small pieces & put in the sun and dried ~ When dry it is pounded in a large wooden mortar into a flower which [is] sifted again and again untill it is as fine a[s] possib[le] ~ the flower will keep in this way about 6 or 7 months ~ when wanted to be used it is made by pouring boiling water over it and stiring round untill properly mixed and of a proper thickness – when ~~about~~ it is ready it is made into balls of a pound weight each wrapped up in a leaf put in a calebash or gourd and carried to market to sell ~ when the natives eat it they if they can get it [illeg. word deleted] [eat it with] soup palm oil or gravy if not without

Wednesday 15th Morning fresh breezes Cool & Cloudy ~ a no- of Arrivals to day – I went out to see the dances some of which were round a tree the men dancing with their bows in their hands – some others were seated under the shade of the trees drinking pito – they are now come with their annual custom as also to receive instructions respecting the war – against Laroo³³

at 3 P.M- we had a messenger from Jannah – who brought letters [of] *assre* [= assurance] from Cap^{tn} Clavering of H.[M.] Brig Redwing and ½ dozen porter & ½ dozen wine the other dozen having been drank or broken on the road - this supply was as welcome as unexpected and shows that with very little trouble and expense the com[m]unication may be kept open – by the letter of Cap^{tn} Clavering it appears the the trunks of the late Cap^{tn} Pearce & M^r Morison [“had arrived safe” at margin] – the King sent to know what news – we had from our books & the Eunuch would not go away untill I had given him a bottle of porter [port]

Thursday 16th Morning cool & Cloudy ~ we had an early visit from the King who – was anxious to have a bottle of the porter which I had to give – he also begged my looking glass and one of the tin boxes ~ I attacked in my turn at

³⁰ According to tradition, the common ancestor of Yoruba royalty, Oduduwa, descended from heaven on a chain.

³¹ *fufu*, in this context, pounded yam.

³² *iyam*, boiled yam pounded into dough and served with sauce, called *oka* in northern Yoruba communities.

³³ i.e. Ilorin (not Ilaro).

dents on the coast nor is its healing qualities at all better than any other wind ~ my servants are all sick and I am very unwell ~ Pascoe is laid up with a sore leg and diarrhoea – Richard Ague – Ali³⁶ cold – the governors of the provincial towns with their attendants still continue arriving

It may not be unworthy to remark the chastity of the women of this country – their [*sic*] are no public Prostitutes in Yourriba nearer than Badagry or Porto Nova – if we except the Kings daughters who may have what ever man they take a fancy to and change him as often as they please – this rare chastity in the women is owing they say themselves to the girls being betrothed young and every man having a wife as also adultery is punished by a heavy fine [“on the man and a severe flogging to the woman” at margin] ~ with the Kings wives it is death to both the parties – the women are not under the least restraint [*sic*] or confinement – but are present on most occasions where there is any thing to be seen ~ their [*sic*] is no singing in Hio as in other places ~ I cannot say that I have ever heard them sing here except when attending the King ~ in other parts of Africa their [*sic*] is no sleeping in moonlight nights – untill the moon sets – for their dancing singing & drums

Monday 20th Morning Cool Harmattan still continues blowing – we get rather scant of provisions – as our supply is rather scanty from the avarice of our fat Gardin [*sic*] who pockets our [provisions] what the King sends us – I have threatened him 2 or 3 times but I believe he trusts to my patience [*sic*] and easy disposition – complaining to the King would get him a beating tho he is stiled war Captain & Gardin of the Kings women -

[69A] Tuesday 21st – Cool & clear ~ a n^o of Cabs of the different towns came in with their forces to day – and the King sent for us to go and see them we [“went” inserted] accordingly and saw about 20 of these poor unfortunate[s] – I need not say that – for they appeared superlatively happy in their dirt & abasements and vied with one another which should have most dust and who could kiss the ground with the greatest fervour stretched at full length on their bare bellies – no cloth being allowed over the shoulder – all must be bare to the waist and as if distant people seldom had their heads seldom dusted they when they come must have it also on their bodies to make them square with every day worshipers ~ Old Pascoe calls them the sand eaters ~ after our usual comp^{ts} to the King and s[h]aking hands with the cab- of Hio & the dust men – we returned – the King promising to visit us in the after noon at our house

at 4 P.M- the King came attended by his women and our fat guardian ~ the women he left outside except 2 ~ one who attends upon him on all occasions with a handsome carved gourd with a small round hole covered with a clean

³⁶ Clapperton’s Shuwa servant, whose freedom he purchased in Badagry.

white cloth – ~~the~~ for to hold his majesties spittle when he is inclined to throw it away ~ the other with [a] white chamber pot containing his majestys Goro nuts he having made me a present of his black ebony box carved in the shape of a land tortoise which he used for that pur[pose] ~ after an end had been put to our complimentary enquiries after his Majesties good health I obs^d that it was within a few days only that the [] he had app^ld for my departure – he said that the Messenger he had sent to Youri had returned - that the road was perfectly safe and that he would have [“me” inserted] passed from one king to another – that by the way of Nyffe he would not insure my safety and that would have a reflection on him - I thanked him and said what ever he did was right [“I asked him what he would wish to be sent him from England as a present when he said that he wished the following articles []”³⁷ inserted at margin] his messenger and the Messengers of the Caboceer of Yarroo would accomp^y me to Youri – I then made a gentle complaint of our fat Guardian who has been appropriating our prov^{ns} to his own use for this some time past and laughing at me when I told him so – the rogue swore through thick and thin he had given every thing and some goats I had got at the market he swore he had supp^ld and showed the King ~ as of his bringing [*sic*] I told the King it was no use talking against a rogue like his Eunuch there fore [69] I should hold my peace as the King never comes to visit us empty handed he brought us a Muscovy duck and a bag of rice the last is a scarce article here and not to be got in the market

Wednesday 22nd – Cold morning The Harmattan still continues – the Cabs of Atopa³⁸ and Karfee³⁹ came in yesterday with their forces - they waited on us this morning – they were well provided with dust as they had been to wait on the King early that being the Etiquete of Yourriba – to hold a levee twice a day at 6 in the Morning and 2 P.M-

As it is customary during the time that the Caboceers come from different towns to visit the King to have [illeg word deleted] a play pantomime or what divertissment to call it I am at a loss [“acted” at margin] – but I shall attempt a discription of the one I saw to day – the place they chuse for this pastime is in the Kings park fronting the principal door where he sits ~ a Fetish house occupies the West side ~ to the South ~~is a roma~~ 2 very romantic & large blocks [“of” inserted] granite by the side of which is an old withered tree - on the East are some beautifull shady trees & on the North the front of H.M. house where he sits and views the the scene - in the centre are 2 beautifull clumps of trees ~ in the midst of one is a tall fan palm that looks upon all the rest ~ this space occupyes from 7 to 800 yds- square – under these clum[p]s of trees were seated the actors dressed in [“large” inserted] sacks covering every part of the body the head most fantastically decorated with stripes of rags damask, silk, and

³⁷ Listed in entry, Saturday 25th February.

³⁸ Apparently a reference to Atepa on route to Oyo from the coast.

³⁹ Apparently an Oyo town.

cotton of as many glaring colours as it was possible ~ over the part covering the face was net work of cowries or plain net⁴⁰ ~ the kings servants attended to keep the peace and to prevent the crowd breaking in from the square in which [it] was formed ~ Musicians also in great no^s attended – the only instruments were drums and horns & Whistles which were blown & beaten without intermission

The first act consisted of dancing and tumbling in sacks which they performed to admiration considering they could not see and had not a free use of their feet and hands – the second act consisted of the catching of the Boa constrictor – first one of the sack men came in the front and knelt down on his hands and knees then came out a [“tall” inserted] majestic figure having on a head dress and masque which baffles all my power of description – ~~some~~ it was of glossy black colour some times like a Lion couchant over the crest of a helmet at an other times like a [“black” inserted] head with a large wig ~ at every turn he made it changed its appearance ~ this figure [70A] held in its right hand a sword and by its super[ior] dress and its motions appeared to be the director of the scene for not a word was spoke by the actors – the Manager as I shall call the tall figure then came up to the man in the sack lying down – another [“sack dancer” inserted] was brought in his sack who by a wave of the sword also laid down at the others head or feet, he having unseen opened the end of both sacks the 2 crawled into one ~ there was now great waving of the Managers sword ~ indeed I thought that heads were going to be taken off as all the natives were assembled round the party lying down – but in a few minutes they cleared away all but the manager who giving 2 or 3 flourishes with his sword the representation of the Boa constrictor began to put its head out of the bag attempting to bite the manager but by a wave of his sword it thrust its head in another direction throughing [*sic*] its head and ne[ck] back to avert the blow – by gradual ~~means~~ movement it got out of the bag and went through the movement of a real serpent in a very natural manner though appreciabl[y] with rather a full belly opening & shutting its mouth (which must have been the performers hands) quite naturally ~ the length might be about 14 feet ~ after following the manager round the park for some time and attempting to bite him which he averted by a wave of his sword a sign was made for the body of the actors to come up ~ when the Manager approaching the tail made flourishes with his sword as if cutting ~ the serpent gasped twisted up & seemed as if in great torture and when nearly dead it was shouldered by the masqued actors, still gasping and making ineffectual attempts to bite, but was carried off[f] in triumph to the Fetish house – the whole was [“well done by the snake – the colour and acting were well preserved with a skin of painted cloth representing the colour of a Boa” at margin]

Act 3^d the white devil

The actors retiring [“to” inserted] some distance in the back ground one was

⁴⁰ A reference to the Egungun masquerade.

seen in the rustic centre whose ["sack" inserted] falling gradually down a white head began ~~gradually~~ to appear – at which all the crowd gave a shout which rent the Air and appeared to enjoy this sight as the height of the Actors art. the Whole body at last was cleared of the sack when it looked like a skinned ["human" inserted] figure cast in white wax of the middle size miserably thin and starving with cold ~ frequently [70] going through the motion of taking snuf rubbing its hands ~ when it walked it was with the most Absurd gait treading like the most tender footed white man would walking barefoot for the first time over frozen ground – they often appealed to us as to his acting begged I would look and mark – what was going on ~ I made myself look as pleased as they did and instantly the actor played his part as I have seen it some times on the English stages when they acted the French man ~ after this act the play actors returned to the Fetish house – between each act we had choral songs by the Kings women – which were joined in by the surrounding Crowd -

Kingdom of Yourriba

The kingdom of Yourriba extends from Puka to the South which is within five miles of the sea to Lagos and Whydah in that line – to the North I have not yet ascertained ~ I believe I will not be far out when I say to 10^o north Lat^{de} - it is bounded by Dahomey to the N.W which is a tributary ["lying in *dry* Tributary" at margin] Kitto and the Mahee country on the North - Borgoo on the N.E. - the Quarra or Niger to the East on the East bank of which is Tappa or Nyffe - Akura⁴¹ a province of Benin on the S.E. 5 days journey distant – Jabbo to the South and West – it[s] tributaries are Dahomey, Badagry, Porto Nova, or Alladah, Mahee. – the last doubtful –

From the sea coast to Chu chu in Lat^{de} 8- 8- 34 Lon^{de} 4. 2. ["40" inserted] [E] the country rises by a gradual ascent the soil of a strong red clay and mould – and when the trees are not cut down the woods are of a most impenetrable thickness the trees of great size with the most luxuriant foliage - From Chu chu to Kussu is a range of granite hills running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. running across the coast to Benin said to come from Gonja, which borders on the Kingdom of the Ashantee – these hills are Grey granite bare of vegetation and in solid masses and are from 500 to 800 feet above the level of the vallies which are narrow winding and well cultivated with a thin black mould watered with enumerable streams – From Kooso to Eyeo the country is not so hilly – the hills running in irregular ranges but principally from NE to SW – and broken into detached masses as if by some great convulsion of nature – they [sic] earthy granite of which they are [71A] composed being of a softer kind and crumbling away with the weather – the vallies between widening into plains – the soil of

⁴¹ Akure, the headquarters of Benin administration in Ekiti; see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 126, 132.

clay and gravel, formed by the decomposition of the granite – the trees thickly scattered [illeg. insertion deleted] low and stunted -

The domestic animals are Horses of a very small kind and scarce – Horned Cattle, nearer the coast of a smaller size – as we approach the Capital as large as those in England – a number with [“a” inserted] bump on the shoulders like the cattle in the E. Indies – Sheep in common with those in other parts of Africa – Hogs, Muscovy Ducks, Fowls, Pigeons and a few Turkeys - Of the wild animals and fowls I can say but little – having seen none except monkeys – but the natives report Hyena and Leopard as common thro’ the Country -

Yams, Indian Corn, millet & shallots – near the Coast the fruits Oranges, limes, pine apples are plentiful – Cotton is also cultivated to a considerable extent - The Commerce of this Country is almost entirely confine[d] to the traffic in Slaves though a considerable quantity of Cloth is made in the country and



Katunga – grinding corn – Remark Book – CO 2/16, f. 71

bartered with the people on the Coast for Brazil Tobacco Rum Cloth & C & C – the medium of exchange throughout the interior is Cowries – a prime Slave at Jannah is worth in the sterling price of goods from 3 to 4-10/- [= £4.10.0] ~~the cost price of goods~~

The Government of Yourriba is an [passage missing]⁴² hereditary, and an absolute despotism, every subject being considered the slave of the king; but its administration is mild and humane, and appears to have been so for a long

⁴² The missing passage, reproduced here, is from the published version, pp. 57-58.

period. The only distinction of rank that obtains is that of caboceer, who may be considered as the governor of a distant town or province; the appointment of these governors depending on the will of the king. The military force consists of the caboceers and their own immediate retainers, which, allowing one hundred and fifty to each, will not give such immense armies as we have sometimes heard stated; that of Yourriba is perhaps as numerous as any of the kingdoms of Africa. I think the general appearance of the Yourribians has less of the characteristic features of the Negro than any other I have yet seen; their lips are less thick, and their noses more inclined to the aquiline shape, than negroes in general. The men are well made, and have an independent carriage, that cannot fail to attract attention. The women are almost invariably of a more ordinary appearance than the men, which may arise from their being more exposed to the sun, and the drudgery they are obliged to undergo; all the labour of the land devolving on them.

The city of Eyeo (in Houssa language, Katunga), the capital of Yourriba, is situated in latitude 8° 59' north, longitude 6° 12' east. It is built on the sloping side and round the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, forms the citadel of the town; they are formed of stupendous blocks of gray granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits, in the most frightful manner, while others, resting on very small bases, appear as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. The soil on which the town is built is formed of clay and gravel, mixed with sand, which has obviously been produced from the crumbling granite. The appearance of these hills is that of a mass of rocks left bare by the tide. A belt of thick wood runs round the walls, which are built of clay, and about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are about fifteen miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about four miles in diameter one way, and six miles the other, the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses and those of his women occupy about a square mile, and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front, and another facing⁴³

[71] the north reaching to the hills – the house[s] are all built of clay and thatched in and the same as the Cab. of Pukas which I have described in a former part of my journal (I have taken a scetch of the interiour of one of the cab. [houses] ~ the posts support the verandahs and the doors of the King and Cab- [“houses” at margin] are genrarly carved in bas releef with figures representing the Boa killing an antelope or hog processions – warriors and drummers the last well executed conveying the expression and attitude of a man vain and well pleased with his own music and wearing his head and cap on one side with his eyes half cast up – D]

⁴³ The ms continues here.

there are 7 Market places in which a Market is held every evening the market not opening untill 3 or 4 P.M- the principal articles for sale are yams corn clavances [*sic*] plantians bananas – butter from the [shea] butter tree – seeds of the coly cinth⁴⁴ which form a great article of food – sweet meats goats fowls sheep & lambs – The price of a small goat from 1500 to 2000 cowries a large sheep from 3 to 5000 – fowels 150 to 200 yams 4000 [*sic*] prs 100 – 2000 being equal to one Spanish dollar – bananas from one to 2 cowries each – a horse is from 80 – 100.000 cowries ~ a cow from 20 to 30,000 ~ a slave in good condition or what they call a prime slave is from 40 to 60-000 – Trona or natron is sold here – being br^l from Bornou – & sold to all parts of the Coast⁴⁵

Thursday 23 }

Friday 24 } Cool & hazy in the morning Harmattan still continues comp^d [= completed] writing letters &c

Saturday 25 Cool & hazy – this afternoon we had a visit from the King. he brought with him a duck some rice and Goro nuts. I told him I was now all ready to go when ever he chose to give me the escort and messengers – he said the Cab. of the different towns through which I had to pass were here still but as soon as they left I should go - [72A] I asked him as I was writing to England what he wanted from there – a brass crown Fine yellow and blue cloth , some larger coral some guady [*sic*] carpeting an English drum – and about 1/2 ton of cowries – the whole need not cost more than 200£ I said I should send the list home -

a copy of this journal with Obs^{vns} Courses &c &c &c sent to the colonial office up to this date⁴⁶

Sunday 26 very hazy – an oppressive heat depressing the spirits like the Siroc wind on the shores of the Medeter. [= Mediterranean]

Monday 27th The Siroc still continues

Tuesday 28 Dull & hazy W^I the Air sultry with little or no wind - the spirits of every one much depressed – and sighing for a breeze

Wednesday 1 March 1826 Warm & hazy – at 8 the W^I Cleared up with a fine breeze from the East^d ~ our friend the fat Eunuch is playing the rogue with us now he cannot – get any thing more out [“of us” at margin]

⁴⁴ The Bitter apple, *Citrullus colocynthis*, a plant of the gourd family, the fruit of which contains a light spongy and extremely bitter pulp furnishing a purgative drug.

⁴⁵ Both trona (Hausa: *ungurnu*), from the eastern shores of Lake Chad, and natron (Hausa: *kanwa*), from Mangari and Muniyo, two provinces of Borno, were traded widely in the central Sudan; see Paul E. Lovejoy, *Salt of the Desert Sun. A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 63-78.

⁴⁶ i.e. the (published) version in CO 2/17.

Thursday 2nd Cool & Clear – with a fine breeze from the N.E- [“country name for Raka *Sagudu*⁴⁷” at margin]

In the Afternoon we had a visit from the King ~~paid us a visit~~ - he was in good health & look[ed] very well but our presents are getting smaller - he brought a little rice and some Goro nuts - I began at once to ask him why I was detained - I had waited with paitence through the several times he had appointed had every thing ready for starting – but it appeared I was just as far from getting away as ever – he hesitated & gave an evasive answer [“the treaty of Utrecht⁴⁸ could not be made untill they had to allow us to supply the Spanish Colonies with 4800 Negro Slaves a great change in the times since by my faith are we better now or worse than the people of those times[?]” at margin] - I asked him to tell me distinctly – no he wished to get me a large horse – I said I could ride a small one, he said he had only one – still evading to say when [72] I should go - I said would he allow me to borrow horses from the Cab- and I pay for them – yes says he - then I will go and hire them to morrow morning - What he replied will they say of me if I allow you to go away in this way after your King sending me such a present. I said that is your palaver not mine. you cannot go that way – well says I you shall not. I will burn all my baggage and stores and go as I am on foot and see who will stop me - he stared at this – and begged that I would only stop for three days untill he got horses & I should go - I pointed out to him the N^o of times he had broke his word – he said the reason he would not appoint a day now was that he might not break his word again

Friday 3rd Fresh breezes & Cool Clear W^e

Saturday 4th Cool & hazy –⁴⁹ this afternoon I and my servant was getting the Arms in order fo the journey and I fired my pistols of[f] for the first time on the report of which our Guardian the black Eunuch come in and after stoping a while I went out with him to look at the kings house - after comming back I gave him some rum on which he went out – and comming back with a bottle insisted I should fill it [“with rum” at margin] which I would not do – he then returned bringing a N^o of women with him showed them the place where the balls had struck swore that I had fired them at him and ki[c]ked up a great noise – in the evening he went and told the king I had fired at him threatened to kill him & c^e fearing that I sh^d make a complaint against him – the king sent to me to say I should go away soon

⁴⁷ Saguda or Ogodo, see Law, *Oyo Empire*, 213.

⁴⁸ Treaty of Utrecht, signed by the European powers in April 1713 at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession.

⁴⁹ Heading “Sunday 5th” and then ignored, as Clapperton added the story about the Eunuch.

CHAPTER 4

Journal of proceedings from Katunga, or Eyeo, to Bousa on the Niger, or Quorra, the place where Mungo Park perished

[73A] **Sunday 5th** Cool & Hazy - our friend the Eunuch would not allow us wood or water to day – the King sent to say he would visit me in the after noon

Monday 6 Cool & Hazy ~ the king did not come last night and our friend M^r Ebah will not give us any more wood or water –

In the afternoon the King paid me a visit and to my surprise he said I had been threatening to Kill M^r Ebah set fire to the House [“I told him this rogue of a Eunuch had been visited by all the Cab. of the town and walked with a halt as he said I had hurt his back by beating him but he some times forgot the halt ~ he is much stronger in appearance than I am. and having been cut for Mess^r when a man he still retains his strong masculine voice but is the most arrant coward & knave I ever knew ~ to this accident [=incident?] with M^r Ebah I think I owe my getting off so soon” at margin and between lines] ~ I had fired my pistols of[f] just to clean them but as I would not give him [“Ebah” inserted] a bottle of rum when he was drunk as also every thing he saw he [had] taken upon him self to tell this abominable falsehood ~ the King was a little surprised but was ~~a little~~ still more surprised when he was told that Ebah was drunk as he has allways endeavoured to keep that a secret from the King – and as for my beating him and setting fire to the house he only laughed at the story – He then said that the Yarro messengers were ready and that I might leave to morrow or next day and that he had a present of a horse to give me – I thanked him and gave [“him” inserted] another of the umberellas & said I would go tomorrow as delays here are dang[erous]

Tuesday 7th at day light had every thing ready for Starting – at 10 A.M- had a visit from the King – and after telling me that he would send me to the King of Yaro who would foreward me to Youri – & that the greatest care would be taken of my things – and of me for which I thanked him – at 2 P.M- left the house accomp^d by M^r Houtson ~ the old King come to our house to take leave of me ~ [73] At 3 P.M. left the town - M^r H- having a very bad head ache I would not allow him to acomp[any] me out side – at 7 P.M- I halted at the Village of Assinu for the night where I had a fowel given me [all] the poor miserable place could afford -

Wednesday 8th at 6-20 A.M- left Assinu the morning dull but cool & pleasant – at 8 A.M- arrived & halted at Tshow when after having breakfast at 10 A.M- left Tshow and after traveling over very bad roads from the deep ravings [*sic*] and steep hollows – but apptly well cultivated – passed a no of ruined Villages wh they said were destroyed last year by the Fellatahs ~ at 12-45 Arrived at the town of Algi which is now rising from its ruins as it was also burnt by the last invaders and the people are just coming back and building up their ruined houses – we could get nothing to buy – but a few yams of which I made my supper – the Cab- arrived late after me but got me a decent house – I gave him a f^m of red cloth and 20 Coral beads ~ sent a letter to M^r Houtson – complaining of no messenger being sent from the King with me as his brother who is escorting me says he returns to Katunga on the Morrow or directly after he sees me from this town [“Course N. by W^{1/2}W 7 Miles to from [*sic*] Thsow [*sic*] to Algie N.W. by ^{1/2}W 8 7 N by W^{1/2}W” at margin]

Thursday 9th Light Airs & Clear – this day [we] were pestered by delays so that I could not [despite] all that I could do get the things [off] ~ [the people] of the Kings brother had had nothing to eat all night or since they had left Assinu but he got the Cab- to give me a pig – and I gave him 5 coral beads – he said he was ashamed to visit me as he had nothing to give [“poor Yourriba [= Yarro] the petty King of Kiama has a man to look after them here as the town now belongs to him” at margin]

Friday 10th Morning warm & Clear - After a great deal of delay At 8-40 A.M- left Algi – the Kings brother accomp^d me out of the town I sent a letter to Katunga with [him] [74A] desiring him to state to the King the manner he had treated me – The country divided into gentle hill & dale and well cleared and planted with Yams & Maize but I could see no inhabitants - no More granite is seen now – but on the tops of the ridges quartz and sand stone [“Course N. by W ^{1/2} W 5 Miles 4” at margin]

At 10 A.M- halted at the Village of Watatu where we got one of the best houses here. I had to halt as I have only a hired messenger – the Yaroo’s man not having come up [“Yarro is the name of the petty King of K[i]ama and the Youribanies call it after him” at margin] - this is a poor miserable place and they say that they are only just returned to there [*sic*] Miserable houses having been driven out by the Fellatahs – they ho[we]ver gave me four fowels and some Yams

Saturday 11th Cool & Cloudy during the night we had fresh breezes ~ at day break I had the King of Yourriba Kiama messengers and got every thing ready for starting – the Houssa man I had hired at Algi turned back -

At 7-30 left the Village of Wattu - I had given the 2 head men of the Villages a

fathom of blue cloth each for they had been as good as their circumstances would afford and they promised to se[nd] the things after me as soon as possible as I took a different route for the purpose of crossing the river at another place on account of the horses as they could not cross at the same place as the baggage – In about 15 Minutes after leaving Wattatu [“came to the river Moussa¹ – and this divides the Kingdom of Yourriba from that of Borgoo or Yarroo as it is called by the Yourribanies” inserted at margin] ~ it was dry in a great Many places with a very rocky bed when full about 30 yds in breadth – and runs with great force aptly- when full they say it enters the Niger opposite Niffe and is the same river I passed near [] – after crossing travled through thick woods near the banks of the river untill 8-30 When I halted at a few huts by the river side called Boru – untill the baggage [74] should come up here ~ there was a hut for a Fetish house standing near the bank of the river amongst some shady trees the grass and weeds all carefully cleared away from around it ~ the Messenger and people who were with went one after another to say for there [sic] prayers at the door of the house laying down with their face towards the door which was secured by a Mat say some thing and appearing to be as devout as christian or Mahometan at there [sic] prayers ~ I asked if I might go and look in ~ they objected to this but on asking who they prayed to they said it was the god that gave them plenty of water & Corn – there are Hippotami and crocadies in the river where it is large

[“Course to Boru ~~N. 3 Miles~~ N by W^{1/2} W 2 ~ a piece of cloth was stolen from a woman of the [] ~ [the] whole of the comm. [= community] flew to arms whⁿ [= whereupon] it was discovered sticking in the roof of the house then all was quiet – the poor crocadies eggs are eat here and the shells stuck on the top of the house by way of Or^t [= ornament] - woman came with a bowl of Accuson to My house” at margin and below]

The carriers with the baggage carried very slowly – and the heaviest loads were mostly carried by old women – and I could not help taking notice of the cold blooded ness of the young men when I insisted that they should carry the heaviest loads ~ however I made them and at 4-30 P.M- left Boru and its shady trees and mud temple ~ we travled at a very quick pace over a flat country app^{tly} not far from the river thickly wooded with fine large trees and Inhabited by the large Antilope whose traces I saw in a n^o of places – at 5-45 P.M halted in the wood near a stream of Water ~ it was quite chearfull to be again surrounded by the fires of the party in [a] wood and brought back to my recollection former times [“Course N. by W ^{1/2} W 4 Miles” at margin]

Sunday 12th Morning Warm & light clouds – at 6 AM – we left our encampment – [“Course N. by W” at margin] ~ a Messenger [arrived] from the petty

¹ Moshi.

chieftn of Kiama one of the towns [of] Borgoo to which the King of Yourriba has sent me – to foreward me on – Our road through thick woods the soil a red clay mixed with gravel – at 10 AM- halted at the ruined town of Oblah which has been [of] considerable size & Walled now only a few houses where I halted as Richard was sick - purchased a fowl - [75A] at 2 P.M- Started Richard being able to ride - we had neither Saddle or bridles for our horses but we had bridles of our own & rode bare backed – the country the same as before – at 5-45 halted at the village of *Sacka* – huts or coozies on this side the Mouss[a] like those of Bornou & Soudan not like the houses of Yourriba - here I got 4 fowels & a few yams – and the best house in the village – [“Course to Sacka N. by W 18 Miles” at margin]

Monday 13th Morning Cloudy – at Day light an Escort Arrived from the Chief of Kiama mounted on some as fine horses as I ever saw – one man of the escort had on a white cotton tobe or shirt written entir[ely] over with moorish charms which at a little distance looked like printed cotton – they were a despirate set for they began plundering the village of the goats & fowels as soon as they had paid their respects to me – I gave the head man of the village a fathom of blue cloth and 2 knives – and at 7 AM- left Sacku accomp^d by my escort who formed as fine a troop as ever I saw [“Course North 6 Miles” and “Yourriba Saluting or hunting songs” at margin] - they had brought me a saddle but Richard and Pascoe rode bare backed – and our little Yourriba mares made a sad contrast with the gallant escort but we had not plundred the village – our road lay through a country rough and uneven and forming hill & dale with rocks of quartz & sand stone – ranges of hills which we saw before coming to Oblah drawing nearer on our right

At 9 AM- arrived at the city of Kiama where we rode instantly up to the house of the chief – where after waiting under the shade of a tree for a few minutes we went up & paid our respects to the Chief or Sultan who is called Yarro² – he was sitting in the porch of his door – a stout good looking [75] Man past the middle age [“with a grey beard” at margin] dressed in a White tobe or large shirt with a red moorish cap on his head - we shook hands and after asking him how he did told him who I was and where I wished to go he said very well I had better go and rest & he would have every thing by and by – he was attended by a n^o of men laying on the ground – we took leave attended by his head man – to show me the house where I was to live which proved to be a pretty good one consisting of 3 Coozies inside a square – the Sultan whose name is Yarro sent me milk, eggs, bananas and cheese and Foo-Foo – and I was left to myself for a while –

in the afterⁿ I had a visit from the King – he come on horse back – attended by

² According to E.E. Duff and W. Hamilton-Browne, *Gazetteer of the Kontagora Province* (London: Dunstable & Watford, 1920), 29, the king of Kaiama was Mura Amali, reigned 1810-27.

a no- of Men and young female slaves naked as they were born except in beads and bangles ~ when they come into my house they put on their Cloaths or a blue cloth about the middle – he was dressed in a silk damask tobe & booted riding as beautifull a red roan as I ever saw in my life ~ when he came in & was seated he began by asking after the health of the King of Yourriba – who I said I had left very well- I then said I had been sent by the King of England to go and see Bornou that I was the Kings servant and that I hoped he would assist me in proceeding on my journey and I would make him a suitable present ~ that I wanted 36 men to assist in carrying the baggage and 2 horses – and that I wished to stay as short [a] while as possible ~~what~~ as the rains were very near and that would prevent my traveling besides being very sickly – that 3 of the white men who had come with me had already died on the road and if I was caught in the rains in this country it was more than probable I should die too – he said I was going to stay but a short time – I held out the rains and that I wished to come soon back ~ he said he w^d send me to Waw-waw from thence I would be sent to Boussa – & then across the river to Ingaski,³ & from thence to Bornou – I thanked him – he then said he would go home – when I attended him to the door – he mounted the young ladies undressed [“and he and all his band returned home” at margin]

[76A] I had a visit from a Mercht- belonging [to] Nyffe and a trader of Sheikh *Tarab*⁴ who had known me when I was in Bornou ~ they had just come from Gongga and told me that they had heard of our war with the Ashantees that it had detained them 12 months as the people were all fighting and would not buy the Goro or Kolla nuts – that the King of Ashantie was dead both father and son⁵ and they had not yet chosen a new king – and they advised me as soon as possible to leave this country as they were all Kaffirs and they would plunder me of every thing ~ by no means to go by the way of Youri as I never w^d get a way from there as they were now at war with the Fellatas and it was the greatest distan[ce] ~ to urge this man to send me off as soon as possible

Tuesday 14th Morning Cool & Clear – at 8 A-M- I waited on the King with my present which consisted of the following articles a large umbrella of silk an African sword 3 fm^s blue Cloth 3 fm^s red beads & Corals 6 pair of scissors & 6 Knives 2 Phosphorus boxes and an Imitation gold chain and 2 bottles of rum – the African sword pleased him more than any thing else – [“on giving him the sword he drew it brandishing it over his head his eyes sparkling with joy called

³ Ngaski, 15m NNE of Bussa – a walled town with a nearby ferry point on the old east-west trade route but not in use in 1826 because of rebellion in Yauri.

⁴ Malam Tirab, the close associate of al-Kanemi; see Louis Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa: A History of the al-Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 62.

⁵Asantehene Osei Bonsu (Osei Tutu Kwame) died in 1823 and Asantehene Yaw Akoto succeeded the same year. Reference to the “son” might be a confused understanding of the details of other deaths in the ruling family. See Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 330.

out Ya Baturi ya Baturi⁶ or in english oh My white lord oh my white Lord” at margin]

he is a tall raw boned fellow and his delight at seeing the sword showed he was fit to command and such well mt^d bandits as I saw yesterday – the Cloth was hauld out to its full length – the beads he shook at the naked females – as much as to say who will get this – some large [“red” inserted] beads such as the women wear about their waists [“or hair” at margin] he was certainly much pleased with and shook them at the girls – the doors were all shut and none admitted to see the presents given except his head man & the naked women – his house is in the bornou stile a N^o of coozees or huts inclosed in a square of Matting – he had a no- of spears bows & c [76] hanging about the huts of the light kind the Shafts of Bamboo loaded with iron – after the presents were all delivered and he had sent them away I again pressed the necessity of my departure which he has said should be the day after to morrow - I then took my leave and a short time after my return he sent me some milk and a sheep – [“Mn Alt^{de} of Dubhe 73 – 36 – 30 Lat^{de} 9^o-37’-33”N.” at margin]

Noon set up the barometer – the King sent me a jug [“earthen ware” at margin] to look at English made representing Toby Philpot⁷ – or a fat man laughing old man with a jug of flowing ale in his hand [“Boobuker his head man lifting the black hat off which formed a cover to the jug” at margin] and said was this man not Kafir - no says I he was a country man of mine that liked pito or country beer – where these dishes or things come from here I do not know - I have seen more these 2 days of English ware than I saw all the time I was in Yourriba –

in the evening I had a visit from the head man of the Haussa Kaffle or caravan from Gonga or Ashantee ~ they consist of nearly a 1000 people ~ he offers to carry all my things for a certain sum to Kano – he said that the King of Ashantee was dead as also his heir & that they were now without a King – that they had been detained a long time 12 Months on account of the War ~ his Name is Abdullah – a Native of Kano and he and the others have made a great N^o of inquiries about my self – ~~as I~~ and tell of my being in Bornou & Soudan of which I have to hold my tounge ~ their cargo is princp^{ly} Goro- nuts – he advised me strongly to leave the country as soon as possible [“Borgoo or *Baraghi*⁸ once subject to Bornou” at margin]

Wednesday 15 Morning Clear & Cool - I visited the Chief Yaroo this morning to press my departure ~ he was surrounded by some of his head men – [“ he had

⁶ Probably *yaya bature*, ‘hello, whiteman’; Hausa: *yaya*, ‘hello’, and *bature* (pl. *turawa*), which today refers specifically to Europeans and people of other white or light-skin colour.

⁷ A jug or mug in the form of a stout old man in a long and full coated skirt and a three-cornered hat (i.e. in English 18th-century costume).

⁸ Yoruba term for Borgu is Bariba, which was never subject to Bornou.

the pictures I gave him all stuck round his room the King at the head Duke of York next and – next a dragoon then Lord Nelson – then a lady then Duke Wellington” at margin] when he began by evasions when I asked him to go away to morrow – one of his fellows said I had given nothing to be allowed to go ~ I said I was not a merchant to have a great N^o of goods with [me] I had only a few things to [“give to the different Sultans” at margin] send me on my way to Bornou – and bring me back again - pointed out to them each separate place I would have to give a present at – then he said I Must give to the queen and the head men of the town [77A] of the place I will soon have nothing to give – that I will have to give at Wawaw Boussa Ingaskie and all the diffrent places I go through as it is proper I should give to all before I passed Ingaski – the chief then sent his people out ~~again~~ & asked me if I had any thing to sel[] ~ I said no ~ he said I must give some thing to his queen and some of his head men and I should have carriers and as he expected his Messenger from Katunga to night he being a trusty man I should have [him] to go with me to Wawaw – I said the Chief of the Kaffle had offred to take me to Kano from Wawa – and that he would buy every thing for me - oh says he [you] must not believe these stories he would leave you on the road ~ where is he to get the means to serve you – besides he is not going away yet he has not paid his dues – you shall go tomorrow or next day – on which I thanked him and took leave – on my return home I had a message from the Queen to say she wished to see me – and sent me a present of 5 yams & a fowel

at 1 I went to visit her Majesty - I first went to the Kings house where after some con^v about my going away I said I wanted to send a letter to Badagry and if he wanted a tea pot and some other things I would write for them as he had taken a great fancy to mine – the queen & the princess then came in the first old & ugly the next a 30 years wom[an] of this country or 25 - after paying them obyesance which is in the Yourriba manner I gave them one fm- red and one fm- blue cloth – some Scissors, beeds needles & some silk - the King asked me if [I]w^d take his daughter - I thanked him & said yes - after several how de doys the old women went out and I followed with the Kings head man - I went to the princess-house – which consists of several coozees separate from her fathers house – and as we were shown into a very clean one a mat spread [77] I sat down and the lady comming in I asked her whe[ther] she would live in my house ~ she said yes - I said hers was the best and I thought I should stay with her - she kept kneeling hiding her face all the time I was in the house - one of the great men came and I had to give him a present before he left 2 knives some beeds and a yard of cloth – at 8 P.M- Bubuker the Kings head man came and asked me to go and cure a son of the kings who was mad & had been so for this last 12 Mths- it was only a pretence to see what I was about as they [sic] kings spy allways leaves at Sunset –

Thursday 16 Morning calm & light flying clouds ~ I had a present of a small

lean sheep and 5 yams from the princess this morn^g and kind inquires after my health

Kiama is the capital city of a province of that name [“in the Kingdom of Borgoo” at margin] is situated in 9^o- 37’ - 33” N Lat^{de} by Mn Alt^{de} of the star Dubhe and in [] Long^{de} east of Greenwich ~ it is Governed by a Chief called Yarro at present and both province and city are often called after his name - the province is thinly inhabited and the city straggling - and ill built the houses are circular huts or what are called coozies built of clay & thatched - a no of them belong to one house & are surrounded by or inclosed by matting - the city is built on the south side of a rocky ridge and is surrounded by a low clay wall broken down in a no of places - the surrounding country is thickly wooded with few plantations they having most of their plantations inside the walls - [“I think I speak within bounds when I say that the town cont^{ms} about betⁿ 20 & 30’000 inh^{ts}” at margin] - this is one of the towns through which the Haussa & Bornou caravan passes to & from Ashantee and they squeeze a heavy sum from them every time they pass nothing regular being fixed for the merchts to pay but just as much as the Sultan can squeeze out of them

The inhabitants or [= are] pagans [“a no of Mh^m slaves follow their Religion Haussa” at margin] and have ever been looked on by all who have known them as the greatest thieves in ~~Borgou~~ Africa - to call a man a native of Borgou [Borgu] in any other country is to call him a thief [78A] & a robber and of course a Murderer - Their Government is despotic and it appears that very little protection is given to the subject particularly one town plundering another - when ever an opportunity offers - Their manner of Salutation is by prostrating on the ground but without throwing dust on the head or body - the women sit down on their knees & elbows & hold the 2 open hands before the face - [“Brazil tobacco is sold in [the] market Yams plantains Bannana milk vegetable butter Goro nuts *bananas* honey in great plenty & cheap - their horses come from Bornou” at margin] - Goorma⁹ a small country inhabited by savages lies to the North of this country and Gonja to the W.N.W- [“Kotokoli”, “between Gongga and Borgoo” at margin]

The trade of such people as the Borgoos can be but little unless thieving be a trade - the Kings son came to day a fat gross tall man - he said on my inquiry that every month he had great throbb[ing] of blood in his head attended with pain and that he lost the use of his limbs & he could not stand - that the pain then fell down into his breast and last[ed] altogether four days happening or coming on allways a few days before the new moon - I weighd him out 9 dozes of calomel of 7 G^{ms} each desiring him to take them one at a time when he felt the throbbing comming on - and if he could get bled in the head to do that also

⁹ Gurma.

– and with the assistance of god I hoped he would get well before he had taken the 9th doze – [“every night songs piping & dancing flutes Erbab¹⁰ drums all Night” v. faint at margin] – I had a visit from the princess for the purpose [of] receiving a small donation of beads – she would not sit down on the carpet or mat as her father had sat on it when he came to see me it being the custom of the country a daughter must not presume to sit where her father has sat on before – the Gov^t of the towns wives also visited me ~ one of them brought some cowries as a present to me as she said her father had been a servant to white men¹¹ – she would sleep well to night and happy as the joy or wish of her life was now accomplished – she had seen me – I received a present of a sheep 4 fowels [78] and some Yams from a young man related to the King for my advise and assistance ~ for it is quite an error [sic] to give advise and medicine for nothing If so I would never have a moments rest for patients ~~for~~ ~ I saw nothing the matter with him ~ he said he was only affraid that he was going to get the disorder his mother died of – Which he described as follows – first swellings of the eyes & ears then contracting of the toes and fingers then the flesh looking red and raw – after which she died – [“I gave him 12 papers of calomel of 2 G^m each advising him to take one every Morning” “The King has got the prints I gave him pasted on the wall of his room his Majestys at the head” at margin]

Every night we have dancing and singing ~ their music is the bornou flute the Arab fiddle drum singing & c^l - there is not the least jealousy here after women even amongst those of the moorish faith – the women are almost all – from Haussa as are Most of the principal slaves

Friday 17th Clear & Cool – this morning being the day of jama¹² of the Mohometans a day held like our sunday though they count the saturday Sabbaths like the jews – here pagans and mahometans go round [“the town” at margin] in state & pay visits - I had a visit from the Gov^t¹³ who was attended by a great rabble & 2 drums - he had on a turban over a European Foraging cap the rest of his dress was tobies of European cotton and country made cloths – I visited the King with a present of 6 wax candles and the remains of my [“red” inserted] beads of the largest size as his women are very fond of them and this is to be my last present as I am to go away to morrow – he said he would give me carriers lend me 2 horses and as I had to sleep in the woods he w^d give plenty of provisions – that his people should sleep on one side [of] the baggage at night and his [] on the other – and then when every thing went safe I could not but say Yarro was a good man ~ he got out the phosphorous boxes & Made [“me” inserted] show how to light a match and Candle – then the umberella –

¹⁰ Arabic, *erbab*; a single stringed instrument with a gourd resonator.

¹¹ Probably means Arabs.

¹² Arabic and Hausa, *juma'a*.

¹³ i.e. Bu Bakr, Yaro's principal minister.

after which [he] was requesting me to write for some gold bracelets & tea pot – and send the letter to Houtson which I had shown him ~ he said he would visit me this after noon – and I must [79A] send the things to his house to morrow morning

After the heat of the day was over the King came attended by all his train – the most extra ordinary personage in it was himself and his the bearers of his spears which were 6 naked young girls from 15 to 17 years of age ~ the only thing ~~earthly~~ they had on was a white band[e] au [“around the head” at margin] of roman cloth about 6 inches of the ends flying behind and a string of beads round their waists ~ in their right hands the[y] carried 3 light spears each – their light forms & the vivacity of their eyes and the ease with which they flew over the ground made them appear some thing more than human – as the[y] run alongside his horse when he was galloping and making his horse curvet & bound ~ a man with an immense bundle run behind the horse as if it were a magazine for the girls when their master had expend[ed] those they held in their hands – he is a stout tall good looking man with large eyes a good nose and short curly beard sits well on horse back – and was dressed in a high red Moorish cap the robe or large shirt boots & [“bright” bright] brass stirrup irons ~ his horse was bedecked with charms & small brass bells and was a fine dark bay [“he was attended by about 50 horse men arraigned As him self but without the naked Mercurys as attendants” at margin] – when he came to the door of my house he alighted and he came in and drank tea after which he returned & at his request I went to the front of his [“house” inserted] where there was some not bad ~~horse~~ racing in [a] long square formed [by] the front of his house on one side and beautiful shady trees in the other ~ the small horses of this country appear to me equal to the horses of Bornou ~ boys also rode stark naked on small young horses which was not the worst of the sport – after the racing I went & congrat^d the King

[79] **Saturday 18th** Arose at daylight & sent the Whole of the baggage to the Kings house and after break fast went up & after the whole [baggage] was provided with carriers and 2 horses one saddled for me I took leave of the King and at 8 A.M- left Kiama ~ the Haussa caravan had left before us and were to halt at another village – the road was principally through a thickly wooded country with [“large” at margin] plantations of yams near some villages that we passed the country diversified into hill & dale – the soil of a clay and Gravel with rocks & Stones here & there of a gritty sand stone with pebeles of quartz [“ Course S.E ½ S 7 Miles the road very winding” at margin] – at 11-40 halted at the villages of Bonaga where I got a good house and the King had sent forward yams & 2 goats for the Journey – the day was excessively hot and it was late in the After noon before the baggage all came up ~ the head man of the town sent me 3 large bowels of fou fu dressed with goats flesh dressed with the skin which is the serving way of this country ~ they singe the skin on the flesh –

just as I was going to bed Boo buker who had accompanied me here by the Kings order to see me safe off[f] came in to me in his shirt app^{ly} in a great fright and said that the men had run away who were to carry the things & he must ride into the town to bring them back - I thanked him and said I hoped he would make haste - he waited a little & I suspected to draw some thing out of me by way of present though I had given him more than any body else in Kiama owing to his being the Kings head man - perhaps this was the reason why he imposed further - after he went out I sent to see if he had gone to the town - he came back with the messenger and the whole [matter] came out - he said I had given nothing to the King of the Village that he was a great man and the Kings friend - he would find men if I would give him a present - I thought best to bite it and said ah you see Boo buker I have not had time to give the King a present I shall give him one in the morning when I see the things off - he went off quite pleased and so was I to think it was only a trick

[80A] Sunday 19th At day break we had every thing ready for departing but the Maneuvering of Boobuker kept me untill 7-30 A.M- and even then I had to give 3 y^{ds} of blue cloth and several strings of beads before I could get the things of[f] for I am now like a gamester throwing his last stake so near the river that had I all the world to turn back I would not do it - the road through a thickly wooded country of fine tall trees rising into [“gentle” inserted] hill & dale with little under wood [“course S.E by E^{1/2}E 8 Miles E.N.E. 7 Miles” at margin] - at 10 we fell in with the Gonga caravan they having halted to the west^d of us - there are about 400 women in this caravan all from Hausa who travel with loads on their heads and are as kind and chearfull as women at ho[me] - the Caravan consist[s] of upwards of a 1000 persons all loaded with Gora the whole belong to 3 or 4 persons who ride on horse back while the poor girls their slaves travel with a heavy load on their heads -

after 10 the road ov[er] a plain covred with trees the soil clay with gravel & occ^{ly} rocks of iron stone as if it had under gone the action of the fire

at 1-10 halted near to a small stream [“running [only in] rains” at margin] which had pools of water saw the traces of large Antilopes Buffaloes & Elephants - the latter they say they do not kill because they can get plenty of other meat and they can get nothing for the tusks - they kill the animals with poisond arrows - one will kill an Elephant in about an hour - they eat the flesh but throw away the piece round the arrow - our messenger has promised to get me some of the tree at Wawa - they tell a no of extravagant stories about its power & effects which I do not believe¹⁴

¹⁴ See detailed account of the *kwankwani* plant, the source of this poison, at entry Friday 24th March 1826.

[80] In the evening I went over to where the Hausa people were encamped to conclude a bargain with the Taga¹⁵ of the Caravan for the purpose of coming to a written agreement with him for carrying my baggage and presents from Boussa to Kano – he fought off allways saying I could conclude the bargain when I got over the river to get the Sultan of Bousa to let me go – he would take me I could conclude the bargain afterwards – then says I tell me how much per load you will carry them for if the Sultan does allow me to go and you get me on the road and you may charge what you please – if he does not let me go it will do no harm – I have nothing to fear I am a servant of the King of England and the King of Boussa will send me to the King of Yourie and I am not going to ask the ~~King~~ Gov^r of Boussa to go with you without first knowing the terms you will take me for and acquiring an agreement – says he I will send for my partner and ask his advice – his partner come Malem Mohamed or the learned a man that could not read or write but could repeat a few prayers more than the rest – he was a palavering old rouge [*sic*] who allways repeated ma dulla Ma dulla¹⁶ to every thing his partner said wh^t [= without] coming to any answer – I told them it did not require much consideration about the matter – this must be done yes or no before I see the Gov^r of Boussa – for if they do not I go direct to Youri I care not for war I am the King of Englands messenger – Abdullah the Taga or head of the Caravan then said how many loads have [“you” at margin] – I said it would require 15 bullocks or asses I would pay him at Kano as I would have what money I p^d [= pleased] from Haje Salah¹⁷ or any of the Merch^{ts} at Kano – well says he I know that we will consider of it and give you our positive answer to morrow – I began to think it was true what Yarroo the Gov^r of Kiama told me when I asked him to go with the caravan – says he are you a Merch^t if you are the King of Englands messenger you have nothing to do with them – your way is to go from one King to another and with caravans of Merchants you will find plenty of people to put evil in your hand – if you are wise do not believe them – (Abdullah returned with me to my tent and told me on the road not to say I was going [“to the Fellatahs who I asked said I was going there – no one says he – say you are going to Bornou – so I am says I I have a letter for the Sheikh¹⁸”) at margin]

[81A] **Monday 20** At 6 A.M- left our encampment our road through a woody country rising into hills & dale with some beautiful rocky M^{ts} – only in the low ground where we were encamped it was mostly clay iron stone looking as if it had passed through the fire – this is owing I thing [=think] to the softer parts

¹⁵ Perhaps Hausa, *takadda/takarda*, paper, letter; the scribe of the caravan was known as the Malam Takarda, although Clapperton describes this man as the ‘head of the caravan’, in which case his title would have been *madugu* or *jaji*; see Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980), 102.

¹⁶ Hausa, *madalla*, statement of pleasure, ‘very well’.

¹⁷ Arab merchant and al-Kanemi’s commercial agent in Kano; well known to Clapperton in 1824; see Chapter 6, p.161.

¹⁸ i.e., al-Kanemi.



Oli River

being worked away during the rains and the hard parts remain full of holes the soil ["red" inserted] clay sand and gravel

At 9-30 AM- halted at the Village of Barakina ["they are great hunters in Borgou & the village we last left & this are inhab^d by hunters only - as we arrived at this Village we met one of the inh^{bts} armed with bow & arrows & light short spear attended by three dogs half grey hound half cur of a red color with collars round their necks - it is a beautifull sight and which we seldom see but often read of - he was a bold manly looking fellow" at margin] where I stopped untill 10-30 A.M- when I left and traveling on untill Noon came to a rocky ledge forming in parts like a wall in others into romantic little mounts through a pass the road lies which is beautifully shaded with fine Majestic trees - this place I said to myself is a pass to the Niger - the rocks are of [] dipping to the south at an angle of about 40 degrees with the Zenith - at 12-30 crossed the river Oli¹⁹ ["its Courses from W.NW to ES.E - Courses N.E by E 1/2 E 14 Miles E.N.E 6 Miles" at margin] which has a very rocky chann[el] and is impassable by canoes in the rainy season at this place ["some of the rocks in the river very like basaltic pillars" at margin] - the head of the Village on its banks told me it had its rise amongst the hills to the West^d of Niki & ran to the North of Kiama & entred the Quarra below Boussa - where I crossed it was dry

¹⁹ Oli River rises just to the south of Nikki and flows into the Niger.

~ at this place the caravan is not allowed to pass or any other passengers except Kings people ~ they have to pass in a canoe further down where they have to pay 10 Cowries a head – halted at the village of Bila on the South side of the river – there I preferred halting under a tree to a house for the coolness – the head of the Village brought me a sheep some yams milk & honey & the head of the Village Barakina followed me to this place with the same – Alligators are plenty²⁰ here as one of the carriers going to bring water was chased off by one ~ parrots paraquets & plenty of game – in the evening the whole of the horses were lost wither to extract a present or not I do not know

[81] **Tuesday 21st** the Night was hazy whither from the evaporation from this river or not I know not but not a star was to be seen ~ I imagined as I could not sleep that it might be the evaporation from the Niger – It was 8 A.M- before the horses were brought back & I sent all the things of[f] except 3 boxes ~ the carriers having gone back without leave I gave them in charge of the head of the Village who promised to forward them - I gave him and the head man of the village of Barakina 2 yards of cloth each with a knife and a few beads with which they were very well pleased – an escort of 4 horse men arrived to escort me to Wawa – but the goro nuts of the Hausa Merch^{ts} was likely to detain them & me & I told [them] I should ride easy and on no account enter the town without them and at 8-30 I left the Village of ~~bla~~ [“Ibella” at the margin] and riding over a plain in a great many places cultivated and planted with yams & corn at 10 AM. halted under a tree close to the walls of Wawa for the Escort [“Course N.E. 1/2 E 6 Miles” at margin] ~ they come up in a short time and I proceeded with them into the town to the gate of the Gov^t house [waited] under a tree for upwards of an hour ~ I told Yarros messengers that if I was kept longer I should return to Kiama if he kept me longer waiting outside ~ that I was the King of England’s Messenger and that I must not be kept waiting outside of any door ~ so [a]long they went & told him ~ he sent out to say he was dressing and would be out directly

in a few minutes a n^o of men come out and sat down in 2 rows on each side the gate then a high stool was brought out after which the great man came slowly out of the gate with a long staff[f] in his hand and seated him self on the stool ~ he sent for me & I dismounted went up & shook hands ~ he kept his hand wrapped up in the tobe all the time for fear my touch should infect him – I told him at once who I was & what I wanted – he said every thing I wished should be done and said I must be fatigued with my journey and I should see him to morrow – I was shown to a very good house – but found it excep^tly hot – the ther^m has been higher to day than it has been since I have been in Africa this time being as high as 105 of Farnheit – I received a present of a goat asses milk honey and eggs from the King and the same from his head man – I was

²⁰ Crocodiles, not alligators.

surprised with a visit from the King of Dahomeys Messenger²¹ ~ I thought that all my hopes were blasted and that they had been sent to stop my further progress – I kept an unruffled face & in a moment formed my resolutions – but the cloud was soon dispelled by their saying they were going home and that they heard [82A] white men [were] here & that they come to pay their respects to me ~ they had been in Youri & had been 12 month from Dahomey & had been trying to get a camel for the King but could not – they brought 2 guns to salute me & had been here 12 days

I am lodged in the house of a widow whose husband was one of the Gov^{ts} head men – she was [“the “ inserted] only one who had had children and was not taken by the Gov^t – she wears a rope round her neck another round her waist and one round her head untill she gets another husband but I doubt this will be untill she dies [“she will wear the weeds untill she dies” at margin] she is pot bellied and ugly ~ I had a visit amongst the N^o in the ev^{ms} from the daughter of an Arab who is very rich a widow very fair & wants a white husband and is the richest person in the place having a good house the best in the town and a 1000 slaves ~ she showed a great regard for my servant Richard who is younger and better looking than I am – but she was past her 20th fat and a perfect turkish beauty just as large as a walking water but[t] and all her arts were unavailing ~ Richard could not be induced by her to visit her though he had my permission

Wednesday 22nd Morning clear & Warm ~ I went after sending to say I was ready to give the Gov^t a present I went to his house accompanied by his head man and gave him 7 y^{ds} red cloth 7 Blue a phosphrous box 7 yds silk an umberella and 10 strings of beads – after showing them off to the greatest advantage which is a very necessary thing – I sat down and told him what I have told all [= every one] I have seen & what has been so often repeated – he said there were 2 roads one when there was war the other [when there was] peace ~ the one when there was war was by Youri that the King of that country was out fighting the Fallatahs ~ the other by the way the Merchant[s] went – that was safe and he would advise me to go by that road ~ I thanked him & said I would follow his advice that I had nothing to do with war – says he you are come to make peace [82] amongst all people and make the Kings leave off[f] war – I said god willing I would do what I could ~ this opinion is strongly [held] amongst all the people who I have seen and the Dahomey people and the people from the coast knowing we prevent the slave trade I think must have originated it – he said he should send to the Gov^t of Boussa and tell him to send me by the way of the Mercht^s as the other road was bad ~ that he had never had such a present from any one before and that I should go and see any thing I pleased

²¹ Clapperton thought they were representatives of King Gezo; it transpired that they were mercenaries and slave dealers.

I told him that 3 white men who were with me before had died upon the road - that I was affraid to be caught in the rains in this country or Haussa - that Bornou was a dry country & that there I was safe - he ~~was~~ is a thin spare old man had on a cap like a foraging cap with some of the Stewart tartan ribbon in several folds arround it a tobe or loose shirt Kaftan of Moorish make though manchester striped cotton and a pair of sandalls on his feet - his house is inside a large square Wall consisting of cooizes [*sic*] or ["circular thatched" inserted] huts and one square clay tower the wal[ls] with little elevations surmounted by ostrich eggs - as are also all the tops of the huts - the one the Gov^t had [had] nothing particular in it except the stool on which he sat - which had carved 2 lizards in Bas relief on the top and the heads and necks of 2 formed hand^s [= handles] for conveying the stool - after returning home I had numerous visitors with ["presents of" at margin] strong drink jars of Rums of fermented juice of the Palm tree pito & none of which I would accept - as I am abstemious amongst them as a true believer and none do I allow to come in to the servts- - but M^m Ali though a Mahometan ["Suac²² Arab" at margin] whose freedom I purchased at Badagry all my authority can not keep him sober - he lies is a thief and very lazy - They are the most roaring drinking set in this place I ever saw - last night untill near morning nothing was to be heard but fiddles castanets Guitars arab, & singing - acording to the Messengers promise he brought some of the leaves of the tree or bush called by them Congkonee ["Congkonie poison Bush" at margin]²³ from the seeds of which the natives get the poison for their arrows - from the leaves and branches exudes a resinous gum that sticks to the fingers the flower is small and white with a very long [] - the seeds are inclosed in a long case surrounded by [83A] a sillky substance - the seeds are boiled untill they thicken into a black paste before they are put on the arrows - they say they are also a deadly poison if taken inwardly - the seeds I have got are in the case & dried

["Ther. 9[o'clock] - N[oo]n - 3o'clock
85 96 103" at margin]

the King of Dahomeys Messengers came to me in the evening and told me they wished to speak to me and said they wished to speak to me privatly - I sent Pascoe to one side with them & when he come back they said they must say it to my self only - they come and told me they had been in Youri 5 Months assisting the King of that country against the Fellatahs - that if I either regarded my safety or wished to go further I ought not to take that road - as I would never get on - that they had had the brunt of all the battles and that all their guns but 2 were ruined that they were now on their way back but expect to come with a larger force after the rains - they say that Nikki the capital of Borgoo is 15 days from Dahomey ["that there is high hills on the road near to Niki & bet^m

²² Shuwa.

²³ See detailed description at entry 24th March.

Dahomey & Niki” at margin] that the two kingdoms join together and that Niki is 5 days from Kiama that the 2 king doms Borgoo & Dahomey Join ~ that they left the Mahee country on the left hand when they come from Dahomey [“Gurma a large country to the North of Borgoo 30 days to the North of this place Infidels” at margin] ~ that it is from Dahomey by the way of Borgoo that all the rum and European articles go to Hausa which I believe to be true as in this town they have abundance of rum pewter dishes and earthen ware & none of which I saw in Yourriba – they begged I would send a letter by them to say I had met them which I do to morrow – they are much superiour looking men to people of this country and from their knowledge of White men and their also being strangers they have been very civil to me – they are well treated by the natives – but they also have a poor opinion of the courage and behaviour of the people of Youri and all the people in this country and say with a few men [“they” inserted] could take them all -

After noon thunder & lightning and the night cloudy

[83] Thursday 23rd Cloudy & Warm - I have heard various stories at different places on the road of the fate of the late unfortunate and enterprizing traveler Mungo Park and his companions none of which I considered worth relating untill I heard this from the Gov^l head man of this town – but they all agree in asking me if I am not going to take up the vessel which they [say] still remains –

the head man’s story was this ~ that the boat stuck between 2 rocks that 4 anchors were ahead that the water falls down from the rocks and that the white men in attempting to get on shore were drowned - that crowds of people went to look at them but the white men did not shoot at them – and the Natives were too much fright^{ed} to shoot at them or assist them ~ that they found a great many things in the boat books & which are in the hands of the Gov^l of Boussa that beef cut in slices and Salt was in great plenty in the boat ~ that the natives eat of it and all who eat of it had died because ~~we white~~ it was human flesh and that we white men eat human flesh - the Mess^l of Yarro told them I was more nice in my eating than the people here was but it was with some difficulty I could persuade the head man that it was the peoples own fears that had killed them ~ that the meat the people had eaten was good salted beef or mutton that I had eaten more goats flesh since I had been in this country than I had ever done in my life ~ before that in my own country I eat nothing but fowels beef & Mutton –

the women here are marked on the body in the manner of the lace on a Hussar jac[k]et ~ in some it is truly disgusting where the flesh – has been long in healing

The widow Zuma has been kind enough to send me provisions ever since I have

been here in great abundance - now that she has failed with Richard she offered Pascoe a handsome female slave if he could manage to bring about matters with me - I not being afraid of my self & wanting to see the interior arrangement of her house went & visited her - her house large and full of male and female slaves the males laying about the outer ["the male slaves" at margin] huts the females more in the interior - in the centre was a large square hut surrounded by a verandah with screens of matting all round excepting in one place where there was hung a ["re tanned" at margin] bullocks hide - to this place I was led up and on its being drawn on one side ~~for~~ There I saw the Lady who had been sitting behind [84A] the hide revealed sitting cross legged on a Small turkey carpet like our hearth rugs a large cushion under her left knee her goro pot which was an English pewter mug a calabash of water to wash her mouth out as she kept alternately chewing snuff or Goro nuts which [is] the custom with all ranks male & female who can procure them the snuff they all must have - on her right side lay a whip - at a little distance ["squatted on the ground sat" at margin] a dwarfish hump backed female slave with a wide mouth but good eyes dressed in beads & coral - with no other covering but the beads around her neck and waist - this personage served the purpose of a bell in our country - the lady her self was dressed in a white coarse muslim turban her neck profusely decorated with neck laces of coral & gold chains amongst which was a necklace of rubies and gold beads alternately - she had one of the finest country cloths wrapped round her which come up as high as her tremendous breasts ["her eyebrows and eye lashes blacked" at margin] - her legs and feet were bare and in her right ["hand" inserted] was a fan of a square form made of plaited colored glass - she desired me to sit down beside her on the carpet which I did - she began fanning me and sent hunch back to bring out her finery which consisted of 4 gold bracelets corals and a large paper dressing case with looking glasses with various other trifling articles

after a n^o of compliments & telling me her wealth - I was led through one apartment into an other inner one cool clean ["and the walls" at margin] ornamented with pewter dishes and bright brass pans - here she told me her husband had been dead these last 10 years that she had only one son who was darker than her self - She loved white men and she would go to Boussa with ["me" inserted] that she would send for a Malem (or man of learning) and read the Fatha²⁴ with ["me" inserted] - this I thought was carrying the joke too far and I began to look very serious - on which she sent for the looking glass and first looking at herself and then offering it to me said to be sure she was rather older than me but very little & what of that - this was too much & I made my retreat as soon as I could determined [=determined] never to come to such close quarters with her again - in the night squally & Cloudy with thr. lightning & rain

²⁴ Arabic, *fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an.

[84] **Friday 24th** cloudy with [“a few drops rain ~ Ther 75 – 99 – 102” inserted] amongst my numerous visitors this Morning I had a traveling musician attended by three boys – his instrument²⁵ was a violin strung with horse hair not in single hairs but a bunch of a bout $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch round the bow of the same ~ the body was made of half a gourd or calabash coverd with the skin of the Guana²⁶ stretched tightly over the top on it ~ the bri[d]ge was fixed which consisted of 2 cross pieces of stick – the neck was about 2 feet long ornamented with plates of brass and had a knob of hollow brass at the head – to this instrument was hung a diminutive pair of sandals to denote his traveling occupation a piece of [“Natron” at margin] trona cowries & Stripes of cloth - [he] said he would take any thing that was given to him – the 3 boys had gourds with small stones or beens in them with which they kept time by holding them in one hand & beating them against the other – the Musician himself was past the middle age his beard being tinged with grey and neither too long or too short ~ his face more inclining to long than oval with a slightly hooked nose his fore head high his eye large & [one word illeg.] and clear with an expression half the rogue & half a merry one and when he sang look[ed] some times sublime ~ his mouth & teeth were good & his voice clear & Melodious ~ his dress was what in England would be called a degree better than shabby gentile [=genteel] - his height was middle size ~ he accompanied his instrument with his voice the boys joining in chorous - his songs were ex tempory & I w^d have taken it down but it was about my self [“to me Magazee”²⁷ at margin] and on a no- of visitors comming I gave him 50 cowries & sent him away rejoicing – I received a sheep yams & Milk a goat yams a guinea cock rice & eggs – [“Wind S.W Cloudy” at margin]

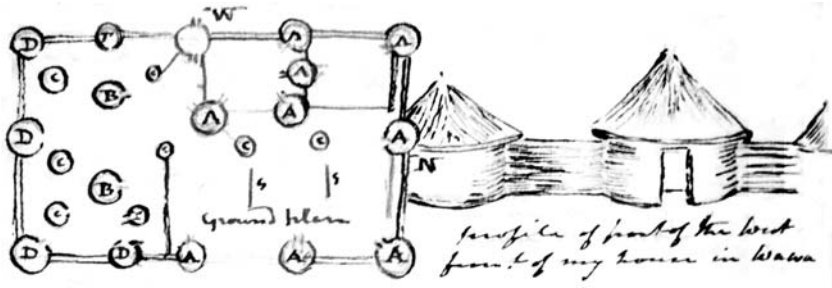
This morning I went out to see the Kongamie tree²⁸ from the seeds of which they extract the poison for their arrows [of] which they relate many marvelous stories and say that the poison is fatal either taken internaly or in a wound - that they eat the flesh of animals killed by such arrows but through [*sic*] away the part next the arrow which is genearily putrid & the blood cogulate throughout the whole Animal – the tree is a parasite about the thickness of a mans thigh at the root from which it shoots up several stems which ascend the large [“tree” inserted] at the root of which it grows twisting itself round the stem & branches to the top of the tree ~ the bark of the young branches is like the darkest of the hazel kind of [*sic*] ~ the stem small & whitish like ash - [85A] the flower which is now fading has 5 leaves tapering to a point from which they have a string

²⁵ Probably the *garaya*.

²⁶ Iguana.

²⁷ Hausa: *Magaji*, a title.

²⁸ *Strophanthus hispidus*, Hausa, *kwankwani*, a species of forest liana that grows widely in West and Central Africa from sea level to 1,600m. The poison extracted from the seeds was used for hunting and in war. The most toxic elements are glucosides which, working through the blood stream, affect the muscles, especially the heart. A single seed contains a sufficient dose to cause permanent contraction in animals and humans. The flesh around the arrow wound in animals is cut away and the rest of the animal can be eaten (Personal communication from Dr. H. Beentje, Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew).



Clapperton's house in Wawa – ADM 55/11, f. 86A

about 2 inches in length the flower about the size of our primrose – but of a darker color – the leaves are rough & furry exuding a gum that stick to the fingers – the part which grows from the flower & contains the seed I have got dried – it is about 1½ foot in length & 1½ in or 2 inches in circumference at the thickest part – the ends are like curry seeds but thinner of a [“light” inserted] brown color contained in a silky or cotton substance – the seeds are boile[d] untill they assume the consistence of a black paste wh^a [“they it” inserted] are fit for use & put on the Arrows –

I got 5 Aligators eggs sent me by the ~~real~~ Gov^l – they are only eat by the great as poor people cannot procure them – they come from the banks of the Niger – they are as large as a goose's egg but not so thick – The Toja or chief of the Haussa caravan waited upon me ~~yesterday~~ but he appeared still to be as far from coming to a final arrangement as ever saying he could not say how much he could do it for untill he saw whither I was to go with him or not – I told him it was very easily said and untill he told me I would not apply to the Gov^l to go with him – he said he wanted half the money here – not a farthing says I and all future affairs between you and I [“must go by this understanding” at margin] – [I] will not give one farthing untill I am at Kano when the day after I arrive you shall have your money in cowries – if you wish to make any bargin with me it must be with this understanding – I have no money here – well says he I will come to morrow and see your things and come to a written agreement about the price – half the money [“now” inserted] – this man must take me for a fool – I will sooner stay here all the rains than let him have it & then leave me in the lurch [“Wind S.W” at margin]

Saturday 25th Clear & Warm – at Noon the Taja visited me when after a great deal of maneauvering on his part I came to the following bargin with [“him” inserted] that he is to carry all my baggage & stores to Kano for 200.000 cowries – I also found out that he does not go to Boussa but crosses the river at Kulfu²⁹ – goes through part of Nyffe – The Gov^l of Bousa is the King of

²⁹ Clapperton crossed the Niger at Komi on his way to Kulfo located on Maingyara River.

Borgoo's brother ["not his brother but a native of Boussa & a son of the late King called his brother as being equal to him in power & owing allegiance & paying custom" at margin] and all this part of the country is nominally under him ~ I must therefore see him personally – and make him a present ~ my baggage & servants go the way of Kolfu ~~with the baggage~~ ~ I have no alternative but this or Youri – I afterwards went to the Gov^t & acquainted him with the arrangement I had made who promises to send [85] a messenger with me to Boussa & another to see my servants & baggage safe to Kulfoo ~ if all is ["as" inserted] they say it will be right if otherwise I must just be ready for it ~ by Boussa I will see where Park & Martin³⁰ died & perhaps get their papers ~ if I am detained my servants go on with the toga and I have left directions for them how to proceed – in the event of my death or other accidents – in the afternoon I received a sheep yams & a goat from the king with yams sheep & honey from his brother ["Wind S.W & Clear Ther 76 – 102 – 104 night Cloudy" at margin]

Sunday 26th Morning light & flying clouds but warm ["Ther 75 – 100 – 104" at margin] ~ every night since I have been here I have kept watch to get the Meridian alti^{de} of some star but from the cloudiness of the Atmosph[ere] which begining to over cast at sunset all my endeavours have been in effectual & in the day the sun has too high an alt^{de} to be taken by the artific[i]al horizon – in inquiring again to day of the same person the King's head man about the fate of poor Park & Martin he said they did fire arrows at them but not untill guns had been fired at them ~ in all the other part he agreed as before but added the boat came up every Friday that is their sunday –

there [*sic*] manner of burial he told me was to dig a deep round hole like a well ~ the corpse is put in the hole in a sitting posture with the wrists bound tight round the neck the legs bent & then the thighs Legs & arms bound tight round the body – the grave is made in the deceaseds house & his horse and dog are killed to *serve* him in the next world – Mohamitans are buried in their usu[a]l fashion & have a bur[y]ing ground on the East side of the town in side the Walls

Wawa the Capital of the province of the same name is in Lat^{de} 9 – 53 – 54" N. Long^{de} [] – it is walled round with a good strong clay wall & dry ditch ~ it is one of the neatest & most compact and best walled town I have seen between this & Badagry – the streets are wide spacious & airy ~ the houses of the coozie or circular hut form the huts of each house being contained by a wall – which form an airy & open space inside & does not take away from ["but adds to"]

³⁰ On his second expedition to Africa in 1805, Mungo Park was accompanied by two officers whom he chose (George Scott and Alexander Anderson, his brother-in-law), John Martyn (a 20 year old Lieutenant in the Royal African Colonial Corps as a volunteer), and 35 soldiers and two sailors recruited at Gorée. By the time of the final journey by boat down the Niger from Sansani (Sansanding), all but five had perished. When the party reached Bussa, Park was thus accompanied by only John Martyn, three soldiers, one of whom was crazed, and a guide. See Bovill, *Niger Explored*, 7-31.



Wawa

inserted] the appearance of the houses ~ one of the coozees next the street has 2 doors which forms an entrance into the square to where the other coozies open – the plan of the one I had I give [86A] and as all the houses in the town are alike a fair pic[ture] of the lodgings of the city of Wawa may [“be” inserted] formed ~ the house of the Gov^t is different being surrounded by a wall of clay about 30 feet high in the form of a square having large coozee shady trees & a square tower inside [sketched ground plan of houses]³¹

their marriges are very simple ~ the pagans make up Matters with the girl give the father or mother a present and the Mohametonns read the Fatha & Make a present and read it again & part when tired of one another – The virtue of chastity does not exist I believe in Wawa ~ even the widow Zuma lets out her hand maids for hire like the rest of the people in the town ~ neither is sobriety held as one [= a virtue] ~ I never was in a place in my life where drunkenness was so general – King priest and lay man & even some of the ladies ~ I was pestered for 3 or 4 days with visits & messages from the Gov^{ts} daughter who used to come 2 or three times daily painted & bedizend³² off but allways half tipsy ~ I could only get rid of her by telling her that I prayed and looked at the

³¹ The sketch includes ‘ground plan, profile of part of the front of my house in Wawa’ and indicates sleeping & sitting rooms, stables, little houses for holding grain, houses of the slaves, house for fowels, house of ease, places for cooking’.

³² To dress out, esp. with vulgar finery.

stars all night - never drank any thing but Loa in Zafu³³ – which they call my tea - she always departed in tears – Not withstanding their want of chastity & Dru[nkeness] they are a merry people & have behaved well to me – They appear to have plenty of the necessary of life and a great many of the luxuries [“some “ at margin] which they wd be better without - this being the direct road [“from Haussa and Nyffe to Gongga – Dahomey & Jannah” at margin] at present & since the war with the Fellatahs & people of Yourriba they have plenty of Europeand [*sic*] articles such as pewter jugs dishes [86] Copper pans manchester cottons &£ - they have abundance of slaves – their Fruits are limes plantains & Bananas Yams Indian corn guinea corn – a great abundance fish also they have in great quantities from the niger – Their horses that are most prized come from Borno - the proper horses are the small country breed - sheep & Oxen are in great plenty and the Wiled [*sic*] animals are the Elephant Buffaloe and all other sorts of game are in great plenty as also birds - Domestic fowels are plenty and cheep – honey bees wax also is in great plenty - Ivory and ostrich feathers might be found in great abundance they say (& I believe them) but they can get no sale for them - all together it appears to me a very plentiful country and what is rare not a common beggar – the articles they would take in exchange would be beads brass bracelets for the arms & legs manchester cottons of gaudy patrens [*sic*] white calico earthen & pewter dishes –

Their arms are bows arrows poisend & light spears - they say they do not like war but appear to be very tenaceous in [not] permitting interference with their country and like the Fellatahs better than their Neighbour Yarro of whom they are very jealous - they have a good character for honesty are chearfull & good natured & hospitable and no people in Africa are so ready to give information about the country &£ as they are – they deny the Borgoo origin³⁴ and say they are descended from the people of Nyffe & Haussa - their language is a dialect of the Yariba³⁵ – but their women are far better looking being like the Haussa and very good looking - the men are the same – but are rather debauched looking – their religion is a loose Mohamadonism the most pious of which can only say their prayers and are called Malem or learned - the rest are called pagans but what they worship it is hard to tell except that that they pray to god & offer sheep dogs & sometimes a bullock – a woman is sent to the market & sold if when she has a child at the breast she knows a man she in addition loses her child and gets a beating

In this country as well as in all the others between this & the sea I have met with Tribes of Fellatahs some of wh^m not Mahometons but are the same people calling thems^{ls} Fellatahs speaking the same language following the some pastoral life the same features & Color which in those who have not crossed the

³³ Hausa, *ruwan zafi*.

³⁴ Apparently a reference to the distinction between Baru and Boko.

³⁵ An error: the people of Wawa speak Boko, as at Bussa, which is not a dialect of Yoruba.

breed [is] as fair as the lower class of Portuguese & Spaniards without one characteristic of the Negroes whatever

[87A] Monday 27th Cloudy & Warm [“Win[d] S.W & cloudy

6 [AM] n[oon] 3 PM-
 Ther- 84 – 95 – 102 ” at margin]

received a present of a goat yams 2 fowels & milk from the brother of the Gov^I who has got a sore leg & wishes me to come & see him – in the Afternoon we had thunder Lightning & rain - I took the opportunity of waiting on the Gov^I to press my departure as the Toja is rather too slack for me – I asked him if he could not send me to Koolfu to morrow as he saw now the rains were close at hand – oh says [he] # they will not set in these 2 months it is allways this before the rains - I said that no one knew the seasons better than I did and that if I traveled as Slow as I had done of late I would be caught by the rains in Haussa and I might as well have a sword in my breast – he said he would send for the Toya to night and give me into his charge - I said that I must go to Boussa and make a present to the Gov^I that if I did not he would say [“a” inserted] white man has passed through my country without paying his respects or giving me a present - thi[s] would be like going out like a thief not like the Messenger of the King of England - very proper says he I shall send a messenger with you to request he will not detain you you must send all your things up to my house - I will give them & your servants in charge of the Toya – and all will go well & my messenger shall accompany them to Kolfu – Sometimes Koolfie & Kolfa –

he then began asking me if Englishmen would come there - yes says I if you use them as well as you have done me - there is now a Doctor on his way to join me from Dahomey you I hope will be kind to him - he said he would be glad to see him and would fore ward him on to me – I asked him if this country or Borgoo owed an allejance to Yourriba - he said none and laughed at the idea - he said that he owed allegiance to Boussa – as also to Youri – that they were parted from Borgoo by the brook at which I halted on the day after leaving Kiama and that this province extended down as far south as Rakah – That Kiama had no allejance to Yourriba but to Borgoo – and he believed they could take Youriba if they chose but added he the Fellatahs will soon have it - I asked him if he thought the King of Boussa would give me the books that were found in the boat - he said if there were any I would get them – he told me the same story his head man had told me of that affair

[87] Tuesday 28th Morning cool & Clear - I visited one of the Gov^{ES} brothers this morning who had a sore leg & would not come & see me - he had had it since the last rains – his left ancle was swelled & ulcerated and the leg thin & wasted - he could move his toes very well but he said he got very little rest for

the severe pain ~ I directed him to wash it night & morning with warm water & new milk to apply poultices night & day untill the swelling & inflammation had gone down and when that was done to apply [a] sof[t] rag with clean fat over it that he must refrain all together from strong waters & palm wine or it never would get well – he sent me a present of a sheep 4 fowels Milk & honey – and a request for another brother to have permission to see me who also brought a present of fowels & yams & ^c ~ got every thing ready for starting to Boussa to morrow at day break but the Toja is working against me and I doubt I will not be able to get off – as I have just learnt that he does not leave this [place] untill Saturday next – and wishes to detain me ~ also the sky being clear before the Moon rose I was enabled to get the meridian alt^de of Dubhe

S.W Ther 83 – 96 – 101

Mn Alt^de Dubhe 74 – 29 – 30
 1 – 45
 74 – 57 – 45
 37 – 28 – 52

Wednesday 29th Cloudy & Warm – no going to Boussa to day I accordly sent to the Gov^r and told him that as the Toja was going on saturday I certainly could ~~aeep~~ go to Boussa and be at the river side When my things passed over ~ that I wanted to stop a day or 2 there to make observations and that the King of Boussa would detain me there 3 or 4 days at least – he hummed & haad a good deal & then said I had better wait untill my baggage went of[f] ~ who was going to take charge of it I said my servants – and I asked him to give them a Messenger & lend me a horse all of which he said he would do at day light next morning & my baggage & stores should be carried to Kolfu ~ I made him a present of one of my own Turbans & some beeds [“he showed me 2 scraps of satin which he said had belonged to his father and asked if I could give him any like it ~ I said I w^d send for some as I had none” at margin] – on my return home Pascoe had been at the Widows and brought the following bad news – that he had seen a messenger of the King of Youries who had just arrived and said that I was expected at Youri ~ that the King³⁶ had 3 boats at Boussa waiting for me – I trust it is only a trick of the Toja & the Gov^r to detain me a few days longer untill the Toja is ready

[88A] Thursday 30th – having had every thing ready for starting at Day light I went and took leave of the Gov^r who repeated his promises of sending my baggage on to Koolfu – on my return from the Gov^r I met a message [sic] from the King of Boussa who had come for me ~ he said he would just wait on the Govr & deliver a message & follow me – at 7-30 A.M- I left Wawa mou^d on

³⁶ Muhammad Bashiru ‘dan Ayi, reigned 1799-1829; Duff and Hamilton-Browne, *Gazetteer of Kontagora*, 20.

an old roan Mare of the Gov^{ts} on a good road leading through a woody country with occ^{ly} plantations of yams & Indian corn – at 8.30 A.M. passed a village called Bajiba about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile from the South ~~West~~ side of a range of low rocky hills running in a direction from E.S.E to W.S.W. the rocks com[p]osed of pudding stone the [“white” inserted] quartz pebles of which were square pieces not rounded and imbeded in a gray substance ~ at the end of an opening in these hills was a beautiful rocky sugar loaf mountain³⁷ over looking all the rest & bearing from the Village E. by S. [“Dist $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile” at margin] ~ this I presumed to call mount George after his present Majesty George the 4th ~ after passing the Village and entering the hills I found the vallies well cultivated but the road rocky & winding

at 10 A.M. came to the village of Injum, ~~belonging~~ the first belonging to Boussa – here the Boussa Messenger stoped to get his breakfast ~ this village is on the N.E side of the hills – amongst the spectators who come to look at me was a woman whose face [“neck” inserted] right breast and part of her right arm was covred with a scurf like a person very ill with the small pox – the sides of the scurf was bare & raw & inflamed ~ this is the disorder the young man’s mother died off [*sic*] who I gave the medicine [to] at Kiama – when it gets to the fingers & toes they drop off first contracting & then the unfortunate person is relieved by death – as they have no cure for it I called her to me & asked her if she suffered much pain – she said no – nor did it itch ~ she sent for a yam & offred it to me as she said my looking at her would do her good ~ at 10.30 the Bouss[a] messenger having got his breakfast we left Injum ~ he gave me his horse to ride as I could not get the Wawa Mare to go on without a great deal of beating – at 12.30 halted at the side of a brook to water the horses ~ here ends the hills and the pudding stone & quartz of which they are com[p]osed and the ~~country~~ [“rocks” inserted] are now a [“dark” inserted] gray slate which moulders away the soil a strong clay & mould – with depp [= deep] gullies fm^d by the rains

at 1 P.M left the brook – the country [88] thickly wooded with trees – with traces of Elephants Buffaloes & ^c ~ great N^o of the Acacia & Mimosa trees a n^o of which the Elephants had thrown down and the larger kind of antelope called in Bornou corigum³⁸ are numerous – at 2.40 P.M- halted at [a] village of the Kumbi or Cumbie³⁹ a race of Kaffirs inhabiting both sides of the river ~ they made a great difficulty to give us a drink of water – so I m^{td} [= mounted] & left them – at 3.30 P.M- arrived at the Banks of the Menai a Branch of the niger or Quarra close to its junction with a second branch [“Courses E by N 4 Miles to Bajiba M^t George SE- $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile N.E by E 5 Miles to Injum N.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E 5 to a brook on the ~~Eas~~ N & E side of the hills N.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E 6 to the river Menai” at margin]

³⁷ Aikina Hill (201m).

³⁸ *Damaliscus lunatus korrigum*, Kanuri, *kargum*; also known as the Western Hartebeest.

³⁹ i.e., Kambari.

The Menai is about 20 yds in breadth and about 2 fms in depth – the current hardly perceptible – that of the other branch into which it runs being about 30 or 40 yds broad with a strong current about 4 Knots throwing a back water up the Menai ~ the Isl.d on the other side of it low and swampy ~ the color of both the streams red & muddy as if in flood but the messenger on my asking if that was the case said no that it was now at its lowest mark that in the rainy season it ran to a mark on the bank about 15 feet higher than its present levels – the trees on the bank are now awash and the strength of the current was breaking the branches of [f] which were floating down the river – but they certainly must know best whether it is rising or not ~ had I not made enquiry I would have said it was –

the canoe being on the other side – the messenger strip[ed] & swam over for it and about a quarter of an hour's ride after crossing the Menai I entered the Walls ["W [=West]" inserted] Gate of Boussa ~ the walls are very extensive and are under repair at present ~ bands of male and female slaves with drums ["& flutes" inserted] before them ["& singing in chorus" at margin] were passing to & from the river to the wall with water to mix with the clay they were repairing the walls with ~ each great man has a part of the wall to build opposite the part he lives – I was much surprised after entering the walls to see only clusters of huts here & there & no regular town ~ I remained under the shade of a tree until the messenger acquainted the King of my arrival ~ on his return I accompanied him to the King who was sitting under a small projection of his the verandah which surrounded his coozees ~ his Midaki⁴⁰ or principal wife was alongside of him ~ I had been advised⁴¹ to pay particular attention to her as she is every thing with the King⁴² – he received me very kindly – and said the King of Youri had had 7 boats waiting for me ["& my baggage" at margin] for these 7 days past to take me up the river to Youri – I said I was much obliged to the King of Youri but I did not intend going that way as the War [89A] with the Fellatahs had prevented any communicat[ion] with Bornou & Youri – that with his permission I would go by way of Koolfie where there was no war ~ he said I was right that it was good for me that I had come to see him that I should take what path I chose – we then parted he ordering his head man to take me to his house ~ he would have acc^d me himself but the Midaki pulled him back & she all the time I was there appeared as prompter ~ he is a fine looking young man about 25 or 26 years of age about 5 feet 10 inches high – Roman nose fine forehead & eyes decent lips good teeth with about an inch & a half of beard on the

⁴⁰ In this case, *Ma'daki* is the name given to the principal wife of a paramount official, although it is also a female name for any woman called A'isha. Clapperton's Remark Book [f. 144] records a first impression of this woman, who clearly was the 'principal wife' and 'she they [say] is every thing in Boussa – or as they say in Scot^d the Gray Mare is the better horse ... the Midaki has been his nurse I think as she is old enough to be so'.

⁴¹ By the widow Zuma, according to the published text, p. 98.

⁴² Muhammad Kitoro, reigned 1793-1835; see Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 584; and Browne, *Gazetteer of Kontagora*, 27.

top of the chin ~ more of a spare than robust make [“his color is jet black” at margin] ~ he was dressed in a white robe striped Moorish kaftan & red cap ~ the Midaki appears older than him below the middle size – with nothing beautiful but her voice and a winning way with her generally sitting on his left side a little behind him with her arm half around his neck – his house does not differ from that of other people except the huts being large & surmounted by ostrich eggs – I had a very good house & was sent abundance of milk honey yams eggs a sheep and some rice & fish

Friday 31st Morning cool with light flying clouds - at 8 AM I waited on the King with my present which consisted of 8 yds red cloth 8 yds blue 8 yds silk – umbrella Sword 3 pairs of white cotton stockings & gloves 2 phosphorus boxes 3 knives & 3 pairs of scissors – mock gold chain & beads for the Midaki ~ I displayed my present to the greatest advantage and explained the uses of the different articles – the sword he was delighted with & the chain I saw had won the Midaki ~ She after putting [it] around her own neck took it off [f] & put it around his ~ on the whole the present appeared to have the effect I wished – after [“giving me many thanks” inserted] the presents were taken away he began talking again of Youri ~ said that Yarrou of Kiama had sent to say I was going there ~ I said I should have gone there but I should leave that visit until I come back that the rains were now at hand ~ that by that way there was war & I could not get to Bornou before the rains that remaining at Youri or Haussa during that season would Kill me & they had better put a sword through me at once ~ he said there was no Sulta[n] between Koolfie & Guari ~ I said the Toja had engaged [d] [89] to find me bullocks to carry my baggage to Kano for which I would give him a paper by which he would get the money ~ he said what ever road I chose I should go ~ when did I want to go away ~ I said to morrow ~ well says he you shall go in the afternoon ~ I said I would prefer day break as I wished to make observations at the river side & see my baggage passed safely over as I fear the King of Youri if he hears that I am going by the way of Koolfee may outwit me here or beat up my quarters ~ I said I liked traveling in the morning best ~ well says he – you may go when you please ~ I said I wanted the lend of a horse & saddle which he promised to give

I then asked after the white men who were lost in the river here about 20 years ago ~ he seemed very uneasy at this question & stammered [*sic*] in his speech – he said he had nothing belonging to them that he was a little boy when the affair happened ~ I said I wanted nothing but the books & papers & to hear every account respecting their deaths and with his permission I would go and visit the spot where they were lost ~ he said no I must not go it was a very bad place ~ I said I heard part of the boat still remained ~ he said no she had all gone down the river long ago. I said if he would give me the books or papers it would be the greatest favour he could give me ~ he said nothing remained with him all had gone into the hands of the learned men ~ that if there were any to be got he

would get them for me – I then asked him if he would allow me to inquire of the old people in the town the particulars of the affair where the boat was lost that some of them must know of it ~ he appeared very uneasy at this & gave me no answer

in the afternoon the king come galloping up in front of the house in which I was living with a man running after him with the umbrella but he could not keep it over his head⁴³

at 5 P.M. I was visited by the King the Midaki & the King of Youris Messenger who said his master had sent provisions & every thing for the voyage ~ I said I could not but feel very much obliged to the King of Youri but the rains were close at hand & the road between Youri & Bornou shut up by the war ~ that on my return after the rains I should certainly visit the King of Youri for his kindness to me this time ~ the King said I would be making an enemy of the King of Youri if I went away that way ~ I said I had nothing here to give ~ if the messenger of the King of Youri would acc^{py} me to the ferry I would send the King of Youri as good a present as I was able [90A] but I had very little now to give to any one ~ I said I had no sword to give – the King said the messenger should accompany me to the ferry that he would give me a good Mare to ride ~ the Youri messenger was very anxious that I should go with him to his master but the Midaki whose heart the gold chain has won certainly beat him off[f] the ground & I am not to go to Youri – the King made a great many inquiries about England asked me 2 or 3 times if I was not come to buy slaves ~ I laughed in his face and told him there was nothing we so much abhorred as slavery in England that the King of England did every thing to prevent other nations buying slaves – that the slave trade Was the ruin of Africa ~ that Yourriba presented nothing but ruined towns & deserted villages and [all] caused by the slave trade – that it was very bad to buy and sell men like bullocks & sheep ~ it was now nearly dinner time & he said he would come & see me again at night

at 8 P.M- he returned accompanied by the Midaki and one Slave – he began again about Youri but I repeated what I had said before – he then said was the King of England a great man ~ yes says I ~ but you live in the water says he ~ oh no I said we have more land than there is between here & Badag – as they call Badagry – and more than 5000 cities ~ yes says he I thought you lived on the Water ~ how many wives has the King ~ only one ~ what says he the King [has] only one wife ~ yes says I no one is allowed more than one & they hang a man if he has 2 at one time ~ it is all very well for other men but it is not good that the King should have only one ~ when I told him that if the King had a daughter & no sons she would succeed he laughed inordinatly as did the

⁴³ ‘the day was excessive hot & I was unwell with simtoms of Agues ~ I had the same yesterday ... they wear the Hausa *apron* & the language of the [= that] country is most commonly spoken here & Wawa as also Kiama’ [Remark Book, f. 147].

Midaki who was well pleased with the account of one wife & a woman ruling – I asked him who were the first people in the country ~ he said the Cumbri ~ that he was from Bornou & his ancestors ~ that the King of Niki was the younger branch of the family a long time ago⁴⁴ – that they had come into this country with the King of Bornou when he took all the countries from Bornou to Ashantie in old times – that Yourriba Niki Youri & Kiama paid tribute to him but that he paid to Bor[nou] untill of late years ~ the road was not passable but [he] would [90] pay it all up to the King of Bornou when the road was open ~ that he was descended from that family – I asked again about the papers [of Mungo Park] but he stoped me by saying that at his fathers death the King of Youri had in vaded Boussa and taken every thing ~ he staid with me untill near Morning – I heard some instrument like a harp – playing out side and as I could not sleep sent for the performer musician – & had him to play 2 or three times – and told him to call in the morning & I would pay him as I wanted to see the Instrument which app^d to me very sweet toned

Saturday April 1st 1826 – Morning cool & Cloudy ~ at 8 AM we had a little rain ~ the Harper come & I made him play a few tunes and then began to take a drawing of his inst^t which I had asked him to sell but he said he had played to his father & mother on it they were now dead & he would not part with it⁴⁵ ~ I was then calling Ali my servant to do some thing near me ~ he was preparing a fowel for breakfast & brought the knife in his hand when the Nyffe harper started up & ran as if he had been going to be murdred ~ the people in ther[e] rolled on the ground & laughed

[91A] after Breakfast I visited the King & asked to go away to the ferry as my baggage was to arrive there yesterday & I wanted to make obsvn^s by the river side ~ he said I must not leave him to day and when I were back I must stay 40 days ~ that he would give me a fine mare and I should go to morrow – I was at his house or he at mine nearly all day and he staid with [me] untill past midnight ~ I was also visited by a great no- of people amongst which were a no- of Fellatahs the chief of whom sent me a sheep honey & milk ~ the Sultan when I inquired about the papers said that the late Imam a Fellatah had been given all the books and papers and that he had fled from Boussa some time since ~ this was a death blow to all future enquiries here and the whole of the Information on the boat her crew and cargo I have [already] stated ~ every one at Boussa appeared uneasy when I asked for information and said it had happend before their remembrance or that they did not see it ~ they pointed out the place where the boat struck and the crew perished ~ this was ever done by stealth though in every thing unconnected with that affair they were ready to give me what information I asked and never in my life have I been treated with more hospitality or kindness –

⁴⁴ A reference to the 'kisra' legend; see Michael Crowder, *Revolt in Bussa: A Study of British 'Native Administration' in Nigerian Borgu, 1902-1935* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 26-29.

⁴⁵ No drawing found among his papers.

The place pointed out to me where the boat and crew were lost is in the East^m channel the river being divided into three branches at this place [“The course of the river here is S.S.W by Compass” at margin] not one of which is above [a] good pistol shot across ~ a low flat Isl^d of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile in breadth lies between the town of Boussa and the spot which is in a line with [“a double” inserted] trunked tree with white bark standing singly on the low flat Isl^d an[d] with the the North end of the Sultans houses – [“or Standing at the North end of the Sultans house having the South end of the village [“houses” inserted] [and] C on [the sketch in line] with the Single tree with double stem marks the Spot” at margin] ~ the shore is not particularly high at present being only about 10 feet above the level of this branch which here breaks over a grey slate rock which runs [“right” inserted] across the Eastern shore rising into gentle hills composed of Grey slate rocks thinly scattred with trees which gives it [a] dry boney appearance at this season of the year as it is dry and withred but perhaps the accompaning eye scetch of the river sity and isl^{ds} will convey a better Idea than I am able to write⁴⁶

The city of Boussa the Capital of the Kingdom of Borgoo is situated on an island in the River Quorra or Niger and is in Lat^{de} 10°-14'-12" North and Long^{de} 6°-11'-46" East of Greenwich – the Quorra above Boussa as far as [“they knew” inserted] as I was informed was full of Islands and rocks and the same below as far down as they were acquainted with it – here there are two [branches] and the City of Bousa stands on the largest & Westmost ~ the branch [“of the river” inserted] on the West^m side being called by the Natives the Menai - the other two branches have no name but just the Quorra ~ the Menai’s stream is slow and Slugish those of the other two strong with eddies and whirl pools breaking over rocks which in several places appear above water – Boussa isl^d as I shall [91] call it is about 3 Miles in length from North to South and about a mile and a half in breadth at the broadest part – a ridge of grey slate runs from one end of the isl^d to the other forming a precipice on the East and shelving gently down on the west – below this precipice extends a beautiful holm or Medow nearly the whole length of the isl^d and about 300 yds broad to the banks of the river [“middle bank” at margin] where there are several rocks forming mounds on which villages are built – there are 4 of them – the Wall of Boussa Extends from about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of [where] the Menai [“joins the other branch” at margin] up to which the rocky prec^p forms the bank of the river which may be about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile or a mile ~ the houses are detached or forming villages inside the wall not using above one tenth of the ground inclosed

outside the walls on the same isl^d are several villages cornfields and plantations of yams and cotton – I should not think that taking the whole of the inhab^{ts} who live within the wall or between the wall & the water to ammount

⁴⁶ See entry, Sunday 2nd April below – and Illustration.

to more than ten or twelve thousand but I was informed that the state or province of Boussa was more populous than all the other states of Borgoo and that next to Hausa he could raise more horse than any other place between that ["country" inserted] and the sea – The inhabitants with a very few exceptions are pagans – as is the Sultan though his name is Mohamed⁴⁷ – Milk is his fetish and which he does not taste which I learnt when he drank tea with me – They eat monkeys dogs rats and cats – this morning when I was with the Sultan his break fast was brought which I was asked to partake of – it consisted of a very large water rat grilled with the skin on some very fine boiled rice with fish stewed with palm oil and fried or stewed alligators eggs and pure water – I eat some of the stewed fish & rice and they were much amused when I would not touch or rat or the eggs – The[y] have abundance of sheep goats and bullocks whose flesh they also eat on great occasions and sacrifices occly⁴⁸

["their arms are the bow sword spear & a heavy club – of about 2 feet and a half in length bent at the end and loaded with iron – their difference & armour are a ["tan[n]ed" inserted] leather Shield with the Tobes or large shirt gathered in folds round the body and a belt round the waist to keep the folds in their places" lengthwise at margin]

[92A] Sunday 2nd Morning Cloudy - from the front of the Kings houses a high ["table top[p]ed" at margin] Mountain under which Youri lies on the S.W side of it and the river runs past the west end – bore N.E^{1/2}E. Distance from 25 to 30 Miles⁴⁹ on the other side of the house Mount Georges S.W^{1/2} W Distance 152 Miles –

After taking leave of the King & Midaki I left Boussa accompanied by the Kings brother a fine Young man the head man & all the principal people of the town belonging to the King to the Banks of the Mini [*sic*] where I took my leave of them at 10-30 A.M- ~ after traveling on the Wawa road for one hour as far as the Cumbri village the road led down S.S.W.^{1/2} W. some times near the banks of the river the road winding woody & rose by holes into deep rocky ravines in which there were pools of water near which were the traces of Numerous wild beasts some of which I saw ~ they were of the large species of Antelope – 2 P.M- halted at one of these to water the horses - I heard the Niger roaring & ascended the high rocky bank to see if it was a falls ["Course S.S.W^{1/2}W 12 Miles ~ here I saw it coming roaring through Channels full of rocks and in one place nearly

⁴⁷ i.e., Muhammad Kitoro.

⁴⁸ The sketch map of Bussa includes the following description: 'City of Boussa, a large village, State of Youri, Low Slate Hills, River Quarra or Niger, River Menai', and with the following notes referring to 'houses of the inhab^o, the house in which I lived, the Sultans house, where Park and Martin were killed, the walls of Boussa, the villages' and an asterisk showing 'Rocks'.

⁴⁹ Probably Jinjina Hill, distant 30 miles NNE, situated some 6 miles south of Yauri, with the Niger just to its west, or possibly Agwarra Hill, distant 16 miles NE, beside Ngaski.



*Drawing of falls – with seated figure looking out over river, at bottom right:
 “Banks of the Quorra or Niger 2nd April 1826 H.C.” at bottom left*

1/2 way across a fall of about a foot I was standing on a height above it – here poor Park would have lost his life if he had not at Boussa” at margin]

[92] in the afternoon I was taken very ill - I had been drinking a great deal of water & riding in the heat of the Sun - when I rose up to mount my horse I fell the sight going intirely from my eyes - I was carried under the shade of a tree & broke into a profuse perspiration which soon relieved & at 3-30 mounted & rode on untill 6 P.M- when I halted at a Village of the Cumbri called Songa [“ Course S.S.W 8 Miles” at margin] ~ they gave me the best hut in the place but bad was the best it was infected by rats scorpions & Santapeeds – old nets rotten wood & broken gourds were strewed all arround so I come out & I Slept in the open Air ~ I sent one of the Cumbri with a promise of a knife to the Ferry to see if Richard had arrived with the Baggage ~ he returned with an answer from the Toja to say that they [*sic*] servt^s and baggage would be up in the morning – the head man of the Village gave me a sheep & some yams which I gave to the Boussa & Youri messengers who had Acc^d me

Monday 3 Morning Clear & Cool - these Cumbri appear to be a lazy harm less set of Negroes in habiting the villages in the woods in the Countries of Boussa Wawa & Youri - they plant a little corn & Yams hunt & fish & sleep their time away the greater part of their work falling to the share of the women - they are apparently a mild people in general tall more stupid looking than wild - go with very little clothing except a skin round the waist - the young untill they are 17 or 18 entirely naked - both sexes when they have cohabited put on either a skin cloth or tobe as they can afford it - they are from their unwarlike & mild dispo^{tn} very ill used & imposed on when any of the Kings want a draught of slaves or sheep the[y] send and take their chil^{dn} or their flocks & there [= their, i.e., the King’s] people live when passing through at free quarters – They are pagans & their temple here was a plat form about 6 feet square raised on four poles about 5 feet high piled wth the skulls of Hippoptami & the Aligators – the jaws of the Aligators appeared to be of an equel length if any thing the upper jaw projected - their language differs from that of the country

[“the Niger at this village was in one whole streem not Above 2/3 the breadth of the Thames at Somerset house at high water – with a current of 2 to 2 1/2 or 3 Knots & red muddy color – the banks on each side of the river rising to the height of 45 or 50 feet – in some places rocky ~ below about 1/4 Mile it divid[es] into 3 rocky Streams and only rocks every where” at margin]

At 7-30 AM- left *Songo* the road through a woody country near to the banks of the Niger the road cut by rocky ravines - at 9 passed the end of a rocky hill close to the river composed of parphory⁵⁰ ~ I had passed quantities of rocks of red &

⁵⁰ Porphyry; unstratified or igneous rock containing crystals of one or more minerals.

grey granite yesterday - the river after - [93A] the river between *Songa* and this is full of cataracts sandy & rocky Islets - after I had passed the hills about a mile the Western banks Shelved away leaving a high Sand & Clay bank with only ridges of slate between which & the high ground appeared as if it had formerly been the bed of the river & now formed a swamp - in the ridges by the banks of the river were studded with villages - river full of small rocky Islands and occ^lly rapids ["Course N.W S 16 Miles 6 Miles" at margin]

at 10-30 A.M. arrived at the village of Comie the ferry of the Caravans where the river is all in one body - here all was bustle & Confusion - a Caravan with Natron on the East^l bank from Kano - the one from Gonja on the Western with Gora both encamped in huts by the side of the river - here the Merch^{ls} with gay horses & Saddles to sell there their slaves with beads & tobos some dancing & drumming others more wicked drunk & rioting

I was provided with a good house plenty of Milk honey eggs ducks sheep & goats all of which I refused as my servts & things had not come but every one said they were on the road & would be here in a short time - the fat widow who is at a neighbouring village sent me boild rice & fowels & an invitation to stop there untill my things come & I crossed the river - but my anxiety for my things & my not being very well prevented me going - I also had a visit from the Toga who declares the things will be here - he has now changed his tone - he says he will not carry the things I must buy bullocks & pay for them at once - he will do it for me if I give him the money - that he will sell me three which he has bought & the widow has got men & he will give me men to take care of them and he will trust to my generosity for a present at Kano - that my things will be here directly - advised me to go to the widow & stop with her till they come but my anxiety became greater as the evening approached for no tidings of my things as yet - the Kings son of Wawa who is here went off to Wawa to see the things off

[93] Tuesday 4th Morning cool & Cloudy - no news of the things - at 7-30 A.M I left the village of Comie or as it is more commonly called *Wanjergee*⁵¹ or the Kings ferry through a country partly woo[ded] & partly cultivated the soil near the river sandy & rocks - about half way the road rocky & cut up by deep ravines which are full of water in the rainy season - the hills are blocks of pudding stone & in Mounts here & there the villages are numerous

at one of them I met the Gov^l of Wawa's son who had gone about my things last night - he surprised me by saying My things should not come untill the Widow come back. what the devil have I to do with the widow I answered - yes

⁵¹ 'Wanjergee' ('Wonjerque' in published text, p. 109) appears to be derived from Hausa *jirgi* (boat or canoe), perhaps *wanin jirgi*, 'this boat'.

says he you have & you must come back with me & fetch her ~ not I says I what can I do with her ~ the King of Boussa's messenger who was with me said I must or she would not come ~ I said I did not care I had nothing to do with her ~ if I were King of Wawa I would but I was a stranger – then says he I will go if you will send a token & a message to her to say I come from you ~ I [gave him] my umbrella and he & the Kings son went to the widow & I went to Wawa where I arrived at Noon ~ My trusty servant Richard arrived at the same instant from Boussa [“where he had gone” at margin] to look for me his only guide a boy whose language he did not understand nor any other but his own native English ~ he had seen the King & Midaki who had treated him with great kindness sent 2 men armed to protect him & to carry him to me & likewise to tell the King of Wawa to send my things off[f] as soon as possible ~ he had left yesterday to come & inform me of the detention of the things & the cause – which was the widows having left the town with drums beating and a train after her first calling at my house [“about ½ a hour after I left for Boussa” at margin] before she called on the King giving Pascoe a female slave for a wife without the Kings permission which I had allowed him to accept [*sic*] – and her declaration that she intend[ed] following ~~him~~ me to Kano – & come back & Make war on the King as she had done once before –

I was glad to find all my things safe and even though detained by the folly of others that no bodily harm [“was meant” inserted] but only the old King wanted to show me his consequence & authority – I was not aware of the politics of Wawa & My last journey ought to have taught me better for where ever there are Mohametans there is a party sp[ill]itt or opposition [94A] but I never would have thought the Widow Zuma would have been at the head of the Malcontents of Wawa – I was now let in to their politics of which it was believed I was taking a share ~ it would have been a fine end to my journey if I had deposed old mahomed & set up for my self with a walking tun but[t] for a queen - I had tea & instly went to the King Gov^L ~ my servant Ali had brought my rifle load[ed] & said he would not see me go in to the King without it but I sent him back with a severe reprimand before the Gov^{LS} head man & went as I always do unarmed ~ I found the old man just roused from his noon day sleep which was done by the sound of [a] horn ~ I put as many smiles in [my] face as I could shook hands with him & asked him how he did – told him that I had seen the King of Boussa & what a good & generous man he was - said I was surprised that my things had not come to the water side according to his promise ~ he humed and haad & said was the Widow not going to take them he thought she was ~ I said I had nothing to do with the Widow ~ I was a servant of the King of England & it was to him I looked to ~ that I did not know the Widow before I came here – is she not going to Hausa with you ~ if she [is] greater than I am let her take them ~ I said no it was he not her ~ I had nothing to say to her – & would thank him to send me & my things off as soon as possible as soon as the widow comes back ~ says he you shall go not till then send for her ~ I said I

would not send for her I had nothing to do with her – You allowed your servant to take a female slave from her ~ send her back & if the Widow comes to night you shall go to Morrow ~ I said as to the widows coming or going it was nothing to me ~ with respect to Pasco's returning the girl that was their affair ~ that no offence was meant to the King in allowing him to accept her ~ he said return her – and he would give him another and if the Widow come to night I should go in the Morning ~ she was his enemy & had gone to stir up war - I said he might blame his head man for my acquaintance with the widow ~ he was present when she first came to my house and as she was an enemy of the King he ought to have told [me] then & I would not have allowed her to come into the houses – we then parted & he sent me in the Evening a present of one fowl Yams milk & honey

[94] Wednesday 5th Morning Clear & Warm ~ the Widow arrived in town with a drummer beating before her whose cap was bedecked with black ostrich feathers – a bow man walking before & a train behind armed with bows, swords, & spears – she rode a fine horse whose trappings were of the first order for this country brass plates & bells charms sewed round the necks of different Coloured leather such as red green & yellow a scarlet breast piece in the front of which was a large brass plates scarlet saddle cloth trimmed with lace - she rode ~~seated~~ spread legged⁵² with silk trowsers & boots a silk & gold mantle & had she been younger and ["I" inserted] not in [= involved] in such an enterprise I would have headed her party

After the heat of the day was over I sent to the King old Pascoe having sent his wife to the widow ~ they parted with smiles though he declared she had fallen in love with him the first time she saw him ~ this is the second he has had since we left Badagry ~ the first he got at Jannah she was a thief a jade & used to get drunk with the Kings wives at Katunga [so] that I had to turn her out of the house for riotious [*sic*] behaviour but Pascoe begged ["with tears in his eyes" inserted] me to forgive her ["as" inserted] she really loved him & he loved her ~ I did but the day we left Katungah she walked off[f] with 2 strings of coral Mrs- Belzoni had given him his razors and several other articles of finery – I had to wait some time for His Majesty ~ at last he made his appearance and after the usual comp^{ts} I said I understood the Widow was now arrived and I wished he would send me off according to his promises he said he did not know she had arrived but would send for her ~ he repeated what he did yesterday & so did I except I added that I was sorry such an affair should have any affect on the good understanding between us⁵³

⁵² i.e., astride.

⁵³ 'I shall give the King's friend some thing in the morning – I slept [illeg.] last night - was fatigued all day & tomorrow I will give it ... I am now so near crossing that I am like a gamester desperate I would stake all' [Remark Book f. 100].

The widow arrived striped of her finery having on only a common cloth around her and one female slave in attendance ~ she saluted in the fashion of the country that is kneeling down on here [*sic*] knees & elbows with hands turned towards the face ~ it was some time before he spoke ~ he then gave her a lecture on vanity asked her where she was going ~ she said after some slaves of hers who had run away & gone to Nyffe – she looked out at the side of her eyes all the time [“[a]t me laughing” at margin] & when she went out she shook the dust of[f] her cloth in great scorn of the old man – that says he is a bad woman ~ none of the Kings like [her] she will not pay her duty or any thing ~ you shall go to morrow

[95A] Thursday 6th Morning Clear & Warm ~ I was agreeably surprised by the Kings head man comming with a no- of people to take away the baggage & telling me the King wished to see me before I went ~ I went directly ~ he was seated out side & after lending me a horse & giving strict charge to the carriers & four of his slaves who are to remain at the water to see me over he said I was to shoot any man who interrupted or attempted to molest me ~ part of the Baggage I had to leave the box of silk [which] is allways a dead weight & heavy to carry [and] the rockets & 7 other articles which are to be sent after me as soon as the carriers come back –

at 10-30 A.M. left Wawa the second time & I trust Widow & politics shall never bring me back to [such] a place again ~ I travled at a quick pace the carriers keeping up – at 11.40 halted at a village of the Cumbri where our carriers very deliberately took a sheep out of a few that were in the shade under a tree without any enquiry as to whom it belonged – at 12-20 St^d ~ at 1-30 P.M. halted again at another village where our gent^s seized another sheep for which I gave them a lecture which they took in good part but killed it and the one they took at the other village – lighted A fire & roasted them with the skins on ~ I left them to enjoy their repast ~ they wished to stay all night but I was too tired of my company So at 3-20 P.M- St^d and at 5 arrived at Comie where I had [m]any presents of sheep Eggs & honey &c- ~ my friends the carriers arrived with the baggage at sunset and lived at free quarters here on the inhabitants

Friday 7th Strong breezes & Cloudy ~ set up the barometer ~ emp^d writing all day – I was pestred with visitors all day some with & some without presents of a little honey & c - amongst th^m were a N^o of Malems or learned men not one of which could read or write but were able to repeat a prayer in Arabic ~ I of course am a very learned man here

at sunset all the baggage & stores come except the box of silk – the man having turned sick & gone back who was carring it

Saturday 8th Dull cloudy morning ~ I was visited by all the head men of the

villages around to have a present some of whom are to provide carriers for the baggage but I told them I could give them nothing until I was on the Move [95] 4 of the King of Wawas slaves who were carriers of the baggage yesterday & who remained behind as they said by the Kings orders until they saw the baggage over the river I had given them one of the goats but they not content with this went & seized one of the best I had ~ I could not stand this & instead of taking the gun I took the Whip & put them out of my house ~ they said they would go back & took their things up - I said I was glad such thieves were going - but they thought better of it [&] stoped - they are a great annoyance to me

Sent the Sultan of Youri by his Messg^r who had accompanied me from Boussa the following present a silk umbrella - 4 y^ds red Cloth 4 Y^ds blue 3 Knives 3 p^rs scissors & a phosphorus match box ~ to his Messg^r & the Messg^r of Boussa one y^d of each colored cloth 2 knives & 2 strings of beads each - to the King of Boussa I had sent my old gold laced turkish jacet one of my turbans My bed carpet & some paper - to the Midaki 1/2 string coral a chinese crape scarf & some more beads

["Mn Alt ^{de} Dubhe	74° - 22' - []"
	<u>1 - 45</u> "
	74 - 20 - 15
	<u>1 - 16</u>
	87 - 6 - 51

9 - 50' - 9" N Lat^{de}- of Comie" at margin]

at 3 P.M. the box of Silk arrived - I was very ill with cold all day - at night a Tornado [] at night we had a heavy tornado with thunder lightning & rain ["9- 50- 9N Lat^{de} of Comie" written over "Sunday 9th very ill all day" at margin]

Sunday 9th Morning Cool & Cloudy - I was very ill all day with bilious vomiting & dreadfull pains in my bowels with copious discharges of blood downwards took an emetic to clear away the bile & sweated & fasted for the purging ~ I had to give in all to the to the different people here 18 y^ds cloth & 16 knives to satisfy them for carrying my things across the river & to Koofu - the slaves of the King of wawa still remain & are of the greatest annoyance to me possible ~ they rob the towns people & Make a great noise in the house

CHAPTER 5

Journey from Boussa, across the ferry of the Quorra, by Guarri and Zegzeg, to the city of Kano

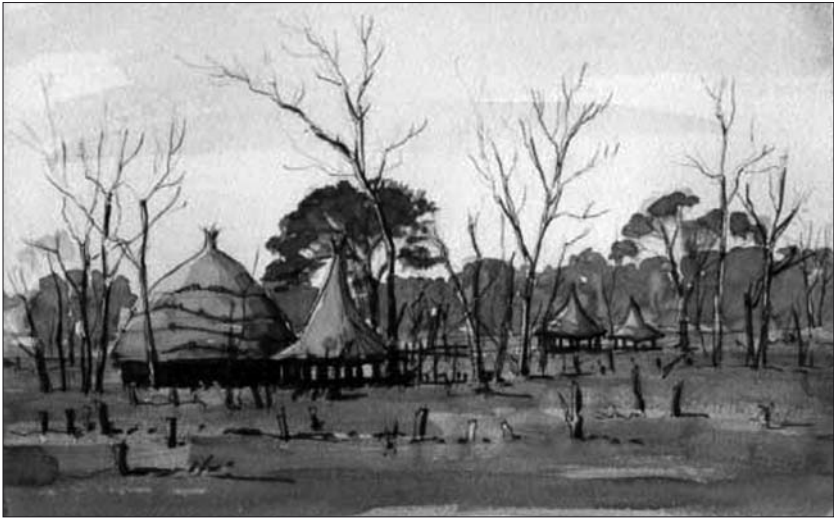
Monday 10th Morning cloudy ~ at day light had everything ready for starting and at 9 A.M- the things began to move of[f] from the house to the river side¹ and as if this river was not to be passed by Europeans without trouble & difficulty it was noon before all got over & here the villians [*sic*] of slaves of the King wanted to cheat me out of my horse ~ they wished me to pass over first ~ I said no when I saw the horses go I would go not untill then ~ at this they were sadly dissappointed & even as it was cheated me out of a horse the King had lent me ~ the Inhabitants as my things were crossing the river begged I would fire my gun as it was the first white mans things that had ever crossed this river ~ I loaded my rifle & fired across putting the ball in a tree on the other side [which] surprised them a great deal

[96A] The Niger or Quarra at this place is not above $\frac{3}{4}$ as broad as the Thames at Waterloo bridge at high water nearly of the same color being a dirty red and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fm^s in depth as I sounded all the way as I crossed ~ the current about 2 or 3 knots ~ I have seen it now for upwards of thirty miles of its course & no where for above half a mile is it clear of Islds or rocks ~ at the ferry here it is clear for nearly a quarter of a mile ~ the Master of the house in which I lived said that it was the same nearly to the sea ~ that the people of a place called Fundah² where it entred the sea come up to the Southern part of Nyffi in canoes to trade ~ that the people of Benin come up by land after crossing the river as they never travel by water – this man was a native of Nyffi a sensible man & had been the head man to the King of Nyffi but had fled to this place like a great N^o of others to avoid the civil war – the Course of the river here is S.S.W. by Compass ~ further down it turns more to the East^d when it is joined by the River Kadona from the East when it turns to the West^d & falles [*sic*] into the Sea -

After having Crossed this Wonderful river I left its banks which ascend [“suddenly” at margin] from the river – on the top of the banks the soil was clay & gravel ~ the gravel square pieces of quartz the trees low & stunted – there was

¹ 'Island above & below the ferry - can hear people conversing on the other side - at 10 the things crossed - very sick ... Latitude of the ferry 9 – 50 – 9N' [Remark Book, f. 90].

² Opanda, north of the Niger-Benue confluence. Bello told Clapperton in March 1824 that 'Fundah is the name of the place where the Quarra enters the sea, during the rainy season'; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, 688-9.



Blacksmith Huts

some large blocks of granate appearing through the clay specimens of which I took [“Course N.E. by E. 6 Miles” at margin] - at 2- crossed a stream at its junction with a small river called the My yarra³ - which here has a beautiful cascade a range of low hills running from East to West on the South - here I found my baggage halted under a tree close to the village of Dalou - here after a good deal of talking to the head man about carriers the Wawa people having left me to my fate for which I was not sorry there [*sic*] behaviour of late having been so bad the last few days - at 4-30 I got off - after his having given me a goat & some yams - at this place I saw 2 pigs the first I have seen since I left Yourriba [“E ½ N. 5 Miles” at margin] - at 4.20 [*sic*] - left Dalu & traveling not far from the river & the hills which were on the south the road woody but the trees low & st^d [= stunted] except in the swamp near the river in which were N^{OS} of palm oil trees the only ones I have seen since leaving Jannah to the banks of the Quarra there are none

at 6-20 halted in the Walled village of Etwata which app^d to be full of black smiths - the village was small but there were 4 large black smith shops with 5 forges in each - they [*sic*] black smiths gave me the best house some corn for the horses & were very civil - they manufacture their own Iron & supply all Yourriba & Borgoo with iron work -

[96] Tuesday 11th Morning Calm & cloudy - at 7-50 AM. left Et Wata the country well cultivated the swamp & river still on my right the Ant hills here

³ Maingyara River

are the highest I have ever seen being about 15 or 20 feet high like Gothic cathedrals in miniature ~ at 8 AM. halted at another village to change carriers this also was full of black smiths ~ at 9-20 AM- halted at another village to change carriers ~ at 10-50 left ~~Bagagu~~ at 11-20 AM- halted again at a village called Bagagu ~ at 12-30 left it ~ I gave the head man my old kettle which was useless but it pleased him highly ~ at 1-20 halted [at] the Walled village of *Ogulu* which has once been large & populous but is now in ruins – at 2-30 PM. left *Oglu* the head man of which refused my old umbrella until I took the silk off saying he would have his head taken off if he had it

[“E by S 2 East 3 East 2 E $\frac{3}{4}$ S 4 East $\frac{3}{4}$ S 1” at margin]

at 3 PM- halted at another village where the Toja was encamp^d [= encamped] out side ~ in all these villages there is a Fetish house in good repair showing that the head people & the Majority are pagans - the country is well cultivated with corn maize & plantains plenty of sheep & goats no cows nor yams ~ the river still to the south the hills not seen ~ the Taja had paid me a visit wishing me to stop until next day as the Fellatah [~~“Monday 12th Cloudy & Warm”~~ at margin] were in Kolfu⁴ still putting off[f] his bargain - I said I had nothing to do with the Fellatahs they would not touch me - I said he had put me off from day to day always making a fresh bargain different from the one he had made before - that I would give him half the money - he began haggling again and went off without concluding any thing as he done before

Wednesday 12th Cloudy & warm ~ at 7-30 AM- St^d and at 8-30 AM. halted at the [“walled” inserted] villages of Funga - the bridge ~~of~~ over the ditch will not admit the weight of a horse so we had to walk through - the horses were taken through a by path twice through the river before they got to the inside - here the houses are built of stone with clay & straw as Morter here ~ I was delayed until 11-20 when I left Woody country clay soil mixed with sand the trees very large & the day hot & sultry ~ 12-15 halted under a tree to get water & at 12-30 St^d again ~ at 1- halted at the village of *Kenabrou* – after waiting here for carriers until 3 p.M. I st^d & at 3-50 P.M- I halted after crossing a wooden bridge the first I have seen in Africa [~~“E $\frac{1}{4}$ S Funga 4 Miles – E $\frac{1}{4}$ S 4 Miles E by S 2 E.N.E 4 Tabra”~~ at margin] - here I have but a short time to stop - they shouldered my things to another village close at hand where they were all alarmed and surrounded me & My baggage with armed men but when it was explained they took my things to another running as if they were going off[f] with them as plunder – at the next village they asked me what I wanted ~ I said to stop all night – [“Fetish houses or figure temples in every village - the figures the snake

⁴ A contingent returning to Sokoto from campaigning in the south – the very people whom Clapperton wished to meet, since they could have escorted him direct to Sokoto. He sent his servant Ali to their chief with a letter addressed to Bello [see entry, Wednesday 12th April].

⁵ Tabria, on the River Maingyara.



Maingyarra River Bridge

aligator tortoise men & Women” at margin] - they took [97A] up My trunks & crossing the river on a wooden bridge entered the Town of Tabra where they were landed before the head mans door - here they questioned & cross questioned as to whether I was going to the King or not but I gave them evasive answers - at last they took my things to a house for the night - I had to buy wood water grass and corn they allways asking where is the money before they would give a thing - I sent Ali off at Night to the Chief of the Felatahs with a letter to Bello

Thursday 13 Morning clear & Warm - my things were taken to another & better house - I had no^s of visitors but no-one brought any thing with him - a learned man from Koolfu which is but a short dist^{ce} sent [“his servant” inserted] to ask how I was - the whole of this day was consumed in expectation of visiting the Queen ~~and~~ but in the evening I was informed that I could not see her as the King⁶ is absent 2 days journey at a town called Raba⁷ - but I am to see his mother in the morning who will in form me when & how I am to proceed to Kano - the night Thunder lightning & rain found that my umberellas are getting spoiled by damp -

Friday 14th Cool & Cloudy - after breakfast I visited the Queen Mother according to last nights arrangement - I took with me a Chinese crape shawel part of a string of coral - the houses here are coozies or round huts like all

⁶ i.e., Muhammed Jiya, usually known as Majiya.

⁷ Raba, on the Niger, and in 1826 the headquarters of the *jihad* leader, Malam Dendo and effectively the Nupe capital.

others on this side [of] the Niger & Moussa rivers ~ in the outter one belonging to her house mats were spread for me and a sheep skin for her majesty – her male attendants who accompanied me were all old men most of them without teeth - after sitting in this company about $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour a n° of women past there [*sic*] teens came & seated them selves on the mats opposite me - they were decently dressed in short check bed gowns the manufacture of the country with a stuffing in the breast round their loins & reaching to their ancles ~~stri~~ - they wore striped cotton cloths & their wool [=hair] dressed in the crest fashion ~ they wore check caps sowed and ornamented with red silk thread brought from Tunis & Tripoli – (a little is brought from the coast but their greatest exp^{ts} [=imports] that way are Tobaca & rum – the latter they drink - the Tobacco is made into snuff and sold all over the interior mixed with Natron) ~ at last her majesty made her appearance dressed in a large white tobe or shirt & a cap with 2 flaps on her head made of coarse green cloth trimed with red tape - she was old walked with a staff in her hand & had one eye ~~She~~ - I arrose to receive her & shook her by the hand ~ she then sat down on the mat & I beside her and after her asking me how I did & how I had fared on my journey & my telling her I bigan & displayed my present after which I told her who I was & Where I wished to go ~ she was much pleased with the present & said I ought to go & see her son the King who was only a few days journey distant & he would [97] forward me to where I wished - that he would be glad to see me - I said I would with pleasure go but that the rains had now commenced & I wished to proceed on my journey with the Toja - that I had a great n° of books for Bello & the Sheikh of Bornou that they would be spoiled if they got wet ~ that this country was very sickly in the rains that 3 white men who were with me had died already – she said she had sent a messenger to her son the night of my arrival - that he would return to night or to morrow morning and would bring word whither I must go to Raba the town where the King was ~~living~~ or not ~ that if I went they would detain the Toya untill my return ~ I said very well but I must have a horse as both mine had sore backs ~ I then took leave of her Majesty as she is called –

A native of Morzuk named Mohamed ben Gumso⁸ who resides here stood my interpreter – he told me that this woman was the late King of Nyffes sister that her son who is a Mohamatan is fighting with the late Kings son who is a pagan for the crown ~ that he is assisted by Bello & that he has beat the other in every battle this summer and that there is no doubt of his gaining the day⁹ - in the rains there is a cecession of hostilities but next summer will decide the fate of the other sovereign – that this man can read & write Arabic but he is a great drunkard tho very generous

⁸ Certainly a reference to Mohamed ben Milad [see entry, Friday 21st April], not Muḥammad b. Ḥājj ‘Umar Ghamzu, who was the head of the Arab community in Sokoto; see Chapter 6 and 7.

⁹ The reference is to the civil war between Majiya and Idrisu for control of Nupe; see Introduction.

["Borgou" at margin] The natives of Borgoo of Whom the Arabs and the neighbouring nations give such a bad character to for theft & robbery – behaved honestly to me ~ I never lost the smallest article while amongst them ~ I have traveled & hunted alone with them & with the exception of what I saw of the plundering by the slaves of Yarro of their own villages & the slaves of Mohamed of Wawa who did the same & I believe had formed the design [= design] of plundering me I never saw any thing but good humor & kindness with them - & it must be obs^d that these slaves were almost all natives of Hausa not of Borgoo & nearly half starved possessed with an idea they had a right to levy contributions on their masters subjects when he sent them on duty in the country with no other provision but what they could catch in this manner

The reason why the Arabs and others give them such a bad name is that At every petty state & ferry they make them pay heavy fares & duties allow them to buy from none but the head man using every pretext for delay – both in payment which is seldom ever in hand – the people are also more warlike bold & independent and infest the roads & paths & carry away passengers as slaves -

The Kingdom is divided into the petty states of Niki Kiama Wawa & Boussa of Which Boussa is considered the head & Niki the next. they are all hereditary as long as they can keep the place – it is Bordered on the East by the Niger on the South by [98A] Yourriba West by Dahomey & North [= West] by a country they call Gourma – inhabited by wicked savages they say the country abounds with game of all kinds & the inhabitants are great hunters - through their country the Hausa & Dahomey people pass to & from the interior – the country is part Mounts & part plains - they have few cattle but plenty of yams corns plantians & limes their religion paganism but no human sacrifices

No messenger from the King but No^s of people returning from the wars ~ Made the Lat^{de} of my house in Tabra – 10^o – 3' – 24'' N by a Mn Alt^{de} of Dubhe ["Mn Alt^{de} Dubhe 74^o-48'-30''"] at margin] – Tabra is on the N.W. bank of the small river Maygara over which is a narrow wooden bridge that will bear A man & horse ~ this Bridge joins it to another walled town or a part of it on the other side – they are both walled & may contain from 18 to 20000 inhabitants & is the occasional residence of the present King of this part - he was born here & his mother is looked upon as extra Gov^t - Sheep goats yams plantians beens calevances Millet & limes in plenty ~ the Hausa caravans pass close to the town & the river [is] allways full of water & about 20 yds broad but not deep swampy close to its banks & shaded with large trees ~ the banks rise with a gentle ascent from the river in most places – the low ground covred with plantain trees & the upper with corn & yams &£ - here there are a great many weavers & but a few black smith ~ the inhabitants are mostly pagans but there are a few mohamatans amongst them - they all men & Women of the town have the reputation of being great drunkards

Saturday 15th Morning Clear & Cool – No messenger from the King - the Toja passed this morning for Koolfu - rain during the night with thr. & lightning & rain

Sunday 16th Cloudy & Cool - heard that a caravan from Cubie [Kebbi] & one from Yourriba had arrived at Koolfu – visited by the head man of the town who has just returned from the Wars – that the Benin¹⁰ people traded here & that the river ran into the sea behind Benin at Fundah ~ that they got their salt from a town called Affaja¹¹ on the sea side ~ he is a stupid fellow – he said that Benin & Nyffe were the same people that Benin paid tribute to Nyffe¹² ~ this is the story of all blacks they wish to make strangers believe that their Nation is the greatest on earth and ~~are the~~ that all others pay tribute to it ~ in the evening a Eunuch from the *Miyage* [= Majiya] or King arrived to take me to the King & to see what present I had to give & also to lay an embargo on the Toya & the caravan

[98] Monday 17th Morning cloudy At 10 AM- a Messenger from the King of Youri bringing me a camel to assist in carrying my baggage to Kano - he said the King had shown him 2 books very large & printed that he had been offered 170 Mitqals¹³ of gold for them by a merchant who come from Borno sent by a christian to buy them - I laughed and said well tell the King he ought to have sold them I would not give him 5 Mitqals for them but if he would send them I would give him a present & that they would be an acceptable present to the King of England and be doing a polite thing like a king – I sent to his Master one of the gold chains 10 y^{ds} silk & a sword with the promise of a gun & some silk if he would send the books – My friend Mohamed told me to day that the 15 people belonging to Dahomey whom I had seen at Wawa were not Messeng[ers] of their King but buying slaves & beads the small red beads about the size of peas brought from Tripoli & Made a[t] Vinice [*sic*] ~ that they bring cloth earthen ware brass & pewter dishes from the sea co[a]st to sell in Hausa Nyffe & Youri ~ that they had got 100 slaves with them which they had brought from Youri & that they were to get as many more from Wawa before they left -

there are a N^o of women & Children in this house where I live who keep up an eternal noise – the Children are bathed night & morning in Warm water & go

¹⁰ i.e. probably the Beni Nupe who supported Idrisu in the Nupe power struggle, and not the Benin Kingdom to the south; see Introduction.

¹¹ The published version (p. 122) states: 'He said they got their salt from a town called Affaga near the sea: this is the Laro or Alaro of Yourriba, and in the possession of the Fellatas', i.e., Ilorin. For this identification, see Chapter 7, n. 3.

¹² A reference to the Beni, a sub-division of the Nupe, and hence Clapperton was confused, not his informant.

¹³ The *mithqal* gold ounce was equivalent approximately to 5,000 cowrie shells at the current exchange; see Marion Johnson, 'The nineteenth-century gold 'mithqal' in West and North Africa', *Journal of African History*, 9:4 (1968), 547-70.

naked boys & girels untill 11 or 12 years of age except those of the richer people - their food is a thin paste made of ground millet or yams which is first put through water untill like starch & then dried for keeping [“when used made with hot water like thick starch” at margin] also a thick pudding made of ground millet boild in the lay[er] of wood ashes – boiled buns wrapped up in leaves about a pound weight each either eaten in the solid or mixed with water also from the Millet flower – balls of paste used in the same way sold at 5 cowries each ~ flesh or fowel or fish they seldom taste – the King of Youri’s Messengers left in the night as they are affraid to be seen [to] leave in the day as they would be followed & killed – such is the loose state of the country at present the people of Tabra & the neighbouring villages have but latley returned to their houses as they had been chased away by Malam Edrisi¹⁴ & his men this summer – ~~Malam Edrisi is one of the King of Youri’s chiefs~~

Tuesday 18th Cool & Cloudy - the Eunuch who is to conduct me to the King is gone to the Market of Koolfu to day there fore I must remain with paitience untill he returns – at night there was a great noise in the street ~ a woman was caught in Adultry her hands were tyed behind her back & her husband was beating her home before him ~ at length the adulterer was caught & both were bound & led off to be sold as slaves

[99A] ~~Monday~~¹⁵ **Wednesday 19th** Dull & Cloudy - this morning the Eunuch who was to take me to the king [arrived] with his horse ready saddled but with out one for me ~ I told him I was all ready but he had no horse ~ he then pretended that he was going ~ had I no present to send to the king ~ I said I should give the king a present when I saw him not untill then – he left me but a messenger of Bello’s at least a Fellatah who said he was one came & took me to a good house where I am to put my things and I am to go with him tomorrow – god knows I have offred 200,000 Cowries to have my things carried but could [not] get even a letter sent to Kano [“Moved to another house which was better furnished on [one word illeg.]” overwritten] In the afternoon I removed to my new house which was much better than either of the last particularly as I could prevent any one comming in except I wished them – [“got a sheep for a dollar & 2 strings of beads” faint and overwritten] I had a present of a sheep from one of the Kings 2 sisters who modestly requested a dollar & Some beads

~~Tuesday~~ **Thursday 20th** [“clear had to remain to day also” faint and overwritten] Clear & Warm ~ I had to remain today also as my guide & messenger

¹⁴ i.e., Malam Idrisu, the rival claimant to the Nupe throne; see Introduction.

¹⁵ Entries from Wednesday 19th April to Wednesday 3rd May were overwritten later (presumably on Thursday 4th May) to correct the days and dates.

the Eunuch had to attend the Market at Koolfu – at sunset he & Omar Zurmie¹⁶ (or Omar the Brave) waited on [me] & told me the[y] would leave this [place] for the Sanson¹⁷ or camp where the King was in the course of the night if I was ready and that Omar Zurmie the Fellatah messenger had a ~~camel~~ horse ready for me - I of ~~course~~ I told them I was ready at a moments notice & had been for the last 4 days – in the night storms of wind with Thu^r light^{ing} & rain

~~Wednesday~~ **Friday 21st** the Thunder storm having ceased at 4 A.M.- I left Tabra with Omar, the Eunuch,¹⁸ & Mohamed Ben Milad the Morzukie as my interpreter & servant who caried with him the present for the King – and a clean shirt & a traveling knife fork & Spoon for me [“omar when he used to visit me at Tabra used to take the Barometer as my talisman - he saw me looking at it so often and used to ask what does it say now is there good news” at margin] – I again left my baggage & serv^{ts} behind tho after the anxiety I had exp^d [= experienced] when in Boussa had determined me never to leave them again yet I had to break my resolution in such a short time after as it would have been dangerous to have taken them with me here - so to Richards care and good conduct I left them again with strict charge not to leave them & follow me on any account what ever

so crossing over to the South side of the Mayyarrow – and passing round that part of the town which stands on that side we entred in to a wood of low stunted trees - after clearing the fields which extend about a mile from the town the path was solitary neither traces of beasts or burds [*sic*] if [we] May except a solitary pidgeon now & then - the soil was a deep red clay nearly as hard as rock – over which in some places [“on the path” inserted] was a thin layer of sand and here & there pieces & scurfs of clay iron stone & small [99] gravel of the same - the direction of the path *course* S by W^{1/2}W untill 8-40 AM- when we arrived at the ruins of a village on the North bank of a deep rocky ravine through which ran a stream of water [“and the” deleted] whose banks ~~of which~~ were filled with plantian palm oil and other trees as also bamboos – here were 2 or three solitary inhabts who had escaped the destruction of their village & were now trying to repair their ruind huts ~ they said they had nothing left but a little corn which they intend[ed] to plant and were living upon ground nuts at present ~ here stoped to water the horses & then ascended the steep southern bank the rocks

¹⁶ Omar Zurmi is referred to in the published text, p. 237. He appears to have been related to Muhammad b. ‘Abdullah dan Fodio (Bello’s first cousin on his father’s side) and who had sought permission from Muhammad Bello to campaign in Nupe (see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 43n, 52). Clapperton suggests that ‘Omar Zurmi’ means ‘Umar the Brave’ but Hausa for bravery is *zuciya*, not ‘zurmi’. Zurmi more likely refers to the town of that name in Zamfara, which suggests that ‘Umar came from there.

¹⁷ Hausa: *sansani*, war-camp, in this case probably Zugurma; see entry, Saturday 22nd April, n. 19.

¹⁸ The (unnamed) eunuch was presumably an escort officer provided by Majiya’s mother.

of which were clay iron stone with a sort of light clay or bastard lime stone underneath [“S by W^{1/2}W 18 Miles to Kitako¹⁹ S by W 9 Miles” at margin]

after ascending the bank – our road was again through woods of low scrubby trees without the traces of any beasts the soil still deep red clay ~ at 11 A.M. came to another wide & deep ravine ~ on the north bank was the ruins of a large town 2 houses of which is now rebuilt - in passing through this ravine through which a small but deep stream runs which we crossed by a very tender wooden bridge which made me tremble for a ducking on horse back ~ the path was through a thick wood of tall trees with creeping plants connecting [them] which formed a cool shade but with cold earthy smell ~ on the south bank halted in the ruins of a village or town called Kitako a repaired house of which was given to me to stop for the night ~ I also got a fowel & some yam pudding [“from the head man” at margin] when he learned who I was ~ this the people who were with me got this [*sic*] as I have been unwell for these seven days past [“and fast for the present” inserted] – along the banks of this river & ravine which enters the Quarra are the remains of several hundred towns & villages all of which the head man tells [me] have shared the fate of Kitako & the others I have passed – at night heavy rain with thunder & lightning

Thursday Sunday Saturday 22nd At 1-30 A.M. left Kitako the moon through the thick clouds just enabling us by the assistance of 2 of Omars spearmen who went a head to trace the road through the thick woods and over some of the most ticklish bridges I ever passed in my life ~ the path was wet & Slippery & the Morning raw & cold ~ at 4 AM halted in the wood & lay down on the ground untill 6 AM- as I was from severe sickness & pain in the head [no] longer [able] to bear the motion of the horse ~ I had no covering & though the morning was raw & the ground wet I arose much relieved of my sickness & familiar ex[h]austion [**100A**] but with severe pains in my bones which I got by laying on the wet ground ~ there are times when a man to get rid of his present sickness will take any remedy what ever may be its future effects ~ such was my case and even if I had had to die by my laying on the wet ground I could not sit on horse back [n]or could I stand – a short while after starting crossed the ruined walls of [a] ruined town Jirmi or Yirme inside of which were fields of ind[i]go & cotton going to ruin & grown up with weeds

the morning was raw & Cloudy ~ a few of the ragged & miserable [“inhabitants” inserted] were up & 2 or 3 of the most miserable and starved looking horses I ever saw were tied to stakes close to the few huts the inh^{ts} had put up again ~ their backs were dreadfully lacerated the skin being nearly off[f] from the shoulder to the rump & the eyes running with matter [“Course S ³/₄ W 26

¹⁹ Evidently a settlement in the Yanpere River valley, a tributary of the Eku, perhaps near Tswafu.

Miles” at margin] ~ only for the verdure of the trees at this season & a beautiful rivulet of clear water whose banks were clothed with plantain & palm oil trees this place would at this time have presented as miserable a scene as it is possible to imagine ~ after passing this place & crossing the rivulet twice without bridges & whose banks were very steep & slippery with several deep circular holes or men traps on each side of the road – [“From” at margin] the plain above I saw the ruins of several other villages along the banks of the ravine –

at 8 A.M- passed the ruins of another town and ravine & at 9 I was met by the Majea or King attended by a great rabble of slaves armed with pick axes & hatchets & a no- of men on horse back ~ he halted under a tree as soon as I come in sight & I rode up & shook hands with him ~ he asked me how I was how I had fared on the road & then told his chief Eunuch who accompanied me to take me to his house ~ he then rode [“off attended by all his rabble” inserted] to complete the ruin of the town I had last passd & I to his house ~~while~~ - he was mounted on a good bay horse whose saddle was ornamented with pieces of silver & brass & the breast peace [*sic*] with large silver plates hanging down from it just like what is represented in the prints of the East¹⁹ & roman Emperours horses – he is a tall man with a ragged black velvet cap with 2 flaps to it on his head trimmed or had been with red silk - a stupid drunken expression of countenance and often laughing or grining - a black staff with a silver head he carried in his hand a blue & White robe & red boots part leather & part cloth ~ the cloth part which formed the legs were in tatters ~ the slaves were carrying a coast umbrella & his sword - I paid him every decent respect & courtesy as I was master of & put as many smiles in my face as possible as I know that ragged & dirty usurpers allways expect [100] more attention ~~and~~ than a real King or great man

at 10 A.M- I arrived at the camp or Sansan²⁰ where I was lodged in the Eunuch’s part having an un occupied hut to my self in a separate inclosure where I was left alone to rest untill 3 P.M- when I waited on the Usurper King with my present which consisted of 20 yds silk an umbirella 8 yds cloth a sword a phosphorous box 12 knives 2 pair scissors – & to his head man ~~10 yds silk~~ 2 knives & 2 pair scissors ~ I found him attended by only 2 Eunuchs and he had a large sword lying on the sheep skin on which he was sitting laying before him ready for a blow ~ I displayed my present before him one thing after another ~ the sword and silk & umbrella attracted the most of his attention and the Eunuch measured Every piece of silk and cloth I gave him ~ after the present was taken away I told him first who & What I was & Where I was going and ~~said~~ I wanted his assistance and protection to the King of Guari or to Zigzig²¹ ~ that I had been

²⁰ Manjiya’s war camp, 20 miles north of Mokwa, was at Zugurma, latitude 9-1-12N and Longitude 6-25-22E’ [Remark Book, f. 38]; see Kolapo, ‘Military Turbulence’, 241.

²¹ Zegzeg or Zaria.

well used and had every assist[ance] and protection from the different Kings from the sea coast to this place – he said that was easy & he would do as the rest had done – I then left him ~ his house or encampmt is in the centre and only differs from the rest by the huts being larger & an ostrich egg on the top of the huts of which there are 3 enclosed in a circular matting and his shed which consisted of 3 horses a bay a roan and a grey ~ the red roan & Bay with very sore backs the grey a dark iron grey with dead white ears – in the evening he sent me a live sheep – & the Eunuch brought rice & fowel well cooked but I was unable to eat



Friday Sunday 23^d Cloudy & Cool I was much better having shut my little straw hut up as close as possible so that

I was as if in a steem bath all night - this and fasting is a good cure for most disorders – at Noon I waited on the King - he was attended by only 2 Eunuchs – and as soon as I come in and the usual compl^{ts} had passed he to my surprise [“he” inserted] began to ask me for poison to take away the life of his brother & his children – poison I repeated the words I had no poison - Christians abhorred the thought of giving or using poison - he appeared much stupified at this & asked in a whining manner If I would give him any medecine to rid them & the country of the Fellatah – I said the only medecine I had was to cure pains in the belly or head - if he wanted [101A] any of that I would give it to him - he said he would thank me - a Fellatah chief entred without ceremony & seated him self directly in front of the king who then changed the conversation to my going away ~ the Fellatah stood interpreter without being asked ~ I was going to ask him what business he had to speak but as the king said nothing I held my peace ~ he begged me to give him a gun - I said my gun would be of no service to him as the chamber was very small & would not take in their coarse powder ~ then he begged a pistol - I said if he would send me to Kano I would give him one - he said he would send to Koolfu for the head man of the Kano merchants & I must pay him the 200000 cowries & he would send a messenger to See that the merchant did his duty ~ I said I would send him a pistol as soon as my baggage and stores passed Koolfu ~ he then asked me to give him 5 dollars - I said I had very few but would give him that when I passed Koolfu ~ he said he would send a Messenger with me to Guari & one to Kona [= Kano] ~ I said I wished to return to Tabra in the next morning early as I was unwell & Wanted to take medecine - he said I should go and that I should have every asstce ~

Man with scarification – Remark Book CO 2/16, f. 38

I then left him and returned to my hut where I was beset with Fellatahs and others – My friend Omar Zarmie offered me his huts which were better than mine but I declined as I see now how politics are & by remaining where I am I offend no party or side with none ~ the Eunuch behaves very well & I have his brother to attend on me who is one of his own servants – his father is also here in the Camp a respectable Nyffate who had this unfortunate son cut on purp[ose] to give to the King so that he might assist him & his famaly [n]or is it thought disgracefull in the pagan part of the populac[e] to do this –



Seated figure with pipe (and scarification) – CO. 2/16 Vol I, f. 157

Eunuchs I have now seen a great No- are the har[dest] to deal with of all others ~ inquisitive to excess but will give no information on any subject their ears & eyes constantly on the watch to hear & see priing into every thing so that they may communicat what information they gather to their master ~ with the effeminy of women but with out the least spark of their kindness or huminaty [sic] ~ when they get old or about 30 [“years of age” at margin] flaby & fat – no beards & their chins small thin & with out hair ~ faithfull even to death to their masters & I have heard of some being brave – they are I think without exception vain and only those who are cut young having a weak voice –

The King went through the camp followed by a great rabble – a slave carring the umberella I had given him over his head – he come & paid me a visit & began as soon as he had seated him self to show use of his staf[f] of authority which was a black stick about 4 feet long with a silver head & then said I had got some & he wanted one [101] – I said I was not able to give him one unless I gave him Bellos ~ he then begged my traveling knife fork & spoon ~ I said what am I Going to do with out & eat with my fingers - he had better come & try to take all I had at Tabra ~ he said he would not do that ~ I told him I had given him a better present than any body else that I had been well used & forwarded on my way by all but him ~ he said he wd send me on to Kano – & that I should go in 5 or 6 days after this & then left me ~ when he returnd home he sent me a present of one of the small country horses which will serve for Pascoe or Richard to ride

~~Saturday~~ **Monday 24** Morning cool & Cloudy ~ in the early part of the

Morning I went to take leave of the King whom I found in his hut surrounded by Fellatahs and others - one of the Fellatahs was reading the Koran aloud for the benefit of the whole the meaning of which not one of them understood not even the reading (this may seem odd to an English man but it is very common both in Bornou & Soudan for the Malems as they are called to be able to read the Koran fluently and not know the meaning of even [one] word except Allah) - I had my sword with me which he begged very hard for but I told him flatly & without ceremony he should have nothing before I was fairly on my way to Kano which he promised to do and showed me the person he intended sending with me as his messenger & he said he had already sent to Koolfu for a merchant to come up & [a]gree for what I was to pay for the carriage of my things - I thanked him & took my leave he is one of the most beggerly I have ever met has been the ruin of his country by bringing in the Fellat[ahs] who will put him out of the way the moment he ~~has been~~ is of no more use to them - even now he dare not move without their permission - he has killed his brother & 2 of his sons & he deserves all this and more - to kill ["him" inserted] now I should think would be charity - the industrious population of ["this part" inserted] of Nyffe have either been sold as slaves put to death or fled from their native country - they were with justice though pagans considered the most industrious and ingenuous people in the intereour weavers dyers black smiths casters of brass & iron workers in leather & carvers of wood & ivory - they used also to make broken beads into rings glass bottles into bracelets & carve in wood & ivory -

at 8-30 AM- I left the Camp or Sansan of the usurper or rebel Mohamed el Majea or the King in the Nyffe Tounge [*sic*]²² - and riding on ahead of old mohamed the Morz[u]kie my present interpreter and attendant I halted at 11 AM- to let the horse feed & Mohamed to come up with the sheep - at Noon M^d having come up I started with a plundering party who were following the same road that I was - they were going to take some villagers who had returned to their ruined houses to plant corn & build up the ruined huts without asking the Kings permission -

in crossing one of the small rivers & ascending the bank the chief of the party checked his horse & he & horse fell souse²³ into the water - he was close behind me but I left his party to pick him up - at 1-40 crossing the stream again I arrived at jannah where the party of plunderers also halted - the head man of the village gave ["me" inserted] the best hut which was ["re" inserted] built for the King on his passages to & from Tabra - & when old mohamed come up I gave him [= the head man] 2 gora nuts for which he was so well pleased that he went round & got me 2 fowels & some yams which his women cooked - poor man I was the first passenger to arr[ive] from the King that had ever given

²² Nupe: *tunga*, encampment or temporary village.

²³ A deep and sudden plunge.

him any thing ~ others had taken as much as they could force from him & his people – after sunset the plundering party left to attack the village which was only a short way up the river above Jannee – 3 Fellatahs belonging to it remained behind & said that one of the female slaves in the town belonged to them & [they] would force her away - swords were draw[n] by the fellatahs & the towns people set up the war cry [(] just like the indian war Whoop) the people collected & the Fellatahs were driven out of the place [“without their prize” inserted] but the people kept watch all night - I went to rest very quietly not meddling with the affair though I was applied to by both parties -

~~Sunday~~ **Tuesday 25th** Dark raw & Cloudy ~ at 1 A.M- left Jannie ~ I was hardly able to thread my way through the woods and in the ravines it was even [more] dangerous over some of them - I had just crossed a very bad bridge a horse man close behind me pricking his horse as he entered on the bridge & down went horse & man the poor horse which was a good looking one broke its leg but the rider was unhurt - I thanked god that I a stranger had passed over but before I was aware I was on another & to stop the horse & get off was impossible - I got over in safety but I confess that after I had got safe on hard ground I felt like as if sick with fear at the valley or ravine ~ [“halted of Kitako” at margin] I arrived at 6 AM- & halted for an hour to water & feed my horse – & then started [“& run” inserted] until I arrived at Tabra at 2-30 P.M- - I found Richard & Pascoe well [102] & my things all safe - Richard had shot 3 monkeys the meat of which the people of Tabra had nearly come to blows about as they said it was only meat for a king – The Kings Wife & Mother sent to ask after my health – and all were surprised at the rapid journey I had made from the Camp – Afternoon Thunder lightning & wind

~~Monday~~ **Wednesday 26th** Clear & Warm ~ I was visited by the principal people of the town – and old Mohamed returned in the afternoon with the sheep ~ the Queen & the Kings mother sent me A small quantity of honey & rice & his sister sent me a fowl & one egg [“bad teeth in men & women more numerous here than in any country I ever saw” – faint at margin and below]

~~Tuesday~~ [“Wednesday 28th” faint at margin] **Thursday 27th** Cloudy with fresh breezes – I have observed more people with bad teeth & the loss of the front 4 teeth in Nyffe than in any other country in Africa or in deed any other part of the world – mostly the moles [= molars] ~ wither it may arise from the universal custom of chewing snuff with Natron or not I do not know – the white of the eyes in black men is also bilious looking & blood shot not one exception except in the very young – can this be owing to the very frequent exposure of the shaven scalp to the suns rays

~~Wednesday~~ **Friday 28th** Clear & Cool in the Afternoon a Tornado

Thursday Saturday 29 Clear & Cool the head man of the town came this morning he was very anxious to know if he had offended me prefacing his speech with an account of his poverty ~ I took not the least notice of his story declared he had never offended me in any way but appeared not at all to understand it any other wise but as he spoke

Friday Sunday 30 Clear & Cool ~ this Morning a Bornou Merchant ~~& slave~~ came from Koolfu & has promised to ~~go~~ carry my baggage to Kano for 20000 [= 200,000] Cowrie ~ he has come from Bornou with Natron & says M^r Tirwhit was well when he left in Feby – last²⁴ – have only to sign the agreement & pay half the money and as soon as he was disposed of his ~~remain[ing]~~ Natron can go

Saturday Monday May 1st 1826 Clear & Cool – the Bornou Merchant not having come according to his promise I sent Mohamed [] a new servant I have hired – to tell him that if he did not come to morrow & take away my things I would consider him as not going to keep the bargain – The Queen or usurpers wife sent to buy a dollar from me to make a finger ring with 1/2 the money & she would pay the rest next market day ~ I would not give her one without she sent all the money

[103A] **Sunday Tuesday 2 May 1826** Morning Clear & warm ~ at 6 A.M- the Bornou Merch[ant] arrived with asses to convey the baggage & after taking leave of the King's mother who wanted to send messengers with me through their towns which I declined and said I was now in the hands of the Sheikh of Bornou's servant and he would do every thing – at 9 AM left Tabra & passing the walled town of Goudah and close by the ~~town~~ banks of the Magyarro I crossed ["a small stream" inserted] at 10 AM & entred the town of Koolfu the greatest Market town in this part of Nyffe & resorted to by people from all parts of the intereour ["Course E by N 11 ~~2-Miles~~ from the North" at margin] ~ I was provided with a good house and the head man of the town a very plausible fellow was very officious in seeing me well lodged but at the same time giving broad hints for a present ~ The Merchant²⁵ has to sta[y] here Untill after the feast of the end of the Rahmadan – I was visited by all the principal people of the town as a ma[t]ter of curiosity though a N^o of them had come to see me when I was at Tabra – at 10 P.M- we had a severe Tornado accompanied with heavy rain ~ the lightning for 2 hours was one continued light without interruption & the thunder one continued roar -

Monday Wednesday 3rd Daylight Clear & Cool – a no. of my Tabra friends came to day with goats & sheep for me to buy ~ when I was amongst them it was with the greatest difficulty I could get one to buy and they raised the price

²⁴ Trywhitt had actually died in October 1824; see Introduction.

²⁵ Mohamed Kalu the leader of the caravan from Borno.



Kulfo

from 1000 cowries a sheep to 9000 - this was too much - I would have submitted to half that sum but that would not do & they would only give me 1400 cowries for my spanish dollars so to dissapoint them I shot Pigeons & lived upon them I & my servants – received a present of a sheep from the head man of the Town

Thursday 4th Warm & Cloudy this forenoon I brought the Bornou Merchant to a written agreement & he is to carry my baggage &¢ to Kano for 200.000 Cowries & I have paid half here & taken his receipt - he is to leave this [place] 2 days after the feast I give him \$3 -

Friday 5th Cloudy & Warm - to my surprise the Bornou Merchant is off with his ba[r]gin & has returned me my money - he says it is not enough he wants 30\$ more - I certainly was much dissapointed as [=at having] to remain in this country when there is a scarcity of provisions a civil war & both King and people join in making me pay what price they please for every necessary I may want - the head man of the town who is joind with the Madagoo²⁶ came to comfort me & to see what I intended to do - I received him as usual told [him] there were 3 things I could do remain at Boussa during the rains – or go on to Yauri or perhaps wait here untill I heard from Bello whose messenger I expected in the course of a day or 2 - that one cowrie more I would not give to the Madagoo -

²⁶ Hausa *madugu*: caravan leader.

[103] **Saturday 6th** Warm & Cloudy at 8 A.M. a Messenger from the King of Boussa came to me his master having heard that I was still detained in Nyffe either for me to come to Bousa & remain with him during the rainy season or untill he could forward me on to Kano – When the head man of the town & the Madagoo heard of this they offred to take me for nothing ~ I told them I would adhere to my former bargain if they chose if not I should go to Boussa it was now a matter of indifference to me – they begged I would not think of going to Boussa

Night heavy rain accompanied with Squalls Th^r & lightning

Sunday 7th Cool & Cloudy – new impositions are arising here also an order from the head man of the town prevents me getting any provisions to buy from any one but himself - no one dare exchange a dollar for me but he must know of it and have his share of the spoil – this is done so quietly that only for my former experience & suspecting such to be the case I would have remained ignorant and perhaps it w^d save me much care were these impositions not to increase every time I have to buy

Monday 8th – Clear & Cool - The house in which I live is one of the best in Koofu & I have separate coozies parted off from the rest of the house & a place for my cattle which consist of 2 horses & a mare – the owner of the house is a widow large fat & deaf and considered to be the richest person in the place – she also sells Bouza²⁷ & Roa Bum²⁸ or Palm wine & every night the outer hut is filled with the Topers of Koulfu who are provided with music as well as drink & keep it up every night untill the dawn of morning separates them - their music consists of a drum the Erbab or guitar of the country the Nyffe harp & the voice – the Bouza is made from the doura²⁹ or guinea corn honey chalots [“& the root of a coarse grass” inserted] & Water fermented for 3 days near a slow fire in large earthen pots ~ they say it is very firey [*sic*] & intoxicating & Mohamedan & infidell all drink and agree very well in their cups – the songs they sing are genearily extem[p]ory and about the company present – I could get no sleep either me or my servants the first 2 nights for their noise ~~but~~ & was thinking of giving them a few small shot or watering them with a large syringe but I soon got used to it & far better I did not for there would have been surely a riot in Koofu & I would have got the Worst of it – this night the new moon was seen & Mohamedan & pagan joined in the cry of joy – my old land lady had 13 boards written with sentences from the Koran which then were washed clear & the water drank by her & her famely ~ she [“offred me some but I told her I did not drink dirty water – this is a cure for all disorders a bringer of Strength courage and plenty and all the people in the country drink except those who write” at margin]

²⁷ Not Hausa; unclear.

²⁸ Hausa: *ruwan bomi*.

²⁹ Hausa: *dawa*, guinea corn.

[104A] **Tuesday 9th** Clear & Warm - the new moon last night being seen put an end to the Fast of Rahmadan and to day is observed as a day of rejoicing by both Mohamedan & Kafir - every one was dressed in their best paying and receiving visits giving and receiving presents parading the streets with horns guitars & flutes - groups of men & women seated under shady trees and at the doors of their houses drinking the Roa bum or Palm wine & Bouza - I too had my share of visitors - the head man of the town & all his friends came to be treated with tea or as they will call it hot water roa in zafie³⁰ - the Chief of Ingaskie the second town in Youri only a days Journey distant to the North sent me a present of a sheep some rice & 1000 gora nuts for which he expects double the ammou[nt] - ["the women are dressed & painted to the height of Nyffe perfection & the young & modest on this occasion would come up as if old acquaintance & bid you joy on the day - the wool & eye brows painted with indigo they [*sic*] eye lashes blacked the lips stained yellow the teeth red & the feet & hands with henna their finest cloths on the[i]r necks adorned with beads their legs & Arms adorned with bracelets of glass brass & Silver - [on] their fingers were rings with spanish dollar soldered on the back - they too drank of the roa bum & the bouza as freely as the men and joined in their songs wither good or bad" at margin] -

this day by free man & slave was kept up through[ou]t in a constant appearance of joy - not a clouded brow was to be seen but at 9 P.M- the scene was changed to one of awful grandeur & ~~paradise~~ sublim[ity] - a tornado had just ["began" inserted] & the hum of voices & the din raised by the people securing their things from the approaching rain - had ceased at once a light burst out from the East by which ~~you~~ I could distingu[ish] the smallest storm - all was silent as death for about 1/4 of an hour except the Thunder & the Wind - the clouded sky appeared as if on fire each cloud rolling towards us as a sea of flame and only surpassed in grandeur & brightness by the ["forked" inserted] lightning which constantly appeared to ascend & descend from the fire of what now appeared to be the Town of Bali on fire only a short distance outside the walls of Koolfu ["when this was known" inserted] a ~~new~~ sce[ne] began if possible worse than before - the wind had increased to a hurricane houses ["were" inserted] blown down roofs of houses going along with the wind like chaff trees bending & breaking and in the intervalls between the roaring of the thunder nothing heard but the war cry of the men & the screams of women and children as no one knew but that an enemy was at hand and we should every instant share the fate of Bali - I had the fire arms loaded when I learnt this the door of the house well secured stationed Richard & Pascoe at the door of each hut and took the command of my landlady[’s] house & my own - and put all the fires out - one old slave woman was with the greatest unconcern roasting cashew nuts over a spreading fire which on ordering it out she ma[de] as much

³⁰ i.e., *ruwan zafi*

noise [“or more” inserted] as if the house had been in flames ~ at last the rain fell - the fire in Bali had ceased by its being burnt down & we escaped with the loss of the roof of one hut & the sheds blown down – all was now quiet & I went to rest with that satisfaction I believe every man feels on his neighbours suffering a great misfortune that might have happened to himself & thanks god that it has [“not” inserted] come to his turn yet³¹

Sunday, 14th. – Mohamed, the Fezzanie, whom I had hired at Tabra, and whom I had sent to the chief of Youri³² for the books and papers of the late Mungo Park, returned, bringing me a letter from that person, which contained the following account of the death of that unfortunate traveller: that not the least injury was done to him at Youri, or by the people of that country; that the people of Boussa had them killed, and taken all their riches; that the books in his possession were given him by the Imam of Boussa; that they were lying on the top of the goods in the boat when she was taken; that not a soul was left alive belonging to the boat; that the bodies of two black men were found in the boat chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat; that he would give me the books whenever I went to Youri myself for them, not until then.

Monday, 15th. – I am still very weak; Richard worse. I had a letter from the learned Abdurahman,³³ of Kora, a noted chief of banditti, and who once, with his followers, overran Nyffé, and held possession of the capital six months. He now keeps the town of Kora, a day’s journey to the north-east, and is much feared by Mohamedan and Kafr. He is a native of Nyffé. He is particularly anxious that I should visit him, as he wants my acquaintance, and begs I will give him the Psalms of David in Arabic, which he hears I have got. His letter was written on part of the picture of the frontispiece of an European book, apparently Spanish or Portuguese. He says he has something to communicate to me, which cannot be done but by a personal interview; but unless he come to Koofu I told his messenger, I could not see him.

[104]³⁴ **Friday 19** daily and selling their goods by retail for caravans & then buyin[g] natron and other goods and return to their own country in [a] body having genearily a few more arrived to protect them ~ they carry the goods on

³¹ The entries for May 14-15 are from the published account, pp. 132-3.

³² The emir of Yauri, Muhammad Bashiru dan Ayi, who ruled from 1799-1829; see Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 260.

³³ Abd al-Rahman al-Nufawi, who initiated the *jihād* in Nupe, occupied the capital at Mokwa in c. 1810; see Mason, *Bida Kingdom*, 25-6; and Kolapo, ‘Military Turbulence’, 43.

³⁴ No journal entries exist for the period from Wednesday 10th to Thursday 18th May inclusive. They may have been written on loose pages. The Remark book sheds no light on this period.

their heads – it is also a rendezvous for the Great caravans to & from Hausa & Gongga who here remain 14 or 20 days on going & returning – people from Agolly³⁵ Save on the sea coast³⁶ – Niki – Katunga here I saw a No- of Merchants who had seen me when at Katunga but durst not speak to me there for fear of having their throats cut as they said they were ordered by the Kings people to hold no communication with us – they also told me that my friend the fat Eunuch had been endeavouring to hire a man to assassinate me but they were all affraid – the principal weekly markets in Koolfu on Tuesdays & Saturdays

Saturday 20th Warm with flying clouds ~ at 5 P.M- we had a tornado with th^l light^{ns} & rain – at 7 P.M- we were thrown into a considerable state of Alarm by one of the huts in which the Bornou Merchant live taking fire ~ only for the rain having fallen before & their [*sic*] being not a breath of air or else the hut in which I live must have gone too as the [*sic*] they were not 10 feet f^m the hut on fire ~ the principal people of the town came to my assistance and when the hut was burnt down they declaired the blessing of god was upon me or I would have been burnt out also – it continued to drizel & rain all night

Sunday 21st Dull & Cloudy

Monday 22nd Clear & Warm after noon thunder lightning & rain which continued all night

Tuesday 23- Cool & Cloudy ~ a large caravan arrived from Yourriba by the way of Borgoo where they had been selling Natron ~ they are most all natives of Kano -

There is strong reports of a war between the Sheikh El Kanamie and the Fellatahs ~ they say the Sheikh has taken the city of Hadiga³⁷ and that the Gov^l of Kano has gone out to meet him with all his forces ~ this report is brought by a Gaffle just returned from Kano – whither true or false time only will prove ~ I rather think it is idle report to please the people of Nyffe who cannot bear the Fellatahs – in the evening a messenger come to me from the King of Boussa bringing me a beatifull little bay mare as a present ~ he was accompanied by a female slave of the Midakis with a present of yams rice and butter – he brought a message from the King desiring me to Kill a she goat and distribute the flesh amongst the people of Koulfu the day before I left ~ that he had distributed Gora nuts and Salt at Boussa for me which would do for Koolfu - [105A] he also

³⁵ According to Law (*Oyo Empire*, 282n), 'Agolly' is the town described by Bowdich (*Mission to Ashantee*, 208) as 'Aquallie ... the frontier town of Yariba' and is to be identified with Agbonle.

³⁶ Save is not on the coast but on the route to the coast south west from Katunga and eastern Borgu, through Ilesa, Agbonle, or Godeberi, along high ground, through Mahi to Abomey, in Dahomey, and from thence to the coast at Ouidah.

³⁷ Hadejia, the emirate northeast of Kano, bordering Borno.

desired that I would eat of no cooked provisions which would be sent me by the Majieas relations from Tabra as they intended to take my life by poison – through the night continual rain th^r & lightning

Wednesday 24 Dull & Cloudy ~ all day a caravan of Haussa Merchants arrivd from a trading journey from Yourriba and Borgoo bringing Jabboo and Yourriba cloths pepper Salt and a little cotton and woolen cloth – which they had received in exchange for horses of Bornou Natron & beads small mock coral – and a bead called Muckni³⁸ of an oval shape chocolate color with two white rings around the centre – the chief of the caravan waited on me and amused me for some time in making a bargain to carry my things to Kano – but like all the rest he ended as he began by strating [*sic*] difficulties

Thursday 25 Clear & Cool ~ sent the Learned Mohamed an Arab to Raba to the [“late” inserted] Imam of Boussa who he says has got some of the late Mungo Parks books – one he says was carried to Yourriba by a Fellatah as a preservative against musquet balls ~ he is either to buy them or I will give Arabic books in exchange

Friday 26 Cool & Clear Richard better – Peppers held in esteem by the Africans Mansu³⁹ Shitta⁴⁰ – Kimba⁴¹

[“Trade how carried on” at margin]

the trade from the Western bank of the Quarra – to this place is principally carried on by Women – ~~from~~ Whose stock of goods are carried on their heads and consist of Guinea pepper Yourriba cloth Jaboo cloths red wood ground to a powder and made into a paste with which women and children anoint their skins with accounting it as medecine and an ornament and Salt with perhaps a small quantity of woolen cloth and a little coarse calico – with these goods they attend the Markets of the diffrent towns as they pass through and exchanging only with such goods as will bring a large profit at Koolfu – where they make their grand halt & sell their wares for cowries only with which they buy Natron [“and beads” at margin] & return with it to their own country – They lodge in the diffrent houses of the town attending the market daily and when not at the Market they are employed in spinning or dressing cotton a little of which they buy on their arrival & When spun this they also sell ~ every house has a number of spare huts which they are glad to let to these female pedlers –

³⁸ Probably introduced into the Sudan in the time Mohammad al-Mukni, the powerful Bey of Fezzan who played a significant role in developing Tripoli’s trade with the Sudan in the second decade of the century. [Personal communication, Usman Geidam, Kano, 1994].

³⁹ Hausa meaning not established.

⁴⁰ Hausa: *citta*, ‘guinea grains’, a small fruit containing brown aromatic seeds used as a spice; *cittar aho*, ginger.

⁴¹ Hausa: *kimba*, African guinea pepper tree and its fruit, used as a purgative and also as a condiment.

Trade on the large scale is carried on principally by the Natives of Bornou and Haussa who traverse [105] the country in large caravans ~ the Natives of Bornou seldom come further than Koolfu some few only crossing the Quorra to Gongga in company of the natives of Haussa – the principal part of the Merchandise the people of both these Nations bring is Natron – Bornou horses, white Tobes principally made in Bornou – beads which are made in Italy and come by the way of Tripoli of various colors – unwrought silk of a bout a pound or ½ pound each paper principally red very coarse and has with Natron the readiest sale of all other articles – the Natron genearily brings about [“the value of” at margin] 2 \$ the ½ bushel a paper of red silk unwrought the value of 1\$ – they carry these goods on oxen and asses and when they have slaves – they carry loads on their heads – These caravans stop on the way to the West^d at Koolfu – some take the road of Ingaskie and Boussa visiting Youri as they pass ~ from thence they go to Wawa and Niki in the Kingdom of Borgoo from thence to Gongga seldom in Numbers visiting Ashantie – No caravan goes to Dahomey the Dahomey Merchants Meeting the caravan in Yourriba or Borgoo or bu[y]ing their Natron &¢ from the Native merchants ~ the other caravan takes the route of Wawa, Rakah, Agolly and Kiama carrying the same kind of goods ~ some of the Merchants visit Katunga when at Rakah but when there keep very close ever since the people of Yourriba put to death and seized on the goods of all the Mohamatans at the breaking out of the Fellatah war – The Caravans bring from Gonja gora or Kolla nuts printed manchester cotton earthen ware pewter & brass dishes a few slaves a very little gold & some country cloths very few amongst them have 2000 dollars embarked

at Midnight a severe tornado with lightning thunder & rain

Saturday 27th Morning Cool & Clear – Midnight a seivre tornado

Sunday 28th Cool & Clear

Monday 29th Cool & Clear

Tuesday 30th Clear & Cool at night a tornado

~~Wednesday~~ **Thursday [sic] 1st June 1826** Cloudy & Cool [“[one or two words illeg.] burnt the floors of a house” faint below]

Thursday 2nd Cloudy ~ Koolfu has been twice burnt down by the enemy once 5 years ago and again last year

Friday 3rd [“Clear &” faint, inserted] cloudy [“last night rain” faint, inserted] a tornado

Saturday 4th Clear the Fellatahs to the amount of 5 or 600 horse and foot arriv[e]s take Pascoes grass ~ night Tornado – a battle between two towns – about *spies*

Sunday 5th Clear - the Fellatahs gone & more come – Tornado

Monday 6th Cloudy

Tuesday 7th[]

Wednesday 8th Clear

Thursday 9th[]

Friday 10 a Tripoline Arrived ~ he and two of his Fezzanie servants come from Morzuk with the caravan when I went to Bornou⁴²

[106A] **Saturday 11th** Clear & Warm – Midnight – a tornado –

[2 or more words illeg.] Koolfu or Sometimes by foreigners Koolfee the principal town for trade in Nyffe at present also the central point for trading in this part of the intereour it is situated on the north bank of the Maygarrow and is in Lat^{de} [10-5-18⁴³] North and Long^{de} [6-40-28] East - it is surrounded [2 words illeg.] by a clay wall about 30 feet high and has four gates - it is built in the form of an oblong square having its longest diameter from East to West - there is one long irregular street running ~~from~~ through it from which lead lanes or small streets on each side - there are large open spaces with shady trees and booths where a daily market is held and two principal markets are held once a week which are riseorted [*sic*] to by traders from the East as far as Bornou from the West as far as Agolly in Yourriba and some times by people from the Sea coast Cubbie Youri and Borgoo Sockatoo Zamfra from the North and before the War people from Benin and Jabbo – and the Southn parts of Nyffe and to Meet here the merchants from Gonja Bornou & Haussa &^c where they either carried on their trade by barter or sold their goods for Cowries and bought what they wanted at once and returned home ~ the natives to the South & West Borgoo Cubbee and Youri carrying their goods on their heads ~~those on the East~~ generally having a no of female slaves for that purpose or else their wives and hired women those [“of” inserted] Bornou Haussa Jacoba⁴⁴ &^c carrying most of their goods on bullocks and asses most of which come from Bornou ~ indeed the asses are all bred there [“the duties are collected at Tabra – 20 Cowries a head

⁴² Mūsā Dalīk from Tripoli, see entries, Tuesday 14th June, and Friday 9th July. Mūsā, whom Clapperton had met in Murzuq in 1822, had travelled to Kukawa with the Borno Mission.

⁴³ Coordinates left blank, but completed here from Remark Book [f. 28].

⁴⁴ The emirate of Bauchi, by the name of its first emir, Yakubu.

for all Males not natives entring the Gates or 20 C. per load” at margin] Coral ~ The Haussa & Bornou Merchants – ~~carry to sell~~ in the Caravans to Gonja Youriba – carry to sell horses Natron unwrought silk of diffrent [“colors” inserted] made up in lb weight beads of various kinds tobacco grown in Nyffe cloths made up in the moorish fashion red woolen caps slaves turbans of various colors [“Corals” at margin] Kolla nuts – gold and dollars and a few musquets – from Gonja – Ashantee and &c Youriba Salt – Cloth of the manufacture of the country – frequently interwoven with silk – brass pans copper dishes a very small quantity of earthen ware pewter dishes broad calico Morocco – Shitta Malagetto [“pepper” inserted] Kimba – and rum ~ the [“Merchts of the” inserted] Caravans ~~consist of~~ carry their goods on mules asses bullocks and on the heads of slaves and hired servants many ~~small~~ of the poorer sort carry their goods on their head

The people Who live [here] the Natives I mean who trade to and from [“the diffrent countries on” at margin] the Western side of the Quorra – carry their goods on their heads are mostly females and trade from town to town [“trading and attending the Markets” at margin] as they go along having an aim to [travel] to some particular large town where they make their grand purchas[es] and take a rest – attend the markets daily and when not emp^d [= employed] they have genear[l]y a little cotton or wool which they purchase and if not at the market employ them selves in spinning –

of the Slave trade they allways have the Slaves for Sale confined in the house mostly in irons seldom going out except to the well or river to Wash every morning and then they are strictly guarded - on a journey they are chained in a line neck to neck either with iron or with thongs of hide and carry loads on their head commonly of their owners goods or his household stuff ~ their loads seldom exceed 50 lbs weight sometimes 60 – a stranger unless a slave dealer may remain [106] a month in a town without seeing any of these slaves except by particular wish or accident – The domestic slaves are considred as part of the family and are if they behave well human[e]ly used ~ the males are often freed or live in a state of vassalage and the female slaves are given in marrige some times to free men at other times to the domestic male slaves of the famaly – when they have a separate house given them in the town or in the country where if not freed they have to give their owners part of the product of their labour - the freed men [“or women” at margin] allways look upon ~~the head of their~~ their late owner as their lord and stile [= style] he or she father or Mother and they Allways call the head of his or her family father &c should the person who freed them die ~ The food of the free and the slave is nearly the same perhaps the owner may have a little fat, flesh, fish, or fowel, more than his slaves but that is all with his meat served in a separate dish perhaps in a seperate appartment – even their greatest men do not scruple to let a [“favrite” inserted] slave of his own eat with him at times but never a woman -

Their food consists of ground maize Made into puddings of about 1/2 pound each wrapped up in leaves & sold at 5 cowries each in the market - flumery or as the Scotch call it sowens⁴⁵ made from the Ground millet as starch is from wheat in our country - as the millet when ground is allowed to stand ["in a vessel" at margin] covered with water about 6 inches until it begins to get sour - it is then stirred well and strained through a strainer of basket work into another vessel where it is allowed to settle the water drained off and the farina dried in the sun - when perfectly dry it is fit for use broken into small lumps and kept in a sack or basket - when cooked it is just put into boiling water and makes a very pleasant and healthy breakfast with salt or a little honey ["Kana, Niffy" and "Koko - 2 C- a pint" Effa⁴⁶ small [w]rapper of Pudding 1 Cowrie a piece" at margin]- they have another pudding Made of ground Millet in the ley of wood ashes ~~until~~ which is always eat with fat - or stewed meat fish or fowel - they allways stew their meat fish flesh and fowel first grilling it on the fire when smokey and then cutting it in pieces and stewing it flesh with the skin on - boiled beans made up in 1/2 pounds wrapped up in leaves are sold for ["called waki"⁴⁷ inserted] 2 Cowries - dried beans eat in that way calavances small balls of boild rice ["dundacoria"⁴⁸ at margin] mixed with rice flower small balls of rice mixed with honey small balls of beans burnd and fried in butter ["Bakaroo" inserted]⁴⁹ - Intoxicating drinks aquadent⁵⁰, Bouza - Palm wine the aquadent comes in small quantities fom the sea coast is well pepperd and watred - the Bouza is made from Guinea corn, chili pepper - honey the roots of a grass called []⁵¹ - one third of each is put in and allowed to ferment in water for 7 or 8 days in large earthen jars open at top standing on the ground near a slow fire - when ready for drinking it is put into other earthen jars and strained 10 Cowries a quart sweet hot and very intoxicating - the Palm wine called Roa Bum or Bum is 10 cowries - and is well known -

The inhabitants may ammount to from 12 to 15000 including all classes their sole employment trade though some may be weavers and Taylors Blacksmiths yet every one attends the market and buys & sells that which he does not make when he is too lazy to work - the domestic slaves are some employed in distant journeys & will even ["be sent" inserted] go as far as Gonja with corn or equipment to sell [107A] for their master or Mistress and instances are very rare of their betraying their trust - some are employed cutting wood & grass and selling it in the market others are weaving or die [= dyers] builders &℄ - the females that are old are ["also" inserted] emp^d on cleaning cotton and spinning

⁴⁵ A mash of bran or husks of oats steeped in water, and allowed to ferment slightly.

⁴⁶ Not identified.

⁴⁷ Hausa: *wake*, beans.

⁴⁸ Hausa: *dandakwarya* = *nakiya*, a sweetmeat consisting of ground rice, honey, and peppers; also made with guinea-corn or bulrush-millet flour in place of rice.

⁴⁹ *akara* in Nupe and Yoruba.

⁵⁰ Aquadent is any raw alcohol taken as a drink; here spirits imported from the coast.

⁵¹ Not identified; according to published text, p. 130, 'a grass on which the cattle feed'.

into thread others cooking or making sweet meats Selling them in the market or going about from house to house to sell them ~ Their work is easy and [an] english man in one hour would complete their days work -

The people are very civil but lying is so common that the truth I may say is not in them – ~~but~~ nor do they think the least shame should follow detection ~ they are humane to one another for when the town of Bali was burnt down every person sent What they could afford to assist in building up their houses – [“and several individual acts of real goodness of heart to one another come under my obs^d while at Koofu ~ me they (certainly Borrobamie) used to cheat on every account they could but this must be considered I was thought to be very rich I differd with them in color religion in dress and in my manner of living” at margin]

When a house is built a feast is made and all the female acquit [= acquaintances] of the owner and his friends are invited only females – where they are sumoned with beating the floors the men having first prepared and laid the clay – perhaps this was the first of our house warming[s] – they grind standing ~ an improvement that is nowhere to be obs^d between Tripoly and the sea coast

children and the women wash from head to foot in water in which the leaves of a bush called noomberry⁵² have been boiled in – they have a great feast on giving a child a name which is done when it is 7 days old ~ all the acquaintances are invited who bring presents of corn cakes of doura – dishes of cooked meat in fact a little of every thing they have ~ the mother also sends presents of cooked meat and pudding to those who cannot attend ~ palm wine and Bouza is freely served out on those occasions and the singers & dancers attend and on the whole have a regular day of feasting on that day

Their marriges are mere simple agreements Mohamedans excep [*sic*] and their marriges have been often described and are the same every where excepting here that old men will be betrothed to infants ~ so is the Mohamedan manner of burials ~ the pagans bury some times in the house frequently in the door way – and some times in the woods having no regular burying place like us or the Mohame[d]ans – the grave is a round hole like a well ~ the corpse is dressed & put into the grave in a sitting position with the wrists tyed round the neck and the legs & thighs tyed round the body ~ the friends and those of the same religion bring presents of cloth palm wine & ^c which are laid [in] a sml [= small] opening left at the grave and say to the corpse take this as a present to such a one who has been dead before ~ the cloths & ^c are allways taken away by the friends or the pagan priest as they allways disappear before next day –

⁵² Probably a reference by Clapperton to the East Indian Neem tree, the margosa, which yields a bitter oil.

[107] **Sunday 12** Clear

Monday [“13 inserted”] very unwell with slow fever

Tuesday 14 still unwell ~ M^L- Moussa the Trablize⁵³ is wanting to screw as much out of me as he can and to day I think he has caused some of his servants to steal my camel – in the evening I concluded after all a bargain with Mohamed Kalu the Madago to carry my things to Guari for 68 Spanish dollars – I certainly have been made to pay at last but I think I have lost nothing by remaining here -

Wednesday 15th Morning clear ~ at day light the Madago sent of[f] three loaded asses with a part of my baggage but in less than an hour a new difficulty arose ~ the people would not take the dollars unless he gave them for 1700 – as they thought it was impossible I could get away with out them – our bargain was again broke off and I agreed with Moussa to take me for the same money to Guari and to start next saturday – in the after noon Mousa and his men came and prepared the loads – the old madago is a very good man I realy believe but made a fool of by the people here who delight in playing him [up]

Thursday 16 Cloudy with a little rain ~ the Bornou people left to encamp at Zonga⁵⁴ a town close to hand ready for starting ~ Zonga the gathering place of the caravans going to the East^d

Friday 17 Cool & clear ~ I paid for the rent of my house 3000 cowries gave the mistress a present of 21 Coral beads a knife pair of scissors a crape scarf an empty phosphorus match box and several strings of beads to each of her slaves ~ I gave 500 cowries to the head man of the town a large knife a piece of silk and a looking glass ~ this evening I was asking one [“of” inserted] my landlady sons in law – about the manners of the Kumbri – when he gave me the following account of the death of poor Park and his companions of which he was a witness –

he said that at [*sic*] the time the boat came down the river happn^d at the time of the first rising of the Fellatahs under Malem Dumfodio ~ that the Sultan of Boussa collected all the people from the neighbouring towns on both sides of the river and attacked the people on the boats with bows and arrows taking them for the advance of one of Dum Fodios ~~people~~ [“armies” at margin] ~ that they had never seen such a boat that she had a house at one end ~ that one of the white men was very tall and had long hair ~ that the people of the neighbouring coun^{ty} fled into the intereour for fear of the supposed invasion of the Fellatahs

⁵³ For the receipt arising from these negotiations with Mūsā Dalīk over the transport of Clapperton’s goods to Kano, see Appendix III.

⁵⁴ Hausa, *zango* or *zongo*, site where caravans halted; sometimes a temporary ‘town.’

who at that time were ravaging Goobeer and Zamfra- only for that they would not have been killed – this account I believe to be the best of all I have received and was given straight forward without any fishing what ever ~ I was often puzzled to think after the kind treatment I had received at the hand of the Sultan of Boussa what had caused such a revaluation [= revolution] in the minds of men in that short time and even as was natural began to think there was something in me that there was in nobody else the like

at night a Tornado – with thunder lightning and rain

[108A] **Saturday 18th** Morning Cloudy with rain – Miday fine – at 9 P.M-tornado

Sunday 19th Cloudy and cool - bought 500 goru nuts to give as presents on the road – and had to advance M^h Mousa 10\$ more ~ bought 5\$ worth of gora nuts to give as presents on the road

Monday 20th the long looked for day come at last after having had to pay at last 78\$ for hire of bullocks and to buy rope hides &¢ for the loads besides other expenses that I never thought off [*sic*] before ~ my new friend M^r Moussa and his Fezaners – for he has taken Mohamed who I turned away also into his party think to make hay while the sun shines and [“their” inserted] greediness they show to know every movement of mine and to catch at every thing and cheat me of all they can is no comfortable thing to be aware of as they will fleace me of every penny they can on the road –

at 7-20 AM- I left Koolfu [“Course E.N.E 3 Miles” at margin] ~ I was accompanied by the head man & most of the principal people of the town as far as the Village of Kufu which is walled and at about a gunshot to the south stands another walled village with whom they are at heavy war – the headman of Koolfu introduced me to the head man of Kufu who provided me with a good house and made me a present of a sheep and some cooked meat ~ I had also presents of meat from a n^o of other people here – and the villagers who must all have seen me at Koolfu were not satisfied with looking at me there but must mount the trees and a rising ground which over looked my house & court yard to have another look – My landlady the Widow Ladie also come to Koolfu I thought out of compliment to me but it was to sell her Bouza and Bum & the Bullock drivers and the Merchants or Fetakis⁵⁵ as they are called kept drinking & making a noise all night – the country arround Kufu is well planted with indigo millet cotton and yams – the soil a strong red clay – Raguda is the name of the other walled village and nothing but vengance and destruction passes between them

⁵⁵ Hausa: *falke* (pl. *fatake*), merchant.

Tuesday 21st Morning Cloudy ~ at 6 AM. left Kufu the path or road through a woody country the trees consisting mostly of the Micadania or butter tree which do not grow to a large size the largest about the size of our apple trees – in Europe but this only seldom ~ their girth is not above a foot or 18 inches in diameter the largest – the path was winding the soil a deep red clay covered with a thin layer of sand ~ Course N.E by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E

At 11-we entered a range of low hills running from N.W. to S.E. the road amongst them woody winding & the ascents and descents steep & slippery ~ the bullocks often threw their loads ~ at ~~3 P.M.~~ 2-50 P.M. we came near a village called Ekible – built on the top of one of the hills in the valley below and in the ruins of a town we found a large Caravan of Haussa merchants encamped [108] Who had left Kufu this morning before us ~ we encamped also as Moussa & his men were afraid to pass through the hilly country of Youri and Kotong kora⁵⁶ – without their company – 2 of the bullocks took fright and nearly destroyed my canteen and the medicine chest – the ruined town in which we are encamped has been walled and of considerable size ~ the plantations of cotton indigo and Chili pepper grown up with weeds the soil a deep red clay and the hills mostly the same intermixed with blocks of sand stone and Clay iron stone loose & in scurfs⁵⁷ but no regular strata [“Course NE by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E 8 Miles to the hills NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 2 Miles Amongst the hills” at margin]

Wednesday 22nd Calm & Cloudy ~ at 6-15 left our encampment under Ekibli the path over a plain through a wood of butter trees small & stunted the soil a hard red clay with occ^ly scurfs of clay iron stone – and slightly covered with sand – At 11 AM- passed a large walled town inhabited by the Cumbrie and belonging to the state of Youri ~ the walls were manned by the Male inhabitants all armed with bows arrows a dagger and hoe or hatchet and some a sword mostly with only a skin round their loins ~ the cause they said of their appearing in this hostile manner was that they took the Caravan which is very large and a number of the Merchants Mounted for an army of the fellatahs ~ when they found out their mistake they were anxious that we should stop and the women followed the Caravan with boiled beans Maize Yams fowels and pudding for sale – I could not learn the name of the town which is large and populous has a double wall the inner in good repair but the outer in a sad ruinous condition ~ the environs of the town is cleared of wood and planted with Millet Guinea corn yams indigo and cotton ~ a stream of water runs through the town which at the south side where the path lays forms a swam[p] the de[s]cent and ascent from which is very difficult for loaded bullocks and asses at this season in particular – after passing this town the path much the same as before except that the clay was now occ^ly when exposed streaked red and white with blocks of

⁵⁶ Kotonkora, not to be confused with Kontagora, which was founded later. See entry, Saturday 25th June below.

⁵⁷ A thin layer or crust.

sand stone here and there containing nodules of iron ~ Saw a range of low hills to the East^d running from N.W. to S.E. ~ at 1-40 passed another large town the inh^{ts} of which also manned their walls [*sic*] and were armed as before ~ no^s of them were lurking amongst the growing grain and when asked what they were doing there armed they said they were guarding the Millet from the asses and bullocks as they passed through ~ at 2-30 entered amongst the hills & passed another town the inh^{ts} as before and at 4 P.M. halted at a walled town called Bulla bula where we encamped [“Course E.N.E 8 Miles E by N^{3/4}N 7 Miles” at margin] ~ as soon as my tent was pitched I was surrounded by the inhabitants ~ they were quite [109A] amused with my hat and the women surrounded me in crowds but soon found out that I was no Mislem and a stranger and charged me three times as much as any body else ~ they brought goats sheep fowells pudding boild beens wood & water –

the young men were dressed in a very fanciful manner with abundance of beads red & White round the neck – the wool cut short and shaved in circles & straight lines ~ round the neck strings of red & white beads and the lowest string with pendants of white beads attached to the lower string which hung down to the bend of the neck – round the loins a tan[n]ed sheep or Ant[ilope] skin cut into thongs to the ends of which were attached beads or cowrie shells – those who pretended to be Mohamatans wear a tobe but of these there were not more than 2 or 3 in each – the young women wore a string of large beads round the loins or a string of bones round which was twisted ~~round~~ a piece of narrow cloth alterlannally [*sic*] showing the beads and the cloth and hanging down about a foot before – & behind fringed at the end and cowries or beads strung at the end of the fringe – they appeared a good looking active set of people but suspicious ~ every 2 or 3 women had an armed man to attend them and see that they were paid for what they sold – they are all pagans and very ill used both by their rulers and those who are not who are able to steal their wives & Children & sell them as slaves

Thursday 23 Morning cloudy ~ at 6-35 left Bulla bula and traveling through plantations of grain indigo and cotton the soil red clay mixed sand and bloc[ks] of sand stone in which were nodules of iron and viens [*sic*] of clay iron stone ~ the face of the country diversified with hill and dale some of the hills to the south rising into conical and table top[p]ed mount^s [“Course to Ragadawa S.E by E^{1/2} E 2 Miles” at margin]

at 8.30 A.M- halted at the walled town of Ragadawa the head man of which wished me to halt in the town but I preferred the out side ~ he sent me a present of cooked meat rice & honey & I made him a present of 3 y^{ds} silk a pair of scissors and 50 gora nuts – at this town they take from every loaded bullock 500 cowries and for every loaded ass 300 cowries which goes to the Chief of Youri to whom the town is subject – the inhabitants are Cumbrie and pagans

except the head man and about a dozen others - he is said to be a great rogue as well as his master at Youri - the town may contain from 6 to 7000 inh^{ls} and the environs are cultivated and planted with millet yams goza a kind of yam or potatoe yellow inside and very watery - we had a plentiful market in which were raw bullocks flesh millet boiled yams beans &£⁵⁸ -

in the after noon a son of the Chief of Youri [arrived] a very ordinary looking young man⁵⁹ Shabbily dressed but well mounted on a bay horse - in the night we had a severe storm of wind th^l lightning and rain - I had to sit up all night in my wet cloths having got twice wet to the skin in saving the tent from being blown down on the top of my sick servant [109] who has been unable to do any thing these last 4 weeks - however by the assistance of Pascoe I kept the tent up and the night was one of those severe nights of suffering that a man remembers the whole of his remaining life

Friday 24 At day light the wind had settled to a moderate breeze & the ~~wind~~ rain had ceased but the morning was raw & Cloudy - remained untill 9 A.M- to let the wet things drain when I left Ragadawa as did all the rest of the caravan - the road through a beautiful looking country of gentle hill & dale not too many trees and here and there plantations of yams millet doura &£ - several of the hills on the south rising into little table topped mo^{ms} on whose tops and sides were little walled villages whose inhabitants were working in their grounds in the valley but from the unsettled state of the country were all armed - in the centre of the vallies at this season run streams of water which run to the South and west and have swamps on each side which at a little distance look like beautiful meadows sprinkled with flowers - the soil a deep red clay on the rising grounds mixed with sand and gravel and rocks of Mica slate the stones of the gravel angular pieces of yellow quartz - the hills of clay sand stone in which were nodules of iron and veins of clay iron stone - they say the inhabitants get their own iron from the hills [“Courses to Washee E by N¹/₄ N 5 Miles” at margin]

at 11 AM. passed the town of Washee which is built on the side and round the base of the highest mount in the valley - we passed it & halted about a ¹/₄ of a mile to the East^d - the wall of Washee extends nearly ²/₃ round the base of the mount to where the sides form a precepice of rocks and Clay - the houses are built in clusters that of the head man being highest on the mount - he sent me the two hind quarters of a kid with millet for the horses - I gave him in return a pair of scissors & 40 gora nuts - the place of our encampment is in a beautiful valley with a stream of water running through the centre - on the South is a range of gentle hills three beautiful mounts to the East whose tops are

⁵⁸ “the Hausa merchants are like a travelling town from their broods of young ducks fowels & - building little huts outside at every town called Baku [Hausa: ‘daki’] [Remark Book f.153].

⁵⁹ Apparently the son of Emir Muhammad Bashiru dan Ayi; see Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 260.

c[r]owned by walled villages ~ to the north a rising ground on which the caravan is Encamped - to the West the Mount round which Washee is built and the hills near Ragadawa –

the inhabitants here also are Kumbri and pagans ~ Mouss[a] came after dark with a long story about robbers infesting the road we have to go tomorrow caused he says by the Madagoo Mohamed Kalu having spread a report that I was coming with great riches – in the night Thunder lightning and rain

Saturday 25th Cloudy ~ at 8 AM- left our encampment near Washee and entering a narrow valley to the East^d having steep rugged mounts on each side on the tops of which were little walled villages ~ in the narrowest part of the valley at the Western entrance a wall had formerly stood with a deep ditch which with a very few men would have blocked up the pass against any force this country could produce ~ the wall is now in ruins & the ditch nearly filled up – the inhabitants [**110A**] of these towns the Merchants of the Caravan told [me] were great robbers but that is not at all to be wondred at for when ever these merchants can master them or catch any stray boy or girl they take them and sell them and sorely begrudge paying any duties as a free pass through the country - after passing the wall across the valley opened more out to the south- and was well cultivated and plantd with millet yams - I saw no cattle if I except a few horses and but a few sheep – we skirted – ~~at 11 we passed~~ our road after leaving the pass skirted along the hills and rocky mounts forming the North side of the valley and at Noon we arrived at the town of Wazo or Wuzawo the first in the state of Kotong kora [“Course to east^d at Wazo E. by N. 6 Miles” at margin] - here the merchants had to pay 250 cowries for each loaded bullock ass horse or mule - of course I passed free being a white man and I passed through the town with my baggage and encamped about a mile to the East^d

The town of Wazo is built on the side of a shelving and rocky side of a Mount ~ on the S.E side is a wall with 2 gates the Steepness of the mountain serving as a wall on the other side – the inhabitants are all pagans and to day is a great festival of *theirs* so we can get nothing to buy – after the tent was pitched I engaged one of the natives with a few cowries to accompan[y] me to hunt – I ascended one of the highest hills in the neighbourhood from which I had a view [of the] distant country ~ to the S.E. high hills with sloping sides and jagged & crested tops ~ this is the country of Guari ~ to the East and North the hilly country of Zamfra ~~which~~ whose hills were like blunted cones and not of great elevation ~ to the West and North the country I had left consisting of the hills and mounts of Washee and the northern hills of Youri ~ to the south Nyffe rising like the long steps of a stair to the East^d and some times into table mounts – the hills close to the north of our encampment were composed of gritty sandstone of a deep red color containing nodules of iron ~ under this a crumbeleg granite filling the vallies and tops of the low hills with gravel the stones of which were

yellow quartz - to the south the granite was of a finer texture and more durable nature –

When I returned I found the head man had sent me one fowel a little maize and honey the value of the whole not above 200 Cowries and for which he expects []⁶⁰ – I unfortunately saw no game except five antilopes at a distance out of gun shot and had to make my dinner of flower and water and a raw [o]nion leaving the fowel for my sick servant – during the night heavy rain but without th^r or light^{ns}

[110] Sunday 26th Morning Cloudy - the Merchants or Fitakes as they are called not having paid their full duties M^r Moussa and his men would not start without them declaring it was on my account the Caravan was stopped here I had not given the head man a ~~sufficient~~ present yester day - I would not have been displeased at the delay but to have a lie direct in my face when I knew so well the true cause I was much displeased but had to rest contented [with] his people - if he had been willing I had allowed my horses to go and graze with the rest of the horses of the caravan but they were taken to the town as a means of delay and said they were in the peoples corn for which I had to pay 100 cowries – in the Afternoon the head man sent me a sheep but begged back the inside - I gave him 2 yd^s red silk a knife pair of scissors and 40 gora nuts

Monday 27th Morning dull & Cloudy - the chief or head man of the towns head man came to my tent early in the morning in a great fright saying his master was going to hang [him] as he thought he had stole the present I had sent him and he came to get Moussa or I to bear witness that he had declared all I gave him - I sent Moussa as I thought it was only a trick to cause further delay or to catch some thing else - loaded the bullocks & Moussa returning from the town at 9-30 A.M- left the encampment near Wazo - our road was rocky and very winding having high rocky mounts to the East with steep perpendicular sides the tops of most occupied by villages and little walled towns - the inhabitants came with maize boiled beans yams cashew nuts & c^o to sell - the sellars were all women every 2 or 3 attended by an armed man as a protector –

in a narrow pass I fell in with a very interesting groupe consisting of about a dozen of the natives all young men gaily dressed with beads & the skin round the middle ~~and~~ 3 of the Fitakis and a jackass - the Fitakis had on faces as long as the ass which was unloaded - the young men were all armed looking very well pleased some sitting others standing on a block of granite which filled the pass on one side a precipice of a bout 30 feet high [“formed the other side” at margin] over which hung trees on the top of the mount a village to which the young men belonged - I at first thought it was a robbery as the Caravan was a long way a head & began to prepare my guns but on enquiry I found it was a

⁶⁰ ‘nine or ten times the value in return’ [published text, p. 147].

poor sick jackass unable to carry his load & the Fitakis were making a bargain with the young men for him as these people consider its flesh as good food & medicine for coughs & pains in the chest ~ by the appearance of the young men I would have thought they would have fed on better fare than what the flesh of a sick jack ass would afford –

at Noon arrived at the town of Worm which is situated in a narrow part of the valley partly built on the shelving part of the mountain which forms the south side of the pass & vally the other part of the town & Wall having only the rocky bed of a small stream and a foot path between a mountain on the North side from whose lip runs a precipice of about [“50 feet high & which formed the other side of the pass” at margin] ~ [111A] here the Fitakis had to pay 90 cowries for each loaded ass or bullock I of course paid nothing ~ after passing Worm some call it Wormzou the valley opened out to the south as far as the eye could reach the Mountains on the North side bending to the North ~ at 3 P.M crossed a small stream whose bed when covered with water was dangerous to man and beast owing to the sharp rocks on the bottom which from the muddyness of the water are not seen [“Course from the Encamp^{pt} at Wuzo to Worm S. by E 5 Miles Worm to the Other side [of] the small river E by N ½ N 5 Miles” at margin] – we halted at a short dist- from its East^m bank

the place of the encampment was soon filled with the inh^b ~~having raw meat goats flesh I thought~~ of the neighbouring little towns and villages having raw meat goats flesh I thought boild beens Millet and pudding for sale as usual ~ all Cumbrie every 2 or 3 women attended by an armed native to see fair play – the Young men had round their necks strin[gs] of white red and blue beeds ~ to the lower string hung pendants of white beeds about an inch long ~ a white band of beads around the head the Wool cut short and shaved in lines and circles some times one side shaved bare the other side ~ 2 lines and a circle round the loins a tanned sheep skin cut into tassels ornamented with cowrie shells & beeds ~ allways armed with bow [“&” inserted] dagger some a sword or light spear in addition – the elder women wore a cloth round the loins which reached as far as the knee of var[ious] colors but genearily blue ~ the young women had strings of beed round the neck ~ one large string of cut agate or coarse cornelia[ns] ~ bone or large beeds round the loins round which was twis^d a piece of narrow blue cloth alternatly showing the beeds & ^c ~ about a foot [“of the end” at margin] hung before & behind and fringed the fringes or^d [= ornamented] with beeds or cowries – upon the whole they were a fine looking people ~ the men had a bold independant look and most of them had dogs following them whose necks we[re] ornamented with colars and strings of cowries ~ every man I saw working in the plantations as I came along and there were Numbers was armed in the same manner [“owing to the frequent inro[a]ds of the Fellatahs” at margin] – at sunset our visitors left us & during the night we had a severe storm rain wind thunder & lightning



Womba

Tuesday 28 Morning dull & Cloudy ~ at 6-20 left our encampment and travel across the valley whose soil was red clay mixed with sand and gravel the trees low and stunted mostly of the Micadania or butter tree ~ shortly after starting it came on to rain and we all got wet ~ at 9. AM- we again entred amongst the Mountains forming the side of the pass ~~which was~~ composed of immense blocks of granite and through which was very beautifull some rising into little mounts inaccessible except on one side and on whose top[s] were built little towns and villages the houses of which looked like bird cages – at 10-30 AM. passed a town [111] Called Wormzow built in an opening in the pass - here they collect 100 cowries for each loaded ass or bullock – from the Fitakis - the vallies through which we passed at this season were very beautifull – streams of water triping from rock to rock here forming a pool & there a little lake their banks green all the trees in flower or in full foliage – where clear of trees all green and beautifull except on some bare rock in the crevaces of which were scanty trees whose leaves were green and added to the beauty of the place – in the summer or dry season the country must wear a very bare barren appearance the streems dried up the gravelly soil bare of grass the scanty trees with withered leaves the rocks reflecting the heat almost to suffocation neither food or shelter for man or beast to all appearances – they have few cattle & This and the unsettled state of the country I suppose is the reason ~ at 2 PM- we passed another mountain town and entred the cultivated grounds of Womba at which we arrived at 4 P.M- ~ I waited on the Gov^E at once with Moussa and after a few

compt^s to one another his head man took me to a house to lodge in and at sunset sent me a sheep millet for the horses – cooked meat & hony for my servnts & My self [“E.N.E 4 Miles N.N.E 3 Miles N.E 4 Miles” at margin]

Wednesday 29 Morning dark and cloudy [“Mn Alt^{de} Antares 106 – 48 – 45 at margin] - early the Gov^l sent me milk and pudding and after I had breakfasted he paid me a visit and I made him a present of 8 y^{ds} red silk a mock gold chain a phosphorous match box ~~and a~~ 2 knives and 2 pair of scissors ~ the Gov^l is a middle aged man with a round bluff good natured count^{nce} affects to be very fat and has a large belley and stuffs cloths at his breast to make it look bigger ~ his friends and servant follow the same fashion as do all those who wish to be thought great and fine in Womba ~ he has also another peculiarity which is followed by the great and fashionable in Womba and the towns belonging to it which is when he receives any one he repeats very quick hae hum hae ha oh ahe he he nazarie or beautifull hae hum hae ha oh ho dekyou it is nice &c and yi kow very good⁶¹ – in this he is also imatated by his people ~ I became a perfect great man the first day I saw his Ex [=Excellency] who exacts great submission from his people as all must be well dusted or sanded before they come into his presence ~ his place is heredetary but subject to the petty & independant state of [“City” at margin] Kotongkora which is distant 30 Miles north of Womba – once before the rising of the Fellatahs, both it and Kotongkora was subject to Kashna – all the Caravans from the East and West halt a day or 2 at this town and pay for each loaded ass or bullock [300 cowries” at margin] besides which the head man of each caravan makes a present for which he receives in return a dish or 2 of cooked meat, or a sheep –

The town is in Lat^{de} 10°-35'-1"N. Long^{de} 7°-22'-4" East - [It] is situated on a rising ground having a commanding rocky hill of granite to the East on[e] in the South another on the North nearly bare of vegetation [112A] to the West an open valley – a small stream ~~of water~~ runs past the Western gate which supplies the town with water ~ the vallies for 2 Miles round are cleared and cultivated and planted with millet yams &c like wise every spare spot in the town is this year cultivated and planted with Millet or doura as this year there is a scarcity last years rains being very scanty – The town is walled round and has four gates which are shut every night at sunset ~ the wall is between 20 and 30 feet high & in good repair the Gov^{ls} [(]or Sultan as they call the Gov^l) house is in the center of the town – surrounded by a high clay wall [“about 10 or 12 feet high ~ inside are coozies” at margin] to [= from] it the diffrent streets lead to the four gates going of[f] lanes or narr[ow] streets to the other parts of the town – there are 5 small Mosques built of clay in the usual form as the Gov^l is a Mohametan so also the greater part of the inhabitants affect to be though the paga[ns] are

⁶¹ ‘hae hum hae ha oh ahe he he nazarie’, perhaps Hausa *nasara*, Christians or whitemen (s. *ba-nasare*); ‘hae hum hae ha oh ho dekyou’, perhaps ‘*da kyau*,’ it is good; ‘yi kow’, Hausa: *ya yi kyau*, it is good.

freely tolerated and some follow both modes of worship - even his excellency is not ashamed to wear a pagan Fetisha to keep him from harm and he asked me for a Christian one but I told him no Fetishes or charms were of any use - to fear god and do as he would be done unto I said was the best safe guard against evil - The inhabitants may ammount to 10,000 [-] 12,000 souls - they have plenty of sheep oxen and bullocks and a few horses most of them from the Bornou crossed with the small african breed - they are armed like the rest of the Cumbrie but being Mohametans wear a tobe and breaches - the better sort dress like all the other people of the interiour and what little I have seen of them they are a civil and obliging people

Thursday 30th Morning dull and cloudy ~ at 6 AM- had the bullocks loaded and allready for starting when it came on to rain heavily and I had the bullocks unloaded and determined to stop for the day as Pascoe has been unwell for these some days past and to day is a little worse - Richard Lander continues unwell and is very weak - gave Pascoe 5 grains of Calomel - I had to find severe fault with the land lord of my house - for its being in such a filthy state & to the astonishment of the inh^{ts} made the slaves of the Gov^t clean it out for him as it had not had a thourough cleaning out for 12 months before at least - after the house was cleaned the Gov^t and all his train paid me a visit and I treated him to tea - he wanted very mu[ch] to have my blanket which I had given him to sit on but I told him I could not want⁶² it my self - he brought me 5 fowels and some honey with corn & grass for my horses - **[112]** he staid with me nearly three hours when I wanted to Write but he was such a good natured fellow I could not be angry with him as he meant I should think it a great compliment his visiting me - in the evening I was enabled to take the Mn Alt^{de} of Antares which gave

$$\frac{106^{\circ} - 48' - \quad \quad \quad \text{A.H.}}{45^{63}}$$

[“Saturday” at margin] Friday 1st July 1826 at day light loaded the bullocks and at 7 AM- sent them off - I went to the Govrs house and took leave - he gave me a Messenger to Guari and a man to lead my camel but he begged I would give him an umberella which I declined - after leaving him I went and joinde the caravan - At 9 A.M- passed 2 towns called Gillma one built on the top of [a] rocky hill the other at a few hundred yards from its base - they were at hot war and seldom a day passes with[out] some or other being killed - yesterday 12 of the lower town were killed in a battle between them - their usual field of battle is a clear spot between the foot of the hill & the lower town - their cause of quarrel is the right to collect the Fitto or duty⁶⁴ from the merch^{ts} - the hill town

⁶² want = to be without

⁶³ an incomplete calculation.

⁶⁴ Hausa: *fito*, tax for crossing a river, toll.

is the oldest and has collected the duty before the new one was built ~ the people of the lower town insist [“though their town has only been built within these few years” at margin] that they have the best right to the Fitto as their ~~second~~ town stands between the road and the other town [“both towns are walled and may contain each from 7 to 8000 inhabitants” at margin] – and so the war ~ the appearance of a Caravan is the signal to engage and they work in the fields in armed bodies sufficient to sustain an attack as their plantations join ~ I was rudely asked at the lower town to pay for my baggage but insisted on my privilege as a white man & servant of a King and on his business – no Arab or white man pays duty except the salaam to the King of the country or [a] small present for which he gearily gets twice the value

after passing the towns of Gilmas at 9-30 passed another town called Sabongree or *Soap* town⁶⁵ [“Course to Gilma E by N 4 Miles to the banks of the river E.N.E 3 Miles” at margin] and at 10 AM- arrived at the banks of a river where the Fitakies who left Womba yesterday were crossing their goods in a Canoe made of a single log about 20 feet long 2½ deep & 3 broad and on a raft made of dry grass tied up in tanned bullocks hides – I had the bullocks & camel unloaded & sent them and the horses over to the other side to feed – the Country between this river which has no name & Womba is well cultivated notwithstanding the war of the Gilmites and planted with millet yams indigo cotton and sweet potatoes – the boys here were walking on stilts through the clay holes for amusement ~ the[y] only differed from those in our country in having the cross piece along the foot instead [of] across it and the long part of the stilt in front [“keeping the long part between the great toe and the others” at margin] ~ they were as active as boys usually are on such conveyances

This little river⁶⁶ rises in the Southⁿ [“West” at margin] hills of Guari runs north & past the capital of that name through part of Zamfra where it turns to the south and falls into the Kadona in Nyffe 4 days journey south of this ~ its waters are thick and muddy its breadth about 60 feet its present depth 7 feet ~ the banks at the ferry sand and clay its bottom above and below rocky and it has a current about 2½ to 3 knots an hour [“and the fare across is 40 cowries a head – 100 cowries for an ass with its load” at margin] and it divides the states of Guari and Kotonkora – at Noon got all the baggage across and halted about a mile from [113A] the banks of the river - I hired 2 of the natives at 30 cowries apiece to go out with me to hunt ~ saw plenty of game but got nothing ~ the country around our encampment [“and number of villages” at margin] well cultivated and planted with yams sweet potatoes cotton indigo Millet and dourra ~ the game partridges guinea fowl & Antilopes of 2 kinds the large red antelope and the small common one – in the Evening I had 2 fowls Milk & millet sent me by

⁶⁵ *sabon gari* = ‘new town’.

⁶⁶ River Mariga.

the head man of the district for which I sent him 20 gora nuts and gave the people who brought it 100 cowries

Saturday 2nd Morning Clear - at 7 A.M- left our encampment and traveling through a country well cleared near the road and planted with millet & the soil red clay and gravel - At 10 A.M- we passed round the south side of a town called Akingjie which was walled large and populous the environs well cultivated and planted on the East side - found the towns people collecting the toll from the caravan of Fitakis who had preceded us in the Morning - they had here a regular toll gate not painted white and hung on hinges like those in our country but the collectors of the toll were rough lusty rude fellows armed with clubs and staves the head man with a sword and any unfortunate Jackass that happened to push to[o] clos[e] to the bar was sure to get a blow that would make him throw his load and his master would get one too if he attempted to save him - the barrier was formed by a picketing from the ditch round the wal[l] of the town to a swamp on the S.E. in which was an opening large enough to allow one loaded bullock or ass through at a time - this opening was closed by 2 sliding bars as may be seen some times in a farm field in England - I of course passed with a bow - After passing the toll at Akingjie the country became more hilly and woody the soil stony and gravelly and little of it cultivated -

At Noon arrived at the town of Curigee ["Course to Akingjie E by N 6 Miles to Curigie E by N 6" at margin] wher[e] I halted the head man having provided me with a house and made me a present of 2 fowels and Millet for my horses and camel - the Walls of this town are extensive but the houses are few partly built on a hill, and part in a vally - at this season both inside and out side has a very beautifull appearance from the large green shady trees in different parts of the town and the houses some of which are built on large blocks of grey granite which com[pose] the hills and from the clefts or spaces between grow some of the largest trees but in the summer I doubt it has rather a dreary appearance from the rocks being all dry and barren & the trees with dry & withred leaves - it may contain from the N^o of houses from 7 to 8000 inhabitants - they have few cattle but more sheep than is usully seen - and in the neighbourhood they raise plenty of Millet doura Yams and sweet potatoes - I gave the head man 30 gora nuts for his fowells and Millet - in the evening we had a severe tornado

[113] Sunday 3 Morning dull & Cloudy - At 7-30 A.M- left Curigie the path through a woody country with small cultivated spots here and there the soil a red clay mixed with sand and gravil and diversified with gentle hill and dale - At 1 P.M- passed a town called Sabongree or *Soap*⁶⁷ town a favorite name apparently in Kashna from the n^o of that name - the ground arround was cultivated for a considerable distance & planted with dourra, Millet, Yams, and sweet

⁶⁷ Probably 'Sabo', abbreviated form of Sabon Gari, although Clapperton writes 'Soap' in several places.

potatales ~ close to the East of the town runs a small stream which was now full and deep ~ we had to unload the bullocks and carry them over and a great many of the things got wet ~ Pascoe lost my shot belt – at 3 P.M- we had every thing across & the bullocks and camel loaded ~ Our road after leaving the river lay through a thickly wooded country diversified with hills and dales the soil a strong red clay strewn with sharp gravel stones the heights and hills of a soft crumbeling granite with veins of quartz in the hollows a deep red clay – At 5 P.M- halted outside the walls of a town called Guber in Dushee⁶⁸ [“Course E by N ½ N 40 8 Miles to the banks of the river E ½ N 5 Miles to Guber in Dushie” at margin] ~ the head man & the greater part of the inhabitants were out at their country houses attending the growing grain we therefore could get nothing for man or beast but grass – Guber in Dushee or the rock without an equal is situated on a height with several large blocks of Granite inside the Walls which are extensive ~ few houses are to be seen except those situated on the rising ground inside ~ from the place I pitched my tent I had a commanding view to the East which enabled me to see the ranges of hills which ran similar to those I crossed N.W. & S.E none of great elevation but in a regular range and in the shape of humps and cones broken and distant 12 or 14 Miles the vallies between gentle hills and dales – the rocks on which I stood were blocks of fine grey granite – as is also those around & Close to Guber in Dushie – the Corn is now nearly ripe ~ we had a severe tornado at 10 P.M-

Monday 4th at 7-40 A.M. left Guber in Dushee wet and hungry – the country woody the path stoney uneven wet slippery and cut up by deep ravines through which ran streams of water – the ascent and descent dangerous to man and beast - in the early part of the day the road was comparatively good being over gentle rising ~~ground~~ [“ridges on” inserted] the higher parts of which the rocks were of a soft crumbeling stone like red ochre and Mica very heavy – towards noon the path became very bad being covered with angular pieces of yellow & red quartz which made the poor animals suffer very much [“Course East 12 Miles” at margin] ~ as we approached Guari⁶⁹ the country became very hilly & the path winding ~ the vallies began to be cultivated & the road thronged with passengers and on the road side the remains of the camps of the Merchants – and as we got closer to the city the camps were occupied by the merchants bound to the West -

At 4 P.M- Arrived at the walls of the old city and entering the gate rode round part of the hill by a foot path [“which cut off about 2 Miles - entr^d” at margin] [the] city at the gates of which I was met by about 40 horse men sent by the chief to escort me into the town ~ I rode up to his house or castle and he came out instan[t]ly and received me very kindly and sent his chief Eunuch to conduct me to a house prepared for me & my servants and excellent provisions

⁶⁸ After the name of the hill, Goron Dutse (1818 ft).

⁶⁹ i.e., Birmin Gwari.

were sent me and a sheep – and Millet for my horses – the pudding was made of the seeds of grass called atsha⁷⁰ in Hausa Teff in Abyssinia & stewed capons the pudding [“made of atsha is equal to our best pudding of flower suit and eggs” at margin]

[114A] **Tuesday 5th** Morning Cloudy – after I had breakfast I waited on the Chief or Sultan as [they] call them all though the place be only a petty village ~ it is in Hausa Sirken there and is used as we use the word Master ~ there is the Sirken Duakie master of the horse Sirken Fada he who introduces people to the Sultan or Master of the Ceremonies with a no of other Sirkins or Sultans [Sirkin Gundu master of the Garden – Sirkin Jirgie Master of the boats” at margin⁷¹] Whose name is Abu buker ~ I took with me a present of a silk umberella 20 y^{ds} red silk a gilt chain phosphorous box 2 knives and 2 pair of scissors the prints of His Majesty George the 4th the Duke of York on horse back the battle of the Pyranees and the battle of the Nile - there were a n^o of Malems and all the great in Guari were in attendance and the picture of His Royal Highness was passed about from hand to hand and admired by all as it was one they perfectly understood saying but that is wonderfull both the horse and man are just like alive - his eyes can see he only wants to speak to be a real man and then the horse too see what a fine bridle and bit are all your horses as fine as this his saddle too with a tyger skin just like ours well these Christians are a wonderfull people - the chief made no remarks on any part of the present but appeared well satisfied and smiled at the remarks of the others ~ he has the reputation of being a Maalem or learned man and all give him a good character for integrity [“and bravery” at margin] ~ he is middle size spare form a good counten[ance] aquiline nose large eyes a broad fore head fine teeth with a good mouth and thin lips for a negro – but a small chin and thin beard [“he certainly has got a smiling roguish look not by any means a villianous one ~ he was dressed in [a] White tobe or shirt of the Commonest kind White breaches & White cotton cap with broad sword lying before him” at margin] and like all the other Maalems and religious men that I have seen in Africa he has a great No of women – the walls of the Haram were crowded with them to look at me as I went in to visit the chief –

after the present I had given him not as belonging to myself but to the King of England my Master who I told him had sent me to visit Hausa and Bornou where I had been before ~ that I wanted him to assist me in going there and his protection as far as he could give it – he ~~said I should~~ thanked me he said for the present I had given him from the King and I should have every protection and assistance he could afford ~ that he and the Fellatahs I knew were at war and that his sending an ecort of horse to Zegzeg with me would be of no service and only expose me to attack from the Fellatahs who infested the road on the

⁷⁰ Hausa: *acca*, a small grain grown principally by non-Muslims.

⁷¹ The Hausa titles are: Sarkin Dawaki, Sarkin Fada, Sarkin Gandu. Hausa: *jirgi*, boat.

Fronteers of the 2 states - but from the last town in his territory bow men on foot should take me as far as Fataka the first town in Zegzeg and under the dominion of the Fellatahs and there I would be in perfect safety and freedom to go where I ple[ased] - that his horse [“men” inserted] should accompany me and provide me with every thing as far as the last town and then foot [men] armed with bows and arrows who were more serviceable in the woods I had to go through betw[een] [] and Fataka and god willing I should perform it in safety as I had done the long and dangerous Journey I had allready come - if I thought any other way was better or if I wanted any thing to mention it and if it could be got in Guari ~~to mention it and~~ I should have it - I thank[ed] him said if he had any curious animals or burds I should like to hav[e] them and if he had any written account of the country I should like that more than all - he said they had no written accounts of the country [114] that no one troubled their heads with affairs of that kind - that if [I] would remain with him in Guari some time longer I should have all the curious burds & beasts in the country but that at present every person that could be spared was out attending the growing grain - that they had a scarcity over all the country last year and they were affraid the same thing might happen this year as the rains had not been very abundant - after I left him I returned home open all the cases and got the thing[s] that were wet out to dry set up the barometer - gave the camel & horses natron - in the night thr lightning & Wind but no rain

Wednesday 6th dull & Cloudy - Guari formerly a district in the province of Kashna and was conquered by the Fellatahs at there rising about the year 1818 along with the rest of Hausa at the death of Old Bello⁷² ~~it also~~ - this district made itself independant by joining in the Tawia⁷³ or confederation and rebellion against the Fellatahs - *Banega* the Chief of Zamfra⁷⁴ was the first to rise and shake the spears as they express it - he was joined instantly by the inhabitants of the p^{ce} [= province] of Goobeer whose chief a lad was kept as a slave in Sockatoo but by the assistance of his country men made his escape and now commands them⁷⁵ - the Northⁿ part of Kashna was the next to join under a son of their former chief or Gov^t⁷⁶ then Guari and Kotongkora both districts

⁷² i.e. a reference to ‘Uthman dan Fodio, Muhammad Bello’s father, who died on 20 April 1817, 3rd Jumada II, 1232 A.H. (Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 60n).

⁷³ Hausa: *tawaye*, ‘rebellion’, and specifically the revolt on the death of ‘Uthman dan Fodio; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 67.

⁷⁴ Banaga dan Bature of Morai, near Talata Mafara, was the leader of dissident Zamfarawa, Katsinawa and Burmawa, and an ally of ‘Abd Salam. After defeating ‘Abd Salam in 1818, Bello moved against Banaga, who had sacked Gusau and other towns. Bello recaptured Morai, then overthrew the Katsinawa of Kanoma and their hill fortress, and finally defeated Banaga near Bungundu, where Banaga was killed. See H.A.S Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (London, 1967), 115, citing Sokoto District Notebook, Histories of Maru and Gusau. Also see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 33, 68.

⁷⁵ Reference to ‘Ali b. Ya’qub; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 70.

⁷⁶ The reference is to Dan Kasawa (d. 1831), the leader of the ousted aristocracy of Katsina and located at Maradi, and whose father, Agwaragi, had ruled Katsina from 1752-69; see M.G. Smith, ‘A Hausa Kingdom: Maradi under Dan Baskore, 1854-75’, in Daryll Forde and P.M. Kaberry (eds.), *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 93, 97.

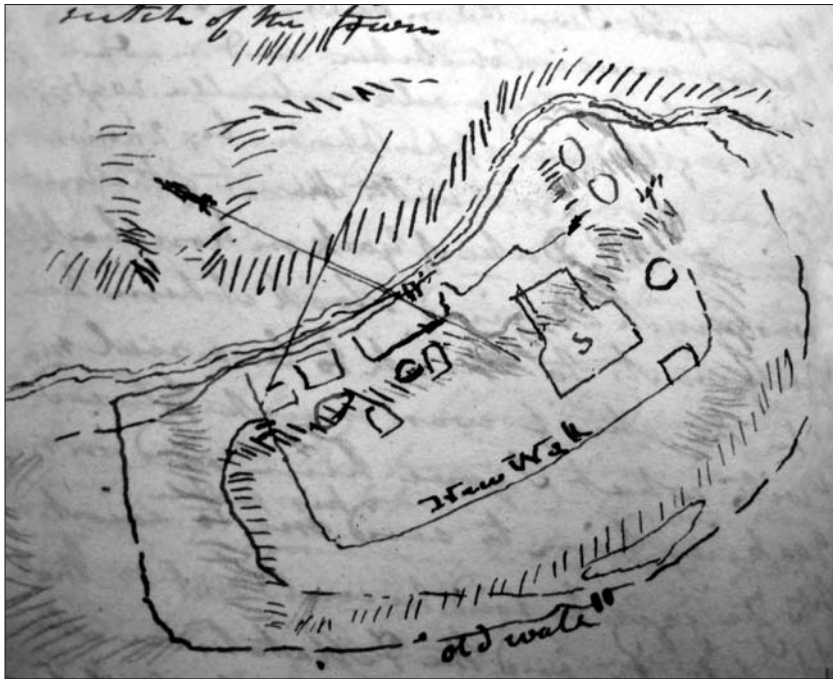
of Kashna & belonging to Hausa joined – but declared them selves independant of the authority of Kashna ~ Youri has since joined being forced by the Tawia provinces surrounding it as has also Ciebibi⁷⁷ – -

The strength of Guari lies in the bravery of the inhabitants and the No- of horse they can bring into the field they say 1000 ~ this may be true but I think they owe their strength to the hilly and woody country they inhabit where horse[s] are of very little service – The capital of this district also called Guari is [“in Lat. 10-54-29N Long^{de} 8-1-34E” at margin] built partly on the NE side of a hill & part in a narrow valley through which a muddy stream runs dry in the summer and runs into the Kadona & divides Kotongkora and Guari in one part ~ it rises only a days journey to the S.E. of Guari⁷⁸ – the City or town has 2 Walls the old and the new ~ the old in Ruins ever since it was taken by Bello ~ it surrounded the hill on which the city is built [“and part of another” at margin]. the new walls runs over the ridge of the Hill cutting the town into one half the size it was formerly and even now the Wall appears enclosing a few scatted houses and villages not a town or city – the house of the Chief is like a walled village with a large clay castle at one end - this is the House of the chief and is well filled the other houses in the enclosure are coozies [“occupied by” at margin] blacksmiths dyers and weavers all belonging to his house hold - the other houses of the town are much in the same style but without a casteled Harem – being built in a square or round enclosure with fields or plantations of grain between one long row of houses runs in a line with the N.E. wall [“& is” inserted] the only thing that looks like a town of houses - partridges and Guinea fowl may be seen in great plenty inside the walls - I shot 2 not 30 y^{ds} from my house yesterday morning

a scetch of the town I took from the top of the hill will show perhaps better than a written description and it never could have been chosen as a place [115A] of strength but is a forest where all Caravans halt and where the path from the East divides off[f] to the [“Gongar” at margin] Capital of Nyffe – to Koolfu in the Northern part of Nyffe, Yourriba, Gongar, Borgo and to Youri and Zamfra and from the West to Kashna & Zegzeg ~ the inhabitants of the city do not ammount to More than 7 or 8000 ~~inh.~~ who do not engage in distant trade for fear of the Fellatahs ~ they are mostly employed in war or cultivating the ground the surplus of their Millet yams and doura allways havin[g] a ready sale from the N^o of Caravans halting out side the walls ~ there are at present here no less than 7 each having about 500 souls [“each” at margin] and as many animals - there are 3 going to Kano 1 to Bornou which goes through Zamfra Goobeer Kashna Zinder into Bornou – [(]as the direct road by Zegzeg and Kano is at present shut by the war) 1 to Youri 1 to Koolfu & one to *Gungia* – these Caravans allways halt out side the town carry with them sheep fowels and even bre[e]ding ducks

⁷⁷ For the rebellion in Kebbi, see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 69-70, 73.

⁷⁸ Mariga River.



Sketch of Birnin Gwari-Remark Book, CO 2/16, f. 167

building huts at every place they halt of grass & branches of trees which they cover over with tanned bullocks hides - these place[s] of encampment ["Which they call a baki⁷⁹ the whole camp a Zonga" at margin] when occupied is just like a country fair - the Market in side the towns is deserted all fly to sell their goods at the Zonga or exch[ange] for others

[Thursday 7th – no entry]

[115] Friday 8th 9 Morning Cloudy ~ at 8 A.M- loaded the bullocks and camel and sent them off ~~and~~ ~ Went and took leave of the Chief Abu buker where I found an escort of four horse men read[y] to conduct me to the frontier – this was more than I suppose would be done in Europe for they knew I was going to Bello as I told the Chief I had a letter and present for him ~ at all events they knew I had to go through his territory there could be no mistake as to that and they were protecting me to it -

At 9 A.M- left the town of Guari accom^d by Moussa who accompanied me for 4 Miles as he has left his wife and all his goods at Koolfu and now I have his

⁷⁹ Hausa: 'daki, a hut, room, house.

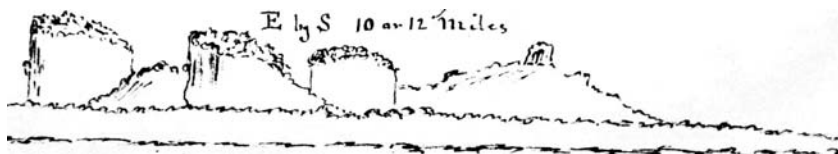
bullocks and slaves which are to convey my goods to Kano for which he has received from me 100 spanish dollars and several other presents which I think he well deserves – he is a middle aged Man a native of Tripoli & knew us all at Morzuk Bornou & Kano – and had he not come to Koolfou I should likely have been there yet as old Mohamed Kalu was driven About by every wind and the head men of every caravan I tried to engage were such lying extorting rogues that I had given [up] all hopes of getting with them ~ I even could not get them to convey a letter ~ they certainly used to take them with the most apparent assurances of security that at first I believed them but all my letters come back opened in a few days after they left the place - old Kalu is now at Guari in great alarm as they [the] Fellatahs say they will have him [“and kill him” at margin] if he goes there way as he has been making rather too free with his tounge in Guari & Koolfu about the power of the Sheikh and what he was going to do ~ After taking leave of Moussa – and his telling his slaves to look up to me as there future master – the road was woody hilly and rocky with sharp gravel stone the soil a deep red clay the rocks of a slaty sand stone – [“Course E^{1/2}N 5 Miles ~~E by S~~ 6 Miles E.S.E. 6” at margin]

at 1 P.M- passed the town of Makurdi where there was a large caravan hal[t]ed and a n° of Zongas or camps - several of the people had seen me in Yourriba & Borgoo – At 5 P.M- passed the Walled town [of] Cazigie crossed a small but deep stream and ascending the high banks encamped at the entrance of the Wood or Jagie⁸⁰ as it is called which divides Zegzeg and Guari – I had abundance of provisions sent for man & horse – and as every night had been cloudy during my stay at Guari I was fortunate in having a clear one here and got the Mn Alt^{de} of Antares [“Mn Alt^{de} Antares 106-8-30” at margin] which gave the latitude 10⁰-53’-46”. N.

Saturday 9 10th Morning clear [“Ther 70 F” at margin] - at 6 AM- the head man of the town waited on me and brought an escort of 20 men on foot armed with bows and arrows [“and light Spears” at margin] who are to conduct me to in sight of Fataka ~ I gave him 50 gora nuts, & promised the escort 50 more if they behaved well on the road – At 7 AM- I left the encampment to the east of Cazigie over a good road clay and gravel – at Noon crossed a small stream⁸¹ which divides the provinces of Guari & Zegzeg ~ the Guari escort said all the robberies took place on the East side and were perpetrated by the Fellatahs ~ they showed us several places where the rotten cotton bags which had served as saddles to the asses and bullocks lay strewed about ~ at 2 1 P.M. crossed a range of blocks of Granite running N.W and S.E in some places rising into rocky hills in the hollows slatey [116A] sandstone ~ in the afternoon we had a severe tornado accompanied with thunder lightning and rain [“Noon Th^l 86” at margin] - we all got as wet as possible but managed to keep the baggage dry –

⁸⁰ Hausa: *jaji*, bush.

⁸¹ Damari River.



“Mounts in the old city of Zaria over the other land bearing in the Centre E. by S. 10 or 12 Miles” at side of sketch; “E by S 12-10 or 12 Miles” [repeated] at centre over the sketch

the country as we approached Fataka was more uneven and cut up by deep ravines – between the long ridges - at 5-30P.M- passed to the South of Fataka which is walled round and appears to be of considerable size - I sent into the head man to inform him of my arrival and to tell him who I was and that I was going to halt ~~at~~ near the Zonga as the gates of the town would not admit loaded bullocks - at 6 P.M- halted near the Zonga and found a large caravan that had preceded us having traveled all night halted here - they said they had seen the robbers but from their numbers they were affraid to attack – a short while after halting the head man of the town sent me pudding and stewed meat with corn for my horses

Sunday 10 11th Morning dull and Cloudy [“Th^r 71” at margin] - at 8-30 AM- left our encampment to the S.E of Fataka the road winding and very gravelly passed through several large plantations of Millet sweet potatoes and doura our road winding South and S. by E when we turned up E.S.E at the ruins of a large town – at 2 P.M. saw the M^{ts} in side the Walls of the old city of Zaria appearing over the long ranges which the land forms running in the direction of the hills we had left - they appeared like a small mountainous Isl^d at sea - the soil a deep red clay sand stone & Clay iron stone at intervals

[“Courses S. by E 6 Miles ~~ES-E~~ E.N.E 6 1/2” at margin] passed several herds of very fine cattle mostly all white with the inside of the ears and muzzle black with the hump on the shoulder the horns long and thin - passed to the north of ~~the~~ a Walled town called Murai where a house had been prepared for me to lodge in but there being 2 very deep ravines a little way a head I determined to cross them and halt at the Zonga as if it came on to rain during the night the crossing of the ravines would be both troublesome and dangerous to the animals - at 4 P.M- having crossed the ravines [“without incident” inserted] halted near the Zonga - the head man of Murai not being at home his brother sent millet for the horses but no pudding for me or my servants – so we had to take rice & tea - to day my poor little mare that the King of Yourriba gave [me] – broke down and was unable to travel with out being driven on with out a rider – in the evening heavy rain th^r & lightning

Monday 12 Morning cloudy with rain – at 7 the rain ceased and we loaded our



Zaria

bullocks &£ - Started at 8 A.M. our path across gentle rising and declining ridges the soil a deep red clay with with occly rocks of clay iron stone and sandstone and the country woody – at 10 AM- the country became more cleared of wood and plantations [of] Millet and doura succeeded ~~the~~ ~ roads became crowded with people going to the Market of Zaria and a caravan [116] from Kano on its way to Guari and Koolfu - from an arab in the caravan I learnt that an English man had arrived at Bornou⁸² with Hadje Bou Zaid and that four Jews with merchandise had come with him ~ that they had heard of my arrival in Koolfu – early in the Month of May at Kashna – Saw the hills of Zaria – which appeared over the long ridges which the land forms like a range of Mountainous Islds ~ the one in old Zaria being the 2nd from the North their Extremes bore E. by N. 7 or 8 Miles South 18 or 20 Miles – within about 4 or 5 Miles of Zaria the country became altogether clear of wood except a patch here and there ~ all was in pasture or planted with millet and dourra – herds of beautifull white cattle feeding in the vallies or laying chewing the cud on the higher grounds – Zaria was known by its tall trees like a long avenue of gigantic populars [*sic*]⁸³ running across the horizon to the East and stretching from the south end of one detached mount to the North end of another – [“[Course] E. by N 9 Miles” at margin]

At 2 P.M- entred one of the gates on the west side of the Walls of Zaria but instead of finding houses I only saw there tops ~ at a 1/4 of a mile distance all

⁸² An apparently inaccurate report.

⁸³ Actually, locust bean trees, *dorawa*, were the dominant canopy near Zaria.

was walled fields full of growing Millet & doura with here and there a horse or mare tethered between - after riding through the narrow lanes between the corn fields and passing several other *lanes* amongst the houses halted under a tree near to the house of Abdel Krim who is now in charge of the City as the Gov^I Malem [“Ya” inserted] Moussa is absent on an expedition against the Kafirs in the South^h part of the province⁸⁴ - neither was Abdel Krim at home he was out attending his fields in the country - his head man however gave me the choice of 2 empty houses to live in while I remained in Zaria and sent a Messenger to inform Abdel Krim of my arrival - at sunset he arrived - and waited on me instantly - he was very kind offered me his own house to live in if I did not like the one I was in sent me a fine fat sheep provisions for me and all my servants & Millet for the horses bullocks & Camel - I was fortunate in getting the Lat^{de} of my house as at this season it is so often cloudy - the Mn Alt^{de} of Antares [“Mn Alt^{de} Antares 106°-[]’-[]”“ at margin] gave the Lat^{de} 10°-59’-1”N nearly the center of the city

Tuesday 13th Morning dull & cloudy - after breakfast I had a visit from Abdel Krim when I told him who I was & What I was and where I was going and desired he would give me a messenger to Kano as I intended going by that route - he said he would send to the Sultan or Gov^I and inform him of my arrival that the messenger would return in three days and I should have every thing he could assist me in - I told him I wanted a horse to Kano and to leave a mare until she recovered and [then] to be sent to me - Abd Krim appears to be a very good fellow - and is in very great distress he tells me and there is nothing in his power that he can do for me but he will do it if I can only give him what he wants - a n^o of visitors coming in broke the story as it appears to be with him a great secret -

The old City of Zaria was taken by the Fellatahs about a month after they took Goobeer and Zamfra in the Year 1800⁸⁵ - It only stood a siege or blockade of 2 days - it is now only known by the ruined wall surrounding the before mentioned Mounts [“which *once* were in the center of the Walls” at margin] and a considerable space of the lower ground - The new city [“In Lat^{de} Mn. Alt^{de} Antares 10-59-1 N Long^{de} 8-42-30 E” at margin] built by the Fellatahs the walls of which extend from the S.E. side of the Old about 2 Miles S.E. enclosing a great space of ground ~~and might very properly be~~ on which are built a no. of little villages and detached houses surrounded by high clay walls near the center of ~~the~~ walls

[117A] the principal Mosque built of clay & having a Minaret of clay about 40 or 50 feet high - the principal market is at the South end and there the Caravans

⁸⁴ Yamusa was Emir 1821-34; Sa’i Abdulkrim, ‘acting governor’ in 1826, later Emir (1834-46); see M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 148-50.

⁸⁵ Conquered by Mallam Musa in 1804 (Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, 137-41)

halt & make there camp or Zonga inside the walls ~ the house of the Gov^r is North of the great Mosque and is surrounded by a high square wall as are a n^o of the other houses of the head men of Zaria ~ inside there are coozies and square buildings of the moorish form inside ~~of the No of~~ ~ of the Number of inhabitants I can for[m] no estimate ~ they say there are more than in Kano which I should suppose [“to contain” inserted] 40 or 50 [000] at least ~ here they are most all Fellatahs – a great Many from the Fouta tora Fouta Jello and Fouta bonda – the late Gov^r was from foota Tora⁸⁶ – and they know the english well they say and the French too who they say sell the best guns but the English sell the best powder – all those who come from that quarter are very impudent and great beggars – The Fellatahs here and the Foulahs in the west are the same people – there [are] a great N^o of tall Shady trees in all parts within the walls which are pruned every year and look like immense populars ~ swamps corn fields and green plots make up the rest of the town ~ rice dourra millet yams sweet potatoes plantains *papa* apples⁸⁷, melons, date and palm oil trees are in abundance in there season ~ horses sheep and horned cattle also abound in all parts of the province inhabited by the Fellatahs – there are several little Mosques attend[ed] in common days the Grand mosque on their [“day of” inserted] Jama or our friday ~ the environs of the town are beautifull being gentle ridges of land & plains ~~and here~~ here and there fine large shady trees and the rocky mount close to the North end of the city add to the beauty of the surrounding co^y ~ a stream of water or small river runs past the east side -

[117] **Wednesday 14th** Cloudy

Thursday 15

Friday 16th Morning clear ~ No messenger having arrived from the Gov^r as was expected I had the bullocks loaded and told Abdel krim I would stay no longer and if he attempted to stop me it w^d be at his peril ~ he said there was not the least intention to do that on the contrary he would send a messenger of his own with me to Kano and sh^d accompany me part of the way – but it was 8 A.M. before I was able to leave the town ~ Abdel Krim has behaved very well to me while I remained in Zaria and is a decent a Fellatah as I ever met with and he is the only man in the place that bears a good name ~ yet he tried to get as much out of me by hints as he could and was very anxious that I Should give him some medecine to help him as he had 3 wives one of them the Gov^rs daughter ~ her he could do nothing with his power always failing him – he was so earnest after some [medicine] and so convinced that I could releave him that I was induced to give him a box of se[i]dlitz powders the effervesing of which surprised him

⁸⁶ i.e. Mallam Musa. At the time of the *jihad*, there were several Fulani lineages in Zaria, the Bornawa, the Bapaiyo and the Suleibawa. Mallam Musa was from Malle in the region of Timbuktu, a pupil of dan Fodio and well known to him and the other Toronkawa Fulani leaders; see Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, 83, 137-41.

⁸⁷ Papaya.

& he thought it a rare & powerfull medecine ~ I desired him to take one once a week –

As we rode after the bullocks a great deal of the conversation was about England which they declare to be a small Isl^d in the sea with only one town on it ~ I had hard work to convince him to the contrary – he then talked a great deal about the inferiority of the christians to the true beleivers ~ I told him he had never yet had christians to deal with in battle or he would tell another story ~ oh says he did we not kill 40 at Adamawa and made all the rest run away ~ I said they were all Mohametans not a christian amongst them but I could not convince him to the contrary – untill I told him he lied like a thief and when ever I saw Bello I should insist on his writing to the Gov^t of the different provinces to inform the people of the truth of that affair and tell them who it was Arabs and Mohametans headed by Bookhaloom who had artfully thrown it on our shoulders to save their own credit⁸⁸ – M^r Abd el Krim was a little alarmed at the earnestness of my language and threat and begged I would think no more about it he knew it was a lie - we parted not quite such good friends as we had been but I knew the Arabs would tell such a story and that those at a distance would beleive it to be true

the country on this side of Zaria looks like some of the finest land in England about the [“latter [end] of the” at margin] month of April - all arround is green and beautifull with only trees here and there – the soil is a red clay mixed with gravel - the cultivated ground continued untill 11 AM. when we entred a wood of low trees which continued untill noon when we entred the cultivated grounds of Leokoro⁸⁹ [118A] which I passed and halted on the east Side at 1 P.M. [“Course to Leokoro N.E by E ³/₄ E 18 Miles” at margin] - the head man of the town waited on me and told me he had a house provided in the town for me but I preferred remaining out side for the convenience of starting in the Morning ~ I gave him a pair of scissors and a piece of silk for a hand kerchief and he sent me 2 fowels & corn for the horses & Camel ~ in the evening near sunset I shot 2 guinea fowls and 5 partridges – the town of Leo koro is of considerable size walled round but the wall is in very bad condition being broken down in several places ~ the houses are in good repair and the inh^{ts} numerous – towards sunset several large heards of cattle came in from grazing in the neighbouring woods and were secured in inclosures out side the walls for the night

Saturday 167 At daybreak it came on to rain accompanied with thunder & lightning which continued without intermission untill 9-30 A.M- ~ I remained untill 12-30 to let the tent and bed cloths dry when I started the road good &

⁸⁸ A reference the Mandara raid in April 1823 in which the joint forces of al-Kanemi and Bu Khulum were defeated by a Fulani army; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. III, 317-58.

⁸⁹ Likoro.



Dye Pits, Auchan

through a thick wood of low trees the soil a red clay - I gave Pascoe the Boussa Mare to ride as he complained that he was unwell - & I walked and hunted on each side [of] the road - I saw no game but the traces of buffaloe the large Antilope and wild hog - passed through several plantations of indian corn and doura with a single house attached to each plantation in which a male & some [times] a male & female slave remains to take care of the grain free it from weeds preserve it from a small burd like our wren with a red spot on the breast, the rest of the body a dusky green the female a blue breast & back - they fly in great flocks and destroy a great quantity of grain⁹⁰ ["Course N.E by E $\frac{3}{4}$ E 8 Miles" at margin]

At 4-30 P.M- Arrived and halted at a town called Roma ["or soup" at margin] whose walls are extensive and by the Numbers of large shady trees which still remain must have been once a populous and well inhabtd place - the present inhabitants do not at present ammount to more than 40 - poor mean and Miserable they were all collected under one old shady tree to receive me with their head man bearing a long white wand at their head dressed in a ragged dirty white tobe his skin spotted black and white like a leopard with disease - he conducted me to his house which was large and spacious but the courts over grown with grass the roofs of the huts falling in the floors wet damp and dirty - I could not amongst the whole find one fit to shelter man or beast - I went out and he accompanied me through ruined and occupied houses - found one where

⁹⁰A flock of Red-billed quelea (*Quelia quelea*), most likely with Cordon-bleus (*Uraeginthus bengalus* and *U. angolensis*) and other sociable seed-eaters.

I put my baggage for the night – he brought me a little indian corn in a gourd and I asked him the cause of the sad state in which the town was in ~ he said the Fellatahs and held his peace ~ why is your house in such a state I asked ~ he said he had had 50 wives but they had all run away and he could not take care of it himself ~ plenty of guinea fowl come to roost on the shady trees towards sunset & I went out and killed 6 which served all hands

[118] Sunday 178 *raw* and cloudy ~ At 7-40 left Roma the road through a thick wood & the soil a dark red clay as usual ~ at 10 it became gravelly and several little mounts were seen on each side the road composed of a coarse crumbling grey granite – at 11-40 A.M. entered a range of low hills ~ the country was so close and woody I could not get the direction of the range – the rocks forming the hills sandstone clay iron stone and granite – [“E.N.E 8 Miles” at margin]

At 12.20 halted at the town of Aushin⁹¹ where I was provided with as good a house as the place afforded and this being the day of the Aid Kebeer or great feast they had killed a bullock of which the head man sent me a part with indian corn for my horses & camel – I had not taken possession of my house for more than 10 Minutes and hung my watch and compass up to the rafters as usual than I went out of the door on some occasion or other when on returning I found my watch had been forcibly torn from the rig[g]ing – but I fortunately caught the thief who was one of the bullock drivers – I threatned him very hard but was glad I had got my watch with very little injury – I set up the Barometer ~ the bullocks carring the baggage are now getting very weak and it was with great difficulty we could get 2 of them on to day with very light loads

Monday 189th Morning dull and Cloudy ~ Ther^t at sunrise 75 F. 19 R. ~ this little town of Aushin is very pleasantly situated amongst [“hills” inserted] gentle of a moderate height from some of which – the hills of Zaria and Nora⁹² may be seen – but like Roma its walls and its houses are in ruins its inhabitants ragged and mean looking ~ it is the last town in the province of Zegzeg to the East- ~ at 6 A.M- Started ~ our road was very woody the soil clay and gravel with some times large blocks of a mouldering granite and occ^ly rocks of sand stone of a very coarse grit ~ at 9 A.M- passed a small stream running to the South which at this place divides the provinces of Zegzeg and Kano [“N.E by N ½ N 10 Miles” at margin] – it enters the river which passes Girkwa and joins the Yau⁹³ near Katagum ~ after passing this stream the road became level and less stony being genearily a whitish clay coverd with a thin layer of sand – and the Tullah tree or Acacia became plentiful in the woods – I observed the

⁹¹ Auchan.

⁹² The ‘hills of Nora’ are in the vicinity of Tudan Wada, in southern Kano, while the hill at Zaria is Dutsen Kufena.

⁹³ This stream, the Kwiya, joins the Kamanda River, one of the main tributaries of the Chalawa, which passes south of Kano eventually to form the River Yo (Komadugu Yobe).

bullock drivers digging roots and eating them – and on halting to see what it was I found it to be a plant – about 8 inches in height with long ~~spindly~~ leaves about 5 inches long and 1/2 inch broad with a bulbous root oblong root like a rough potatoes – this they peel [“& skin” at margin] & eat ~ its taste is like a stringy field turnip but without the tartness ~ they say that in times of famine they have only this to eat – it is called by them Ruzgie⁹⁴ [drawing at margin]

At Noon entred the town of Danchow⁹⁵ the first to the west^d in the province of Kano – I rode up to the head mans house who was just comming out of his door to take his ride a jolly looking tall fellatah about 30 years of age ~ after we had exchanged comp^{ls} he took me to a very good house to lodge in and promised me every thing I wanted which was food for man and beast – I got corn sent me in abundance but nothing else ~ all his other promises proved to be nothing but empty words -

[119A] Tuesday 19 20th Clear & Cool ~ Ther at Sunrise 68 F 16 R in the open Air ~ after giving the head man a knife and a lecture for not performing his promises in giving me meat or milk or lending me a horse he said they had no meat because they had killed no bullock no milk because all the young wommen were dancing last night as [was] their custom after the Aid and did [“or they forgot to” at margin] not milk the cows - his horses had all been killed this summer at the war with the Sheikh of Bornou – all these excuses were repeated with as much ease as he had made the promises to me last night and I could not help admiring the courtier like way in which he behaved though he is only a young man and has been Gov^l here only a month or two – At 7 A.M. I left Dunshow and its polite Gov^l and traveling throug[h] a well cultivated level and populous country [“Course EN.E 12 Miles” at margin] the people all busy in the fields giving the Millet and indian corn the 2nd weeding hoeing and drawing the ground to the roots – [“this day passed a stream which rises near Aushin and enters the Girkwa” at margin] the soil a black mould covred with a thin layer of sand ~ numerous plantations of rice was also seen on each side of the road sown in beds and in the low swampy ground [“beds of” inserted] sweet potatoes yams a root called goza⁹⁶ like a small short yam but more watery it grows with a broad flat leaf – also beds of water Mellons & pumpkins – as we approached the town of Baebaegie⁹⁷ which is known by a large block of Granite to the South forming a mount the road became cut up by ravines – with occ^{ly} large blocks of grey granite ~ at 2 P.M. entred the town of Baebaegie – the Gov^l sent me to lodge in the house of his head man and sent me a present of a sheep 2 fowels some wheat the first I had seen since I left England Millet and grass for my horses & Camel ~ I sent him in return 6 y^{ds} [“red” inserted]

⁹⁴ Not identified.

⁹⁵ Dan Gora.

⁹⁶ Hausa: *gwaza*, cocoyam.

⁹⁷ Bebeji.

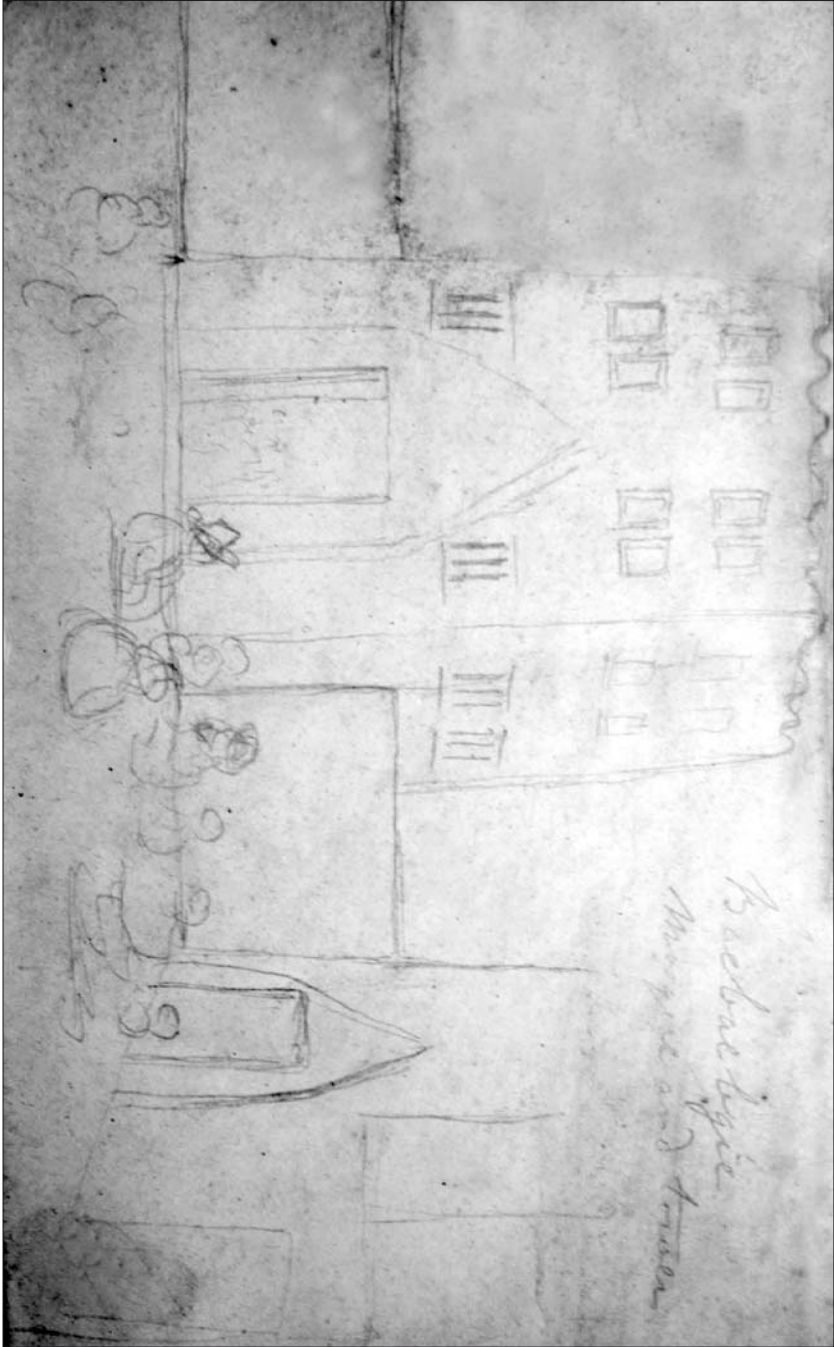
silk a knife a gilt chain and a pair of scissors – in the evening he sent me boild rice Milk pudding and meat – the Night being clear I got the Mn Alt^{de} of Antares which made the Lat^{de} 11°-34'-1"N ["Mn Alt^{de} Antares 104°-50' [] – error 45" at margin]

Wednesday 20th at the setting of the Moon it came on cloudy and then to rain which continued untill 10 A.M- I there fore determined to stop for the day and set up the Barometer

The town of Babaegie ["is in Lat^{de} 11°-34'- 1" N Long^{de} 9°-13'-[]" East" inserted] stands as it were in the Midst of a large plain having in sight from the top of the Granite Mount about 2 Musquet shot out side the Wall on the South side the hills of Nora to the East [about 10 Miles" at margin] – to the South the Mounts of Rurum about 25 Miles dist- ~ to the West⁹⁸ I could distinguish the heads of one or two of the hills of Aushin in Zegzeg ~ to the North a plain bounded only by the horizon ~ in the N.E. the 2 Mounts inside the walls of Kano could just be distinguishd appearing above the line – bearing N.E. by N – one hill breaking the horizontal line bore North 20 or 22 Miles ~ the land every where arround looked beautiful ~ the grain was just high enough to wave with the wind ~ little towns and villages were numerous the trees full of foleages none being left but such as were for uses the Micadania or butter tree, the Nutta⁹⁹, and the tamarind, herds of fine white cattle were seen grazing on the fallow ground an[d] horses & Mares were tethred in the small spaces left between the [119] plantations in cultivation ~ women were thrashing corn out on the level part of the ~~base~~ face of the Mount – to the Amount [of] some hundred the rock serving them as a thrashing floors and the Wind a winnowing machine ~ The town is in the form of an oblong square the four sides facing the Cardinal points the longest sides on the North and south ~ the headman's house is in the centre of the town and is like one of the old keeps on castles in the borders of Scotland – and is also [in] the Moorish form and the general one for all the Gov^{ES} houses in Hausa – a high clay tower through which is the gates or entrances from each side branches a wall of clay about 20 feet high in the form of a square inside of which are coozies or huts for the women Eunuchs ["and horses" inserted] and other dom^{ts} [= domestics] the head man occup[y]ing the upper apartments of the tower his men slaves the lower –

⁹⁸ Should be 'East'.

⁹⁹ *Parkia africana* or *biglandula*, the locust-bean tree (Hausa: 'dodawa'). Contemporary European botanists, including Dr. Robert Browne, who examined specimens from the African expeditions, identified the locust bean tree by a West African vernacular name from Senegal, the nitta or nety tree; see Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels*, Appendix No. XXII, Botanical Appendix, vol. II, 233. Also see the discussion of locust bean, *Parkia filicoidea*, in Dalziel, *Useful Plants of West Africa*, I, 218-20; and R.W. Keay, C.F.A. Onochie, and D.P. Stanfield, *Nigerian Trees* (Ibadan: Federal Department of Forest Research, 1964), II, 108, where the tree is classified as *Parkia clappertoniana*.



Bebeji, sarki's palace – CO 2/16, f. 157/8

this like all the others is built of clay and is of 3 stories high with a flat roof and battlement in the lower story ~ at each side and above the gate are oblong holes which serve for archers and to give light [“in” inserted] the upper stories ~ the windows are like ours in England in form face ~~in the~~ on each side but no attention paid as to regularity in placing them – the windows are either shut by a mat on the side next the wind or by a n^o of diff^r colored lines of grass line plaited over a small rod which is hung at the top of the window ~ the ends hanging loosely down fly about with the wind & let in light enough and keep flies out – this plan is also used for the doors of inner appartments – in the lower houses and requires no opening or shutting – these rooms are supported by poles or branches locked together in [the] form of pillars and plastered over with clay and then a wating [= wattling] of cow dung to preserve them from the white ants which in this country are very destructive – the floors of the upper stories are first laid with rafters of stout poles then shot diagonal pieces are laid over as closely as they can be laid together ~ then a coating of clay about 6 or 8 inches thick is laid over all ~ the walls are made by first mixing clay well with a little straw or cow dung and Making it up in lumps of two handfulls and letting it dry in the sun ~ when dry they build up as our masons would do with stones using clay instead of Mortar and giving a thick layer of soft clay between each layer of lumps and smoothing all out side & in before the commencement of every rainy season – as also the tops and parts that may have been washed down ~ the water is carr[i]ed from the tops of the houses clear of the walls by large burnt clay funnels which look [“like what is used in the top of smoking chimneys in England” inserted] projecting from between the parapates on the tops of the flat roofed houses like very long guns – an[d] the other houses of the town [are] like all most all others out of the capital towns ~ a n^o [“ circular” inserted] huts inclosed within a high clay wall frequently a room or two with a flat clay roof and used [120A] by the Master of the house as a repository for his goods ~ every house has 2 or 3 date trees growing within the wall or inclosure which bear fruit twice a year like those of Kashna and Kano and they use 2 pieces of flat board or gourd one fixed the other moveable to which is attached a line which reaches to the grou[nd] for the purpose of Clap[p]ing one against the other to frighten the vampire bat and a kind of jay [“called Arkadowa from its cry¹⁰⁰” inserted] which lodge on the trees and eat the fruit – the ibis stork¹⁰¹ and several other kinds of burds Make their nests in [“the shady trees which abound in the town” at margin] the town

A market is held daily which is well attended ~ grain oxen sheep and all the necesssarys [*sic*] of life abound [“and are to be sold in abundance” at margin] ~ a tame ostrich is kept in the market to avert the evil eye – (a Bornou custom) – the inhabitants may ammount to about from 20 to 25,000 inhabitants the most of whom are refugees of Bornou and Waday – and their descendants – who are

¹⁰⁰ Grey plantain-eater (*Crinifer piscator*).

¹⁰¹ Abdim's stork (*Ciconia abdimii*).

all engaged in trade – from the little I saw of them they were clearly [] and industrious and all were very civil to me [“there are several places of prayer in the town but one principal Mosque built of clay and having a Mouaddin or Minaret stands on the square on the right of the Gov^l house” at margin]

in the Afternoon I went through the greater no- of houses in the town shooting pigeons of which there are 4 kinds the domestic or house pidgeon, the large wood dove – a large kind with a fleshy substance round the outside of the eyes like the carrier pidgeon and the small dove with a black ring round the neck¹⁰² – the inhabitants offered not the least objection to my shooting in their court yards but were rather amused at my sport and afforded me every assistance

At Sunset I took leave of the Gov^l who lent me a horse and a man to go with me to morrow early to Kano – and his son gave me a female Turkey and some wheat

Thursday 24th [*sic*] Day light fresh breezes & Cloudy - Ther at Sunrise – 75 F – 19 R. - loaded the bullocks and saw them out of the North gate of Baebaegie when I started ahead on the horse I had borrowed from the Gov^l his man and the Messenger from Zaria accompanying me - I left the baggage in charge of Richard desiring him to halt at the nearest village or town if it should come on to rain and not to start for Kano on the morrow if the weather was bad – My road was through a well cultivated country the soil clay and mould – numerous villages on every hand the inhabitants of which were busy in their plantations – dressing up the soil to the roots and hoeing aw[a]y the weeds - the road was broad good thronged with passengers bullocks and asses loaded with grain and goods going and returning from Kano ~ at 7 A.M. crossed a small stream full of water run[n]g south and falling into the Girkwa – at 8-30 AM. passed the town of Madagie¹⁰³ which is walled and appeared to be well filled with houses and inhabitants – At Noon arrived at the banks of the river which passes Girkwa¹⁰⁴ and which rises to the S.E. of Kashna runs past Duncame and Fare-roa¹⁰⁵ and round to the South of Kano passes close to the walled town of Girkwa runs East past [120] the hills and town of Dushie near Katagum enters the You near to the city of Hadija – This is the river which has been talked of by the Arabs – and made by the them to enter the Nile and come from Timbuctoo – it is dry for nearly the whole length of its course for 6 months - the stream is broad and shallow about 100 or 120 y^{ds} across at this place very muddy with yesterdays rain [“and swollen” at margin] the depth 5 feet - I got Wet to the middle as the horse I rode was a sma[ll] one and some times was set a swimming in the holes – I halted on the other side to drain my cloths after

¹⁰² Speckled pigeon (*Columba guinea*) and Vinaceous dove (*Streptopelia vinacea*).

¹⁰³ Probably Madobi.

¹⁰⁴ The Chalawa River, which joins the Hadejia River at Wudil, near Garko.

¹⁰⁵ Dan Kamaye and Farin Ruwa, towns visited by Clapperton in 1824.

which I again started ~ after an hours halt and arrived at Kano at 5 P.M.¹⁰⁶ at the house of my former agent Hadje Hat Salah Byoot ~ the Gov¹⁰⁷- had to day left town for Faniso¹⁰⁸ the town of the Sansan or gathering place as he is now collecting his army to go against the inhabitants of Doura who are in rebellion¹⁰⁹ [“Course N.E by N 28 Miles” at margin]

¹⁰⁶ In the Remark Book, f. 132, Clapperton appears to provide a brief itinerary from Zaria to Kano, as follows: ‘Lekora [Likoro], Auchan, Bowda [unidentified], Bebaje [Bebeji], Bisa Kogie [‘near the river, *kogi*’, i.e., Chalawa], Kano’.

¹⁰⁷ Emir Ibrahim Dabo.

¹⁰⁸ Fanisau, the emir’s *ribat* to the immediate north of Kano and today the site of the Kano airport.

¹⁰⁹ Dabo’s campaign was against the rebel Fulani leader, Dan Tunku, not Daura. Dan Tunku had challenged the succession of Ibrahim Dabo to the emirship and staged a prolonged rebellion in northern Kano, which was only settled in 1826, when Muhammad Bello created the small, independent emirate of Kazaure, in northern Kano, bordering Daura; see Smith, *Government in Kano*, 231-3.

CHAPTER 6

Journey from Kano to the camp of Bello, and from thence to Soccatoo

Thursday 22nd July [cont./] He [Hadjé Hat Salah Byoot] gave me a very warm reception but I saw he and those that were present would rather I had come by the way of the East – but they are all in low spirits about the war with Bornou which has shut them up for this some time past from all commun. with Tripoli and Fezzan ~ the Caravan had left 20 days ago for Kashna to try and get home by the way of the Tuaricks so that I lose an opportunity of sending either my journal or letters but it would have been a great risk as they have to go through the capital of the former Sultan of Kashna – Tessowa¹ as also through the Tuaricks who have not allowed a caravan except the Ghadamis Merchants to pass for these many years past

I had a house hired & Water jars wood corn and grass bought against my servants comming in the morning so that man and beast might rest and feed on their arrival – and then I went to see my old friend Hameda a Tripoline Merchant now residing here since the Sheikh el Kanamie frightened the inhabitants out of Katagum by his rockets and little 2lb^{er} ~ he offred to supply me with money at the usual rate advanced to the Arabs – and also to give me 3000 cowries each for any dollars I might have – this was more than Hadje Salah offred as he thinks to begin the old plan and only give 2000 for each dollar as he did formerly though they are sold in the market singly at 3000 [“&” inserted] 3,400 cowries each – he also asked in a round about way if I had brought any thing to sell – said their was nobody to buy ~ no cowries everything was very cheap ~ did I want to buy anything he would get it and give me 2000 for my dollars ~ I replied just as coolly as he that I should wait and see what I wanted but he must for former favours lend me 10000 at once – so that I may be able to see arround me before I change a dollar – as I will if possible keep the arabs at bay this time – they used to flatter and coax my servants say to them the blessing of god be upon the[e] remember thy friend now god has given the riches of that Christian recommend me to him I [want] a little powder and a few flints a knife looking glass or a pair of scissors

[121A] Friday 22rd [*sic*] in the Morning heavy rain ~ at 11 A.M. the rain ceased and [at] 2 P.M. my servants and baggage arrived they having passed the

¹ Tassawa, the centre of Gobir resistance.

Girkwa river² yesterday after[noon] and halted at a village on this side all night – I had a long private conversation with Hadji Salah at his house this fore noon ~ he gave me an account of the course of the War and [he] said to which I agreed that it was an affair that I should by no means mention – that the Fellatahs were very jealous of the Arabs and said that they favored the Sheikh more than them – that on the Return of the Gov^t of Kano when he went to diffend the frontiers the Arabs as usual went out to meet him and pres[ent]ed him with Gora [“nuts” inserted] ~ on his return he gave orders that if they fired a musket the fellatas were to take that as a signal and put them all to death ~ that fortunat for them they did not fire as is their custom but some of the Fellatas called out kill them kill them – their friends have been assisting the Sheikh against us – the Gov^t when they went up to him received them very coolly never looking at them but on one side and that out of the corner of the eyes as is the Fellatah custom when they do not like a person – that the Negro population were also much distrusted by the Fellatahs & that they even showed symtoms of rebellion when the Gov^t was absent

he asked me if I had brought letters or any thing for the Sheikh whom he loved I must keep them quiet untill an opportunity offred of sending them - I said as to making secret of what I was going to do or what I had was out of the question ~ I should as soon as ever my business was finished in Haussa I should go to Bornou if I wished ~ I was sure Bello would not prevent me – he then asked very mysteriously if English merchants were not comming by the road that I had come & if it w^d not make cloth and beeds and every thing else very cheap that the Arabs would find no profit by comming here from Fezzan and Tripoli to buy and sell ~ I told him he need not be in the least Alarmed - I did not think an english merchant would ever come as far as the Quarra as there was nothing which he would be able to get in exchange for his goods and I added that there is not a merchant that I have seen that an English man would buy and sell with ~ when he found them to be such lying cheating rogues as they are he would have nothing to say to them ~ but says he you have taken India is there not some of your people going to take this country too and we have heard here that the English of Tripoli have risen like the Greeks and are now fighting with the Bashaw ~ I burst out a laughing at this and asked him if he did not know that there were only two english men in tripoli the consul and the doctor³ ~ well says he this is the last report you know whither it is true or not ~ he then shifted to what I had brought with me ~ had I not a great deal of cloth guns &^c and what present had I got for him - I said I had come far and goods I had none a present I should give him when I had leasure ~ that I could not do as I had done before – I then enquired [about] the cause of the war between the Sheikh and the Fellatahs which he said was owing to the Sultan or Gov^t of Hadyga and *Laranima*⁴ towns in the borders had spoken very disrespectfully of the Sheikh

² i.e., the Chalawa River.

³ Hanmer Warrington, HM Consul General, and Dr. Dickson, surgeon.

⁴ Clapperton probably meant Galadima.

when he sent his people to [buy] grain last year as there has been little rain in Bornou these [121] last two last years which has caused a famine - that the Sheikh sent people to these 2 places to buy grain and the Gov^{ts} would not allow them to sell but told the people of Bornou to tell the Sheikh if he wanted grain to come and fight for it - they had also made several intro[a]ds into Bornou and carried away great no^s of people and bullocks - that the Sheikh had repeatedly written to Bello - who had written to the above Gov^{ts} to restore the people and cattle but they paid no attention to his orders⁵ - he said there was now a caravan of 150 Arab Merchants waiting in Bornou to come to this country but that the Sheikh would not allow them and they were starving and getting ruined - what the Bashaw w^d say to this he did not know

Saturday 23^d [=24th] Clear and Cool - gave the camel and horses trona - I was taken ill with a slow bilious fever ["for ~~which~~" inserted] which I took calomel and an emetic

Sunday 25th finding my self much better and the day being fine I rode out to Faniso the Sansan to wait on the Gov^t - I took as a present a fowling piece a damask silk tobe 10 y^{ds} cambric about 1½ ["lb" inserted] of cloves a flask of powder balls & flints ["blue Silk umbrella a tobe of ~~daf= damask~~ Silk 10 y^{ds} tobe of Cambric [] y^{ds} & 1^{lb} of [c]loves for the [W]on Bey⁶" at margin] - a phosphorous Match box pictures of the Royal family and our naval and Military engagements a clean paper book and some black lead pencils - When I arrived at Fanso I had to wait a considerable time in the house of the Won bey or Gov^{ts} head man as they are now very tenacious of whom they Admit - I declared I would return to Kano if I did not see him instantly - the Won bey begged I would remain until the Gov^t had said his prayers before he saw me - in the Mean time a fit of the ague came on and the Gov^t had to wait in his turn

when the fit was sufficiently over I went in and found him alone his head being out of the door of the apartment in which I entred and his body lying in the other - he received me very kindly made many enquiries about the way I had got home and as they no [sic] little or nothing about Geography except what they know from the Arabs whose accounts are the most extravagant and ridiculous that can be imagined - I told him that Bello had promised to have 2 fellatahs ready at the Sea side to carry a letter up for me and to bring ["an escort & captn." inserted] bring me and my baggage up to Sockatoo but I found no one - every country through which I had come were at war with the Fellatahs - that

⁵ For the Bello-Kanemi debate, see Murray Last and M.A. Al-Hajj, 'Attempts at defining a Muslim in 19th century Hausaland and Bornu', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3:3 (1996); Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, xxxi, xxxii, 47, 55, 58, 208; and Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The Bello-Clapperton Exchange: The Sokoto Jihad and the Transatlantic Slave Trade', in Christopher Wise, ed., *The Desert Shore: Literatures of the Sahel* (Boulder CO: Lynn Rienner, 2001).

⁶ Wombai, the official in charge of relations with the emirate of Adamawa; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 188n.

even at Nyffe in the territory of the Magia [“who the Fellatas were assisting” at margin] I had not though I had given him a large present received the least assistance and only for my paying a 100\$ to an Arab merchant to carry my things to Kano I might have been there yet ~ I told him he must find camels to forward the present from H.B.M.⁷ to Bello ~ that I had a camel which would carry all I should want but that it would require 3 or 4 others as also 3 men to carry things which could not be carried safely but by hand and I must also have a Messenger to provide lodgings and food on the road and I should like Mohammed Jollie who went with me when I went to Sockatoo formerly⁸ ~ he said that all I wished should be done and at what time I wished ~ I said that all my servants were sick I had a good deal to do and when the rains had slacke[ned] a little I should go ~ in the mean time I wished him to send a courier to Sockatoo to acquaint [122A] Bello of my Arrival in Kano

he certainly appeared very well pleased with my arrival but regreted I had not brought the Guns which I had told him I had left at the sea side ~ he asked if he could get them if he sent for them ~ I said oh certainly but where are you going to send ~ he said he would send to the people of Affaga⁹ who would send to Ak[u] or Lagos for them ~ I do not know whither it might be from my having the ague or from what I had heard from Hadji Salah made me think he looked on me with a great deal of suspicion through all his kindness ~ he appeared to start at every thing I opened when I gave it to him not as a person pleased but as one affraid and wished to look and act otherwise ~ he asked me 2 or 3 times with some sort of suspicion if I had been at Youri and Dahomey ~ I told him I had been in Dahomey and crossed Youri but I had not been in either of the Capitals ~ after some other conversation about my journey and about England I left him and returned home and took a strong dose of calomel but all my endeavours were unable to beat of[f] the fever and I was confined to bed until the – **6th of August** – with a severe fever – which I over came by calomel and poltices ~ I would allow none to come into my house except my particular friends and those who had business with me ~ during the time I was ill the Gov^t sent me a sheep and some wheat ~ I had also several presents of sheep &£ from the head men amongst the Fellatahs¹⁰

⁷ His Britannic Majesty.

⁸ Escort officer provided by Emir Ibrahim Dabo in February 1824.

⁹ i.e., Ilorin (‘Afonja’), see Chapter 5, n. 11 and Chapter 7, n. 3.

¹⁰ Clapperton’s illness evidently took a serious turn around 25th July. The entries for 25th July to 8th August above were probably written up as late as 23rd August, from memory and a few jottings. The Remark Book witnesses: ‘Monday 25 – waited on the Sultan had to wait a long time – ill with ague - Tuesday 26th ill all day - Wednesday 27th – ill - Thursday 28 – ill all day a sheep & w Cowries - Friday 29 [entries in Lander’s handwriting:] a little better - Saturday 30 – varey ill unable to aney thing - Sunday 31 – no beter – a day of rain - Monday 1 of August – a little better - 2 Tuesday – verey hill - Wansday 3 – verey unwell’. By 4th August, Clapperton was strong enough to write again, and similar brief jottings about illness and the rains continue until August 10th. [Remark Book ff. 131, 175-6], after which date we have no entries of any kind until 19th August.

August 9th 1826 the barometer tubes which I had left here on my former journey I found quite safe and to day I set up both barometers – Kano is more filled with houses in the walls than when I was here formerly particularly towards the South and East¹¹ ~ the increase is from refugees from Nyffe – fled to avoid the civil war which is desolating their country – and from peoples who have fled from the Eastern frontier to avoid the war there – besides where there is a great trade such as there is here being the greatest trading town in the intereour and part[icularly] given to property and freedom to the people it will go on increasing – the Fellatahs have dug 2 ditches inside the walls to the Westerd of the houses as security against Sheikh E^l Kanamie should he pay them a visit next summer – the walls are also in good condition that gate leading to Bornou is now built up since the commencement of the war such is their custom

[122] **17 18 19** 2 tubes broke

20th the town thrown into great alarm by a Murder

22¹ Visited the Sultan ~ I am to go the day after to morrow

Tuesday 22 Found I had made a mistake in May of one day – giving 30 instead of 31

Wednesday 23^d Th^l light^l & rain in the morning – the Borgu Mare died¹²

Hadje Hat Salah Byoot My former and present agent is the richest man in Kano an Arab of the tribe of Majabra inhabiting the country to the East of Augela¹³ adjoining [“it” inserted] ~ they like the Augela people are great Merchants ~ he was formerly the Agent and Merchant of the hereditary Gov^{ts} of Fezzan¹⁴ ~ he was the cause of their being removed and dispersed by the Bashaw of Tripoli who would still have continued the family in the govnt if they had not prevented his people of Tripoli and the other towns on the sea coast trading to the intereour ~ the[y] even prevented [by] all in their power the Bashaw’s sending Mohamed El Mukni with presents & a letter to the King of Waday [“by the advice of Hadje Salah who said they would be ruined if they allowed the people of the sea coast to trade to the intereour accompanied by n^o of

¹¹ In the Remark Book f. 138, undated, July 1826, Clapperton noted the layout of the city of Kano, as follows: ‘the North of the town – Dalla [Hill]. East & North of the Market – Zakara [Jakara], the blind town – Unja Makafidi [Unguwar Makafi], the Western Hill – Guber in Dushie [Goron Dutse], The Market [Kurmi], The South – Zunggow [Zongo], Where the Sultan lives – Fada [Hausa: *fada*, palace]’.

¹² The five short notes from 17/19th to 23rd August were jotted in the journal in Remark book format; and completed later, probably on 23rd August, starting with the account of Hadje Hat Salah below.

¹³ Awjila.

¹⁴ The deposed Awlad Mohammad dynasty.

Merchants from Tripoli Bengazi & Mesurata” at margin] ~ they went so far as to send the Chiefs of the Tibbo tribes to cut them off offering them a reward and protection if they did – Mukni and his people accordingly were attacked on their return but by their bravery beat them in every attack - when they found they could not destroy them in this manner they had previously bribed the guides who led them astray in the desert where all their slaves & Most of their camels died and Mukni arrived at Tripoli with the remains of the merchants who were mostly all ruined –

a few years after this the Bassaw [*sic*] sent an other Mission under Mukni with presents to the Sultan of Bornou and was again accompanied by a No. of Merchants from the Sea coast – the Gov^r or Sultan of Fezzan did not try by open force this time to oppose Mukni[’]s passing Morzuk – but sent again to the Tibbo Chiefs and Hadje Salah to Bornou to prejudice the Sultan against Mukni - but all was without effect - some of the Tibbo chiefs now friends with Mukni gave him the letters the Gov^r of Fezzan had sent him [= them] - the Sultan of Bornou was much pleased with the Bashaw’s present and gave every encouragement for the people of Tripoli to come and trade to the intereour - gave a large present in slaves ivory & c to Mukni for the Bashaw who had sent him 2 small field pieces those now in the possession of the Sheikh but the Fellatahs invaded and took the Capital [] & all the present was lost but notwithstanding this on Mukni’s return [“empty handed” at margin] to Tripoli - he was followed by Hadje Salah who did all he could to prevent the people of Wadie selling him [123A] the provisions necessary for him and his people crossing the desert - first got the people of Kanem to attack the Tripoli caravan - the people of [“ the caravan of” at margin] Fezzan not rendering them the least assistance they ~~were next~~ and allways encamping out of gun shot distance from the[m] - next they were attacked in the Tibbo country where the people of the Fezzan Caravan assisted the Tibbo against them but Mukni again overcome them and arrived at Morzuk ~ here the gates were shut [against] him ~ every person was forbid to provide him or his people with provisions or hold any communication with them on pain of death ~ notwithstanding all these orders they were supplied by thei[r] friends inside the town principally the Cadi who used to send them out provisions on asses as if loaden with Manure ~ after this it was 18 Months before the bashaw of Tripoli would grant Mukni a force to depose the Gov^r of Fezzan -

[123] **Sunday 20th August 1826**¹⁵ This morning the whole city was thrown into considerable alarm by a Merchant of Ghadamis being found strangled in his bed ~ his females Slaves were suspected of being guilty as two [or] three similar cases had happened before - the Gov^r of Kano sent to Hadje Salah as chief of the Arabs to know what he would have done on the occasion whither the slaves should be sold out of the country or wh[e]ther they should be killed

¹⁵ Journal version of entries 20th to 23rd August. See n. 10 above.

~ formerly they had only been sent and sold to the sea coast ~ Hadje Salah and the principal arabs come to my house before they went to the Gov^r to ask my advice and what way we would do if such a thing were to happen in England ~ I told them that all the slaves would be confined separately and Strictly examined and that all those conserved would be hanged not one would escape – they said that was the proper way and no man they said was safe in Kano if they were to escape ~ I took this opportunity of asking them how many slaves there were in Kano in proportion to freed men ~ they said about 30 slaves to every free man¹⁶ ~ I told them they had better keep a good look out as were the men once to know their own strength they would soon take the place of their Masters and told them how S^t Domingo had made it self free¹⁷ – and pointed out to them the case of the slaves in Yourriba who had killed their masters and now formed a free people there

[124A] Monday 21st I visited the Govr. who was very civil and chatty - he said that the Gidado¹⁸ was coming to Kano – but if I wished to go before he came – I should have a camel to carry Bello’s present – & 2 men – as also a Messenger – but added that it was very uncomfortable traveling at present – every day & night they were out in the last expedition at Daurra – that they had had very heavy rains – and Most of the people & animals were knocked up - I said I was all ready to go and if he had no object[ion] I would start the day after tomorrow he said – well – sent for a Mess[enger] – to whom he gave strict charge to see me well used & lodged – & safe into the hands of the Gidado - Found 2 of my barometer tubes broken in the box – by the sudden transition from heat to cold in a Tornado

Tuesday 22 – found I had made a mistake in the month of May having given it 30 days instead of 31

23^d – rain thr & lightning all day – so that I could not start ~ in the afternoon I waited on the Gov^r and took leave

[124A cont/...] Thursday 24th August 1826 – At 9 A.M. it having rained all the morning I had the camels loaded & took leave of my servants whom I left with much regret in a land where they were perfect strangers ~ Richard was still unwell with the dysentery ~ I left with him instructions how to proceed home in the event of my death and also strict orders to Hadje Salah to afford him and Pascoe every assistance even the same he w^d me and he would be well paid by the Consul at Tripoli ~ I also desired him to allow Richard 1000 [dollars] to

¹⁶ The ratio of 30:1 needs to be treated with caution, but it is informed by the community of Arab merchants and hence is based on some level of authenticity.

¹⁷ Reference to the uprising in St. Domingue and the creation of Haiti.

¹⁸ ‘Uthman b. Abubakr dan Laima (1776-1842), known as Gidado (‘Beloved’) for his devotion to Shehu ‘Uthman dan Fodio and Muhammed Bello; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 149-50. He held the position of Waziri from 1817 to his death in 1842.

keep the house and horse ~ my poor little Boussa Mare having died a few days before I had been obliged to draw a bill for five hundred Spa[nish] dollars in favour of Hamada ben Medon for which I had to take a horse at [“more than” at margin] double its price and only got 1500 cowries for the [“each” at margin] dollar – just on half – such is the rate of the country ~ this money I left in the hands of Hadje Salah for the use of my servants which amounted to 250,000 cowries not 100 dollars – the price of the horse being 500,000 – I left them with much regret as I was in very bad health my self

I was accompanied as far as the horse gate Coffin Dalkie¹⁹ by Hadje Salah Shereef Ali a Tunis merchant Hamada ben’ Medoon and all the principal arabs as they now think I will bring about a peace between the Sheik and Bello – after leaving the walls of Kano the country was well cultivated on every side & p^l [= planted] with Indian corn Millet Dourra sweet potatoes Gazu²⁰- Indigo and cotton but the road was very disagreeable all the hollows being full of water and what was not very wet and [124] Slippery ~ at 11-30 came to a piece of running water at this season at least ¼ of a mile broad ~ at 12-30 got all the people & baggage & the camels across – I got wet up to my seat in the saddle & once or twice the horse was swimming - Started again - at 4- P.M. halted [“Course N.W 11 Miles” at margin] at the walled town of Toffa which since the death of Duntungwa the Rebelious Gov^r of Dum burta²¹ have been allowed to go to decay and unless they are soon repaired and built up it will in a year or 2 be without walls ~ I was provided with a house corn milk & pudding not like our puddings in Britian but indian corn flour boiled in an earthen pot & stirred with a large stick without salt or fat and when thick enough when it is made up into pieces of about 2 lbs each and eat with meat if you can get it if not with a sauce made with the dried leaves of the Adansonia and a little butter – it is the general food for the second meal in all parts between the Quarra and Bornou and some times also in the latter place if they have millet ~ they are now gathering in the Indigo which they cut 2 or 3 inches above the ground bringing what they cut off[f] home and strip off[f] the leaves which are laid in a circular heap and left to rot or ferment untill the end of the rains when it is beat in the troughs [“in wooden mortars” at margin] and allowed to remain untill dry ~ in other places they beat it in the troughs ~~and allow~~ as soon as cut and let it remain untill dry when what they do not want for use is carried to Kano and sold – The houses in Toffa are few and all the spare places in the town are planted with Millet and dourra ~ the inhabitants do not [amount] to more than 2000 – during the night we had th^r light^{ng} & rain

¹⁹ Kofin Dawaki.

²⁰ i.e., *gwaza*, cocoyam.

²¹ Dan Tunku, the Sarkin Fulani of Dambarta, who betrayed Alwali, the king of Kano, and thereupon assured the success of the *jihad* in Kano; see M.G. Smith, *Government in Kano 1350-1950* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1997), 192-3.

Friday 25th Morning clear & fair – gave the head man 10 gora nuts and the my [*sic*] land lord 10 – and at 7-10 A.M. Star^d the country only cultivated in parts – saw several large herds of very fine cattle belonging to the Fellatahs – they follow the cry of the herd[sman] which is oh hea hay in a soft but shrill cry and the cattle lowing follow the sound – at 10 AM passed a walled town called Kiawa – at Noon passed another walled town called Gagai [“Course NW by N^{1/2}N 8 Miles W.N.W 4 Miles” at margin] – at this last town the land was all in cultivation – formerly when Duntunqwa was living [the inhabitants] durst not stir out of their towns – now he is dead and his son submitted to Bello all is who can plant the most – at 2 P.M. arrived and halted at a walled town called Gonggadi where I was provided with a house – the walls of this town are also falling to pieces – all the spare places was planted with Millet & Dourra – the walls of this town also falling to pieces – a plentiful market was holding out Side the town – in the shady tree close to the house in which I live burds a little larger than our sparrow with a jet black head and bright yellow in the neck breast & belly & under the wings the back a dusky green²² – chirps just like a sparrow – hundreds were building their nests in this and the other trees which they do at the extremest branches or twigs and sow [=sew] allways one or more leaves in with it – they are sowed or pleated with grass having the intrance at the bottom – both male and female work at the nest – and they lay about 6 or 7 eggs – during this season they are very busy and keep up a constant chirruping & fluttering under their nests and about the trees

[125A] **Saturday 26** last evening I had a long and severe fit of the ague which continued on me untill day light – in the morning it came in to rain th^r & lght^g which continued untill near noon – when it cleared up I had the camels loaded giving the head man of the town 27 Gora nuts as he had sent me a young sheep plenty of milk and corn for my horse – left Gongodi the path winding and woody plantations of Millet dourra cotton and indigo here and there – saw a range of low hills N.E to S.W – crossed a small river and several streems whose course here was to the East^d the soil a red clay mixed with sand and occly^r scurfs of rock of clay iron stone and large blocks & beds of Gran[ite] – the water from the leaves of the trees made us all wet and one time I had nearly lost my eye by the branch of a tree while looking at my compass – as it was I got my face badly torn [“Course N.W. by N. 4 Miles” at margin]

at 2 [“30” inserted] P.M. it come on to rain and being close to the town of Koki I halted for the night – the walls of this town are also falling [in] to decay but I observe with pleasure that as the walls have fallen the houses appear to have increased – I was provided with as good a house as the place afforded and was plentifully supplied with provisions

²² The Village (or Black-headed) weaver (*Ploceus cucullatus*).

Sunday 27th Clear Morning with light flying clouds ~ at 6-30 A.M- left Koki ~ I gave the head man 30 gora nuts as he had given me a plentiful supply of milk 2 fowels and Millet for my horse and camel – the road was excessively wet being nearly every step mid leg deep and very slippery the decayed ant hills not being seen ~ the camels several times slumped up to their bellies when they had to be unloaded *occlly* ~ for the flexibility of that animals joints are rendered useless *at such* times ~ I constantly rode behind them both for the safety of my self and horse as also to render that assistance and encouragement to my servants which was necessary who certainly suffered much having to wade by the sides of the camels the whole way ~ thank god not one fell sick or uttered the least complaint – I sent the Alewa the Kano messenger on a head as I heard the Gidado was on his way to Kano and only a day or 2 distance from me to request he would detain the Gov^l of Adamowa²³ until my arrival as that person had only left Kano a few days before me with his retinue and in the event of my joining him I w^d not have any occasion to wait at the town of Qorri²⁴ for an escort to conduct me through [the] woods of Gondami [Gundumi]

at 11.30 AM- passed the town of Duncamie after which the roads were the worst I have ever seen or in fact no roads at all - every where was like a swamp the men some times up to their middles in water for 1/2 an hour at a time the path leading through fields of millet & dourra - such the road continued until 5-30 when it came on to rain th^f & light^{mg} ~ [125] My servants stripped to the buff and put their shirts under the hides that covered the baggage to have them dry when they halted – I got wet to the skin yet had a burning thirst at times hardly able to sit on horse back until relieved by *occlly* vomiting - I would gladly have lain down any where but there was not a spot clear of water ~ in this condition I my men and animals were until 6-30 P.M- [“W. 1/2 N [] Miles” at margin] when I arrived and halted at the town of Jaza in the province of Kashna – where I lay down by a fire in the outh^r [*sic*] hut of the head man of the towns house after being assisted of[f] my horse ~ at no time am I possessed of a sweet and passive temper and when the Ague is coming on me it is a little worse ~ the head man made a great no. [of] difficulties - I gave it to him in all the Hausa I had but it was all lost on him ~ these Kashna bears are rude & uncivil though they pride them selves in being the most polite & the best in Hausa calling all the rest infidells – he to make up the peace left me in possession of the house and ordered his servants to get food for my people horse & Camels – I suffered severely during the night with ague and cramp

Monday 28th Morning Clear ~ as I did not intend starting early on account of last nights illness & the peoples getting the wet things dry at 10 the Gov^l of Kano’s messenger arrived Whom I had sent to the Gidado with a request from

²³ Modibbo Adama, founder and emir of Adamawa, also known as the emirate of Fombina, ruled from 1806 to 1848.

²⁴ Kwarin Zurmi, see entry Thursday 12th October.

him that I would stop for the day and he would meet me as he intended halting at Jaza (or in English the tail) – at 11 A.M the Gidado arrived with a numerous train of attendants on horse back and on foot – the horse men armed with spears sword and Shield the foot with swords bows and arrows ~ the women were behind some riding on horse back [“[s]traddle” at margin] some on camels ~ others less fortunate were walking and carrying the gourds & kitchen utensils ~ as he passed my house I went out to see him ~ he had four long trumpets and a pipe like the pipe of a Bagpipe and 2 drums before him – when he come up he dismounted and taking me by the hand we walked hand and [*sic*] hand to the house prepared for him - he enquired kindly after my health & how I had found my friends in England ~ said Bello had received my letter from Koolfu in Nyffy and had sent a messenger there to bring me up ~ he said he had never received my letter from Bornou appointing when his messengers were to meet me on the coast neither had he received the one sent from Katagum – the Gidado advised me to return to Kano with him as the roads were so very bad ahead that to such a small party as mine it would be impossible for me to get through ~ that he would have sent to the Gov^t of Adamawa but he was already five days journey a head of me and no Messenger could over take him before he got to Sackatoo ~ that it would be better both for my health and comfort to go and return with him after the rains and that I should want for nothing ~ I said I would take his advice as from the [*sic*] my own ill health & the badness of the roads I saw we would soon all be knocked up both man & beast – I had a plentiful supply of every thing²⁵

[132] Wednesday 11th October 1826 – Last night my horse died and this morning I lost my jacket journal and remark book – spectacles ink [h]orn and pens &^c which my servant had laid on the saddle out side the door of my hut ready for me to put on when I came out ~ the person in whose house I had lodged at while at Baebaegie I had permitted to stop in the same enclosure – and my servants accused he [*sic*] and his men of the theft I wanted to search them but they were off as soon as the theft was discovered – at 7 AM- St^d passed through a large village and several times crossed the river²⁶ which I have before often mentioned as coming from the [“North side” inserted] [of the] Granite hills to the south of Kashna – it here winds beautifully with steep & high wooded banks – some times of rock and some times of clay and rock ~ my camels I could hardly get along as they are nearly worn out with sores and

²⁵ Folios 126A through 132A are missing. We may take it that Clapperton returned to Kano with Gidado, around 2nd September, and remained there some three weeks while the Caliphate’s troops were assembled, and his own health improved, before setting off set off again for Sokoto this time in the train of the Caliphate’s armies advancing to attack the Gobirawa at Konya. A small jotting on a page otherwise covered in arithmetical calculations provides us with the date ‘24 Septr- left Kano’ [Remark Book, f. 84]. There are no other records relating to the period from 29th August to 11th October, when Clapperton’s current diaries and papers were stolen and a new journal begun [See entry, 11th October].

²⁶ River Bunsuru.

fatigue – the country around Zurmie is well cultivated and planted with Millet indian corn and Dourra the villages are Numerous the soil a light red clay mixed with low crumbling rocks the surface covered with a thin layer of sand

the army has now increased to a large size – the Forces of Zurmie and Jacoba having joined – the roads on every side crowded ~~very~~ with horse and foot – Camels bullocks and asses – all [striving] who to get foremost - some of the people of Zurmie the foot are entirely naked save a tanned sheep skin round the loins cut into tassels and ornamented with cowries – their wool or hair cut & ~~plait~~ in parts and shaved the rest plaited and formed in crests circles - some have it teased out which gives them a wild and savage appearance -

At 1 P.M- arrived and halted at Quarrie²⁷ – and immediately went and informed the Gidado of my having been robbed and by whom - he promised to send to the Gov^t of Kano and have the people of Baebaegie searched – and there was no doubt but that I would have my books restored - I hired by the assistance of Omar *Sanda* one of the Gidados principal officers and a near relation a bullock to carry my baggage to Sockatoo for 5000 cowries – as after this load was taken off the camel that was worst it was unable to rise and was in consequence killed and given to the poor

Thursday 12th – Morning clear - no books as I had been promised - at 6-15 St^d - found that the bullock which had been hired for me was miserably thin & had the itch very bad – if sold it would not have brought more than 3 or 4000 cowries - After leaving Qurrie – the road lay through plantations of Millet & Dourra - passed through several villages and one walled town also called Quarrie and at 9 AM arrived at & Crossed the River Foutchir²⁸ at a ford about 4 feet deep - the river was upwards of 100 yards broad & full of water -with a current of about 2½ or 3 knots the banks low sandy and woody – and here it is close to its junction with the river of Zurmie which is now close on our right – running to the north - along its banks we traveled for an hour which after leaving the land became a succession of sandy ridges and swamps & lakes and thick woods the prevailing trees of which were the accia [*sic*] & Mimosa [“Course N.NW to the river Foutcher at its jnt^d with the Zurmie 6 Miles” at margin] ~ at 2 P.M- both my bullock and camel gave up - I had to wait for [*sic*] until the bullock got a rest and the heat of the day was over [“When I sent one of my servants on with it & to tell the Gadado that the Camel had also given up and that I was waiting on the road with its load” at margin] – the camel was unable to move

[133A] at sunset – no assistance arriving from the Gidado and no messenger I hired 5 of the foot men belonging to Zamfra to carry the camels load for 2000 cowries as far as the camp – and the camel I left to its fate - we had not proceed

²⁷ i.e., Kwarin Zurmi.

²⁸ River Gagere.



Zamfara

[sic] far before a messenger arrived from the Gidado with a camel when the loads were taken from the bearers by force by the Gidado's messenger but I gave them 500 cowries for their assistance – and they were well pleased and returned me many thanks – My servants had carried the greater part of the bullocks load on their heads all day & I could not but admire their paitence [sic] – as their only food in the morning is a little ground dourra & water and of this I am also no[w] glad to partake ~ it was 9 P.M- before we arrived at the camp which was by the side of a lake [“Course N.N.W 12 Miles” at margin] ~ I sent Belo[’s] present for the Gidado to carry on his camels as all that was left me now was a bullock with the itch – which we could hardly drive along with only the tent and the ground dourra my servants carr[y]ing the rest ~ all that I had to eat was a little ground indian corn boiled with salt & Water [“and slept in the open air” at margin]

the different Gov^{IS} have each a singing or crying man – in addition to the drums & horns ~ that of Zegzeg is most disgusting being a large black man on horse back with an unshaven head roaring out like a person in great Agony and every now and then calling show me a Kaffir and I will eat him - Duncowa's is a man that stutters & he makes it worse and approaching to the barking of a dog - the rest have all singers

Friday 13th at 5-25 AM- left our place of encampment and ascending a gravel ridge from which I had an extensive view to the West & S.W ov[er] all the

extensive plains & swamps of Gondamie²⁹ ~ the soil on the ridge was a red clay and Gravel the stones of the gravel were rounded pebbles of a yellow quartz the trees low and stunted ~ at Noon halted for the bullock to rest & at 1 P.M got him to move on again – at 5 P.M. [“as I was behind all the rest with my servants bringing on our lazy bullock” at margin] halted on the borders of this large lake – which is formed by the Rivers Zurmie and Qarrie & forms a chain of lakes & swamps through all or greater p[ar]t of the plains of Gondamie which approaches near to Sockatoo ~~and~~ [“when it again assumes the form of a river” at margin] - its borders are the resort of Numbers of Elephants & other wild beasts - its appearance at this season ~~is~~ [“appeared to me” inserted] very beaut[iful] – all the accacia trees in blossom some with white flower others with yellow forming a contrast with the small dark green leaves like gold and silver tassels on a screen or cloak ~~of~~ [“dark green” inserted] velvet - fine large fish were leaping in the lake some [of] the troops bathing others wating horses bullocks Camels & asses – the lake as smooth as glass & flowing around the roots of the trees - the sun getting low threw its chades [*sic*] along it i[t]s surface like sheets of burnished gold and silver - the smoking fires on its banks the sounding of horns – [133] beating of their Gongas or drums the braying of their brass & tin trumpets – the rude huts of grass or branches rising as if by Magic – the every where [“voices” at margin] calling, Mahomed, Abdo. Mustafa & c – the negeyhing of horses & braying of asses & camels appeared with the beautiful lake & its sloping green & woody banks as if the Mohametans had actually broke into paradise -

the only regulation ~~is~~ that appears in these rude feudal armies [“is” inserted] that they halt according to the provinces – east west north or south – but all other wise huddled together without the least regularity the man next the gov of each province next in rank to him nearst to him and so on - I allways found out my quarters which were close to the Gidado by inquiring what province the people belonged to which I was amongst ~ no such thing as a line or path amongst them - the nearest way to go from one end of the camp to the other is to go outside all together -

in the evening the Gov^r [“of Zeg zeg” at margin] sent me a present of a sheep – and directly after sent me a musquet to put a screw to its lock & on my declaring I had no screws & could not make one they went off[f] rather dissatisfied and shortly after I missed my powder horn which was hanging with my gun and sword to the branch of a tree – I now only was informed by the Gidado that before we went to Sockatoo we would go before Coniea³⁰ the capital of Goobeer near which Bello was halted with the forces from Sockatoo and which place they intended to take before they went to Sockatoo ~ the Kano forces are the best found and most orderly of all the rest but on the whole they are the

²⁹ Gundumi bush.

³⁰ Konya, the post-*jihad* capital of Gobir.

poorest forces & most ineffective I ever saw or could have imagined [“Course North 18 Miles” at margin]

Saturday 14th – Morning cool & Clear but a heavy dew had made me quite wet & Chilly ~ at 5.40 A.M. left our encampment the path generally skirting along the banks of the lake ~ saw the traces of Elephants every where & last night the lions were roaring close to the camp – the heat of the sun from 9 AM-untill after 3 P.M. was the most oppressive I had ever felt & the dust raised by the no- of men and animals all pressing forward as hard as they could made the air at times quite suffocating and now as we are surrounded by enemies it is who to be foremost none must halt [“Course North 20 Miles” at margin] - I had to set one of my servants though he had a load on his he[a]d to lead the bullock and I with an other managed to drive it along with constant beating which in a humane country like ours would have appeared great cruelty ~ but a man will do a great many things here that his humanity would revolt from in such a happy country as ours

[134A] At 4.40 P.M. I arrived and halted at the camp fatigued and low-spirited for what with the loss of my horse and camel and what is worse than all my books & jacket & the morning cold brings me in mind of one when I want to write my books as I have only now loose paper & a pencil and my men carring loads on their heads & I assisting them and encouraging them to drive a poor scabbed and worn out bullock along the road – and when I halt water and boiled indian corn ~ but I trust things are at the worst

our place of halting was on the banks of a creek branching from the lake whose banks were low and sw[ampy] ~ the ground over which we marched or rather ran to day was formed by long ridges of [“dark red” at margin] clay covred with a thin layer of sand ~ in some of the ridges the pebbles of rounded gravel were strewed as if left there lost - after halting Bello who is not a great distance from us sent often to ask after my health and how I stood the fatigues of the road – [“after halting we have frequently [gone] after an Antilope or some other game which has been unlucky enough to have lain quiet untill surrounded by the camp – this after noon we had a Wild pig – I could not but pity the poor animal ~ every ignorant vagabond in the camp went to have a blow at the Kaffir as they called ~~him~~ it ~ at any other place or country but in that of a Mohamed[an] I might have gone and joined the hunt but here I considered the poor pig as a sort of Martyr” at margin]

Sunday 15th – Morning clear ~ at 5.45 left our encampment – and at 9 A.M. arrived at a place in the swampy wood where there is swamp & stream instead of swamp & lake this ~ we had to cross ~ it was not above 20 yards across but steep & deep as if cut for a canal by the hands of man ~ this one we crossed without accident though many others fell - on getting to the other side nothing

but camels bullocks baggage men and horses crowded together the baggage laying on the ground the animals sticking in the boggy swamp - I had not gone many paces before my horse sunk to the belly and as I did not immediately dismount thinking to ride him through I got severely hurt by the pummel of the saddle by his plunging - at last I got off put the saddle on my head and got him to a firm spot under a tree close to which I found my servants endeavouring to drag the bullock out of the place where he had sunk - I sat as a guard over my baggage but all the exertions of my people could not get the poor ox out and I called them off to rest sending one to the camp for assistance - in the mean time some of the people of Zamfra coming past without [134] loads or arms going to assist their friends in carrying their Gov^{ts} baggage out of the swamp I asked them in a good humour way to look at my bullock and carry it out of where it was sticking in the bog - well says they Christian give us that meat you have got in your dish and we will - well done says I my lads take it and giving them the sheeps heart which was boild covered with fat they divided it and going to the bullock had him out in an instant and were for lifting him off the ground when on firm ground and carrying him close to me - after letting the bullock breathe a little started again but we had new difficulties arise - there was another stream to cross as what we had been on was an isld - this was worse than the former - I striped & waded over leading my horse and the men taking care of the bullock we got on the other side on dry firm ground without accident - where I halted & washed - I and my people were now behind all but a few stragglers & under a tree I found a sick fellatah unable to move with a burning fever a native of one of the villages of Kano - his friends he said had taken away his horse and left him there to the mercy of who ever chose to assist him - at 1 P.M- left the bank of the stream our road leading through fields of Millet & dourra belong[ing] to the rebels - at 3 P.M- arrived at the camp of Bello ["Course E by N 12 - Miles" at margin] - the Gidado saw me passing to my quarters and sent to ask me to halt as he and I must go to the Sultan who would excuse every³¹ [thing about my dress, as he was so anxious to see me. I accordingly dismounted, and accompanying the Gadado, we were instantly shown into the residence of Bello, which was formed of a number of huts, screened off by cloth fixed to poles, making quite a little village of itself. His reception of me was most kind and gratifying; he asked after the health of the king of England, and if we were still at peace, and how I had found all my friends. He was surprised when I said I had not seen them, and that I had remained only four months in England. He said, he had not received either of my letters, the one from Bornou, or that which had been sent by the way of Ghadamis and Tripoli. He asked me if I had not experienced a great many difficulties in getting through Yourriba; said he had heard of me when I was at Eyeo or Katunga, and that he had sent a messenger to that place, to assist me in getting through; and had sent another to Koofu; but neither of whom, as I told him, had I seen.

³¹ The bottom of f. 134 is torn, and the missing portion therefore reprinted from the published text, p. 184.

I During this interview, it began to] [135A] th^r & lightnen very heavily but as he and the old Gidado remained I of course could not think of starting and we looked like three persons trying for a wager who could stand a shower - but it never intrupted in the least our conversation - and he said he had heard that all my camels had died but he would send a man with camels this evening & who would take care of all my baggage to Sockatoo - that it would be better every thing should remain with me untill my arrival in the Capital when I could prese[nt] the present & his majesties letter - ~~after~~ as he intended making the attack on Coonia the Capital of Goobeer on the Morrow - the rain had no[w] ceased and I was permitted to take leave and went to my part of the camp - which was not far distant -

during the night a pretty strict guard was kept by the horse men in quilted armour and all the horses in the camp were saddled at sunset & remaind so during the night - Bello's apperance was very little altred from what he was since I saw him last except that he has got a little fatter and dresses better - he was dressed to day in [a] white striped Muslin shirt & turban & the finest tobies that the country prod[uces]

Monday 16th - Morning clear with a heavy dew - at 4 AM- all were ready for the war but it was 6 A.M- before they started the time being spent mostly in praying - I kept close to the Gidado as it was his wish - our path was thr[ough] the plantations of Millet and Dourra of the Enemy - at 8 AM- the Sultan halted under a tree and gave orders for a camp to be formed which was speedily done by the forces cutting and pulling the Mill[et] and dourra and making huts fences and screens of the Stalks - I wai^d on the Sultan who was dismounted and sitting - under the shade of the tree he had halted under he was surrounded by the Gov^{ES} of the Different provinces who were all with the exception of the[]³²

[135] After the Miday prayers at 1- AM- [=P.M.] all except the eunuchs and camel drivers and what other servants only was necessary to prevent theft mounted and on foot went to the fight or before the Walls of Cooneia - I also went and took up my station close to the Gidado - the March was the most disorderly that can be imagined horse and foot inter mingled in the ~~most~~ greatest confusion all rushing to get forward - some times the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another when swords would be half drawn but all only ended in making a face or threatening when the town was taken to fight it out - in about $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour we arrived before Coonia the Capital of the Rebels of Goobeer [“Course to the Walls of Coonia E by N 3 Miles” at margin] the town was not above $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in length and nearly circular built on the

³² ‘the governor of Adamawa, better dressed than himself’, according to the published text, p. 185.

³³ A tributary of the River Maradi.

[“North” inserted] bank of one of the branches of the river or lakes³³ [“the town was surrounded by a low clay wall in which was a rough Chevaux de frize³⁴ of unpruned prickly trees well fixed & standing upright in the wall affording the enemy a good diffe[n]ce & Enabl[ing] him to shoot his arrows through at us outside a shallow dry ditch“ at margin] – every chief as they come up took their stations as had I suppose been previously assigned ~ the Gov^{ts} of Kano & Zegzeg South and west – the Gov^t of Kashna – and Hadija, Katagum & Shena to the East and the Sockatoo & Cubbie forces to the North – the number of fighting men before the town could not be less than 50 or 60,000 horse and foot of which the foot amounted to more than 9/10 ~ for a space of 200 yards deep quite round was a dense circle of men & horses – the horse kept out of bow-shot while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination and kept up a straggeling fire with arrows and about 30 Arab musquets – at the front of the Sultan – the Zegzeg forces had one french fusee³⁵ the Kano [“forces” inserted] had 41 ~ these fellows when ever they fired there musquet ran out of bow shot or arrow flight to load all of them were slaves - not one Fellatah had a musquet – [“appeared to me the most useless of the whole I saw there” at margin] - the enemy kept up a sure & slow fight seldom throwing away their arrows – but even with all their good aim it is not difficult to escape an arrow as they are easily seen - the bow men of the F- as soon as they had fired of[f] an arrow kept twirling the their [*sic*] bow in front & hopping about [“like Monkeys” inserted] from place to place to avoid the arrows untill they saw another opportunity of letting fly – now and then a single horse man would gallop up to the ditch and brandish his spear taking care to cover him self with his large leather shield and return as fast as he went ~ he would then call out when he got amongst those of his party shields to the Wall why does not the people of the Gidado or Atego or so & so go up ~ some would reply oh you have a fine large shield When another would answer and you have got 7 tobos on and a shield too – the cry of shields to the wall was often repeated by the various chiefs to their party but all were silent and neither chiefs or vassels went up ~ at last the men in quilted armour went up per order ~ they certainly cut not³⁶

a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of the horses’ tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse’s armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead and over his nose was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear; and he had to be assisted to mount

³⁴ A military term; a six-sided joist, traversed with long iron-pointed spikes crossing one another; used to check cavalry charges and stop breaches.

³⁵ Fusil – a light musket or firelock.

³⁶ Sentence incomplete in this journal ADM 55/11, presumably continued on a loose page, since lost. The rest of the passage, marked in grey, is reproduced from published text pp. 187-9.



[5] Sketch of “Old Yargoorma – Bello’s cup bearer”³⁷

his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required too men to lift him on; and there were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the sultan. I at first thought the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse’s back at a miller’s door; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two balls through his breast; one went through his body and both sides of the tobe; the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders.

The cry of “Allahu Akber,” or, “God is great,” was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an hour at least (this is the war-cry of the Fellatas); but neither this, nor “Shields to the wall,” nor “Why don’t the Gadado’s people go up,” had any effect except to produce a scuffle among themselves, when the chiefs would have to ride up and part their followers, who, instead of fighting with the enemy, were more likely to fight with one another. There were three

³⁷ The sketch of Yagurma, who was the head of Bello’s household and the private messenger between Caliph Muhammad Bello and Waziri Gidado dan Laima, was probably made in October 1826, but drawn on folio 5, not at this point in the text, possibly because Clapperton used a blank page that was convenient. The sketch shows her apparently riding astraddle, not side-saddle.

Arabs of Ghadamis in the army, armed at all points. Hameda, the sultan's merchant, was one. He was mounted on a fine black Tuarick horse, armed with a spear and shield, an Arab musket, brace of pistols, blunderbuss, sword and dagger. The other two, Abdelkrim, and Beni Omar, armed with musket, pistols, sword and dagger. Abdelkrim was mounted; Omar on foot, who received a ball from the Coonia musket, which carried away his cartouche box, with all his ammunition, early in the attack. The other two, Hameda and Abdelkrim, kept behind the sultan and Gadado the whole of the action, and always joined lustily in the cry of "Allahu Akber." Once Hameda asked me, when I was near him, why I did not join in the cry: was it not a good place? I told him to hold his peace for a fool: my God understood English as well as Arabic.

The most useful, and as brave as any one of us, was an old female slave of the sultan's, a native of Zamfra, five of whose former governors she had nursed. She was of a dark copper colour. In dress and countenance very like one of Captain Lyon's female Esquimaux³⁸. She was mounted on a long-backed bright bay horse, with a scraggy tail, crop-eared, and the mane as if the rats had eaten part of it, and he was not in high condition. She rode a-straddle; had on a conical straw dish-cover for a hat to shade her face from the sun, a short dirty white bedgown, a pair of dirty white loose and wide trowsers, a pair of Houssa boots, which are wide, and came up over the knee, fastened with string round the waist. She also had a whip and spurs. At her saddle-bow hung about half a dozen gourds, filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of; and with this she supplied the wounded and thirsty. I certainly was much obliged to her, for she twice gave me a basin of water. The heat and the dust made thirst almost intolerable. Numbers went into the shade as they got tired, and also to drink at the river. When it drew near sunset the sultan dismounted, and his shield was held over him for a shade. In this way we continued until sunset, when the sultan mounted. We left the walls of Coonia for the camp. Upon the whole, it was as poor a fight as can possibly be imagined; and, though the doctrine of predestination is professed by Mohamedans, in no instance have I seen them act as men believing such a doctrine. The feudal forces are most contemptible; ever more ready to fight with one another than they are with the enemy of their king and country, and rarely acting in concert. During the night we were cut off from water by the inhabitants of Coonia, and a cry was raised that they had come out to attack us, when the whole of the forces of Zamfra, horse and foot, were tumbling over us in our quarter, pell-mell, who should get the soonest out of danger. I had not undressed, but had my horse saddled, and the camels loaded. My servants would have run too, but I made them stop and load the camels, when I sent them off with those of the Gadado, which now only remained.

³⁸ After Lyon's expedition to Fezzan with Ritchie, Barrow sent him to the Arctic; see Lyon *Private Journal during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry* (London: John Murray, 1824).

The flags of the Fellatas are white, like the French, and their staff is a branch of a palm. They are not borne by men of honour; but by their slaves. The sultan had six borne before him; each of the governors had two. They also all dress in white tobies and trowsers, as an emblem of their purity in faith and intentions.³⁹

[136A] Tuesday 17th Morning Clear with a heavy dew ~ we were last night up several times by reports of the enemy's approach and at one time so great was the alar[m] and confusion that most of the people and animals of the camp were tumbling or rushing to save what they could and fly ~ the forces of Zurmie who were encamped nearest the town fled through the camp up setting every thing in their way ~ my servants would have followed but I declared if they started without first loading the camels & taking the baggage with them I would shoot them ~ this threat and my seizing the rifle to put it in execution had the desired effect – when they were loaded I allowed them to go off with the camels of the Gidado which now only remained - they begged hard that I would go with them but as the Gidado or the Sultan had not started with their horse I remained until they who were the last left the field ~ at 5-15 A.M- [“at 2 A.M- the Camels left & horse ~ at 5-15 A.M- horse St^d driven as hard as they could fly” at margin]

at 7 P.M- the Sultan halt^d where we had been so much fatigued and troubled in getting through Swamp and river 2 days ago ~ here the South & East^d Gov^{TS} took leave of the Sultan and pursued the road we had come with them the other day & I with the Sockatoo for[ces] went west Skirting the banks of the lake & swam[p] all day ~ the banks are high the swam [= swamps] full of acicias & Mimos[as] the soil on the up[p]er land clay covered with a layer of sand - not a stone to be seen - numerous traces of Elephants & other wild beast[s] to be seen ~ every where the country on higher grounds but thinly wooded & the trees low & stunted except in the ruins of town where they grow to a large size and very luxuriant in foliage ~ no traces what ever of inhabitants – the Sun was excessively hot an[d] only for the plentiful supply of water the lake afford[ed] many must have died for thirst – at 7 P.M- halted at a old camp of the Sultan's ~ I now only learnt the cause of the flight which was the desertion of the Zurmie forces and all the foot who had on the first alarm started as they were well aware that the horse would not wait for them – I passed a n^o of the foot who were wounded ~ 2 or three were fortunate enough to get bullocks to ride the rest were poor slaves & had to walk – one poor fellow had been wounded in the night attempting to get water for they had cut us off from that necessary article the night we attacked the town ~ his face on one side was **[136]** laid openly by a sword & A severe wound in the arm ~ his wounds were much swollen as they were exposed both to the Sun & the cold of the night only tyed up with a bandage or slip from the inner bark of a tree which did not cover one half or a third of the wound

³⁹ The manuscript continues from here.

Wednesday 18th At 2-30 we left our encampment and half running half walking [travelled] along the Sockatoo road which skirts the banks of the river some times river – lake and swamp and which was on our left – no traces of inhabitants to be seen ~ passed the ruins of three towns – and the traces of Elephants and other wild animals were numerous the soil a deep red clay mixed with Gravel covered with a thin layer of Sand – At 2 PM saw a range of hills Extending from S.W. to N.E not of great elevation ~ as we approached them the lakes & swamps took off to the South the soil became clay and gravel with occ^ly rocks of clay iron stone on the surface [“Course W¹/₂S 28 Miles S. By W 4 Miles” at margin]

at 5 P.M- we got amongst the ravines and beds of torrents at the foot of the hills & turned to a bend in the hills South ~ we kept winding amongst them fatigued and tired Untill 10 AM- [= PM] – when I halted at one of there former camps ~ I passed many walking on foot driving their horses along before and for the several miles before I came to the camp the foot some of whom we had now come up with Were lying along the road unable to move further – My camels which were amongst the first had halted at 8. PM-

Thursday 19th At 4 A.M- – Started [“this morning the horse the Gidado had sent me gave up but he remounted me again” at margin] the road leading over and through Aluvial hills of Clay iron stone imbedded in a dark red clay – untill 8 A.M- when we got on the S.W. side of them where there is about [a] mile and a half of low[e]r swampy ground before we came to the Zurmie river⁴⁰ which here was now broad full & with a current of about 2¹/₂ knots to the West ~ its depth at the ford about 5 feet its breadth about 60 yards ~ as usual where there were a great no- of horses camels bullocks & asses there was great confusion no order every one trying to drive before the others ~ I stoped and taking the bridle off my horse plunged in & drove him before me – I got a severe head ache as the water was very cool and I was very warm ~ I lay down after I had dressed under a tree on the other bank untill the camels had fed a little when I started again – the river below [137A] the river a little below forms a chain of lakes and Swamps – skirting the S.W. Side of the hills our path lay along the South side through plant. of cotton Millet and dourra ~ the Cotton plantations were mostly all destroyed by the excess of rain this season but the Millet & dourra was very fine and full eared – the sides of the road were crowded by the foot with whom we had now come up ~ they looked miserable in the extreme from hunger and fatigue ~ a great many of the horse men also were dismounted driving [“and leading” at margin] their poor jaded animals along ~ I cannot say how I looked I felt very tired –

⁴⁰ i.e., the Rima River, on which Zurmi is located.

at 1 PM Arrived & halted at Magaria⁴¹ [“Course S.W 14 Miles” at margin] a straggling town built among the hil[l]s which are now a second range closing in to the North - this town is the Sansan or Gathering place for their armies and is mostly inhabited by slaves of the great in Sockatoo who have all houses here and their slaves who are employed in raising grain and tending the cattle mostly reside [“here” inserted] and in the villages around [“~~and is~~ which are bounded by the range of low aluvial hills to the North distant about 6 Miles” at margin] – the swamp river & lakes extend to 6 Miles to the West below Magaria and from its situation in the gap in the hills must be very unhealthy for the N.E winds driving the vapours right through the town - the town indeed borders the swamp

Friday 20th Morning Clear – at 7 AM left Magaria the Gidado and Sultan having Sent to me the evening before to see if I wished rather to go to Sockatoo and remain untill they come as they intended to remain in M- for some days to see if the enemy made an attack - I preferred going to Sockatoo as I had met with nothing but losses since I had been with their army – Every spot capable of Cultivation was planted with millet and dourra which was in fine condition [“the rains being abundant this season” at margin] as they had a scarcity last year and the year before and many people perished for want - after crossing the hills which were composed of loose pieces of clay iron stone and a deep red clay the soil was genearily clay covred with sand to a depth of a foot in most places the land forming long ridges with meadows & swamps between - when I arived at the river which runs close at the foot of the ridge or hill on which Sockatoo stands it was crow[d]ed with people fishing their nets were formed like a bag having a border of 2 small [137] Wands which they held in each hand opening the bag and fishing down the Stream - the fish they caught were small brim [= bream] which are taken to the market fried in butter and Sold at 2 Cowries a piece

[**Friday 20th October**] At 3 P.M- I entred Sockatoo and took possession of my old house the Gidado having sent a Messenger with me to provide every thing for my reception - shortly after my arrival I was visited by all the Arabs of the place who after paying me a great many comp^{ts} and a little begging called my servant Mohamed El. Sirkis⁴² formerly a Slave of Bookhaloom & the only one in all his army who brought off the Bashaw of Tripoli[’s] Flag at the battle with the Fellatahs and also restored Major Denham his horse when he thought he had lost it in that action⁴³ - I found him a slave with a fellatah – in the town of

⁴¹ The settlement of Magaria, founded in the mid-1820s as an outpost for defence against Gobirawa raids on the Rima valley, was built on the edge of the valley, 20 miles NW of Sokoto some 8 miles up river from the gathering place of caravans at the wells of Dan Kamu. Magaria’s usefulness was overtaken in the following decade when a stronger defensive town was founded on high ground commanding the valley at near-by Wurno.

⁴² Probably named Mohamed Allah bar Sarki , a common name for slaves.

⁴³ Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 131-3.

Coufee bought him [“26700 Cowries” at margin] and gave him his freedom ~ these villains of Arabs advised him to leave me because I was a Christian and said they would keep [“him” inserted] ~ I told him he was at liberty to go where he pleased he was a free man now but not to go like a thief and run away and told him to look at the dirty ragged tobes his advisers wore ~ that they were not able to buy soap to wash still less give him food wages & cloaths as I did

Saturday 21st Sockatoo I cannot see much or any alteration in it though it was nearly consumed by fire last winter said to be done by the rebels of Goobeer who as the morning breezes at day break comes strong from the N.E. they set fire to the one house in that quarter which spread rapidly and consumed nearly 2/3 of the town before they could stop its course ~ the person or persons who had set fire to it was never discovered ~ it is now rebuilt as before – there are 11 gates now open in Socka[too] 7 having been built up since [“or at” at margin] the breaking out of the rebellion and there are 10 Cadies or judges – these with old ben Gumso⁴⁴ an Arab living here – on the Sultans leaving the City keep watch at the gates day and night with their people untill his return ~ each takes a gate and have a temporary house of Matting built close in side the gate to live in – ben Gumso on my arrival sent to tell me where he was situated and that he could [“not” inserted] come and see me untill the Sultans return as the punishment for leaving this post is death ~ I accordingly went to see him – he had standing at the door of his house [138A] seven crazy⁴⁵ Arab musquets some without flint or ramrod but not withstanding all this his post on account of the Musquets was thought impregnable

Tuesday 24th in the Afternoon a Messenger arrived from the Sultan and the Gidado to inform [“me” inserted] that as the rebels were daily expected near Magari[a] they did not know when they would be able to return to Sockatoo they therefore wished me to return there & remain with them & sent 2 Camels to carry my baggage and a horse for me to ride – reports here say that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages near Magaria have all fled & taken up their quarters there

Wednesday 25 – I did not start for Magaria to day as I had to lay in a Stock of rice bread dried meat and flower as these articles are much dearer in Magaria and bread not known

Adir⁴⁶ is a province also called Tadela subject to the Fellatahs and contains a great N^o of Towns ~ the inhabitants are for the greatest part by [sic] Negroes

⁴⁴ Muḥammad b. Ḥājj 'Umar Ghamzu, the leader of the Arab community in Sokoto. Ghamzu knew Yauri well and was a friend of the Sultan of Yauri, a native of Sockna in the Regency of Tripoli. Ghamzu had also been a prisoner in Yoriba hands, on the west bank of the Niger, for three years; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, 678-83.

⁴⁵ i.e. cracked.

⁴⁶ Adar.

the rest as a half breed between the Tuaricks & their slaves ~ the country is full of low rocky hills is well watered by lakes & Streams bounded on the north by the desert on the East by an uninhabited wood dividing it from the Country of Asben or Aghadez on the South by the Country of Sockatoo – from the Capital Sockatoo distant 3 days easy Journey – on the West by the country called Tezaght⁴⁷ – lying between it and the country of Timbuctoo it is subject to the Fellatahs but governed by its own native Sultan who for the greatest part of the year resides in Sockatoo – their religion is partly pagan partly Moh^d ~ there is no town called Adir – this is the Fellatah name for the province Tadela is the name given to the country by its inhabitants

[138] Thursday 26th Morning Clear ~ At 8 AM left Sockatoo for Magaria ~ I was ill with a severe cold caught by my own Careless[ness] in throwing off[f] my cloths trowsers & worsted stockings on my arrival at Sockatoo [“Course NE by E ½ E” at margin] ~ At the Sun being very hot I was quite feverish ~ halted at a village untill 3 P.M- when I started again and arrived at Magaria at 5 P.M- [“Course N.E. by E ½ E 16 Miles” at margin] Where a house had been prepared for me ~ I had messages from the Sultan and Gidado to enquire after my health ~ my spleen was considerable increased in one day but I went to bed without taking food & had a fire made at my bed side which procured me a good sweat and I soon found my self better [which] though not lessening the ~~pain~~ [“swelling” inserted] in my side eased the pain as also the pain in my head & bones

Friday 27th Cool & Clear ~ I found my self much releived & the Gidado paying me an early visit said if I was able the Sultan would receive His Majesties letter & presents – at Miday- I dressed in my uniform & the present being ready packed in separate parcels the time piece watch & [£] taken out of the tin cases and all just as they had left the Makers hands – I went accompanied by the Gidado my servants & the Servants of the Gidado carrying the presents consisting of

- a red Silk umberella silver Mounted
- a Message cane silver mounted
- 12 Yards red damask
- D^o D^o Sky Blue
- – – red silk
- – – blue silk
- 24 Yards Cambric
- 2 lb Cloves
- a fowling piece brass mountings single barrel
- a plain Fowling piece double barrel

⁴⁷ Not identified.

a pair of pistols for his eldest son
 2 short swords
 2 Boxes of rockets
 a quantity of powder, balls, flints, & Small shot
 one reem of english Foolscap paper
 – – – letter paper
 2 bundles of black lead pencils
 colored prints of the Royal family battles &c
 a plain Journal book
 a small D^o D^o
 [139A] a dozen pair white Cotton Stockings & one Dozen pair White
 Cotton Gloves
 a time piece by Rigby
 Gold Watch by D^o
 a Bramah's pen &c
 a pistol *detonating* lock
 2 Gilt Chains
 4 Clasp knives
 6 pair of Scissors
 2 Carving knives
 a dressing case compleate
 a Magnifying looking glass
 2 English bridles
 a quantity of medecines
 2 empty trunks
 The new testament in Arabic

[“when I gave the Sultan the new Test- he opened [“That part of the Old Testi-
 mont which was translated and continued reading untill I took my leave” at
 margin]

The Koran in Arabic
 Euclid elements in Arabic
 Eben Senna⁴⁸ in D^o
 History of the Tartars under Tamerlane⁴⁹ D^o
 Pasalms [*sic*] of David D^o
 several chapters of the Bible D^o
 with a no- of other books in Arabic.

⁴⁸ Ibn Senna (980-1037 A.D.) of Persian origin, the author of two well known works, one philo-
 sophic, an Islamic version of Aristotles's philosophy, and the other a collection of medical
 knowledge.

⁴⁹ A reference to the *Secret History of the Tartars*, a mid-13th century epic of the Moguls.

To the Gidado

a blue Silk Umberella & 2 Silk crape Scarfs

a brace of Silver Mounted pistols by Tatham

2 damask tobos one blue silk one red & 2 Cambric each 12 y^{ds}

1 doz pair W^e [= white] Cotton Stockings 1 doz wh^e Cⁿ Gloves

2 lb cloves a looking Glass a Ham^k fringed & emb^d with Silk & a tent

4 Clasp Knives 2 Carving d^o 4 pair of Scissors

2 Gilt Chains pictures of the Royal family & 2 bundles B Le[ad] pencils

2 reems of paper 2 Journal books ink hⁿ [= ink horn] 5 lb G powder Shot &

balls 5 Spanish dollars Cloves 1 lb 2 Knives & 2 Scissors

to Atigo the brother of Bello – 2 Gilt Chains a silk tobe & a Cambric D^o

to Moode B^r of Gidado 2 Silk tobos one Cambric 2 gilt Chains 2 lb cloves

2 knives 2 pair Scissors & 1 carving knife

To Moha^d Sambo Galadema; Mohamed Sambo Son of Gidado – Malam Moussa Sect^y to Sultan D^o Gumso Sidi Shiekh and Several others a present of Cloves Knives Scissors & 2

[139] **Saturday 28th** I was visited this morning by Sidi Shiekh Bellos doctor [and] one of his secretaries⁵⁰ who brought had a message from the Sultan for me which on his repeating to me surprised me not a little though I took care to show him that to me it was only a thing of course – It was as follows ~ that the Sultan had sent him to inform me that what ever road I chose to return to England by he would send me even by Katagum into Bornou if I preferred that road ~ but before I chose the road of Bornou he had to inform me that when I was here two years ago the Sheikh [“Hdje le Meme El Kanamie” at margin] had written to Bello⁵¹ to put me to death as the English would come one after another untill they got strong enough when they would take the country from Bello as we had taken India from the Mohametans there – that Bello had said that it would be a disgracefull thing in him to put an unprotected man to death and could only account for such conduct in the Shiekh after placing me under Bello’s protection – to cause a quarrel between him [“Bello” at margin] and the Bashaw – that before the Shiekh declared war he had written to Hadje Salah his friend and Agent at Kano – to apply to Ben Gumso the Chief of the Arabs at Sockatoo to procure from Bello all the letters he had written to him concerning the Cht^{ns} [= Christians] but Bello – would not deliver them up –

⁵⁰ At Muhammad Bello’s request, Sidi Sheikh, a scholar from Tuat, provided Clapperton with an account of the fate of Mungo Park and his party, apparently derived from reports in Sokoto; see published text, Appendix No. II, 333-4.

⁵¹ According to Waziri Gidado, a letter of warning did come from al-Kanemi about the intentions of the British agents, but the letter was regarded in Sokoto as a provocation. (Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994).

I told Sidi Sheik that it was very curious to me certainly that the Shiekh el Kanamie should write in such a manner for he had before I came to Soudan ~~written~~ ever behaved to me with the greatest kindness and on my return ["he" inserted] had done the same and when I left Bornou for England had dismissed me with a handsome present - that I must see the letter and have a copy - he said Bello had sent the letter to Gondo⁵² in Cubbie to his cousin Abdullah⁵³ - I said I must see it and be allowed to take a copy before I took any other path than that of Borno for I had a letter presents for the Sheikh and asked what was the other path - he said he would give me into the hands of a Maraboot or holy man who would take me to the Sultan of Borgoo⁵⁴ & from thence I would pass to the Northerward to the borders of the desert untill I came near to Fouta Tora when I would go south into that country which was theirs and inhabited by their people and close to one of our towns - I said it was a matter of serious consideration to me as I had a sick servant at Kano who was ill able to travel but at all events I must have the letter the Sheikh had sent - [140A] I was very ill all day ["a head ache with enlarged spleen" at margin] but in the after noon I paid a visit to Atego⁵⁵ Bello's brother and made him a present of a gilt chain and a pair of scissors and a ~~little~~ few cloves - his house being at some distance I was so much fatigued ["and my side swelled to such a degree attended with great pain" inserted] that I thought I should not live untill morning

[“92 42-30 Mn Alt~~de~~ Formalhaut

92-42-30

45

92-41-45

46-20-52

56

46-19-56

43-40- 4 ” at margin]

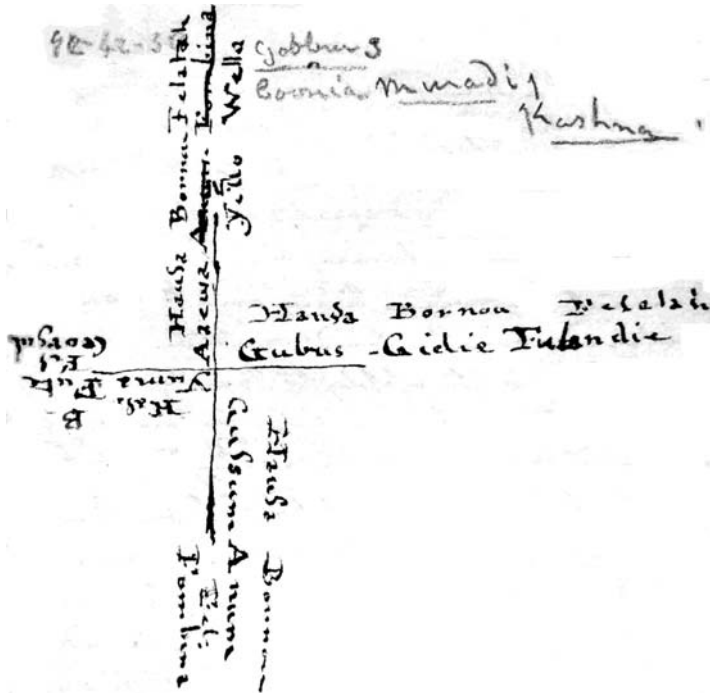
Sunday 29th Saw the Sultan this morning who was sitting in the inner apartment of his house with Euclid before him - he said they had a copy of Euclid brought by one of their relations who had got it in Fez when he went on the Hadje - Ebn Senna he had had but it was lost when part of his house was burnt down last year and he said he could not ~~help~~ but be very much obliged to the King of England for sending him such a valuable present - after a few questions and looking at the time piece - I retired with the Gidado and when we got to his house & were seated I desired he would give me a copy of the letter as it was of some importance to me to know which path to take on my return home - the Gidado said he was not aware of any letters having been sent and it was

⁵² Gwandu.

⁵³ Abdullahi dan Fodio, his uncle.

⁵⁴ Probably Nikki.

⁵⁵ Abubakar Atiku, younger brother of Bello and Caliph, 1837-42.



[Sketch Map]⁵⁶

very wrong in Sidi Sheikh in having ~~sent~~ come with such a story he must have made a mistake ~ but for me not to make myself the least uneasy he would inquire into the path and inform me to morrow

[140] **Monday 30th** I had been very ill all night with pain in my side that I had no rest what ever – At noon ~~Sultan and Gidado~~ the Gidado sent to say he would accompany me to the Sultan ~ though very ill I went ~ we were immediatly shown in to the Sultan who was reading but laid down his book and began about

⁵⁶ There follows a marginal pro-forma sketch, rather cryptic and not entirely legible, with a list of names positioned by Clapperton in quarters as follows:

West	Hale Yumr	Fulfed Ceargu?	B
North	Hausa Arewa	Bornou Yello/a	Felatah Wella
North East	Goober Coonia	3 Muradiy	Kashna
East	Hasua Gubus/r	Bornou Gidie	Felatah Fulandie
South East	Hausa Gubsum	Bornou Anum	Fombina

the letters - he said no letters had come with the Bashaws signature⁵⁷ but that he had desired that holy man Hadje mohamed Bootabli to write to say I was a spy not allow me to go beyond Sockatoo & hinting that it would be better I should die for we had taken india by going there by ones & 2^s - untill we got strong enough - that the Sheikhs letter had his seal affixed to it - that they would have informed me wh[en] I was there - but that I was then a stranger & they thought if they told me I would never come back - that his Cousin Abdullah of Gonda had sent to see the letters at the breaking out of the war with the Sheikh & had not yet sent them back - that the Sheikh had been ashamed of his [actions] and had sent to his agent Hadje hat sallah by all means to have them returned - that not withstanding these letters he would have sent me home by the way I wished

in the evening I took a strong dose of calomel - I was going to have the red hot iron applied to my side but my doctor Sidi Sheikh was so ill with the Asthama [*sic*] that he could not perform the operation - the disease of the spleen is so common that hardly a man in the country but what has ["been" inserted] burnt in the side for it - women rarely have it

Tuesday 31st I was much better this morning & the swelling & pain in my side much less the calomel having done its duty - I had also a copious perspiration which left the print of my body on the bed - I have kept a good fire at my bed side all night my bed being on the ground the fire had its full effect - I did not stir out all day but the Sultan & Gidado sent twice to know how I was -

Wednesday 1st Nov^r 1826 Clear - Magaria is now increasing to a town of considerable size - before it was without shape or form now all the people from the villages for a considerable distance arround have been ordered in here to live and the house being properly arranged each mans or proprietors cluster of huts being fenced round with matting - nearly all the vacant places filled up with houses or enclosures for cattle - a new wall is [being] built according to the [141A] present Goobeer mode off fortifing a town - which is to build a low wall with a deep ditch out side - rough stakes are firmly fixed on the top of the wall & stand up right through the op^s of which the people inside can fire through at an enemy in any direction - without giving the enemy such a chance of injuring them as a clay wall would - this new wall is now nearly compleated every man having a house in the town taking a share in the work and every man of consideration or office with the Sultan superintending that

⁵⁷ The reference to the 'Bashaw' indicates that Tripoli was behind the accusations that Clapperton was a spy, but the later reference to the 'Sheikh' suggests al-Kanemi. According to the published text (p. 199), Bello 'began of his own accord about the letter. He observed, that a letter had certainly come to him, but not with the Sheikh's signature; that it appeared, however, the letter had been written, with the Sheikh's sanction, by that holy man Hadgi Mohamed Bootable; and that he was desired to say I was a spy, and that he would not allow me to go beyond Sockatoo'. According to Waziri Gidado, the letter was from al-Kanemi (Bruce Lockhart interview with Waziri Junaidu, 9-10 March 1994).

part next his residence and employing his slaves & servants in bringing wood & placing it –

this evening we had a courier from Fofinbirnie⁵⁸ the nearest town in Zamfra bringing intelligence that Alewa the Rebbel sultan of Goobeer had died by an arrow wound in his side which he had received when we were there - whether this will have any effect in bringing about a reconcillation with Bello & them I know not

Thursday 2nd Warm with light flying clouds – the Jama or place of worship in Magaria [“The Mosque or Jama as it is always called” at margin] being only a temporary one as yet I have several times had a fair opportunity of seeing them at prayers ~~in~~ it being only of a square inclosure of matting supported by stakes and open on one side – the Imam priest or head man stands a little distance in front [“which is to the East-” inserted] on his mat - the rest of the people are in rows behind him - he repeats the prayers they behind him also repeating inwardly at the same time knelling [*sic*] & bending their heads to the ground at the same time and with the greatest regularity one man repeats allways after the Imam when the words – allahu Akber occur – as loud as he can and this one here has got a voice that half the town can hear him when at prayers –

I had a visit from prince Atego this after noon who was amazing civil - at last it came out that he had a disorder in [] common in this country [“caused frequently by great exposure to the sun & sitting down on the hot sand” at margin] - I recommended him to drink rice water in plenty to refrain from pepper and not visit his ladies too often and to wear a hat when he rode out and gave him a dose of calomel recomending him to take natron occ^{ly} – and the bleeding would cease if he followed my directions –

The Henna or Lalli⁵⁹ with whose leaves they dy[e] or stain their hands and toes the leaves are first dried and then pounded – when it is mixed with water like a poultice when it is put on the hands and toes and [“which are” at margin] tyed ~~on with~~ gourd leaves - to see a person in this state without knowing that he was sacrificing all this trouble to look beautifull you would pity the poor man and imagine he had fallen from some height on his hands and feet & bruised them terribly and had poultices on each to reduce the inflamation - some great [141] people go so far to have them selves hennad every 3^d night - I had a trial on one foot last night but kicked it off before it was an hour not from any unpleasant feeling but it was a load on my foot -

⁵⁸ Fofin Birni is a settlement in northern Zamfara, on the Gagere River. Bello built a *ribat* as a centre of communication and supply there because of its location on the eastern rim of the Gundumi bush and the need to control threats from Gobir. The *ribat* later became known as Isa Sansan. See also entry, Thursday 21st December.

⁵⁹ Hausa: *lalle*, henna.

Friday 3 Morning cool & Clear - set up the Bar[ometer] - the negroes and a n^o of the Arabs are great Gamblers though it is strictly prohibited by the fellatahs - their Game is called Cha-Cha - and is played by two or as many as chuse to stake - Cowries are used - when 2 only play they each take 3 cowries distinguishing their own - they mix them shaking them in the hand throw them on the ground - if all turn up with there backs up it is nothing if with their bellies up the same - if one cowrie of each party turn with the back or belly up they are equal nothing is drawn but if one of A's turn up with the back or belley the other 2 the contrary way and those of B. all Backs or all belley - A takes the stakes what ever it may be - if a no- are playing three cowries are only used - and they throw turn about ~~night~~ and if one cowrie turns up contrary to the other 2 the thrower takes all on the board - every one stakes what he pleases - night and in secret is the time for this game and so e[a]gar are they in it that they will go so far as to stake their breaches and dress in a clout if they are unfortunate - I should never have known of its existance had not one of my servants named Micama a native of Zinder in Bornou not come home last night with the loss of his tobe and on my insisting this morning that he should not enter the house in such a state ["being without tobe or shirt" at margin] he pleading the heat & other excuses which I would not allow - the other servants told what he had been at and said he was an expert hand and could not refrain from playing when he saw others play - I advanced him money to buy another tobe telling him if I ever knew him to play again I should give him up to the Fellatahs who punish all caught at such a game with death - in the after [noon] I took leave of the Sultan who leaves in the night for Sockatoo - he said I had better follow at my leasure so I said the day after to morrow -

Saturday 4th Morning Cool & Clear ["wind North" at margin] - the Sultan did not leave last night but to day at 3 P.M- I had to go and see the time piece carefully [put] up for carriage as it is considred as the most valuable part of his property and n^{os} come from a distance to hear it strike - only one of the Gold watches he has already spoiled & I have had to give his Brother Atego my silver watch for it in return but I have got the worst bargain - if the Sultan had not asked me I should never have done it as it has the new [142A] it had the new patent key and had kept a regular rate from England

Sunday 5th I did not start this morning as I had been very unwell all night - got a new camel - and employed a Tuarick to buy me another as they are nearly 20,000 cowries cheaper here than at Kano -

Monday 6th Cool & Clear - at 6 A.M- left Magaria - I rode my new camel as his load was light & I had no horse - at 11 A.M. halted at a spring for an hour - and started again at 2 P.M- halted at Sockatoo ["Course W by S. $\frac{3}{4}$ S 14 Miles" at margin] - I had not observed before that they planted calevances with the Millet which they do and they are not thought of much consideration as the

slaves driving camels when near home take a load to feed the camels at night out of the nearest plantation taking beans & straw by the roots the owners seldom finding fault – the day was very hot and my new camel was struck down with me on his back - fortunately I received no injury – at Sunset bled the Camels in the hand and smeared one with tar [“ for the itch” at margin]

Tuesday 7th Morning Clear & Cool – I visited the Sultan at Noon and at his request taught a man one of his servants how to wind up the time piece which is an 8 day one - in the after Noon I was visited by three Fella[tahs] who are going to Meca one Hadje Omar from Foota Tora⁶⁰ – Malam Mohamed from Timbuctoo one of the towns in Timbuctoo called [] – the other ~~from~~ a young man a Fellatah also whose father is Sultan of one of the towns in Jinnie which Isl^d now belongs to the Fellatahs⁶¹ – Malem Mohamed say[s] the whole of the district called Timbuctoo is under the authorit[y] of the Tuaricks - that the principal town is called Timbuctoo and that the gold comes from Ashantee Gonga and Bombarra⁶² where they exchange it for Salt to the Tuarick & Cloth &¢ to the Arabs of Fez, Ghadamis, and Tripoli - that Tim[buctoo] produces no gold - it is only the great market where all the Gaffles from the North & East meet those of the South & West few arabs now come from Fez & Morocca – owing he says to the arabs called Waled Delem [“or sons of darkness ~~as the~~ from them attacking travelers - their former home is the Beni *Sufsir*”⁶³ at margin] – cutting of[f] the caravans –

Hadje Omar told me that 40 men had arrived at Segou with the late Mungo Park – that out of the 40 – 35 had died of sickness and only 5 embarked in the Canoe given them by the Sultan of Segou – that they were repeatedly attacked by the Tuaricks of whom they killed a great N^o - how many were killed of those belonging to the canoe he could not say – the Hadje had just returned from Mecca and wished to go there again if he could get an opportunity - but as he said the Sultan [142] of Bagharmie and his subjects had been driven into the land to the South of that Kingdom by the Sheikh el Kanamie there was no

⁶⁰ Not to be confused with the famous al-hajj ‘Umar al-Futi, who was in Sokoto and Gwandu for seven months in 1825, before continuing on pilgrimage; see Omar Jah, *Sufism and Nineteenth Century Jihad Movements in West Africa: A Case Study of Al-Hajj ‘Umar al-Futi’s Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Bases* (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1973), 130-1. Also see David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal: The Western Sudan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 96-111.

⁶¹ The reference is to Shaykh ‘Ahmad b. Muhammad Lobbo the emir of Hamdullahi, in the region of Massina, who is described on the Arabic ‘chart’, as Clapperton called it, as the ruler ‘over Timbuctoo, Jeri [Jenne], and Oonbori [Humbori], and indeed may be called the sovereign of the Gharb (West) in Soodan. He is now at war with Segou’ (published text, p. 331, as translated by A.V. Salame). Also see Appendix II, p.279n.

⁶² Bambara, but in fact from Bure and Bambuhu.

⁶³ Laing to Wilmot Horton, In Salah, 25 December 1825 (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. I, 288-90, 292, 296). Laing calls them ‘an extensive Arab tribe’ devoted to hunting, war, and capturing caravans on the region between In Salah and Timissao, and in the midst of dispute with the Ahaggar Tuareg.

passing through that country as it was now only inhabited by wandering Shoak arabs who plundered all that fell into their hands - otherwise it was the best road to the East- ~ from Adamowa to Bagermie thence to [] a Kafir town [] thence to Darfoor leaving Wad[a]y to the North⁶⁴

⁶⁴ A jotting in his Remark Book shows that Clapperton also enquired about northern routes: ‘ From Kashna 7 days to Ajir - 1 [illeg.] - 2 days to Zinder’ [f. 47].

CHAPTER 7

Residence at Sockatoo, till the death of the author

[142 cont/...] **Wednesday 8th** [November] found myself very ill with spleen much enlarged -

Thursday 9th ill all day & not able to get up until near sunset

Friday 10th took calomel

Saturday 11th

Sunday 12th

Monday 13th

Friday 17th Sockatoo was built – by Sheikh Othman usually known by the Name of Maalem Dan Fodio – or the learned son of Fodio¹ – before he gathered the Foulahs or Fellatahs under his government – they did not live in towns but were Scattered through the Greater part of the intereour attending to their herds and flocks living in temporary huts in the unfrequented woods seldom visiting the towns - this they left to their women who attended the Markets & sold their spare Milk and butter - the men being reputed to live a holy harmless and religious life spending most of their time in reading the Koran and other religious books – only a few of these learned men would live for a few years with the Mohometan Gov^{ts} & Sultans until they gathered a little money to buy a few cattle when they w^d return to the woods to their country men who moved about from one province & Country to another according to the seasons and the quantity of pasture and water afforded for their Cattle building temporary huts of straw and rushes no one disturbing them or interfering as they were considered too contemptible [*sic*] and insignificant to be feared - no one but themselves knew their numbers - Meli [“lying between the Gambia & Senegal Rivers” at margin] or the petty Kingdoms of Fouta Torra, Fouta Bonda, & Fouta Jello – was the place from whence they spread East – being in great numbers in all the countries between the above mentioned places & Wad[a]y many of them had performed the pilgrimage and visited the Empires of Turkey and Morroca – as also Algiers Tunis & Tripoli bringing back with them all the

¹ ‘Uthman dan Fodio’s son, Muhammad Bello, built Sokoto in 1809; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 41-2.

Arabic books they were able [143A] to beg or buy – in the year 1218 [“of the *Heejira* or 1802” at margin] old Dum fodio or as he was styled Malam Sheikh Otman Dumfodio being Sheikh ~~over the people~~ by birth of the Fellatahs Sheikh over the Maalam or Learned and Shiekh of the Koran that is [he] was perfect in that book not only being able to read it and all the commenteries upon it but also to repeat any part and explain it from memory – he was also a great linguist – knew most all the languages of the intereour which he spoke flunetely – but also all the diffrent dialects of the Arabic - knew [“was acquainted with” at margin] all the learning of the Arabs and what was of the greatest importance to him was firmly believed to be a prophet and the belief continues getting stronger as the Fellatahs get stronger – he come out of the woods of Adir or Tabela and settled & built a town in the province of Goobeer ~~to~~ where the [“learned among” at margin] the Fellatahs began to gather arround him and he interfering with the affairs of the Sultan of Goobeer saying this was proper to [be] done and such a thing was improper - this not pleasing with the people of Goobeer or the Sultan he was ordred out of the country and he and his people this order he did not obey the people of Goobeer rose and drove them out when he again settled in Adir not in the woods as formerly but built a town – Fellatahs gathering arround him from all the diffrent countries - he divided them into diffrent chiefs giving each chief a white flag telling them to go and conquer in the name of God and the prophet – as god had given the Fellatahs the lands and the riches of all the Kaffirs – as they the F. were the only true believers – in addition to the white flag the F- were to wear a white tobe as an emblem of their purity and their war cry was to be Alla hu Akber or god is great - that every one who was wounded or fell in battle was sure to gain paradise –

their belief in him as a prophet ~~and~~ their own poverty, numbers and the apparent wealth of the blacks who had been lulled [143] into a fatal security made them fall an easy prey to their conquerors ~ Kano submitted without a blow - the next was Gobbeer ~~who~~ the people of which had taken the Alarm and attempted to turn Dum fodio out of his town in Adir but they were driven back and the wiley old chief then attacked them over ran their country & Killed the Sultan - after this the whole people of Haussa – with Cubbbie, Yourie & part of Nyffe fell under their dominion ~ the whole of the intereour from East to West was terror struck - Bornou in the East was attacked with success as was also Yourribba in the West - here they found more resistance than any where else as they the people of Yourriba would not be made to believe in his Sanaty or prophecy as they were confirmed Kaffirs who on the invasion of the Fellatahs put all the Mohometans to death whither natives or in caravans trafficking quite damaging the place that God had given to the Faithfull the lands and houses and their wives and children to be slaves - notwithstanding they took Rakah Elora

² Clapperton is incorrect on his conversion of dates: the *hijra* of ‘Uthman dan Fodio is dated to 10 or 12 Dhu’l-qa’da 1218, i.e., 21st or 23rd February 1804; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 23n.

or Affaga³ besides a great No. of other towns reaching to the Sea coast in the expeditions and once entering Hio or Katunga the capital [the] greater part of which they burnt down⁴ giving liberty to all the mohametan slaves – and encouraging others to kill their pagan Masters and join them –

After they had fairly settled and recalled those who had fled the Arabs from the East & West come to congratulate him on his newly acquired territory numbers of country men come from the West to settle in Haussa ~ these he settled principally in the province of Zegzeg ~ to these he gave the lands and houses of the Negroes who had fled to the Mou^l and inaccessible parts of that province lying to the South ~ to the Arabs of Tripoli and Fezzan &^c he made large prest^s of slaves & Camels sending none away empty handed ~ the news of his fame spread every where

Arabs in Shoals came and passed [“themselves off[f] as” at margin] with him as Sheerifs and would seldom go away [with] under a hundred Slaves with camels & provisions ~ [144A] the laws of the Koran were put strictly in force both with Negroes fellatahs and Arabs and the country was so well regulated that they said a woman unprotected might travel with a basket of Gold upon her head from one end of his dominions to the other – he [“~~went~~ was seized with a” at margin] religiously madness before his death and used neither to wash or shave his head [“except once a year” at margin] ~ He was constantly calling out that he would go to hell for having put so many innocent and good Mussulmen to death ~ this the Arabs used to take advantage of and tell [him] he was sure to be dammed when he did not give them a present to their liking and make him give even if he had to borrow – in many instances – not so with the Fellatahs ~ whenever his head was shaved the hairs were carefully preserved by them in cases of gold and silver and they used to come from all parts of the interiour to see him Mohametan negroes as well as Fellatahs –

his son Mohamed bello the present Sultan governed the Kingdoms they had conquered under his father & succeeded him at his death – ~~Bello after~~ he left the countries to the Westerd of Haussa to his brothers son Mohamed ben Abdullah⁵ – and to his eldest son Mohamed Bello – Haussa with all the countries to the South & East – Atego the Brother of Mohamed Bello – both by father & mother – attempted to usurp the Government at the death of Sheikh Otman but his brother put him down confined him to his house for a twelve month but they are now as good friends as before – he ~~built~~ [“extended the walls” at margin] Sockatoo Which is the largest town and the Most populous in the intereour that I have seen – he left also several sons by his diffrent wives & Concubines who

³ This confirms identification of ‘Affaga’ as Ilorin.

⁴ The traditions in Johnson’s *History of the Yoruba* do not report any Ilorin attack on Oyo itself before the 1830s.

⁵ ‘Uthman dan Fodio’s brother, Abdullahi, assumed control of the western emirates.

all live in Sockatoo very quietly and without splendour except Atego – who is a mean fellow but keeps a large istabishment

At the death of Dum Fodio [144] in the year of Hejira 1232 in 1816 of ours⁶ – the provinces of Goobeer Zamfra part of Kashna & Zegzeg [“with Cubbe & Nyffe” at margin] threw of[f] the yoke of the Fellatahs and put the whole of them to death – that they could lay their hands on – since that time they have retaken the greatest part of Goobeer - part of Zamfra – has submitted and Guari the southern part of Kashna has made its peace as also part of Cubbe but on this condition that they shall be ruled by their native chiefs and the Fellatahs not to interfere with [them] ~ since my arrival they have also got back the greater part of Nyffe – & put Mohamed El-Majia in as King or Gov^r under ~~them~~ Bello as Mohamed ben Abdullah has given up his right to him as he is no longer able to keep them - Youri has since 1822 joined in the rebellion being forced by the people of Zamfra – who at all times can command that province if not supported by Cubbe – or Sockatoo – The Gov^r is to be hereditary not like most of the other provinces ~~of~~ or Kingdoms in the intereour where the eldest relations always succeed -

Sockatoo the present Capital of these dominions is [“in the province of Cubbie” at margin] in Lat^{de} [] N and Long^{de} [] East of Greenwich & it stands on the [“top” inserted] of a low hill or rising ground having a river which rises in Zamfra – running past the Eastⁿ Wall at the distance of about 600 yds ~~and the river~~ and it joins the river which rises to the South of Kashna passes Zurmie [“to the North of the city comes thru Goobeer” inserted] ~~and~~ passes to the North of the city a bout a mile or ³/₄ of a mile dist^{ce} - the last river runs through Cubbie and enters the Quarra when it passes that province at the distance of four days journey - the river is well stoc[k]ed with breem & cat fish which afford the poor of Sockatoo a great part of their food -

The city is surrounded by a clay wall about 24 feet high and a dry ditch – the wall is kept in good repair and there is 11 gates 7 having been built up at the breaking out of the rebellion - it is the largest and most populous town in the intereour of Africa that I have seen – its walls have been extended since it was first built – the streets are very irregular and stragling – only for the round coozies or huts which are [145A] the entrances of almost every house of respectability as would be called in England – ~~the town~~ the clay walls surrounding the huts towns and single rooms give deadly dull appearance to all the mohametan towns of this country - only for the no- of slaves and lower people moving to and fro – and lounging or laying in the Shade and at the doors of great men the inside of [the] town might be taken for a no of small ill enclosed gardens

⁶ ‘Uthman dan Fodio died on 3rd Jumada II, 1232 (Sunday 20 April 1817); see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 60n.

the house of the Sultan is more towards the East end than in the centre of the town and is surrounded with a clay wall about 20 feet high, having a low tower like entrance ~~over~~ on the East another to the west - the west^m is the principal - the East^m is entirely guarded by Euneuchs of whom he has a great N^o and the Harram is on the East side - the whole of his house forms as it were a little town of itself - for in it ["within the inclosure" at margin] there are five square towers a small mosque a good no- of huts and a garden - and a house which forms one single room used as the place for his receeving [*sic*] and hearing complaints receiving visitors and giving audience to strangers -

this room or house is built in the form of a west india shed - or what we would call a shed in our country a shed - two large pillers support a beam or bundle of long rods plasterd over with clay and ornamented with figures looks like a beam - from this spring poles lashed together plasterd over with clay and ornamented as the beams & pillars - these suport the rafters ["and angular roof" at margin] which are of the branches of the palm oil tree - on the back part is an imitation of a fire place with a fire screen before it - and on each side are two chairs which are also plasterd over with clay and ~~of~~ colored like Mahogany - the ornament or figure on the back of these is the same as I have seen in a no- of chairs in England corresponds with that on the fire screen [sketch of chair design at margin] - the walls are ornamented partly in the European and partly in the African fashion having fans elephants tails & ^c painted in blue and white on the Walls - there are two doors - one in the front towards the right and the other in the left end of the house and which leads through a small street of huts to a large hut with 2 doors ~~thereaf~~ - passing through and within a few [145] yards of it stands a large square clay tower with an entrance on the west side - the intereour of this is common in most of the great mens houses in Hausa - it is in the form of [a] dome formed of eight arches springing from the ground in the centre of which is ["fixed" at margin] a large bright brass bason [*sic*] forming as it were a Key stone⁷ - the arches are formed of boughs plasterd over



Arched roof construction, Muhammad Bello's palace - Brenthurst Library, MS 171/4

⁷ Cf. outline sketch of the ceiling dome, from the 1824 Remark Book, Brenthurst Library, MS 171/4, Friday 30th April 1824.

with clay and ornamented ~ if I had not seen their forming the arches and pillars of a mosque I would have taken them to have been formed entirely of clay as the wood in no part appears ~ this serves to keep the white ants from destroying the wood and ornaments in their fashion are easily [*sic*] formed when the clay is wet which is done with fingers and a small square stick – from the arches about one third up runs a gallery quite round the interior building having an ornamented railing with pillars of wood covered and ornamented with clay ~ there are three stairs leading from between the arches of the dome up to this gallery and from it every thing in the dome is seen or heard – & from it passages lead into small rooms having one small window or square hole to each ~ these appeared to be used as store rooms & sleeping rooms – the floor of the dome was covered with clean white sand ~ the height might be from the floor to the brass basin in the centre of the Arches from 35 to 40 feet high ~ the air inside of this dome was cool & pleasant and Bello told me he often used[“it” inserted] as a place to read in during the heat of the day – ~~one night~~ these two apartments are the only 2 that I have seen describe[vin]g remark in his enclosure – one night that h[e] sent for me when it was rather late I was led by the hand by an old woman through several apartments before I arrived at the one in which he was as there was no light I could only judge by the stooping and ascending [and] descending through doors & galleries that I passed through some large rooms – out of one into another ~~I took~~ –

the houses of most of the other great men & of his brothers are nearly the same but on a much smaller scale ~ [146A] a great number of the poorer sort are fenced round with matting or the stalks of millet and dourra – before the west front of the Sultan’s enclosure is a large open space of an irregular figure on the west side of which stands the principal Mosque which is not above 20 feet high – the Mouadan or minaret is just a stair at the side of the wall – near the door which is on the North side near the corner on the East and high enough to raise the cryer[’s] head above the wall of the mosque – the enclosure contains a space open at the top large enough to hold 2000 people ~ the other part is in [the] form of a square with a flat roof outside but inside forming small domes with a small room to the East for the Sultan the other part for the gentry & the large open square for the common people – there is another large mosque ~~to~~ [“on the” margin] the West^d [“end” inserted] of the city built by the Gidado and finished since I was last here – there are also a number of small mosques in different parts of the city

The prison is at a little distance from the North side of the open space to the West of the Sultans house and [“prison” at margin] is about 40 to 50 feet long and nearly the same in breadth covered at the top with a flat clay roof of boughs over laid with of boughs ~ there is a deep pit inside where ~~the~~ those who have committed the greatest crimes are confined ~ they are confined in irons all prisoners who have the misfor^t to be confined or sent there ~ no person is put

in for debt only those prisoners of war [“taken singly” at margin] such as spies – and disobedient slaves who on a complaint to the Sultan that they will not work are sent to prison ~ their only food is the bran or husks of Millet & Dourra with water – but their friends are allowed to give them food if they have any – it is a filthy place and the terrour of the male slaves of Sockatoo – The prisoners are taken out every day chained 2 & 2 to work at the walls or any filthy kind of work – which may occur –

the house & Grave or tomb of the Sultan[’]s further to the west of the Mosque on the North side of a broad street which leads to the West^h Gate ~ it is occupied by his widows concubines and youngest son called Abed el gader who has not yet arrived at a proper age to have a house to himself ~ the Sheikhs tomb is in side of the square inclosure behind the room he genearily [*sic*] occupied when living ~ it is visited as a holy place [“by” inserted] all Mohametan strangers visiting it from which they afterwards hope [“to” inserted] enjoy [146] the good things of this world and the[n] that of their world to come

The ordinary occupations of the hig[h]er and indeed I may say of all classes of the Fellatahs is they rise at day break was[h] & say their prayers count their beads for about half an hour ~ then if they have a gora nut chew that ~ which done they dress a quantity of surkir or Furow fourrow⁸ – which is made of half boiled dourra flower made into balls of about 1lb weight with dry flower ~ Surkir is these balls bruised in sour milk ~ Furow furow is the balls mixed with water ~ about 10 A.M- they have rice boiled which they eat with a little melted butter ~ after this they visit their chiefs ~ if a chief they receive the visits of their people ~ after which they may visit the Sultan or Gidado lounge in the shade hear the news say prayers count their beads [“sleep through the heat of the day” at margin] and after sunset they have a meal of pudding with a little stewed meat and gravey or a few small fish – after which they are not seen ~ during the spring and harvest the[y] genearily ride out [“every third or fourth day” inserted] to their diffrent slave villages to look after their grain – cotton Indigo & C or to the place where they have their cattle ~ the occupations of the poorer class who are not engaged in trade is much the same as their superiours [“being attached to some chief” at margin] their food a little diffrent being principaly Furow furow -

The women of the principal people of which they all appear to keep up to the number allowed by the Koran which is four [“with concubines as many as they can get” at margin] are occupied in directing the female Slaves of the house in their work ~ cooking their husbands food cleaning & spinning cotton and dressing their hair teeth eyes and eybrows which takes no little time with them ~ also sending the female slaves to market to sell their spare cotton yarn Furow

⁸ Hausa: *farau-farau*, water, to which a small quantity of flour balls, *fura*, has been added, usually eaten with sour milk. The reference to ‘sukur’ may be to sugar, *sukari*, which can be added.

furow Millet cakes fried in butter fried fish caught by the younger male slaves ~ receiving or paying visits for they are great gossips – they are allowed more liberty than the generality of Mohametan women

the dress of the Men is a red tunisian cap with a blue tassel of silk a white turban part or a fold of which shades the brow and eyes - another fold is taken over the nose which covers mouth and chin hanging down [“*onto*” inserted] the breast [“the end of the turban is allways allowed to hang about 1 foot or 18 inches down the back” at margin] – a white shirt close[d] at the breast and short in the Sleeves a large white tobe and white trowsers trimed with red or green silk and a pair of Sandals or boots – this is the dress of the Major part of the great - when traveling they wear over the turban a broad brimed straw hat with a round low crown – some who do not affect to great sacantity [*sic*] or learning wear check tobés & blue turbans but over the nose & fore head with the end hanging down behind – the poorer a White or check tobe a white cap and trowsers & Sandels – some only the straw hat

[147A] [July] Itineraries

Sabon Gari to Kano⁹

Log of Itineraries from Sabon Gari to the City of Kano

Month & days	Course Distance	place where Halted	[identification]
Sunday 3rd July 1826	N62E ¹⁰ 8	Banks of a river & Sabon Gari town	[Sabon Gari]
	N62 5	town of Guber in Dushie	[Guber-n-Dushi]
Mon 4th	N72E 12	City of Guari	[Birmin Gwari]
Fri 8th	N68E 5	town of Makurdi	[Makurdi]
	S84E 6	to the Eastd- of the town of Cazagie	[Kazage]
Saturday 9th	N68E 16	town of Fatika the first to the West ^d in the province of Zegzeg	[Fatika]
Mn Alt ^{de} Antares	10.53.46 ¹¹		

⁹ Clapperton used a blank page in his journal in which to write up a fair copy of a part of his log of Itineraries of his travel from Kulfo to Kano, the rough version of which is in his remark book [ff. 39-41]. [See Chapter 5, pp. 135-49, for the journey in reference here, and Appendix IV, Itineraries].

¹⁰ On departing from Curigie [Kurigi]. Courses written as bearings in degrees from North or South.

¹¹ An observation of latitude.

Sunday 10th	S27E 6 N51E 6	To the East ^d of the town of Morai 2 Miles	[Morai]
Monday 11th	N71E 9	City of Zaria Capital of Zegzeg	[Zaria]
Mn Alt ^{de} Antares	10.59.1N		
Fri 15th	N49E 10	town of Leokoro	[Likoro]
Sat 16	N49E 8	Roma	[Roma]
Sun 17	N52E 8	Aushin	[Auchan]
Mon 18	N7E 10	town Danchow the first to the West n the province of Kano	[Dan Gora]
Tues 19	N52E 12	Baebaegie	[Bebeji]
Mn Alt ^{de} Antares	11.34.1		
Thurs 21	N18E 28	City of Kano	[Kano]
Lat ^{de} in	11.59.37N		
Long ^{de} in	9.21.42E ... ¹²		

[147] [“dress of the Fellatahs” at margin] all wear a sword – which is worn over the left shoulder

The women wear a cloth striped blue white & red ~ this of silk of a bout a fathom and a half in length folded round the loins and falling as low as the ancles [“of the Women” at margin] – a short bed gown with wide short sleeves over the head a loose cloth of white blue or striped thrown over the head falling down behind and on each side below the loins [“when they go out of the house” at margin] ~ silver rings in the ears of about ½ inch in diam- bracelets of horn, glass, brass – copper & silver on the arms accordg to the quality of the wearer round the neck beads – and strings of glass and coral rings – round the ancles brass copper or silver anklets and some times rings on the toes as well as fingers ~ the fashionable ring is a spanish dollar soldred on to a ring ~ the poorer women have pewter brass and copper rings –

the hair is genearily formed like a crest over the head having like a pigs tail at each end or each side over and a little before the ears ~ it is gathered in a circle from the centre of which hangs a long plaited tail down each cheak in the Fellatah women frizzed out at the ends ~ round the head at the base of the wool or hair they have the hair plaited in four small plaits going round the head like a ribbon or bandeau – this and all the plaited parts is well smeared over with indigo or *Shumri*¹³ ~ the razor is applied to rem[ove] and smooth all uneven

¹² The figures are taken from two columns (which we have omitted here) showing Clapperton’s running calculation of longitude and latitude, corrected at each measurement of latitude (there were none of longitude). He in fact never recorded an estimate of the position of Kano in his 1826 journals, but in 1824 situated the city in latitude 12°0’19”N by observation, and 9°20’E by dead reckoning from Kukawa [Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, 650]; [actual: 12°0’ N, 8°30’ E].

¹³ Hausa: *baba*, indigo; *shuni*, indigo prepared for dyeing.

places and give a high & fine arch to the fore head and – thin the eye brows to a fine line which with the eyelashes are Rubed over with pounded lead are done by drawing a small pin over which has been diped in the pounded ore - the teeth are then dyed with gora & a coat of a shining red – the under and a small part shown of the lips yellow the rest blue or black with shunie or indigo – the hands feet toes & finger nails red with henna – a lady is then fit to appear any where – the looking glass is circular about an inch or 2 inches in diameter set in a small ~~be~~ skin box genearily the one that holds the khol or lead ore and is often applied to – The young girls of the better sort of people dress much in the same manner as their mothers after they arrive at the age of nine or ten – before that they have very little dress except the *binfir* or apron¹⁴ scoloped or van dyked round¹⁵ with red cloth with two long broad strings van dyked round in the same manner hanging down as low as the heels behind – this is the dress of the poorer sort untill fit for marrige [*sic*] as also of a great many of the virgin female slaves -

Their Marrings are celebrated With[~~out~~] any pomp or much noise - the bride as far as I could get inform[ation] is allways consulted by her parents but a refusal on her part is unknown – the poorer class of people make up matters in the [148A] much in the same way – that is they after having got the consent of one another they ask their father and Mother – the dowry of a man of good condition with regard to riches consists of female slaves all young - carved and painted calabashes or gourds filled with Millet dourra and rice - saries or Cloths for the loins brac[e]lets and the equipage of her toilet and one or two large wooden morters [*sic*] for beating mi[llet] & ~~c~~ in and stones for grinding corn ~~M~~[millet] - these are carried in prosscension on the heads of her female slaves when she first goes to her husbands house the Fatha having been prev^y [=previously] read before hear [= her] and her husband in her parents house [“Marrings – when the bride goes to her husbands house it is just after the sun goes down & the Sunset prayer been said - she rides on horse back astraddle ~ a best beloved sister or female friend accom[p]aning her also on horse back with a great train of female attendants carring the uttring presents the idle and the curious uttering the cry of joy or pain lo lo lo repeated very quick - when she arrives at her husbands house the female friend or sister keeps co~~p~~y [= company] with her all night unless the Bride groom can persuade them to the contrary” at margin]

these female slaves are her property and return with her if she return by death or separation to the house of her parents and in the event of the husband sleeping or having connection with any of these female slaves he must give her a virgin slave of equal value the next day ~ this never causes any dispute between the parties being a settled right – the husband when every thing has been agreed on with him and the parents sends the bride a present of bracelets anclets beads and a looking glass with a new dress a few days before the Fatha

¹⁴ Hausa: *bante*.

¹⁵ To shape with deep-cut points on the border or fringe.

is read and she in return sends him ~~in re~~ a new robe – and every night his dinner and her female slaves stain his feet and hands with henna -

["Burials" at margin] Their burials I have never seen but they allw[ays] bury their dead behind the house in which he occupied while living and within the outer or square inclosure surrounding ~ next day all the friends and relations of the deceased visit the head of the family and sit a while ["with" inserted] him or her - if the husband dies the widows return to the houses of their parents with the property they brought with them all but the mother of the heir if a son or daughter – if another relation they all go back – the son if one is left – or more takes charge of all the rest and suc[c]eeds to every thing except willed or given away by the father during his life time and when they were of age must give them a share of the property left by the father

["Treatment of their Slaves" at margin] The Male slaves who have arrived at the age of 18 or 19 are given a wife and sent to live at their villages and farms in the country where they have to build a house to live in and untill the harvest are fed by their owner – when the time for cultivating the ground and sowing the seed comes on the owner points out what ground he requires and what is to be sown on it - the slave then encloses a part for himself and family – from day light untill midday he must work in the grounds of his master - the rest of the day on his own or at what [148] he thinks proper - at the time of harvest when they cut and tye up the grain each slave ["that has worked" at margin] on the farm gets a bundle of each sort of grain about a bushel of our measure – the grain on his own ground is all the slaves - he may dispose of it as he thinks proper ["but he must find his wife & Children food & Cloths" at margin] – When not working he must attend all calls of his master and also attend him on a jour[ney] or go to war if ordred - this seldom comes to their turn as the masters are affraid of losing their services by death or wounds –

["Slaves" at margin] their children are also slaves and when able attend the goats and sheep and when a little older the bullocks - [they] are taken home to the house to attend him and his horses where he remains untill about 17 or 18 years of age when he gets a wife from the female slaves of the familly and is sent to the Farm – The slaves attending and living in the house are fed the same as the rest of the family with whom except the head wife they appear to be on an equality and to ~~whom~~ the wives the females genearily belong – they prepare the corn dress all the food except that for the master of the house – Attend the market with grain rice cooked meat – Forow forow &c when a few cowries are wanted for the house ~ wash and bring Water or any other work that it is possible for a female to perform untill they are freed from the labors of the house by getting a male slave of the house for a husband when they go to the farm - they do not get a husband before the master of the house has lain with them – When they die they are buried behind their house in the Fellatah manner

The slaves of the house or on the farm # their children are never sold unless their behaviour is such after repeated punishment that they cannot keep them any longer – what slaves they sell are those newly taken from the enemy or newly bought who on trial they do not like – when a male or female slave dies his property goes to the owner – the children of the slaves are some times educated with those of the owner but this is seldom

The male and female children of the better sort of Fellatahs are all taught to read and write arabic but are taught separatly - the [“Male” inserted] Children of the great are genearily sent to another town at some distance from where his parents reside to receive his education where he resides in the house of a friend and a Maalem or man of learning attends him – those of the Midling and lower class of people and a n^o of the great also send the Children to the shcols [*sic*] where they attend for an hour at day break and sunset reading of[f] [“wooden boards of about a foot in length by 6 inches in breadth” inserted] boards their Arabic lessons which they read aloud and all together - they must be able to say the lesson by heart or memory before it is washed off - the washing they drink when their master writes a new one

[“Government” at margin] Their government is young but as it at present exists is absolute - it was left by will to Mohamed Bello – who was the eldest of Sheikh Othman’s sons – and they say it will descend to his eldest son on his death – The Gov^{ts} of the Diffrent provinces are appointed for life or [= unless] behaving improperly – when all their property at their death or removal falls to the Sultan – the appointment then [149A] sold to the highest bidder who is genearily a near relation who has been made rich by his late relative - all the towns in the province are sold in this manner by the governor – who suc[c]eeds to the property of the petty Gov^t [in] the same manner as the Sultan Suc[c]eeds to him

[“Revenue” at margin] Of their revenue I can say very little as they pay no tax in the pr[ovince] of Kano [*sic*]¹⁶ – a great deal [of] marketable property belongs to the Gov^t such as all the dates and other fruit trees - the person on whose pro[perty] they grow being allowed only one third – also a small duty on every thing sold in the market in a stall or rather the rent of the stall or shed so much on every tobe that is dyed blue and sold – no du[ty] on grain – Kano produces the greatest revenue which is paid monthly in horses cowries and cloth – Adamawa pays yearly in Slaves – Jackoba in Slaves and lead ore yearly - Zegzeg in S[l]aves and cowries Zamfra the same – Hadija & Katagum & Lorin in horses bullocks & Slaves - Kashna Slaves cowries and Cloth – Adir or Tadela in bullocks sheep camels & coarse kind of cloth of cotton called [“like”

¹⁶ Clapperton certainly meant Sokoto, not Kano, where tax was collected; see Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 162-64.

inserted] a [“by us” at margin] counterpane – from grain or cattle they exact nothing – but every town on being visited by the Gov^t or person on public business must be supported at the town or village in which he stops he his servants & cattle

[“Agriculture” at margin] The[y] begin clearing the ground of weeds and burning them after the first fall of rain which in Hausa is in the Month of may [“the only manure the land gets is by burning the weeds and those that have cattle enclose them up on the ground they intend to plant – shifting the pen or fold as soon as the place is covered with manure to another place on the ground” at margin] but the diff- of a degree of Lat^{de} & Long^{de} South & West makes a great difference in this respect - if a person wishes to enclose a piece of ground for himself he gets permission from the Gov^t or the Fellatah whose ground is next adjoining - he then sets his slaves if he has any if not he works himself cutting down the smaller trees & b[r]ush wood and if there is Micadania¹⁷ or butter trees or *drura*¹⁸ trees on the ground he in general lets them stand - the wood brush wood and weeds is then gathered in heaps & burnt - he then enclose[s] his ground with thorny branches or if it has been cleared & planted before it is fenced round with the stalks of the indian corn or dourra - after this and after the first rains have fallen a male to every 2 females goes into the field or enclosure - each male has a hoe with a long handle each female has a basket, dish or gourd filled with the grain intended to be sown - the male goes on in a straight line crossing the field striking as it were with his hoe on each side and raising a little earth each blow in the line about a foot apart - and the space between each row about 2 or 3 feet or broad enough for a man to walk [149] [“agriculture” at margin] - the females follow with their baskets of grain dropping in to the hole made by the hoe and just touching the ground raised with their [“right” at margin] foot fill the hole over the seeds and give it a slight press with the foot [and] pass on to another - after the rains have commenced and the dourra has risen above ground 3 or 4 inches the weeds are hoed off and the earth loosened around the stalks - if Millet is to be sown along with the dourra this is the time it is sown and in the same manner as the dourra and between every stalk when the dourra has got to the height of 3 or 4 feet they hoe around it a 2nd time leaving the weeds in the middle of each row - if the calabances are to be sown they at this time sow them which is done with an iron dibble putting 2 or 3 beens in each hole - the 3rd hoeing is to draw the weeds & earth towards the roots of the dourra a little before it ripens - this is the last time of hoeing the dourra - when ripe the slaves go into the field or plantation pull it up by the roots and lay it in rows between each row of millet which is left to ripen - it lays in this state 4 or 5 days when they go into the field cut the heads off [“leaving the stalks to rot in the field if not wanted at home to make fences” at margin] tie them up in bundles & so carry it home where after laying upon sheds [“a

¹⁷ Hausa: *man kadanya*, shea butter, from the *kadanya* tree.

¹⁸ Probably Hausa: *dorawa*, locust bean tree.

platform” at margin] made of the branches of trees for a few days to dry what is not wanted for use is stowed away in their granary

after the dourra has shot forth its seed it has constantly to [be] watched by slaves perched on trees or on a raised platform having broken dried gourds tyed to a lines reaching to different parts of the field which they shake shouting and haloing when the flocks of small birds come to eat the grain – this bird is a beautiful little creature less than a robin with bright [“blood” at margin] red breast and belly and under part of the tail some are of a sky blue the back and wings of an olive color ~ its beek like a wrens its eyes black and sparkeling with a narrow white circle round the ires ~ at this season they fly in myriads macking [sic] a whirring noise with their wings when they rise¹⁹ they destroy or eat a great quantity of the dourra – dourra is subject to a blight caused by a winged insect of a black color something like the bugs on a camel only provided with wings ~ its smell is most offensive and if killed by the fingers the stench can hardly be borne & not easily washed off – [“if it eats any part of the grain it will not bring forth in any state even though nearly ripe ~ it does not attack the indian corn or millet – I saw on my journey several plantations of dourra destroyed by it when nearly ripe in the prov^{ce} of Kashna - beens suffer in the same manner” inserted]

the millet and calavances remain a month in the ground after the dourra the stalks growing to height of 9 & 10 feet high ~ the thunder storms accompanied with rain & wind often bend the stalks when near ripe so that the roots are raised above ground and the plant dies if the slaves the next day are not sent in to hoe the earth up to the roots [150A] of such as are broken down ~ if on stiff clay ground if a storm of rain does not come the grain [“millet” at margin] when nearly ripe perishes for drought of moisture – when ripe the heads are cut off[f] and tyed in bundles and carri[e]d home to their granery after which the beens are left to ripen and the straw left for the camels ~ the stalks of the Millet are usually used for fences and the rafters of their houses ~ *some* in a dish sitting [= setting] it on *fire* passing with it through between each row the smoke from which drives the destroyer away” at margin] ~ some times they tye the been straw in to bundles and carry it home where it is kept for their camels or sold in the market at 30 cowries a bundle to those who have –

[“the dourra is 3 Months in comming to perf^m the Millet 4 Months the indian corn 2 months

Dourra Gerro

Millet Dawa

Indian corn Dawa *Mussua*.²⁰⁷ at margin]

¹⁹ A mixed flock of finches; quelea (red), Cordon bleu (sky blue) and fire finches.

²⁰ References are to *dawa* (guinea corn), *gero* (bulrush millet), and *masara* (maize).



Granary – Sokoto area – ADM 55/11, f. 150A

[“When the grain is brought home 10lb^s from every 100 is set aside for poor men of learning who teach the children to read and come to the house when any one is sick or when required read or repeat passages from the Koran” at margin]

Their graneries are made in the form of a large urn or jar raised from the ground about 3 feet by stones over which is laid a platform of wood – then it is made by a man stand[ing] in side ~ after he has made the ~~clay~~ bottom of clay and chopped straw mixed over the wooden platform he works round out side as high as he can reach he gets in side and another hands him the moist clay & straw ~ he ~~has~~ is obliged to have a stool or one of the wooden troug[hs] or mortars in which they beat their grain in to stand on when he gets near the top as its height is from 11 to 12 feet ~ inside it is smothely plastred with the hand as he builds it up which he does by going round and round with both hands on the wall after every layer of moist clay and wet straw - the thickness of the sides is not above four inches though in any part it will bear a mans weight - the diameter in the widest part may be from 7 to 8 feet at the top about 3 or four feet and is over laped at the mouth like a wide mouthed earthen jar where the grain is put in - a conical cap of thatch is put over to keep out birds insects wet and moister [*sic*] - when they want any grain out or want to put any in they shove the top off[f] with a pole and ascend to the mouth by a ladder – the dourra & Millet will keep well in these jars for 2 or 3 years ~ after that period it perishes or is destroyed by worms & insects – when put in the mortar to be beat it falls into a paste ~ the jar itself will last 7 or 8 years if taken care of by matting

round the lower part with straw during the rainy season - if not 2 or three years is the length of time it will stand unimpa[i]red

The time of putting the sweet potatoes in the ground is at the com^t [= commencement] of the rains [“*Duncal*”²¹ or sweet potatoes” at margin] the ground being first well cleared of weeds well hoed into furrows like our rows of potatoe fur[rows] the clods all broken and the soil a good strong clay or mould - the branches or stems *in slips* are then planted by the dibble and are 2 months before they have potatoes at the roots - [“the leaf & stem are small” at margin] [“rice is sown in beds with trenches of a foot or 2 feet deep between each bed” at margin] they when the season of raising the potatoes begins cut one of the stems off[f] below the joints Close below its joints and plant it in a moist place near [150]

Melons Pappa apples - the great have a few fig and pomgrante trees in gardens - they have not been able to make the date tree grow as when ever it gets a little above the ground it rots and dies [“they have a great many wild fruits the principal of which is the butter tree or micadania” at margin]

Onions are brought forth at the side of the rivers or lakes during the end - the place on which they are growing is wated [“night” deleted] after noon and morning the water being drawn by a bucket and rope fixed to a long pole over an upright post which serves as a pivot - the wa[ter] being poured into holowed trees conducts it to the entrance of the little squares where the onions are growing - the onions are large and good much like the ~~seed~~ portuguese onions -

[“the Kuka” at margin] The leaves of the Kuka tree or *Adansonia* are carefully gath[ered] after the rains dried and used in all their soups and gravies giv[ing] a slimey gelatanous taste and appearance

the sause or cake which makes a sause from the beens of the *Nitta* tree²² is in great request - the beens when taken out of the shell [are] then broken in their wooden - Morter - when they are put in a pot with water and kept on a good fire from sunrise to sun set [“*Nitta* Sause” at margin] when the pot is taken [off] they are allowed to stand in it untill they begin to ferment and Smell - they are then taken to the river - well or pond where they are washed thoroughly with clean water - when they are considered as perfectly clean they are spread on mats in the sun and carefully covred up at night - when a second fermentation takes place or they begin to smell they are then taken bruised fine in their mortars untill it becomes like a paste - it is then made into small circular cakes which are dried in the Sun before being put by for use - this when prepared

²¹ Hausa: *dankali*, sweet potato.

²² i.e., the ‘*dorawa*’ or locust bean tree. The locust bean cakes (Hausa: *daddawa*) are made from the seeds or beans (*kalwa*), and the sauce is known as *dobastu*.

looks like chocolate to me ~ it allways had a very disagreeable smell but the taste was rather pleasant than otherwise when put on roast meat or fowels – of this the people are very fond and go so far as to eat it a lone and without being cooked -

[“Indigo” at margin] when they wish to plant indigo the place chosen is one of a good strong clay or mould and in a situation where there is moisture through the heat of the summer ~ after enclosing the ground they clear it entirely of weeds & burn them - the ground is then well worked up by the hoe (they have no spade or pick ax) and laid out in furrows with a flat top about a foot high 2 broad and 6 or 7 inches between each furrow ~ the indigo seeds are then planted by the dibble and just as the rains have [“begun” at margin] ~ they cut it every year during the rainy season ~ a plantation will last four or five years without renewing the seeds ~ they crop it about 3 or 4 inches above the ground ~ ~~it is~~ [“the leaves are” inserted] then striped from the stems and laid in a heap where it lies exposed to the rain and weather for a month untill it ferments when it is beat into wooden troughs of a round form and about 2 feet deep and 2 feet in diameter where it remains untill dry when it is considered as fit for use – one of these troughs [“of indigo” at margin] in the spring costs 300 cowries ~ in the summer the price rises to [illeg.²³]

[151A] [“Cotton” at margin] The cotton is here planted in low situations where the ground is partially covred with water during the rains or else in a good clay that has moister in it through the dry season ~ the ground or plantation is genearily only surrounded by thorney branchis stuck in the ground as a fence then hoed well and the clods if any remain broken – a hole is made with the hoe and the seed put in and lightly covred – if the season be abundant in rain the cotton is plenty if not the crop is bad ~ the time of pulling is in the months of Dec^r and Jan^y ~ when worked it is done by the women clearing it of the seeds by 2 small iron pins which the[y] roll then pass the cotton th[r]ough over a flat stone lying on the ground and raised at the end next them they sitting on their kne[e]s and work as if they were bruising it - the seeds pass them ~~before~~ behind & the cotton before ~ the seeds they give to bullocks & camels and are considred as very fattening ~ the cotton is then teezed wih a small bow and spear – being first put on a distafe – which is short [“light” at margin] and neat and held in the left hand – the spindle is also very neat and small - great pains being taken in making and ornamenting it – the spinner a woman has a very small looking glass in her basket of cotton with which she often surveys her teeth and eyes ~ a piece of chalk or pipe clay is in constant use to rub the spinning thumb & finger on ~ the occupation of spinning is genearily the occupation of the wives of the house or some old female slave that is a favou[rite] ~ weaving and sowing is left to the Men -

²³ ‘six or seven hundred’ [published text, p. 220].

[“Implements” at margin] Their implements of husbandry are the hoe of which they have three difernt kinds one with a handle of about five feet in length and a small head stuck into the end of the staff & this is used in sowing the grain – one with a handle of about thr[ee] feet in length with a small iron head stuck into it the end of the staff ~ the third is called Gilma²⁴ [Drawing of “the hoe called Gilma” at margin] ~ [It] has a short bent handle and a large head and is used in all the heavy work instead of a spade

[“Trade & Manufactures” at margin] their manufactures are confined to a very few articles the principal of which is the dying of tanned goat skins red and yellow – the red skins are dyed with the leaves of a red millet which is ground in water mixed with Natron ~ when thick enough the skin is put on the stretch[er] and the dye rubbed in – the yellow is [made] with the root of a tree called Rawya²⁵ which is a[ls]o ground in water mixed with natron and laid on the Skin in the same manner as the red ~ the latter are considred as superior to all the other skins dyed of the same color in any part of Haussa – a number both of the red and yellow skins are carried to Kano & Kashna almost monthly where they are made into cushions bags boots and Shoes &£

The next articale is the white cotton cloth of the country [“of” inserted] which they make a considerable quantity both for the home consum[ption] and for exportation to Kano and Nyffe - what they export is principally made into tob[es] or large shirts – before it leaves Sockatoo [151] a no- of Cloths [“is” inserted] called Narro²⁶ which is some thing like our counter panes – a few checked and red silk striped cloths used as tob[es] and some as wrappers or Zinnies for the women ~ the weavers of the Cotton are mostly natives of Nyffe as are also all their black smiths ~ they have shoe boot saddle and bridle makers – their other exports are civet they having a number of those animals kept in Wooden cages and feed them on pounded fish and corn extracting the civet from the animal with skill on[ce] a week – a few slaves are also sold out of the province to merchants of Kano, Kashna, Ghadamis, and Tripoli ~ a young male slave from thirteen to 20 years of age will bring from 10,000 to 20,000 cowries – female slaves if very handsome from 40 to 50,000 ~ the common price is about 30,000 for a virgin about 14 or 15.

The articles brought to Sockatoo for sale by the Arabs are the same as what is brought to other parts of Haussa and are mentioned in another place ~ Salt is brought by the Tuaricks from Billma in Wady Kawar and also by the Tuaricks of the West from []²⁷ ~ the salt from the latter place is much better being more pure & in larger pieces like ice – ostrichies alive and ostrich skins are brought

²⁴ Hausa: *galma*, although more commonly *garma*.

²⁵ Hausa: *rawaya*.

²⁶ *narro*: not identified.

²⁷ The reference is to Teguidda n'tesemt, west of Agades.

but little is given for a skin - only from 4 to 5000 cowries - for that of the finest male skins - they also bring horses said to fetch a good price here - dates from Bilma and a small quantity of goods which they buy from the Arabs at Aghadiz

What they could export in considerable quantity if there were buyers would be Elephants teeth Bullocks hides - which when tanned only cost 500 cowries equal to 4^d of our money - goat skins and the skins of antilopes ~~might~~ and other wild animals might be procured in abundance but of course would rise much in price if there was a great demand - Gum Arabic might also be procured in abundance

[“Import” at margin] What they would take from us in exchange would be coarse scarlet Cloth which in all parts of the intereour brings a good price 10,000 cowries a yard - Coarse yellow and green cloth - red tape unwrought Silk the cheapest kinds of printed caloco [=calico] of glowing color - sewing needles the commonest kind - looking glasses no matter however small - at a peny or 2^d each in England - earthenware with figures common fired would not pay - the coarsest kind of red camlet²⁸ scarfs - Jugs and hard ware of the most common description but stout - fools cap paper of the coarsest kind if it did not let the ink through, beeds I think are sold as cheap by the arabs here as they are in England - sheets of tin tin pots and cups brass gilt rings for the fingers arms and Ancles as also ear rings sheets of brass tinnd over copper and brass pots - the more figures the better - paper and wooden snuff boxes of commonest sort -

[“Religion” at margin] Mohamedan - though I believe a No- have written concerning this religion few have said any thing of the practices - they pray five times a day - Viz day break, [] - they seldom take the trouble to wash before prayers except in the morning but they go through the motions of washing claping their hands on the ground & muttring a prayer as if clapping their hands into a dish of water before them [“the[y] wash face ears *Nose* hands arms & feet” at margin] as if they had washed - they untie their breaches and let them fall [152] - then facing the East let the sleeves of their large Shirt or tobies fall over their hands as[s]uming at the same time a grave countenance - begin calling out in an audible voice - “Ishud illullah illa hi lullah Moha[med] rasullillah Allhu Akber &^c - kneelling down and touching the ground with the fore head when ever they repeat this which [] times - the rest of the prayer is said sitting leaning over on the left thigh and leg and counting or passing the beeds through fingers - all their prayers and religious expressions are in Arabic and [I] may say without exagARATION taking negroes and fellatas together that not one in a 1000 know what they are saying - all they know [of] their religion is to repeat these prayers by rote in Arabic - fast from Su[n]rise to Sunset in the

²⁸ Camel hair mixed with cotton, or linen.

Rhamadan and a firm belief that the goods and chattles – wives & Children of all people differing with them in faith belong to them – and that it is quite lawfull in any way [to] abuse rob or kill an unbeliever – of the Fellatahs nearly one [in] ten are able to read and write - they believe they say in predestin[ation] but it is all a farce they shew not the least [evidence of this] in any of their actions

[“Superstition” at margin] They believe in divination by the book in dreams – and a[ls]o in good and bad omens by accident –²⁹

Wednesday, Nov. 29th. This morning the Gadado sent to inform me that in the course of two days the sultan was going a short distance to the south of Soccatoo, to found a new town, and asked me to accompany him. At noon a fire broke out in the west quarter of the town, which consumed nearly 200 houses, and a great quantity of grain. At 3 P. M. another fire broke out in the adjoining house to that in which I was living. I had my baggage put out in the open square, in my enclosure, and placed a servant over it as sentry, and went with my two other servants to assist the wives and concubines of my friend Malam Moodie³⁰, who was out of town. They were busy in removing the household goods into the street. This I stopped, and had them put into my square; as I saw that the fire was nearly put down by the removal of the roofs of the huts in the adjoining house, and by applying wet mats. Thieves were in abundance, and a great quantity of articles were stolen belonging to the people whose house was on fire. There was fortunately little wind, or several other houses would have been burnt. As it was, the light and burning thatch was carried to a great distance. My servant, Mohamed Allah Sirkie, got great praise from the Gadado for his activity in putting a stop to the flames: after all was over, the principal wife of Malam Moodie sent her compliments and thanks to me for taking care of her husband’s house and property. There have been three fires in the town in the course of the day; they say they were done by the agents of the rebels, who tie a burning cotton thread to the tail of a large species of buzzard, with yellow head and reddish-yellow tail, and blue body, common in this country³¹, which flies to the thatch of the house when set adrift.

Friday, Dec. 1st. At 4 P. M left Soccatoo by the southern gate, with a camel carrying my tent and bed, with a small quantity of provisions. After leaving the gate, the road was over what had been plantations of millet, doura, and beans; the soil a stiff red clay, covered with a thin layer of sand, with blocks of clay iron-stone, which is often mixed with white pebbles; sometimes it would cover

²⁹ The manuscript in ADM 55/11 ends at f. 152.

³⁰ Muhammad Mudi, brother of Waziri Gidado, who also lived at Goronyo; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 151.

³¹ Possibly a Black kite (*Milvus migrans*), which has a yellowish head and occurs commonly around habitations; but the description does not allow positive identification.

a space of a quarter of a mile, like a crust, of about from two feet to two and a half feet in thickness; the face of the country almost bare of trees, but studded with villages; the herds of horned cattle were to be seen in great numbers every where, returning to their night's quarters, feeding as they went along. The country hilly, with very steep and slippery ravines in many places.

At 8 P. M. halted at the camp of the sultan, which was in a valley of about three miles wide, and close to the bed of a small stream passing the east of Soccatoo, which was distant about two miles and a half to the north-east. After my tent was pitched, the Gadado sent me a sheep, and I had my share of a bullock that was killed. There were very few people with the sultan, and the Gadado had only three servants with him.

Saturday, 2d. Morning clear and cool at day-light. Rode out with the sultan and Gadado to mark out the site of the new town.³² I took my gun with me, intending to shoot: we rode to the eastward about two miles, and halted within a short distance of the river, on the side of a low hill, sloping to the river by a gradual and easy descent. This was the place fixed on for the new town, which I left them to settle, and went to shoot; but was never more unsuccessful. I saw several antelopes and some bustards, but could not get within shot. At noon I returned to the camp. The reason of founding this town is, that the woods on the banks of the river are the resort and hiding-place of the rebels, who come and plunder the herds, and set fire to the villages before they can have information; and in Soccatoo the rebels are hid with their prey in the woods. In the evening, as it was also last night, the cryer went round the camp, calling every one to look well after their horses, camels, and baggage; to pretend to sleep, but not to sleep, as the place was full of robbers; and that every one seen outside the camp after this notice, whether Fellata or not, was to be secured. I set off three rockets at the request of the sultan; for though I have shown them several times, they are still afraid to try them, and the wonder and alarm is still as strong in their favour as ever.

At 11 P. M. a courier arrived from Magaria³³, bringing information that the rebels of Goobur had encamped a little to the eastward of that place in great force. The order to march was given, and the camp was cleared in a few minutes. I first saw my camel and baggage well forward on the road to Soccatoo. Before I took the road for Magaria, which was across the country, the alarm was spread from village to village, by a cry not unlike the Indian war-whoop, with a clear shrill voice; and bands of horse and foot were pressing forward every where at day-break. We met large parties of women, children, old men, bullocks, sheep, and asses, all flying towards Soccatoo.

³² The planned defensive settlement must have been between Rikja and Giyalande on the Rafin Ale.

³³ Located on the eastern edge of the Rima River valley northeast of Sokoto.

At 10 A. M. I arrived at Magaria, where all was now quiet³⁴; and put up at the house of my friend the Gadado, who had gone to rest, having arrived an hour before me. Maalem Moodie, his brother, told me that all the rebel army turned out to be only a few robbers come to steal bullocks, one of which, on their not being able to drive them away, they had killed, carried away its flesh, and fled. On my asking one of his female slaves, who had the charge of his house at Magaria, why they had been so much frightened by only a few thieves, she replied, "What could we do? only a parcel of women to be seen: there were two or three fellows within hearing of the noises, but they were good for nothing; they were just as much afraid as we were. All night (pointing to the highest point of ground in the town, which is unoccupied, and kept for a market-place) did we stand there with what things we could carry on our heads, our mouths open, no one thought of eating or sitting down until the men came from Sockatoo and the camp. This world," continued she, "is nothing without the men after all. If three of the thieves had only come, they might have taken the town and all that was in it, for the gates were all open, and we had not sense to shut them." After breakfast and a good sleep, I waited on the Gadado, and told him that, as all was happily quiet, I should return to Sockatoo at day-break tomorrow, as I had neither bed nor baggage with me. He thanked me very much for coming to their assistance, and said he should also return to the capital in the course of the next day, and the sultan intended returning to the camp.

Sunday, 3d. At day-break mounted and rode to Sockatoo, accompanied by my freedman, Mohamed Allah Sirkie, who accompanies me on all enterprises of danger. At noon arrived at Sockatoo, and the Gadado arrived at midnight.

Wednesday, 6th. The eunuchs of the sultan came to-day, wishing me to go to the sultan's house to wind up the time-piece. Though I taught a man how it should be done, and to do it every eight days, they have always neglected to do it: only for such an excellent time-piece, the present of his majesty, and my having brought it so far without injury, I would not have put a finger to it again; but the Gadado coming, and asking me to go with him, I showed another how to wind it up.

Saturday, 9th. News from Magaria this day arrived, that the people of Goobur had formed a camp outside the walls of their capital, and there elected a new sultan or chief, in the room of the one killed at our attack on Coonia;³⁵ that he must go on some expedition against their enemies before he returns to his house, such being their custom: but at what part he is going against they do not as yet know. The custom of the Gooburites is at first that, when they elect a

³⁴ A false alarm: 'arrived at 10 AM on Sunday [sic] morning found all was mostly wind – waited on the Gidado – Monday 4th at day light left for Sockatoo – at Noon arrived [Remark Book, f. 49].

³⁵ The king of Gobir, Ali dan Yakubu, did not die in this campaign but reigned until 1835; see Tilho, *Documents scientifiques du Mission Tilho*, Vol 2, and discussion in the Introduction.

chief, which they do outside the walls of the capital, where they sacrifice a bullock, a sheep, and a goat, under a tree, they must go on some expedition against their enemies before they return to their house.

Tuesday, 12th.³⁶ Part of the tribe of Killgris³⁷, Tuaricks, or Berbers, who inhabit that part of the desert between 'I'imbuctoo and Tuat, and to the north of Tadena, and Ader, come on their annual summer or dry season visit to Sockatoo; also part of the tribe of Etassan³⁸, from that part called Anbur³⁹, which lies to the north of Kashna and Zinder in Bornou. The latter brought the sultan a present of a fine Tuarick horse from their sultan, who has not come this year to pay his yearly respects to Bello, as is the custom. The Tuaricks, or Berbers, inhabiting the south part of the desert, consist of the tribes of Etassan, Killgris, Killaway, and Timsgheda⁴⁰. Ajudiz⁴¹ is the capital, and they jointly depose their sultan and elect another when they think fit, which is generally once every two or three years. They do not kill the old one; he only retires from his office, and remains as a common man.

They yearly, after the grain has been cut and got in, arrive in Houssa with salt, which they visit in the latter end of harvest, or in the months of October or November, to exchange for grain, blue tobos or large shirts, mugabs⁴² or blue turban dresses for their women, and swords; they also lay in a sufficient quantity of millet and doura to last them through the season, until they return to their own country, as they neither sow nor reap. During the whole of the dry season they remain in Houssa, principally in the provinces of Kano, Kashna, Zamfra, and Sockatoo. The latter mostly Killgris; and Kashna and Kano are the principal resort of the Etassan and Killaway: they do not live, except a few, in houses in the town; but build temporary huts in the woods, not far distant from them, where they have their wives, their bullocks, horses, and camels, the men only visiting the town: in this way they live until the month in which the rains commence, when they retire north to the desert. They are a fine manly looking race of men, but extremely dirty in their persons, not even washing before prayers, but going through the form with sand, as if washing. The poorest amongst them are armed with a sword and spear, which are their constant companions.

³⁶ Remark book [f. 49] records another hasty journey to Magaria, not mentioned in the journal: 'Monday 11 at 7 left Sockatoo for Magaria ... Nos of tuaricks there strong - at 5 arrived at Magaria - found all the reports to be false - no enemy'.

³⁷ Kel Geres Tuareg.

³⁸ Itesen.

³⁹ Anbur, given as Asbur below; probably Asben.

⁴⁰ Kel Ewey and Tamesghida.

⁴¹ Agades.

⁴² Hausa: *zanin saki*; *mugab* is not Hausa.

Wednesday, 13th. The sultan sent me a present of a sheep and four Guinea fowls and some rice, from the Sanson, apologizing for his long absence in the camp, as the Tuaricks were very unsettled, and they had not as yet determined what party to side with.

Thursday, 14th. I to-day employed Hadji Omar and Malam Mohamed⁴³, the latter to give me a route, noting the northing and southing of the road, between Massina, the country in which he was born, to Soccatoo; the other, who has just returned from Mecca, to give me an account between this and Sennar, with a description of the countries, towns, and rivers: his route is from Kano to Adamowa, Bagermie, Runza, Kaffins, Darfoor, and Kordofan⁴⁴: he says the Bahr-el-Abiad is only about four feet deep in the summer, as is also the Shari above Logan, before it is joined by the river Asha, which comes from the south-east, through Bagermie, and falls into the Shari above Logan. This is the only river not fordable in the summer between the Quorra and the Bahr-el Azrek⁴⁵.

Monday, 18th. I was not a little surprised to-day with the arrival of a messenger from Kano, who had left, he said, my servants and baggage at the border town, or, as they call it, the Sanson, of Zamfra, with Hadji Salah, my agent; all of which he said had been sent for by the sultan's order: he also said that Pascoe had been taken and brought back by Richard, after his having got as far as Roma, in Zegzeg, and that he had twice run away since, and had been taken, committing a fresh robbery each time; the last time was at the Sanson. The only construction I put on this strange proceeding was, that the sultan had done it, thinking that my things would be safer with me than at Kano; and, as my health was not very good, the account of Pascoe's repeated robberies would make me worse; and he, I thought, had judged that it would be time enough to tell me when all my things had arrived.

Tuesday, 19th. I was visited by Sidi Sheik, who is one of the sultan's Arab secretaries and confidential friends, who, after a little conversation on the affairs of other people, asked me if I was not glad my things were coming, and my servants. I said it would put me to an expense I could ill afford, and I thought it a very strange proceeding of the sultan.

⁴³ An account was duly produced – see published account, Appendix No. 1., where, in a note by A.V. Salamé, Malam Mohamed is described as Bello's schoolmaster, and a scholar from Masina, the son of Ahmad Masane.

⁴⁴ The route from Bagarmi to Lake Fitri and Darfur passed Dar Runga and "Kaffins", probably 'kafirs', i.e., '[country of the] pagans'; see Michael La Rue, 'The frontiers of enslavement: Bagirmi and the trans-Saharan trade routes', in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2003).

⁴⁵ The references appear to be to the Bahr el-Abiad, the White Nile, and the Bahr el-Azrek, the Blue Nile. The 'Asha' probably is a reference to Bahr Erguig, on which Massenya, the capital of Bagirmi was located, and which was the major river joining the Shari from the east.

Wednesday, 20th. I was very ill all day, and in the evening I had a visit from Mohamed Ben Haja Gumso and Sidi Sheik, who said they had been sent to me by the sultan, to tell me not to consider it strange that he had sent for my servants and baggage; and to tell me, that there were three roads by which I could return, one of which I must choose; also to speak the truth, had I come as a messenger from the king of England to Bello, or only to seek out a road? that one of the paths was through Yourriba, the way I had come; the other by Timbuctoo; and another by way of Aghadez, Tuat, and Morzuk. I said that, after such a message, and such unwarranted proceeding on the part of the sultan, I could have no further communication with them; that they might act as they thought fit, all was the same to me. They went off, saying I was a very difficult man; had I nothing to say to the sultan? I said that my business with the sultan was now finished, and I would have no more to say.

Thursday, 21st. In the morning I sent to the sultan to take possession of my baggage, as it now appeared from Sidi Sheik, who early visited me, that they considered I was conveying guns and warlike stores to the sheik of Bornou. He sent to say that no one should touch my baggage; he only wanted to see the letter of Lord Bathurst to the sheik. I answered, they must take it if they pleased, but that I would not give it. At noon the Gadado arrived, and a short while after Hadji Hat Salah; the latter called on me as he went to his house. He declared that he knew not on what business they had sent for him; that he did not fear them, he had done nothing amiss. As there were too many persons around, I did not ask him any further questions, and instantly went to the Gadado, whom I found alone, sitting by a warm fire. After the usual compliments were over, I asked him for what reason the sultan had sent for my baggage. He said of that he had not the least knowledge, until my servants and baggage had arrived at Magaria; but the sultan had told him, since his return, that all he wanted was to see the letter to the sheik of Bornou. I told him that to give up the letter was more than my head was worth. He said they did not want to open the letter, they only wanted to see the direction, and if it was really from Lord Bathurst. I told him of the strange conversation of Ben Gumso and Sidi Sheik. He said, certainly such was not the message of the sultan, but an addition of their own; the sultan never sent to ask if I was really a messenger of the king of England.

At 3 P.M. my servant Richard arrived with my baggage and Pascoe. Richard had been very ill on the road, but had received every attention from the people in the different towns in which he had halted, and also from the messenger which the sultan of Kano had sent to accompany him, who had also given him five bullocks, and four men to accompany him and carry the baggage, and a camel which Hadji Salah had bought for me, for 60,000 cowries. The price of the bullocks was 12,000 each, and the pay of the men 4,000 cowries each. Richards account of Pascoe was as follows:-

The second day after Pascoe's first desertion, he, though very ill, secured all my baggage and goods in a secure room in the house, and went and gave Hadji Salah the key, declaring he must be answerable to me if any thing was lost, as he was going to bring Pascoe back. Hadji Salah advised him much not to go; but Richard, with the Arab servant⁴⁶ whom I had left sick, and who was now recovered, mounting the two horses, took the road to Quorra [= Zaria], the capital of Zegzeg. When they arrived at the town of Aushur [= Aushin], in Zegzeg, they were informed by a person who had just arrived that Pascoe had been firing a pistol in the market-place in the town of Roma, a day's journey ahead. They arrived at Roma, where the people informed them that Pascoe had been there, but had gone away. Richard stopped there that night, as the horses were unable to proceed. A short time after halting, some people came and informed him that he (Pascoe) was stopping in a woman's house near the market-place. Richard immediately sent people to the gates of the town to stop him, if he attempted to depart. Richard was too ill to go to the house, but sent Abdulfitha, the Arab, and some other people to secure him, and bring him to the house, which they did, and he promised faithfully to behave well for the future; and Richard had him put inside of the hut, he and the Arab sleeping at the door. Next day they departed with their prisoner for Kano; but when within half a day's journey of Kano, where they halted for the night, during the time Richard was asleep, Pascoe slipped out of the hut, taking with him all the arms and money Richard had. He immediately mounted, and as he had now neither money nor arms, he started for Kano, where he arrived early in the morning, and told Hadji Salah to send instantly after him, which he did, and Pascoe was brought back in two days after, and put in irons in a house in Richard's charge until the arrival of the governor of Kano, when Richard set him at large, after his taking an oath before the governor that he would not run away, or misbehave, until he joined me: this was the day before Richard's departure from Kano. After leaving Kano, Richard was nearly dead with fatigue, weakness, and watching; but the fourth day he got better. Ten days after Richard arrived at the Sanson, or town, called Fofin Birnee, bordering on Goobur and the territory of the rebels of Zamfra. Here he was waiting for an escort to take him through the part of the road infested by the rebels of Goobur and Zamfra, when Pascoe, the third night after their arrival at the Sanson, took an opportunity, when Richard was asleep, of breaking open one of my trunks and a gun-box, taking a double-barrelled gun, five gilt chains, two dozen and a half pairs of scissors, all my money, a brace of pistols, seven hundred needles, one dozen of penknives, and a large quantity of beads. Richard immediately gave the alarm, and the people of the town were sent after him directly: they returned with him the next night. He having taken the road towards Goobur, and the hyaenas being numerous, and following him, he got up into a tree, and fired his newly-acquired gun at them, the report of which brought those in search of him to the

⁴⁶ Abdulfitha, as 12 lines below.

place, when they brought him back, and pinioned him to the ground, and abused him very much. When Richard asked what the Fellatas were saying, he said they were cursing Richard for having him pinioned to the ground, but Richard would not have him let loose. On his arrival here, the Gadado asked me to forgive him: I told him that was impossible. They allow him to go at large, and he stops in the house of the Gadado's master of the camels. When I saw him, he appeared as if nothing had been the matter, I forbid my servants holding any communication with him.

Friday, 22d. In the morning the Gadado sent for Allah Sirkie to tell me the sultan wished to see Richard my servant, as he had never seen another Christian besides myself; and he also wished to see me⁴⁷, and I was to bring the sheik's letter, which he by no means wished to take from me, or to open; he only wished to see how we addressed him, and if it was in a tin case like his. I went after the mid-day prayers with the Gadado, taking with me my servant Richard, whom they all called Insurah Coramina⁴⁸, or the little Christian, and Allah Sirkie, to the sultan's, where we found him sitting in an inner room, better dressed than usual, and Mohamed Ben Hadji Gumso and Sidi Sheik sitting on his left: the Gadado sat down on his right, I with my servants in front. After his asking Richard and I how we were, and a few other questions, he then said he had sent Ben Hadji Gumso and Sidi Sheik to me, to inform me that he had sent for my people and baggage. Before he had not informed me, but now he would tell me how matters stood. The king of England had sent me to him, but I wished to go to the Sheik of Bornou: that between him and the sheik there was war; and therefore, though I had come from the king of England, he would not allow me to go: that there were three roads, out of which I must choose one; and he would send people with me; one road was the way I had come, the second by way of Timbuctoo, and the third by way of Aghadiz and Fezzan. I answered, that by the way I had come he could not send me, nor was it safe I should attempt it, as all Yourriba and the other countries at war with the Fellatas were now well acquainted with my having come here as a messenger, with presents from the king of England to him, for the purpose of putting a stop to the slave trade. That the way by Timbuctoo was almost impassable, for the Fellatas from Foota-Torra arid Foota-Bonda, &c. who had arrived here a short while ago, had with the greatest difficulty been allowed to come here with nothing but a staff and a shirt, and had been twelve months on the road, owing to the war; and that, were I to go, all the country would hear of me, and his enemies would have me and all my baggage before I had been two months on the road. That the road by Aghadiz would require a number of camels, more

⁴⁷ The last dated entries in Clapperton's Remark Book [f. 84] provide a terse introduction to the period of difficulties ahead: 'Monday 18th heard that My servt- & baggage are on their way to join me here - Wed 20th Ben Gumso & Sidi Sheikh - Thursday 21 send to the Sultan to take possession of my baggage - his men [illeg.] & the Gidado - Rich- arrived - Friday 22 sent for by the Sultan.'

⁴⁸ Hausa: *Nassara karami*, or more accurately *karamin Nassara*.

than I could afford to buy at present, also a great deal of provisions, water-skins, &c. as there was no place for seven days' journey that supplied either wood or water: that the Tuaricks were a people without either law or government; and if they did allow me to go, I should have to pay very dear for their permission, at least two camel-loads of blue tobies and turbans; but if he would allow me to go by the way of Baghermi, Darfoor, and Egypt, I would go at all risks. He replied that was just going by way of Bornou, as I must pass through from Adamawa to Logan. "With truth," said old Ben Gusmo with great earnestness to Sidi Sheik, and loud enough for the sultan to hear, "do you hear how that man talks before the prince of the faithful?" He, the sultan, then asked to see the sheik's letter; I showed it to him, as also the Arabic list of medicines which I had brought as far as Badagry for the sheik, but had sent them back. He asked me to open the sheik's letter, after he had read the list of medicines. I said, it was more than my head was worth to do such a thing; that I had come to him with a letter and presents from the king of England, on the faith of his own letter the preceding year, and I hoped he would not break his promises and his word for the sake of seeing the contents of that letter which he had now lying beside him. He then made a motion with his hand for me to go, and I accordingly rose, made my bow, and went out: I saw Pascoe at the door, ready to have his audience, the Gadado accompanying me as far as the door. Instead of going to my house, I went to see Hadji Salah, who certainly was but poorly lodged by the Fellatas. I asked him, as there was none present but the son of the former sultan of Fezzan, and whom he had brought from Kano with him, what had brought him to Soccatoo? He said, they had not yet told him, but he did not care for them. The house, as soon as it was known that I was there, was soon filled with Fellatas, and I left him.

Saturday, 23d. Hadji Salah to-day saw the sultan, and I was informed by the master of my house that he was to return to Kano in four days after this. In the evening, Hadji Salah, having asked the Gadado's permission to pay me a visit, came about eight P. M.: he was not watched, that I could see. He informed me that he had seen the sultan to-day, who had desired him to tell the truth, whether I had given him the sheik's present, or any thing for the sheik before I left Kano. He said he certainly never received any thing from me for the sheik, neither letter, nor goods, nor any thing else. After answering to this effect, as also the two friends that had come with him, the sultan told him it was well; he would allow him to return to his family in four days. He said, with respect to me, he would advise me, as a friend and a man of peace, to give up to them the present I had for the sheik, and return home by the way of Aghadiz, which they had proposed to me; that there was not a Fellata, from the sultan to the meanest man amongst them, that could bear the sheik of Bornou, or any one who had ever been friends with him; that, thank God! I had put nothing into his hands for the sheik, or he would have lost his head; that he would (most earnestly repeating it again) advise me to give up the sheik's present to them, as I could not keep

it. I observed that it was the same thing as forcing the letter from me; it would be the last injury they could do me; that they had broken all faith with me; I could have no more to say to them: after their cheating or robbing me of the letter, they might take what they pleased. I was only one man, I could not fight against a nation: they could not, even by taking away my life, do worse with me than they had done.

Sunday, 24th. I saw the Gadado this morning, who complained that he had got a bad cold: I recommended him to take a dose of senna. He said he had to ride out of town a short distance, to meet Mohamed Ben Abdullahir, Bello's first cousin by the father's side⁴⁹: he is the Fellata king or sultan of Nyffé, and is coming here to get permission to go down this year, as before he had sent only a relation or head chief to command there, which was Omar Zurmie, whom I had seen when there. He asked me to go with him to meet Abdullahir. I told him no; my affairs with them were now at an end: after the manner in which the sultan had behaved to me, it was impossible for them to put a greater affront on me than what they had done. He said that when I came here before, I had come with letters from the Bashaw of Tripoli and the Sheik of Bornou, and that at that time they were all at peace; now they were at war, and the sultan neither held, nor allowed others to hold, any communication with the sheik or his people: that I had come then with a letter and presents from the king, and delivered them; that I had a letter and presents from the king of England's vizier⁵⁰; that when I sent the sword from Katagum to Bello, from the king of England, the Sheik of Bornou had seized the letter that came with it, and they had now done the same by him; and that, if I would give up the present, they would send it by Hadji Salah. I said there was no letter whatever came with the sword and box I had sent from Katagum. I observed to him, that the conduct of Bello was not like that of a prince of the faithful, who, in defiance of his letter requesting the king of England to send a consul out, had broken all faith between us; that they had done every evil to me they could. The Gadado pleaded the letters sent from the Sheik and the two Hadjis of Tripoli, saying that I was a spy, and that we wanted to take this country, as we had done India. He was very sorry for what the sultan had done, he said – as sore at heart as I could be: that they had sent for Hadji Salah, who had been fourteen years in this country, and all that time transacting the business of the Sheik, to tell him, if he chose to go to Bornou, to go; if he remained, he must not interfere any more for the Sheik. I said, what had I to do with the Sheik or Hadji Salah's affairs? he was my agent before, and that was the reason I had employed him a second time. I then took leave of the Gadado, after repeating to him what I had said above, two or three times, till he perfectly understood what I had said; and adding, that I never wished to see the sultan again, and I must insist on the Gadado to repeat to him what I had said;

⁴⁹ Muhammad b. 'Abdullah dan Fodio, Bello's cousin, was not the 'sultan of Nupe' but was involved in campaigns in Nupe; see Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 52.

⁵⁰ i.e. Lord Bathurst.

and also that I must for the future consider every part of his dominions as a prison, for he had broken his word in every thing. Notwithstanding all this, the Gadado and his brother Moodie still send me milk and food the same as usual; there is not the least difference in their conduct. The common conversation of the town now is, that the English intend to take Houssa.

Monday, 25th. Being Christmas-day, I gave my servant Richard one sovereign out of six I have left, as a Christmas gift; for he is well deserving, and has never once shown a want of courage or enterprise unworthy an Englishman. The Gadado early sent to know how I was, and desired my servant to tell me he had acquainted the sultan with all I had said; and he inquired if my heart was difficult as ever, which is their way of asking if I meant to talk in the same strong language. Pascoe was to-day sent to the house of Ben Hadji Gumso, from that of the Gadado's servant, with all his baggage; whether for the purpose of fishing him or making him say what they want, or to make him a slave, I do not know. He made a fair recantation of his faith to-day before an Imam and the Gadado: the latter told him, when he had done, to go and wash himself from head to foot that yesterday he was a Kaffir, but now he was friends with the prophet. I had provisions sent as usual in the evening.

Tuesday, 26th. Early this morning I was visited by Hadgi Salah and Malem Moodie, the Gadado's brother. They said they had been sent by the sultan, who had read the letter addressed to the Sheik, in which it was said that I had six guns for the Sheik, two boxes of balls and one box of powder, and one chest of goods as presents, and they were come to demand them. I said it was untrue; no such thing could have been put in the letter, for that the guns belonged to myself and servants, except those of the gentlemen who accompanied me, and who had died in Yourriba, and two others as presents: this falsehood they must have had from their friend Pascoe. The present I had intended to give the Sheik I had all ready prepared, and the Gadado entering, I ordered my servants to bring it forth: the Gadado, looking over the articles, said he did not want any thing of mine; whatever belonged to the Sheik they would take, for he was making a very unjust war upon them, and they would not allow any one to carry arms or warlike stores to him. I told the Gadado that they were acting like robbers towards me, in defiance of all good faith; that no people in the world would act the same, and they had far better have cut my head off than done such an act; but I supposed they would do that also when they had taken every thing from me. The Gadado flew off in a great passion, and the rest followed, carrying the present for the Sheik with them. Hadji Salah said he was afraid they would cut his head off and he was a man with a large family; he would from this time forward have no further concern with me or my affairs. A short while after this, Hadji Salah and his attendants came with a message from the sultan, to say the sultan had ordered them to tell me that he did not wish to do any thing or say any thing unpleasant to me; all he wanted was to know if I had

any arms or warlike stores for the Sheik if I had, to give them up: I told him all I had for the Sheik they had already taken. Hadji Salah wanted me to give up all my own arms: I told him I would not give one. He said, I was once, he thought, a wise man, now I acted like an unwise one, not to give up all to save my head: I told him I would not give them a charge of powder to save my head. They went off displeased again.

My servants and all my visitors fell off at this time. My servants said they were afraid to remain, even Allah Sirkie. This cowardice and ingratitude I did not expect from one I had found a slave, with only a leather skin about his middle, and whom I had clothed, fed, given him wages the same as my other servants from the day I bought him, and made him free. I told them they were at perfect liberty to go where they thought proper; that I could soon get others who, after the manner in which I had behaved to them, could not behave worse: they however returned in the evening, and begged I would take them back, which I did; as lies, and ingratitude, and petty robbery, no servant who is a native of Houssa, Fezzan, or Bornou, is free from.

Thursday, 28th. The Gadado left to-day for Magaria: before he went, he told me he should not stay long away; that if any thing unpleasant happened to me during his absence, to send an express off to him directly. In the afternoon the sultan left for the Sansan or new town, which he is building. He sent, by Sidi Sheik, to ask me to go and show him the way to build a house and fortify it; but as I did not believe what he said, I took no notice of the message. It afterwards turned out that Sidi Sheik had a relation who had lately arrived, who was a builder, and he wanted to introduce him to the sultan.

Friday, 29th. I applied a large blister to my side, as, from the enlargement of the spleen, it gave me great pain, having increased to such a size that I was unable to eat, and had little or no rest.

Sunday, 14th January, 1827. No news from Magaria. After sunset, a messenger with a horse for me arrived from the Gadado at Magaria, wishing me to go there.

Monday, 15th. Started at sunrise for Magaria; but I was so ill on the road that I did not arrive there before 5 P. M. All the reports of the enemy being near proved untrue.

Tuesday, 16th. Waited on the Gadado and sultan. The latter told me, as soon as the reports of the rebels being out were found to be true or false, I should go; that he intended I should go by the way of Asbur⁵¹, and that I should visit the

⁵¹ i.e., Asben, i.e., the Hausa name for the Air Massif.

country of Jacoba during the interval; that he should send a Fellata to Tripoli with me. I returned in the afternoon, and arrived at Soccatoo a little after sunset.

Wednesday, 17th. A small gaffe of Arabs arrived to-day from Timbuctoo, one of whom had seen Major Laing, who, he said, had lost his hand in an attack which the Tuaricks had made on him and his servants during the night, and that his servants, a Jew and a Christian, had got severely wounded⁵².

Saturday, 20th. Sent Richard to Magaria with a letter to the Gadado, urging him to apply to the sultan for permission to visit Jacoba and the southern parts of Houssa, that I might be able to ascertain whether and where the Quorra fell into the sea.

Friday, 26th. Light airs, with a slight haze; at 8 strong breezes from the E. N. E. The sultan sent to inform me that a courier had arrived from the sultan of Kano, informing him of the sheik being only a day's journey to the south of that place; and the Sultan Bello wished to know if, after such intelligence, I wished to go to Kashna. Sidi Sheik was bearer of the message. I, of course, said I should remain where I was at present, without making any observations, as the news might be untrue, and it was only a catch to get at my intentions.

Saturday, 27th. Cool and clear, At day-break the Gadado arrived from Magaria. In the forenoon I visited him, when he told me he was going to Kano: he said that as soon as every thing was settled he would write for me to come; but that I had better remain where I was until the sheik had returned, who was at Sangia⁵³, on his way to Kano. It seems the sheik, before he entered the territory of Houssa, had sent to the governors of Katagum, Hadiga, Lamema⁵⁴, and Kano, to say he was not at war with Bello or his people, but at peace; that he had only come to take Mohamed Mungo⁵⁵ and Mohamed Nema⁵⁶, two of the Fellata chiefs on the frontiers, who were constantly invading Bornou, and carrying off the inhabitants and cattle. Instead however of looking after these

⁵² Apparently the first news Clapperton received of Major Gordon Laing's attempted journey to Timbuktu; see Introduction.

⁵³ Tsangeia, some 50 miles WSW of Kano.

⁵⁴ A reference to Lamino, the title of the emir of Adamawa.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Manga, who inherited the leadership of the Borno *jihad* when his father, Gwoni Mukhtar, was killed in 1809, and who was established at Deya, from where al-Kanemi expelled him in the campaign referred to here; see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 55-8, and Introduction. He subsequently was emir of Missau, holding the title Sarkin Borno ta Gabas (Emir of Borno in the East); see Low, *Three Nigerian Emirates*, 112-3, 124.

⁵⁶ Possibly a reference to Muhammad dan Kauwa, the nephew of the founder of Katagum Emirate, Malam Ibrahim Zaki, and emir from 1816-46, but possibly Muhammad Wabi, the son of Ardo Sale, and the head of the Fulanin Mare, centred at the small emirate of Marma, who had also received a flag and was a specific target of al-Kanemi as well (see Low, *Three Nigerian Emirates*, 115-23). Last lists Muhammad Nema as a flag bearer, but on the western frontier, which may be an error; *Sokoto Caliphate*, 54.

chiefs, he entered the province of Shena⁵⁷, took all the people and cattle he could lay his hands on, and was now on his march to Kano, trying to cut off the sultan, who was at Dushie⁵⁸, the frontier town, to assist Hadgi Katagum⁵⁹ in case of attack; but on hearing that the sheik was on his march to Kano, he had returned to secure that important city.

Sunday, 28th. Clear and cloudless sky. Took leave of the Gadado, as he goes to Kano to-morrow to take command of the forces. The whole of the Fellatas are in the greatest state of alarm, as they expect the whole of the blacks will join the sheik, as also the Tuaricks: they are now busily employed in getting their grain into Soccatoo, expecting an attack here.

Monday, 29th. The Gadado did not leave until the afternoon. The sultan, and every one that could muster a horse, besides a number on foot, accompanied him as far as the river side, which runs to the north, on the east of Soccatoo: here they repeated the fatha, after which all those not going to accompany him returned.

Thursday, February 8th. Having taken leave of the sultan, I put all my baggage, except one trunk and the canteen, into the Gadado's house, as well to prevent robbery as to guard against fires, which are very common in Soccatoo; taking my two camels and all my servants for Magaria. At 8 A. M. one of my camels being sickly and weak, we travelled very slowly until 3 P. M., when I halted at a village near the road-side, where the head man gave me a hut to sleep in; and the river being about two miles distant to the north, we sent the camels out to feed, and left Richard and Allah Sirkie to pitch the tent and take care of the horses. I went down to the river side with the gun, to look at the hunting ground: I was attended by Malem Moodie, the owner of the village⁶⁰, on horse-back, and about twenty of his slaves. He is the only free man in the village, which consists of about seventy men, women, and children. After descending the rocky and gravelly side of the hill over which the road lies, I came upon the flat, which spreads out about four miles to the foot of the high ground or low hills. On the north side, the river overflows all the flat during the rains; and the former course of the river has left several pools and beautiful lakes of water. The soil in the flat is generally a blue clay and mould to a depth of from three to four feet; in the upper parts planted with cotton and gourds, and the other parts, during the rains, with rice, which is of a very good quality. The river runs at this place in a narrow winding bed, about twelve feet deep; the banks sandy below

⁵⁷ i.e., Shira.

⁵⁸ Dutse, some 15 miles east of Tsangeia near the border of Katagum.

⁵⁹ i.e., Muhammad dan Kauwa.

⁶⁰ This Malam Mudi, who accompanied Clapperton on his hunting expedition on the valley floor on Thursday 8th February, was evidently a village head man; and to be distinguished from Muhammad Mudi, Gidado's brother, who commanded the settlement at Magaria (see next day's entry). The village on the road to Magaria where Clapperton was put up for the night was apparently situated in the Rima valley west of Dan Kemu.

the strata of clay and mould; and the falling of trees, and the looseness of the soil, cause it often to shift its bed through the flats or swamps in the rainy season. The acacia trees were in blossom, and the traces of elephants were numerous. I saw only three antelopes, but great numbers of guinea-fowl, which were too wild to come near, as they are so much hunted by the young Fellatas; so I returned without any thing. I was very anxious to have shot a wild boar, of which there were great numbers; but Malem Moodie was quite shocked at the thought of my wanting the skin, so that he would not, I suppose, have let me or my people have any supper if I had touched it; though he had no objection to my shooting as many as I pleased of their Kaffirs and Eblis⁶¹. I returned to my hut in the village, when the Malem, at meal-time, sent me a large store-pudding, and gravy made of butter and the leaves of the *adansonia*⁶², with corn for my horses.

Friday, 9th [February]. After day-light, left the village of Malem Moodie, having given his female slaves who brought the pudding and millet the full price in cowries, and the old Malem two gora nuts: the old man was quite pleased with the present, and accompanied me a little distance on the road, calling at two other villages on the road-side to show his guest to the people. Though they have seen me fifty times, every man and woman, for twenty miles round Soccato, still their curiosity is as great as ever, examining my dress, and the dress of my servant Richard; the buttons of brass they always call gold: also my English bridles, and the cloth of my trousers, and my coat, which is a striped printed dressing-gown, draw the attention of all the women, young and old, who beg always a piece of the same to tie round their heads: all good things, they say, we have got. They call me the big Christian, and my servant Richard the little Christian: my old name of Abdulla is seldom used, except by those who knew me when I was here before, and that only to my face. At 10 A. M. arrived at Magaria. My friend Malem Moodie was not at home; but I took up my quarters at my old house; and Moodie's wife, the one that lives here (for he has four wives and sixteen concubines), sent me plenty of milk and doura. Moodie arriving, I told him I had come to remain a few days to shoot, and I wanted a man to show me the ground: he soon got me one, and I had every thing ready to start next morning.

Saturday, 10th. A little after day-light left Magaria, and riding through between a number of plantations of cotton on the low ground, which had been covered during the rains, we came on to the rice ground, which is now covered with fine green grass, and has several small lakes and pools of water formed by the ancient beds of the river. The sides of the lakes and pools were swampy for a considerable distance, so that there was no getting within reach of the birds with small shot. They consisted of the white and gray pelican, the Muscovy duck, Egyptian goose, ducks, pigeons, and snipes; the heron, adjutant, ibis,

⁶¹ 'Kaffirs and Eblis', i.e., 'pagans and devils'.

⁶² Hausa: *kuka*, baobab tree; *adansonia*.

and a small white crane were numerous. On the low flat were feeding, amongst the herds of bullocks, five or six of the large red antelopes, between the size of the common antelope and the nylghau⁶³, of a red colour, about as high as a small ass, with large thick horns, called by the Arabs the hamoria, and by the people marea. I did not look after them, as there was little cover, but rode over to the north side of the flat, where the river lies, expecting to find plenty of game and plenty of cover. On approaching through the flats, and within about a mile of the river, the woods were almost impenetrable, abounding in wild hogs and guinea-fowl: of the latter I shot some, but the hogs were forbidden fruits. I had no wish to kill them, except to eat, or to have their skins; and my own servants would have been the first to have held me up to abomination if I had done so, as the less these rogues know about their religion, the more they adhere to the less scrupulous points of it; the whole they know being to repeat their prayers in Arabic, not a word of which they understand; abhor a Christian, a Kaffir, and a poor harmless pig.

I saw five elephants, and the traces of a great many more. They hunt them, or set watch for them in their regular paths, sitting on the branch of some high tree which overhangs the path. Their weapon is a harpoon, with two moveable barbs, like our whale harpoons, but a shorter shaft, which is stuck into the end of the large wooden pestle with which the women beat the husks of the rice and millet in their mortars. The iron head is poisoned, and night being the time, they strike on the back as the animal passes under the branch. The hunter traces him for a little distance; the wood of the harpoon drops off, and if the animal does not soon fall, the hunter returns home until next morning, when he is sure to find him dead near to where he had left him. They eat the flesh, and sometimes sell the tusks for a few cowries, or they are oftener brought to the sultan or Gadado, along with the trunk, as a proof of their victory; the tusks they always give to the Arabs. Three have been killed since I have been here: they watch only in the evening. At sunset we returned to Magaria, all very tired, and I with my old dressing-gown torn to ribands.

Monday, 12th. I went out to hunt on the flats on foot, with a Fellata to drive in the game, my servants being all knocked up, and too tired to accompany me. After getting on the ground, I lay down amongst the long grass, and sent out the Fellata, who twice drove the game close to where I was lying, but on both occasions I was sound asleep, being overcome with fatigue, and I got up and returned home. As I was returning I fell in with an old sow and five pigs: I let fly at her, as she with her whole family were coming up to take a look at me. This, as I did not hit any of them, did not at all disturb her or her brood, who, by their size, might be about nine months old; she, with four of the young ones, only turned on one side, and walked slowly amongst the long grass. As I came

⁶³ Dorcas gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*); local names, from Arabic, *himraye* or *maraye*.

nearer, the fifth, a young boar, came snorting up, with his tail erect, to within pistol shot; I presented the gun to him, but he seemed to care very little for me, and I did not like to kill him. After both had satisfied ourselves with looking at one another, he, seeing the whole of his relations in safety, turned round with a grunt, and strutted after them, with as little fear in his gesture as if he had been lord of the soil. The wild hogs of Africa, both in Borgo, Houssa, and Bornou, are the same in appearance, having a head much larger in proportion to their bodies than the domestic hog of Europe. In Yourriba and Nyffé the snout is very broad and round, with two large tusks on each side, one in each jaw, both upper and lower turning up, the lower fitting also the upper and outside; the back of the neck covered with a mane of upright bristles of a snuff-brown colour, no other hair appearing on any other part, except at the tip of the tail: they are universally of the same colour, a dark mouse or lead colour: the height of a full grown boar is about three and a half or four feet, and from the tip of the snout to the root of the tail about five feet. They have also two warts on each side of the head, on a line with the nose, the largest below the ear, two inches and a half, the other about an inch lower down, upon the end of the upper tusk, which look like two horns.

Tuesday, 13th. I did not go out until nearly midday, and then went to the south of the town, amongst the hills and woods, but again was unsuccessful. Though the traces of game of all kinds were numerous, yet I saw nothing but one flock of antelopes, which I could not get near; guinea-fowl were in plenty, but as shy as before. The hills were composed of loose clay, iron-stone rocks on the surface, and a red clay and sand for the depth of about four or five feet, then a dull whitish or rather bluish clay, containing shining particles of mica underneath. Several of the stones had rounded pebbles imbedded in them; others were, on breaking, like yellow ochre; the outer surfaces of all as if they had been burnt in the fire. This is owing to the weather I suppose, as well as the appearance of having been melted from the rains and sand beating on them, and wearing away the soft parts. The blocks of rock never exceed six feet square when loose, and when covering a flat, never above three or four feet thick over the clay soil. I forgot to mention that the greater number, when broke, present a glistening or shining appearance, like iron-ore, and that they are much heavier than pieces of sandstone of the same bulk. After tiring myself amongst the hills to no purpose, and I and my guides being very thirsty, we went across to the north, to a small lake on the flat or plain, to drink. Here I fell in with a party of Fellata girls washing their gourds, from which their people, who had a temporary bullock or cattle village close at hand, under the shade of some large adansonia (kouka trees), had just gone out on the flats with their cattle. They gave me curdled milk and water to drink; after which I lay down by the side of the lake, and took the bridle off my horse, to let him enjoy himself also amongst the fine green grass.

Wednesday, 14th. I did not go out to-day, as I had had such bad success, and was too much fatigued. A courier arrived from the Gadado, bringing intelligence of the Sheik El Kanemi being defeated with great loss, and that he had fled towards Bornou; the governors of Fudba⁶⁴ [*sic*] and Zegzeg had beaten him; and that the governor of Kano had joined them, with all his forces, in the rear. Duncoroa, governor of Katagum, Ben Gumso of Hadiga, &c. were in front of the sheik, so that he will not be able to return to Bornou if they manoeuvre right. The Fellatas are all in great glee on the occasion, and they do not spare him the name of Dan Caria, or son of a b---h [*sic*].

Thursday, 15th. Took leave of Moodie, and left Magaria after 6 A. M., sending two camels with Richard and Moodie to the village where I had halted on my way to Magaria. I proceeded along the foot of the hills, skirting the river, the bed of which is now dry in a number of places. I shot one duck and two guinea-fowls, the latter of which were very numerous; but the boys had that morning been hunting them, and they were very wild. I also saw one elephant, a number of hogs, seven of what the Arabs call the red bullock, and the people of Bornou the corigum. I take them to be the nylghau, but only a variety in colour. In Bornou they are of a dark brown; here they are of a cream colour. I shot several; they are of the antelope tribe, very fierce when wounded, and will give battle when attacked. At sunset I returned, and had a plentiful supply of pudding from the old malem; and the guinea-fowls and duck feasted all hands.

Friday, 16th. At daylight started, and rode on to the Sanson, where I arrived at 10 A. M. The sultan sent, as soon as I arrived, to ask how I was, and to tell me he wished to see me next day. The messenger between him and me, since the Gadado is gone, is old Yargoorma, who acts in that capacity when the Gadado is here. She also sits up all night in the room he sleeps in, and keeps his fire alight. She is a shrewd old woman, of strong natural sense; and has apartments in the Gadado's house, and also in the sultan's, and possesses upwards of forty male and female slaves, though herself a slave. This possessing slaves and property is not uncommon for slaves here, which, if they have no children, go at their death to their master.

Saturday, 17th. Clear and warm. At 3 A. M. old Yargoorma came and told me the sultan wished to see me. I went, and found him alone. He asked after my health, and if my exercise in hunting had cured me of the spleen, which is considerably reduced, and I am now free from pain. He also asked after Richard, my servant; if his legs and feet had got better; a disorder of which he is also cured. The feet and ankles first swell, and cause great pain, not being able to walk; then it proceeds to the calves of the legs, knees, and thigh-joints. Purgative medicines are of little service; and the soles and ankles are so painful

⁶⁴ The reference is probably a slip by Clapperton or Barrow for Gujba.

the patient can walk but with great difficulty, and great pain afterwards. The swelling is not like the scurvy, as on pressing the finger on the part it is attended with great pain, and does not leave a hollow after the finger is taken off.

I told him of the difficulty and the impossibility it was for me to get the skin, head, and feet-bones of two wild hogs, as he wished, because my servants would not touch them if I killed them. He said he would send for two, and I might either have them skinned myself, or they would bring the skins for me. I thanked him, and said I would prefer them skinned in the woods, as, were they brought to me alive, my house would be filled with idle people, and the whole town would never leave off talking about it whenever they saw me. Good, he said, and ordered a eunuch to give orders to the hunters to bring two as soon as possible. He asked me if we eat pork? I said yes, and the flesh was very good when they were well fed; we only eat it sparingly; the fat, I said, was always used for salves. I said it was much better to eat than dogs' flesh, which they sold publicly in the market at Tripoli; and all the great in Fezzan eat dogs' flesh whenever they could procure it. This account Sidi Sheik, who had just come in, confirmed.

The sultan said, it was strange what people would eat: in the district of Umburm, belonging to Jacoba, they eat human flesh. I said I did not think any people existed on the face of the earth that eat their own kind as food; that certainly there were some savages in different parts of the world who eat their enemies. The sultan said he had seen them eat human flesh; that on the governor of Jacoba telling him of these people, he could hardly believe it himself; but on a Taurick being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted that he sent them back to Jacoba soon after. He said that whenever a person complained of sickness amongst these men, even though only a slight headach, they are killed instantly, for fear they should be lost by death, as they will not eat a person that has died by sickness; that the person falling sick is requested by some other family, and repaid when they had a sick relation; that universally when they went to war, the dead and wounded were always eaten; that the hearts were claimed by the head men; and that, on asking them why they eat human flesh, they said it was better than any other; that the heart and breasts of a woman were the best part of the body; and that they had no want of food, as an excuse for eating one another. Indian corn, millet, doura, and sweet potatoes were in plenty; that both men and women went naked, though their houses were much neater and cleaner than those of the common people of Soccato; that, excepting this bad custom, they were very cleanly, and otherwise not bad people, except that they were Kaffirs; that he would make me a present of some of them to let the king of England see that such was the fact. I said, I would rather be excused taking them, as both the king and the people of England would be too much disgusted at seeing such a sight. You will see them, he said, when you go to Jacoba: he would write to the governor to show them to me when I went.

I then told him I wished as soon as possible to go to Jacoba, as I had been here now five months very idle. He said that the rebels of Zamfra had sent to beg for peace, and that, as soon as their sultan or chief arrived, he would send me through that part of Zamfra which I had not seen, and I should see the gold ores said to be there; that I should also see Adamawa and the Shari; and that he would send me afterwards to the sea, by the way of a country called Kano⁶⁵, bordering on the sea, and going to the south of the province of Zegzeg, and whose sultan had sent a messenger a short while after I left Soccatoo on my former journey, wishing to open a trade with Houssa. I said that the sooner he could send me the better, as he would have everything that he could wish from England much cheaper than he could have by the way of the desert. He asked me again who the eleven slave-dealers were that his cousin, Mohamed Ben Abdullah, had taken at his camp at Nyffé; and if I knew that they were Christians. He said they were black; and had come from, or by the way of Borgoo; and what ought to be done with them; for Abdullah had seized them, and written to know what he should do with them. I said, he had better either take their goods, and send them away home, or have them brought up here; that they were not Christians, but I thought natives of Dahomey, and part of the same gang I had seen at Wawa in Borgoo;⁶⁶ as it was common for the Mahomedans to call all persons, not agreeing with them in faith, Christians or Jews. After this I took leave; and in the evening he sent me a fine fat sheep, and two pomegranates from his garden.

Monday, 19th. A courier from the Gadado arrived at [= from] Kano with a letter to the sultan, informing him of the defeat of the sheik of Bornou, and his retreat, with the loss of all his baggage, camels, and tents, two hundred and nine horses, and a number of slaves. The sultan sent me the letter to read, and the sheik's water-pot, made of copper. This is an article of the first importance to a Mahomedan great man; he never travels without one. It had been cut in three different places by a sword, not in taking it, as it was found in the tent, but hacked by some of them to vent their rage on the poor pot, as they could not do it on the sheik.

Saturday, 24th. At day-break the pagans whom the sultan had sent to kill and skin a wild boar for me arrived with the skins of a boar, a sow, and one of their young ones. All the idle people in the neighbourhood had come to have a peep, as did several of the better sort of people, some of whom sat down to see me and the poor pagan, whose name is Whidah, and his sons go through the operation of salting and packing the skins. They asked Whidah if he eat the flesh? He answered, Yes, and very good it is too. It is quite ridiculous to see how much

⁶⁵ Reference to a 'country called Kano, bordering the sea, and going to the south of the province of Zegzeg' is unclear but certainly is not a reference to the Emirate of Kano. Perhaps a reference to Keffi or Koton Karafi, near the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers.

⁶⁶ For the Dahomey expedition in Borgu, see Chapter 4, entry Tuesday 21st March 1826.

those people dread even to touch any part of the animal's skin, and know not for what reason, only because they have heard others say so. I told them it was better meat than dogs' flesh, which the people of Fezzan and those of Tripoli eat; and at Tripoli dogs' flesh was publicly sold in the market; true they were Moslem, and had not a pig, which was more cleanly in its eating, and better to be eaten than a dog. My servants, the ignorant rascals, would not come near, and if there had been others to be hired, I would have paid them off. I first strewed the poison slightly over the inner part of the hides, then plenty of finely pounded salt, and made Whidah and his sons rub all well in, strewed them over with dried grass, and packed each separately in a mat, and gave them in charge to Whidah, to have them properly dried, and to take the flesh off the bones of the heads. The news soon got to the market that I had such things in my house; and on sending to the market to buy three new mats, the owner said he would sell them to me, but would not bring them to my house; and now the pigs and I are the whole talk of Soccato.

Sunday, 25th. Divine service. Nothing worth remarking has happened since the 25th⁶⁷, except that I was laid up for the last four days with ague.

Wednesday, 28th. Paid Malem Mohamed 20,000 cowries for his writing me an account of the country between Soccato and Masina, and Kano and Sennar, and making a chart of the river Quorra, between Cubbie and Masina.

Sunday, 11th March, nothing worth noting down, until the **12th**, when a messenger of the governor of Boushi arrived, bringing with him part of the spoil taken from the sheik of Bornou, which consisted of an old Bornou tent, a horse, and two mares, with two drums. The tent was erected in the square in the front of the sultan's house, and two slaves set to beat the drums; the whole population of Soccato came to see them, and they continued beating all night. The sultan sent for me. I went, and found him alone, and appearing very good humoured with the news that had arrived. After my asking after his health, and just beginning to ask if he would send me as soon as convenient to Adamowa, and to write to the governor to allow me to proceed up the Shari as far as possible, and show me every thing worth seeing in that province; and after that, if the governor of Adamowa thought it safe, he would send me to Boushi, without coming back to Kano; and that from Boushi I would proceed to Zaria, and wait until after the rains, and then proceed with his messenger to the other Kano and the sea – before he could give me an answer, a number of the principal people of Soccato came in, and interrupted the conversation; so I took my leave, he appointing another day to give me the information I requested.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ A mistake – and should probably read 20th, not 25th.

⁶⁸ The published text ends at p. 254, with a note by John Barrow, 'Note. – Here Clapperton's Journal finishes, and no notices of any kind appear among his papers subsequent to the above-mentioned date; but the following Journal, kept by his faithful servant, Richard Lander, amply supplies the deficiency'. The published version continues with the 'Journal of Richard Lander, servant to the late Captain Clapperton, from 20th November, 1826 to 30th April 1828' [pp. 257-327].

[Appendix: Captain Clapperton's Arabic Papers,
translated by Mr. A.V. Salamé]⁶⁹

I. 'A Geographical Account of the Country, Rivers, Lakes, &c. from Bornou [Katagum] to Egypt, &c.'

"The territory of Bornou is very extensive, and contains mountains, sands, and lakes: it has also two well known cities; one is called Sira,⁷⁰ the other Kataghoon,⁷¹ whose prince is named Dankawa. To the name of Bornou that of Ghoodri⁷² is sometimes added.

"At twenty days' journey from Bornou the territory of Adamawá lies, which is mountainous, and contains vales, hills, and rivers. Two-thirds of its inhabitants are infidels, and one-third Felan Mahomedans. The metropolis of their sultan is called Ghórin.⁷³ They possess plenty of horses and oxen, and subsist upon the dura (Indian corn). To the name of Adamawá the word Foobina⁷⁴ is often added.

"Next to Adamawá, at two days' journey through a mountainous desert abounding with rivers, the country of Lúghwí (Loggun of Denham) lies; it contains a great many rivers, lakes, forests, and trees. Its inhabitants are Soodan Mahomedans; but the desert between it and Adamawá is infested with infidel robbers, who ride their horses without saddles, fight most desperately, often interrupt traffic on the road, and kill any one who falls into their hands.

"From Lúghwí to the territory of Baghármý, which comes next to it, is two days' journey through a desert containing a great and extensive fresh-water sea, called Asoor or Ashoo.⁷⁵ This country is hilly, sandy, and has small mountains; its width is a distance of ten days, and its length is much more. Its inhabitants are Soodan, Kahlans, and Arabs, who are robbers, and a treacherous set of people. Their sultan, whose name is Borkoomada, is as cruel as themselves, and even slays sheiks and Mahomedans. They possess abundance of horses and oxen, get their water from wells, and subsist upon dokhun.

"Next to Baghármý the country of Roogá lies, which is stony, abounding with rivers, and inhabited by infidels.

"At three days' journey through places inhabited by Arabs is the territory of Wadaí; it is very extensive, hilly, sandy, mountainous, and contains vales,

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the memorandum book which contained the original Arabic of these documents, which have been lost, see Introduction. Of the relevant materials from the published text, eight items are included here. A note by Salamé states that a number of items bore the date the 5th of Sháában, 1242 A.H., 3rd March, 1827 A.D. As Clapperton notes in his entry for 27th February, his next to last entry, he paid Malam Mohamed 20,000 cowries for composing the 'chart' and at least one of the texts.

⁷⁰ Shira.

⁷¹ Katagum.

⁷² Ghoodri for part of name of Katagum/Borno

⁷³ Gurin, one of the *ribat* that Modibbo Adamu used to prosecute the *jihad* in the Benue valley, eventually establishing his capital at Yola in c. 1841; see Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lámbe of Fombina*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1977), 59.

⁷⁴ Fombina, an alternate name for Adamawa.

⁷⁵ Probably a reference to Shari River.

lakes, and deep wells. Its sultan is named Yousuf,⁷⁶ and his capital, which is situated under high mountains, is called Hoowara;⁷⁷ the inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs and Persians; they are renowned for courage in war, swift horses, and the abundance of their camels, oxen, and sheep. They have a great many market places or towns, and their living is the dokhun and dura.

“Next to Wadaí the country of Foor (Dar-foor) lies, at two days’ journey through mountains and woody deserts, in the midst of which there is a vale containing dom trees. The territory of Foor is very extensive, hilly, sandy, and droughty, so much so, that, notwithstanding the great many deep wells they have, the people are obliged to preserve their water within the trunks of trees. They are a mixture of Felans, Arabs, and Kahlans; they possess plenty of swift horses, camels, oxen, and sheep; they have all sorts of warlike weapons, as shields, spears, armour, and so forth, and are great warriors. Their sultan is named Mohammed Fadlú,⁷⁸ who is a genteel, handsome, black man, and renowned for his munificence and generosity. His capital is called Nantalti, through which a river runs during the rainy season; but in winter the people are obliged to dig wells in the bed of that river for water. They live upon dokhun and dura, and have some date gardens.

“At ten days’ journey from Foor, through a mountainous, hilly, sandy, and droughty desert, is the country of Kordofal, which extends seven days in length, and its inhabited by Arabs and Kahlans; it is however possessed by the Turks. It is a very cheap country, and its inhabitants possess plenty of oxen and asses, and subsist upon the dokhun.

“The White river becomes very full of water during the rainy season, which brings with it, from the Blue river, the animal called Anghorotú; but during the summer it becomes so shallow as to be waded, the water not reaching about the thighs of people.

“Between Sonnar and Sawaken, which is on the Salt Sea (the Red Sea), is a distance of forty days.”

II. ‘A traditional account of the people and country of Malí, &c. &c.’

“The territory of Malee is extensive, contains a gold mine, and is inhabited by Soodans, whose origin is said to be from the remnants of the Copts. Among its inhabitants are also Towroods,⁷⁹ Felans, Arabs, Jews, and Christians. These last are subject to two Christian sovereigns, who send ships to harbour at this place; and it is said that this country was formerly possessed by a people called Sarankali⁸⁰, who, it is presumed, were Persians.

⁷⁶ Yusuf reigned from 1815-30; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, II, 645.

⁷⁷ The capital was at Wara. Salamé’s note: ‘The crown prince of Wadai, if we can call him so, was last year in Egypt; and, upon his authority, this country lies under, or at the foot of, the Mountains of the Moon’.

⁷⁸ Muhammad al-Fadl, sultan of Dar Fur, c. 1801-38; see R.S. O’Fahey and J.L. Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan* (London: Methuen, 1974), 162.

⁷⁹ Torooode, the branch of the Fulbe to which ‘Uthman dan Fodio’s family belonged.

⁸⁰ Sarakole, i.e., Soninke, not Persians.

“The kingdom of Malee is an ancient and flourishing country, and comprises two other provinces: one is Bambara, which contains rivers, woods, sands, a gold mine, and is occupied by the Soodan, who are still infidels, and possess great power; the other, on the west of it, is Foota, which is inhabited by the Towrood, and the Sarankali, or Persians. The Towrood people, it is said, were originally Jews, others say Christians; that they came from the land between the two rivers, the Nile and the Euphrates, and established themselves next to the Jews who inhabited the island; and that whenever they oppressed or encroached upon the Jews, the latter had always recourse to the protection of the officers of the Sehabat (the immediate friends or companions of Mohammed), who then ruled over them; that they (the Jews) used to say to them: ‘We came to live in these islands to wait the coming of a prophet (after whom there will be no other); after whose coming and death a relation of his, named Aboo-Bakr, will succeed him; and Aboo-Bakr’s successor will be Amroo, whose troops will come upon the surface of this water (by which they meant Termes), protect us against you, and enable us to conquer your country.’

“That is what we found written in our books.”⁸¹

III. ‘A traditional account of the origin of the Felan tribe, whom we have hitherto erroneously called “Fellatahs.”’

“The origin the Felan tribe is stated to be as follows: When the army of the Sehabat, during the reign of Omar Ben El-khattab, penetrated into the Gharb, they arrived first at Termes; the Towrood people having seen them, went immediately under their protection, and became Mooslemeens, before the Jews who were waiting for them; in consequence of which they were enabled to fight and subdue the Jews and Sarankali (Persians). When the Schabat wished their troops to retire from the Gharb, the prince of the Towrood said to them: ‘You came to us with a faith of which we were ignorant, and you are now going away without leaving any one to instruct us in it and its laws.’ The Schabat, hearing this appeal, left behind them, for their instruction, Okbat Ben Aamer. He married a daughter of the prince, named Gajmáa, and begot by her four sons, Dytá, Náser, Wáyá, and Rerebi. He afterwards returned to Egypt, and left his four sons behind with their mother. They grew up, and spoke a different language from that of their father, which was the Arabic, as well as from that of their mother, which was the old Towrood, called Wakoori. They married, and had sons and daughters, from whom the Felans descended; so that the father of the Felans was an Arabian, and their mother a Towrood.

“This we found recorded in our books.”

⁸¹ Salamé’s note: ‘The above account, with the exception of the latter part, and a few small variations, has been already given to us in Sultan Bello’s Geographical Account. (See Appendix, p. 166, First Journey.)’ The reference is to pp. 165-66 of Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries*, 1st edition.

IV. 'A traditional account of the people and country of Bargho, &c. &c.'

"The country of Barghoo is situated on the right side of the river; it is woody and sandy, and inhabited by tribes of the Soodan, who, it is said, are descended from the slaves of the Felans, who were left behind when their masters crossed the river; and thus they peopled those countries. They are in subordinate and stubborn, as also very powerful in war; and it is recorded that, when the equitable Prince Hadgi Mohamed Allah-kaja⁸² ruled over this province, he could gain no advantage over them.

"Next to Barghoo, the province of Ghoorma lies; it is extensive, mountainous, woody, sandy, and has various rivers. Its sultan is named Boojujú,⁸³ and the inhabitants are almost all of the same description as those of Barghoo, robbers, and depraved.

"On the west of Ghoorma, the country of Mooshier, or Mooshee, is situated. It is extensive, and contains a gold mine, rivers, woods, and mountains. It is inhabited by tribes of the Soodan, who possess plenty of swift horses, very tall asses, and are very powerful in war. Their sultan is named Wagadoogo,⁸⁴ and their asses are imported to Ghoonja⁸⁵ to carry the drums of the army.

"On the right of Mooshér the territory of Asantí lies, which is very extensive."

V. 'An Itinerary, or the road from Sérá to Nubia, Sennar, and Egypt.'

"From Sira to Boogho is a distance of twenty days; thence to Mooshkoom-Foosh, to Sary, to Sarwa, to Indam or Indag, to Warshá, to Booshrá, to the mountain called Kaghoom, to Mount Kinghá, to Mount Dooziyat, to Mount Aboo-Talfan, to Mount Aboo-Zarafat; then to Rooga, to Dygo, to Kájá, to Katoonú; then to the mountain of Nubia, to the gold mine called Tagly, which has no less than ninety-nine mountains, the name of each of which begins with F; but three only of these mountains are known, whose names are as follow: Fazooglú, Fafaklú, Foondooflú. In two days from this place, you will get to the Nile of Sonnar; but from Tagly to Egypt, or Cairo, which lies northward on the left side of it, is a journey of forty days, travelling continually by the bank of the Nile; while from Tagly to Sawaken, which is on the sea coast (the Red Sea), is a distance of thirty days only."⁸⁶

VI. 'A traditional account of the people and country of Nefi, &c. &c.'

"The people of Nefé came originally from Kashná, and their prince, Thoodyar,⁸⁷ from Atághér.⁸⁸ He first conquered the territory of Beni, from the river

⁸² not identified.

⁸³ Boojuju, king of Gurma, i.e., Fadan Gurma.

⁸⁴ The capital was Wagadugu, not the name of the sultan.

⁸⁵ Gonja.

⁸⁶ Salamé's note: 'This is the last of the seven papers which, it appears, were written in Captain Clapperton's memorandum book, by order of Sultan Bello, and are dated "the 5th of Sháában, 1242, A.H.;" about the 3rd of March, 1827, A.D.'

⁸⁷ Founder of Nupe, Tsoede.

⁸⁸ Atagara, i.e., Idah.

called Bakoo⁸⁹ to that which is named Kaduná; then the territories of Booduor Boodi,⁹⁰ and of Bassa or Boosa. He thence embarked on the river Kowára, and subdued the people on its bank, called Abágba⁹¹; after which he conquered the country of Abbi⁹² (in which we now are),⁹³ and that of Kanbari, in conjunction with the Prince of Yaouri. The river of these countries is called Kantagoora.⁹⁴ From Yaouri he proceeded to the great mountain, or mountains, where Nefé, Beni, and Fatti-attu⁹⁵ are: he then went to the river Katha, or Kasha, and conquered the countries thereabouts; which are, Ghoor-noofu, Koográ, Jemma,⁹⁶ Doonfee, Taboo, and Aza, or Azai. This prince was succeeded by Ithshab, whose successor was Ithkootoo; and the whole number of princes who ruled over this kingdom were thirteen. The rest of the eastern parts, as far as Katáná, are in possession of a prince named Bakoo.

“About the right of Atághér the country called Nafry lies, by the side of a river larger than that of Kowára.

“The people of Beni are now extremely poor. They are submissive to their princes, till and cultivate the lands of others, and pay capitation tax. Sheep, goats, oxen, horses, and fowls, are scarce in their country; and as to asses, there are none, except what are imported from other countries. They have, however, plenty of elephants.

“The river in the territory of Kowára lies west, on the right hand side; and that of Kaduná is in the centre; while the river Bakoo, or Gakoo, is in the east.”

VII. ‘A traditional account of the people and country of Noofy, &c. &c.

“The tribes who inhabit Noofee, it is said, were originally from Beni; others say from Takra; and some assert that they came from the middle of the river, perhaps an island. Their first town was Jemma;⁹⁷ but afterwards they inhabited Kafath or Kifath, Ayaki, Karkena, and the eastern Kowára, by a river called Matny. They had also Kasoo or Kashoo, Zeer, the west of Malee or Moulee, Abyou, and Wádá.

“The river of Kowára runs through mountains, and a great many woods and forests; and has mountains on the north and the east. This great river issues from the Mountain of the Moon; and what we know of it is, that it comes from Sookan to Kiya, to Kabi, to Yaouri, to Boosa, to Wá-wá, and to Noofee; but in that place there is another river which springs from Zirmá, to Ghoober, to Zeffra, to Kory or Koora, and then enters Noofee; its name is Kaduna. On the

⁸⁹ Gbako River.

⁹⁰ Booduor Boodi, unidentified

⁹¹ Perhaps Igbira.

⁹² The location of ‘Abbi’ in Nupe is not clear, although the suggestion is that Clapperton was there; perhaps Gbara.

⁹³ Salamé’s note: ‘The writer of this account, it seems, was in Captain Clapperton’s company, or attached to his service’.

⁹⁴ i.e., Kontagora.

⁹⁵ Fatti-attu, unidentified

⁹⁶ Perhaps Jima [?].

⁹⁷ Other than Jima, these towns have not been identified.

north of it Kanbari lies; on the east if Kory; on the south are Cankan and Kafath; and on the west is Bassoa, or Bashwa. About the centre of it is the kingdom of Noofee, with that of Abyou.⁹⁸

“Noofee was once subject to the Felans; but when Edrees,⁹⁹ a prince of the Felans, ruled over it, and committed so many excesses as even to violate its virgins, the people rose up against him, sword in hand, and freed themselves; and thus they are now at war with the Felans. Amongst them there are Mahomedans; but the greater part are infidels, without either religion or law: they are drunkards and oppressors; they neither pray, nor worship any god. They walk with you during an hour as friends, while in the next they do not hesitate to kill you. When one of them dies, they fasten the arms across the chest, place the body in a sitting position in the grave, and one of them lies by it, while another sits at the entrance. They have a large and extensive cavern, in which they place their dead; but those who guard this cavern, though they are something like priests, are the most depraved persons. They sometimes send messengers to call the relatives of the dead, enjoining them to bring with them the best of every thing they have; and when these innocent people arrive at the cavern, they are immediately plundered of what they take there; and if they be females, their chastity is violated.

“This is the life and habits of these infidel Pagans; and consequently the roads about Noofee are very dangerous and perilous.

“When the king dies, they enter his house, and live in it.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Perhaps Rabba.

⁹⁹ Idrisu. For a discussion of the civil war in Nupe, see Introduction

¹⁰⁰ Salamé’s note: ‘It is proper here to observe, that the above two papers... are written, or rather scrawled out, unorthographically and ungrammatically, and their composition is no more than a sort of *incoherent jargon*. The translation, therefore, I have given of them is mostly made out by conjecture. There is no doubt, however, that Clapperton, who made some residence among these people, has given some further account of them’.

APPENDIX I

Preparations and Progress of the Mission

This appendix brings together a selection of previously unpublished material, correspondence and memoranda from the Colonial Department's and other records relating to Clapperton's second expedition to Africa. This documentation supplements Clapperton's journal and sheds further light on the instructions and preparations for the mission, its proceedings on arrival on the West Coast and progress on the journey into the interior, and its aftermath. The Appendix is organized into five sections, viz.,

- 1 Preparations for a new expedition
- 2 Proceedings
- 3 Reports of progress and affairs of the Mission
- 4 Richard Lander papers
- 5 Aftermath

1. Preparations

*1.0 Clapperton to R. Wilmot Horton¹ [CO 2/13 f. 336]
[7.6.25 – re communication with Bello's representatives on the coast]*

15 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, 7th June 1825

Sir

I have the honor to apprise you for the information of my Lord Bathurst² that Mohamed Bello Sultan of the Fellatas, requested me to inform him of 'the certain period when a communication was likely to reach him from England by way of the Atlantic to be sent to a point on the sea coast' (which he begged me to select) 'in order that he might have Messengers waiting ready to forward such communication immediately on to him' – I answered that I would acquaint him so soon as I had rejoined Major Denham at Bornou – from which place I wrote to Bello mentioning 'July' as the probable period, and naming the Town of Widdah [Whydah] on the sea coast as the place to which I gave the preference. I then conceived that I should have returned earlier to England.

¹ R. Wilmot Horton, MP, Under Secretary, Colonial Department.

² Henry, Third Earl Bathurst (1762-1834), Colonial Secretary.

There will of necessity be some trouble in finding out Bello's messengers, but management and address will soon overcome the difficulty – The Fellata Nation are by the Negroes on the Coast designated Fellanee or Fellanese and if any Fellata can be found, a communication may safely be entrusted to him, as the respect and veneration of these people for Bello is such that they think nothing too great a sacrifice to gain his esteem

I have etc., Hugh Clapperton, Lt R.N.

*1.2 Major D. Denham to Colonial Office [CO 2/13 f. 185]
[27.6.25 – Extract, presents for Al Kanemi]*

George Street, Monday 27 June 1825

... May I offer an opinion – not hastily formed – on the manner in which any attempt should be made to connect the countries we have visited with those previously known in the neighbourhood of Whydah & the Lagos River. The influence of the Sheikh of Bornou extends over the whole of Soudan and the safe arrival of any travellers at Sokoto from the sea & their reception there – as well as in other towns of Soudan will greatly depend on him. He therefore should in the first instance be apprized of the intention of the government by a letter accompanying the few presents he is now looking for anxiously ...

[Verso:]

This is nothing but jealousy of Clapperton & should not alter the plan intended but it may be [word illeg. = expedient] to send with Clapperton another person (as indeed is intended) with the presents proposed

List of presents for Sheikh el Kanemi:

small stamp and press for money
300 hand grenades
med sized medical chest & instructions
small telescope
a few curious stones – ruby & greenstone
repetition watch
barometer
2 small brass guns – say 2lbs
2 cuirasses & helmet for his generals
1 double barrelled gun for Barca Gana³
(cloth) Clapperton
pair of pistols for his oldest son

³ Kachella, commander of al-Kanemi's armies.

small carbine for Tirab (elder son)⁴
 patent folding bedstead
 1/2 shipwright & blacksmith to build flat bottomed boat

*1.3 Draft letter to Sultan Bello of Sokoto [CO 2/17 f. 23]
 [26.7.25 – to signal arrival on the coast]*

To be written in Arabic by A.V. Salame⁵

The Reis (title) Clapperton to His Highness Bello, Sultan of the Fellatas,
 Greetings-

According to my promise made to Your Highness, though somewhat later in point of time, owing to various delays in my return to England, I am now arrived, with two companions, on the Sea-coast at (-) bearing a letter and some presents from my Sovereign to be delivered into Your hands; and as we understand the road is not sufficiently safe without an escort, we propose to remain here in the Ship which brought us until a proper escort can be sent down to convey us and the baggage to Your Highness' presence

Abdullah⁶

[Margin:]

Copy sent to Salame 26 July 1825

*1.4 Earl Bathurst to Al-Kanemi [CO 392/3 ff. 68-71]
 [July 1825 – Letter to be delivered by officer of the second expedition]*

[for translation and] sign.

To the Sheik Mohammed el-Kanemy, Chieftain of Bornou, Greeting

Most Excellent Sir,

The letter which you addressed to my most gracious Sovereign George 4th and which was brought by Major Denham has been received⁷; and I have his Majesty's commands to express to You the great satisfaction he has derived on

⁴ Mallam Muhammed Tirab, a Shuwa chief, was one of al-Kanemi's closest friends and advisers; see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 62.

⁵ Government translator; see Introduction.

⁶ Rais [Captain] Abdullah, Clapperton's Muslim travelling name, adopted on the Borno Mission.

⁷ See Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, Appendix I, pp. 723-4.

being made acquainted by it, and also by the Reports of his Servants who have recently returned from their travels in the Kingdom of Bornou, of the protection and kind treatment which they experienced at your hands; and a proof of His Majesty's desire of evincing his great regard, and of continuing that friendly intercourse happily established, he has taken this earliest opportunity of sending one of his officers to enquire after your health and welfare and to pray Your acceptance of a few Articles, as specimens of the Arts and the Manufactures of his Kingdom, with which, and in any others of various kinds the Merchants of His country would always be ready to supply the Kingdom of Bornou, whereafter [a trade in] its articles if produced or provided in safe no^s could be opened with the Sea-coast. And in the event of any such intercourse taking place, His Majesty trusts that the same assistance and protection will be extended to them which Your Merchants will meet with from His Majesty's Consuls at Tripoli and Cairo, to whom he has directed me to write as you have requested.

But the object which His Majesty has mostly at heart in sending his Servants to Your country is not that of Trade, but the extension of geographical Knowledge, and as they have already truly informed you, for the purpose of seeing and knowing the wonderful things of the Earth; and any assistance that you may be able to afford the bearer of this letter and Mr. Tyrwhit^s who was left at Your residence when Major Denham came away, in forwarding this object will be very gratifying to the King my Master, who by means of His Numerous Ships, and His great power is able, and always most desirous of collecting and dispensing Knowledge not only for the benefit of his subjects but for the human race in general and who has, by these means, as You have truly been informed, been able to establish friendly relations with the Kings and Chiefs of Musselmen in every part of the Earth where they reside.

Peace be with You and may health, prosperity and long life be Yours
B- [Bathurst]

*1.5 Earl Bathurst to H. Clapperton [CO 2/16 f. 191 & ff.]
[30.7.25 – Instructions for the Mission]*

Hugh Clapperton Esq^{re}
Commander in HM Service

Downing Street, London, 30th July 1825

Sir,

His Highness Mahomet Bello, Sultan of the Fellatas, having expressed a strong desire to establish a friendly intercourse with Great Britain, & His Majesty having been pleased to direct that a Mission should proceed forthwith to

^s John Tyrwhitt, see Introduction.

Soccatoo, the Residence of His Highness, in ordered to accomplish so desirable a purpose, I have the King's commands to nominate and appoint you to conduct the said Mission, & to furnish you with the following Instructions for your guidance therein; not doubting that, from the zeal & ability you have already displayed in exploring the hitherto unknown regions of Central Africa, & from the friendly manner in which you were received by all classes of Natives you will be able to accomplish the important objects which His Majesty's government have in view

As soon as the preparations for the voyage shall be completed, you are to proceed to Portsmouth where the Commander of His Majesty's Ship Brazen has been ordered to receive you on board, & to convey you to the Bight of Benin near to Whydah, or such other place as you may find, on your arrival on the Coast, to be the most safe & convenient for communicating with Soccatoo or Raca, the latter of which (from the information you obtained at Soccatoo) appears to be the nearest town in the Sultan's dominions to the Sea-Coast, & the place fixed upon by himself for the ultimate residence of a British Agent or Consul.

From our present imperfect knowledge of this part of Africa beyond the line of the Coast, much must necessarily be left to you discretion, & your proceedings therefore will in great degree be regulated according to the information you may be able to collect on your arrival on the Coast. You will, in the first place however, make every possible enquiry at Whydah whether any of the Sultan's people are, or have been there, conformably with an engagement entered into by you to that effect; & if still there, you will first dispatch them to their Master with an account of your arrival and that you are ready to proceed either to his Capital, or to Raca, as he may judge most expedient, to deliver to him a letter from your Sovereign & several valuable Articles for his acceptance, on his sending down a proper escort to conduct you & them to his presence. Or, if the Sultan's Messengers shall be able to satisfy you of the road being perfectly open & safe, you are at liberty to proceed with them yourself, leaving the presents in the Brazen in charge of one of the Gentlemen hereafter named, who will accompany you on the present Mission.

Failing in your endeavour to obtain any tidings of the Sultan's servants having been at Whydah, you are to enquire & consider well whether, from the information you obtain, it will be most advisable to proceed yourself with a few presents to bestow on intermediate Chiefs thro' whose territories you would have to pass in your way to Raca; Or, whether it might not be more prudent to engage some respectable Native, under promise of reward on his return, to conduct Columbus⁹ (who will accompany you in the capacity of Interpreter and

⁹ Adolphus Sympkins, known as Columbus, interpreter and guide on the Borno Mission. See Introduction.

Servant) to that place, or to Soccatoo, if necessary, with a letter from you to the Sultan advising him of your arrival, & requesting that persons may be sent down for the conveyance of the presents & baggage & an escort for yourself and companions.

If however after your arrival on the Coast & after due enquiries, you should entertain doubts as to the success of either of these plans of proceeding from Whydah, it may be advisable to take the Brazen to the mouth of the river of Benin, where it is understood you will find no difficulty in communicating with Mr. Houtson¹⁰, an English merchant residing at Gatto, a town about sixty miles up the river. This Gentleman is said to speak the language of the Natives, & to have collected much valuable information from the Moorish Traders, who come down thither from Houssa & other provinces of Soudan; he had intended it seems to accompany the late M^r Belzoni¹¹ a considerable way on his journey towards Timbuctoo. As the distance from Benin to Raca is little more than that from Whydah, the great advantage of procuring the assistance & information of a resident English Merchant will perhaps be considered to outweigh any plan of proceeding from Whydah, with the exception of meeting with, or hearing of, the Sultan's Messengers at the latter place. But these are considerations which must necessarily be left entirely to your discretion when on the spot.

It is understood that M^r Houtson has also an Establishment at Lagos, close to Whydah, & it may be important to communicate with him, at any rate, whether or not he may be at Lagos or Gatto, as he may be of eventual service to the Mission.

On your arrival at the residence of Bello, & after delivering His Majesty's letter & presents, you are to assure him of the satisfaction which His Majesty feels in thus being enabled to open an amicable intercourse between the two Nations, & the opportunity it affords for cultivating that mutual friendship, which cannot fail, in due time, to produce mutual benefit. You will endeavour by every means in your power to impress on his mind the very great advantages he will derive by putting a total stop to the sale of Slaves to Christian Merchants thro' Native Slave-dealers on or near the Coast and by preventing other powers of Africa from marching Koffilas of Slaves thro' his dominions. You will inform him of the anxious desire which the King your Master feels for the total abolition of this inhuman and unnatural traffic, and the measures he has adopted to that effect; & you will assure him that the happy result of his cordial cooperation will cause him to be ranked among the benefactors of mankind; that the benefits arising from the suppression of the Trade to foreigners will speedily be felt by all the surrounding states; for that all the

¹⁰ See Introduction.

¹¹ See Introduction.

Articles of Merchandize, which are now brought into Africa, & given in return for human beings, will, when that traffic has ceased, be brought by English Merchants, in exchange for such Articles as Soudan may produce, & which may be sought for in the markets of Europe; & that when once the road is open between Raca and the Sea-Coast, he will receive whatever Articles of Merchandize he may require at a much cheaper rate than he now pays for those which are brought across the long desert.

You will endeavour to ascertain, & to note down, such products of Soudan as may appear most suitable for the European markets, & to what extent they might be procured by the increased industry of the Natives, the certain result of a cessation in the trade in Slaves.

You will also endeavour to ascertain in what manner, & from what parts of the country, both within the Sultan's dominions, & in those to the Southward of them, & also in what numbers from the several States such Slaves are procured which are brought down to, & shipped by Slave-dealers at, the mouths of those great Rivers which fall into the Bights of Biafra & Benin; & you will consider & report to me what measures may appear most adviseable for putting a stop to, or at least materially checking, this inhumane traffic, not only in those districts under the control of the Sultan Bello, but also in those parts from which the trade is chiefly supplied with victims¹².

You will consider it an important part of your duty to use your best endeavours in ascertaining the leading features of the Geography of Central Africa, which yet appear to be left undetermined, more particularly, the direction of Mountain ranges, & the courses of Rivers. It will be highly desireable to trace the course of that river which is known with certainty to flow past the Kabra, or the port of Timbuctoo, & which has been known in modern times by the name of Niger. If this river, contrary to ancient and modern testimonies, should, according to the information which you received at Sockatoo, be found to bend its course to Southward & to fall into the Bight of Benin, instead of continuing to flow to the Eastward, as has hitherto been supposed; & if it should be found to be navigable thro' the Sultan's territories, or any part thereof, such a discovery may prove of the utmost importance in facilitating the objects of the present Mission & our future intercourse with that Sovereign.

You will make every enquiry within your power, & ascertain personally, if practicable, the sources of those numerous large rivers which empty their waters into the Bights of Biafra & Benin, to what extent they are navigable, & by what description of Vessels. You will also, during your stay in Central Africa, endeavour to visit the city of Timbuctoo, provided that you shall not

¹² The instructions for the Borno Mission did not include an abolitionist brief.

have heard that Major Laing¹³ had already accomplished that object; & in the former event, you will enquire into the nature & extent of the commerce carried on there with the various nations of Africa.

You will employ your leisure time in collecting & preserving specimens of such metals, manufactures, & other products of Soudan, as you may deem to be valuable, in a commercial point of view; & also such objects of Natural History as may appear to you to be rare & curious.

To assist you in the performance of your various duties, I have appointed Captain Pearce, a Commander in the Navy, who is to act in your stead, in the event of your death or absence; & you will also be accompanied by Mr. Dickson & Mr. Morrison both of whom you will present to the Sultan as Gentleman well skilled in the practice of Medicine. By both of these Gentlemen you will be aided in making collections of Natural History & in settling the geography of the Country.

As soon as convenient after your arrival at Soccatoo you are to dispatch Captain Pearce with a letter from me, & a suitable present from the King, to the Sheik of Bornou, with whom he is to be instructed by you to remain for some time, to cultivate the friendship of that chief. In the course of his residence there, he is to be directed to take every opportunity that may offer, of endeavouring to explore that portion of the Eastern Shore of the great Lake Tsad, which was left unexamined by Major Denham, & to proceed as far beyond the Lake towards Fittre, or to the Eastward, as circumstances may allow him to do so with safety to himself; but he is on no account to attempt to undertake journeys of this kind without having previously obtained the concurrence of the Sheik of Bornou. And as the direct route between Sockatoo & Bornou has twice been travelled over by yourself; & as, according to your information, the province of Adamouah is within the dominions of the Sultan, it will be highly desirable that Captain Pearce either in his journey to Bornou, or on his return, should take his route through Adamouah, more especially as it is probable that the great navigable river Shary runs thro' that province. And as you have His Majesty's permission to return to England whenever you conceive that the object of your mission shall have been accomplished, or brought into a train of being so, either by the Bight of Benin or across the Northern Desert to Tripoli, you are in such an event to recall Captain Pearce from Bornou & instruct him to remain at Sockatoo or Raca, as the Sultan may determine, in the capacity of Consul or Agent to concert such measures with the Agent he has promised to appoint on his part, as may be most effectual to put a stop to the passage of Slaves from Haussa & the other provinces of the Fellatah Nation to the Sea Coast; & for his further guidance you are to leave with him a Copy of these Instructions.

¹³ See Introduction.

With regard to Mr. Dickson he may either remain at Sockatoo or Raca as it may be agreed upon with the Sultan, or return with you to England as he may feel disposed to do. And Mr. Morrison is to consider himself as attached to Captain Pearce, & to accompany him to Bornou.

During your absence on [words illeg.] as a Commander in the Navy & 20s/per day subsistence money for yourself & servants, the latter to commence on the first of August. Captain Pearce will have the same allowance; M^r Dickson 10s/ per day as Salary and 20s/ subsistence & Mr. Morison 10s/ a day being the double of his half pay & 20s/ per day, subsistence money. The allowance to Columbus will be eighty pounds per annum but no subsistence money, it being intended that the subsistence allowance [illeg. = paid] to you & companions should cover that of the Servants, & all other expenses.

An advance of three months pay & allowances to each of the party will be delivered to your charge for the purchase of Spanish Dollars, & when that shall be expended you will be at liberty to draw on the Lords Commissioners of H.M.'s Treasury for the pay & allowances of yourself & of so many of the Members of the Mission as may be with you, but the Sum or Sums so drawn for by you, are not to exceed the amount that may be due at the time for pay & subsistence. Captain Pearce & Mr. Morison will apply to M^r Tyrwhitt for any money they may require within the amount above specified; or in the event of Mr. Tyrwhitt's death or absence, they may be allowed to draw on M^r Warrington His Majesty's Consul at Tripoli, to the extent above mentioned, who has been authorized to accept the same.

You are to avail yourself of every possible opportunity of transmitting to me an account of your proceedings & at the same time to send home Copies of the journals & remarks kept & made by you & them respectively; & in the event of its being necessary for you to leave the Country, you are to endeavour to communicate with the Naval Commander of the Station, who will furnish you with a passage in a King's Ship unless you should prefer returning by the desert to Tripoli.

I am, etc., Bathurst

*1.6 Earl Bathurst to John Tyrwhitt, Bornou [CO 392/3 ff. 40-44]
[21.7.25 – re arrival of a new Mission]*

It being the intention of His Majesty's Government to dispatch forthwith from the Western Coast of Africa to Sudan an expedition under the orders of Captain Clapperton who will be the bearer of a letter and presents to the Sheikh of Bornou as well as to the Emperor of the Fellatahs, I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acquaint you therewith in order that you may take such measures as

may be in your power to assist the progress of the mission on its arrival in Africa.

It is intended that Captain Clapperton and his Party should leave England in the early part of next month, and they may be expected, therefore to reach Whydah or some other Port on the Gold Coast in the course of October, and although it is probable that this letter may not reach you till after that time, it is nevertheless desirable that you should be made acquainted with the instructions of His Majesty's government, in order that you may anticipate any suspicion or jealousy which might arise in the mind of the Sheikh El Kanemy, on hearing that English Travellers had reached Sockatoo, without passing thro- his Kingdom as heretofore.

As it appears to Earl Bathurst that the kind offices of the Sheikh might be of great assistance in affording safe conduct to Captain Clapperton or some of his Party from Sockatoo to Kuka in order to deliver a letter and a few presents to that chief; it will be necessary that you should immediately on the receipt of this letter, procure an interview with the Sheikh, and explain to him that the King, your Master, had received his letter, with which he was much gratified, and had expressed great satisfaction at learning the kind treatment which His Servants had experienced at his hands, that he had been anxious to acknowledge the receipt of that letter, and to convey him a selection of articles, the manufacture of your country, which he had been desirous of receiving, and which the King your Master, had commanded to be prepared for him and which it is hoped he will receive as proof of his desire of entering into such arrangements as may strengthen the existing relations between the two Countries, and ensure to both the advantages of commercial intercourse.

These explanations if made previously to the arrival of the mission in Bornou will no doubt secure the cooperation of the Sheikh and should any opportunities occur of aiding the mission either from your own knowledge, or from any reports which may reach you, you will not fail from time to time to point out these circumstances to the Sheikh and obtain his assistance.

Captain Pearce, a Member of the Mission will probably be selected to proceed to Bornou with the letter and presents in question as soon as he can conveniently be spared after his arrival at Sockatoo, and you will on his arrival and during his residence in Bornou give him your advice and assistance in furtherance of the objects with which he will be instructed, the chief of which is that of making geographical discoveries to [the Eastward of' inserted] Bornou

I have etc. R.W. Hay

[Margin:]

Original by Mr. Greig¹⁴ 23 July 1825

1.7 *J. Barrow to R. Hay [CO 2/17 f. 13-14]*

[5.7.25 – re Columbus]

Adm'y, 5th July

My dear Hay

Either You or I must have misconceived Lord Bathurst's minute about Columbus – He never could mean that he should cross the Desert from Tripoli which would take him from this time at the very least 8 months whereas Clapperton will be off the Coast in 2 months. What I understood was that Columbus should precede them in his visit to Sockatou from Whydah If so you will perceive that I have provided for it in 2 or 3 ways – but I will look in upon you in the course of the day

Very truly yours, John Barrow

1.8 *Former merchant [illeg.] to John Barrow [CO 2/15 f. 209]*

[1.8.25 – re use of coral beads in the interior]

[illeg. Sir J T]

London 1st August 1825

Sir

I addressed Mr Mitchell¹⁵ a Note on the subject of the present expedition to Africa which I understand from [word illeg.] was placed in your hands. I therein stated that Coral was one article indispensable for presents to the Native Chiefs, and that a liberal supply should be sent out. This article is equally valued at Benin with Gold and I make no doubt but Captain Clapperton will find it to be a passport to the interior – It is not to be purchased here under 20 pp. oz and I should advise at least 100 lbs of the finest blood color being furnished. I resided at Cape Coast Castle for 3 years and since the year 1798 have been engaged [one line illeg.] Captain Clapperton's success

I believe that Messrs. Rickman of George Yard, Lombard Street, who have furnished coral to His Majesty's Government for former missions, are the best persons to apply to. I have to apologize for this intrusion and have the honor to remain

[Verso:]

These presents are approved of and are to be provided

Enclosure sent to Capt. Clapperton 6 August

¹⁴ Acting Secretary to the Government of Malta.

¹⁵ No further identification; possibly a Colonial Office Assistant Secretary.

*1.9 Jn. Geo Nicholls¹⁶ to William Mitchell Esq., [CO 2/16 f. 251-2]
[July 1825 – re John Houtson]*

Sir,

Having heard indirectly that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to prosecute further enquiries into the interior of Africa, under the very able assistance of Major Denham, and Capt^d Clapperton, and, that it is decided for these indefatigable Travellers to proceed up the River Benin – I beg leave to suggest how requisite it will be, that these Gentlemen should on their arrival off the Bay, communicate with M^r Houtson, an English Merchant residing at Gatto, which is, I believe, about 60 Miles up the River, who speaks the language, has collected much valuable information from the Moorish traders who come down from Haussa, and who intended to accompany the late Mr. Belzoni on a part of his journey. I should recommend from my knowledge of that trade, that a very liberal supply of Coral be provided, as an indispensable article for presents.

I have, etc., Jn. Geo Nicholls

[Verso:]

Write to Captain Clapperton informing him that Lord B approves of his incurring an expense not exceeding from ~~20~~ 15 to ~~30~~ 20 £- in supplying himself with Coral from the Merchant alluded to for presents -

*1.10 R.W. Hay to H. Clapperton [CO 2/16 ff. 227-32]
[20.8.25 – Admiralty Orders to HMS Brazen]*

Downing Street 20th August

Sir

I am directed by Lord Bathurst to transmit for your information an Extract from the Order given by the Lords Comm^{rs} of the Admiralty to Captain Willes of His Majesty's Ship Brazen relative to your proceeding in that ship to the coast of Africa

I am, etc., R.W.Hay

Extract of Orders given by the Lords Commissioners of Adm^y to Captain Willes of H.M.S.Brazen dated the 28th July 1825

“You are hereby required and directed to receive on board the Ship you command Captains Clapperton and Pearce, and the Gentlemen who are to accompany them together with their servants, Baggage &c and so soon as the whole shall be embarked and the Ship shall be in every respect ready, you are

¹⁶ Merchant not further identified.

to put to Sea, and to proceed with all convenient expedition to Sierra Leone for the purpose of communicating with Commodore Bullen, the Senior Officer on the African Station, and of obtaining intelligence as to the existing state of affairs on the African Coast. Should the Commodore not be at Sierra Leone, but from the intelligence received there you shall have reason to expect to find him at any place between Sierra Leone and the Bight of Benin, you are to proceed to such intermediate place, for the purpose of communicating with him; and after having communicated with the Commodore, or in the event of your not having fallen in with him, you are to make the best of your way to the Bight of Benin, or to such other place on the coast as Captain Clapperton from the intelligence he receives and from the tenor of his Instructions from Lord Bathurst, may request, and in the event of Captain Clapperton, or any or all of the party with him landing to proceed into the Interior of the country, you are not to quit the neighbourhood of the spot where they so land, until a communication shall be received apprizing you that they no longer require you to remain there on their account, and informing you of their future intentions and probable movements.

You are to deliver the presents and baggage to such persons as Captain Clapperton may authorize to receive them; and having so done, and your further attendance on the Mission being dispensed with, you are to proceed to join Commodore Bullen.

In the event however of Captain Clapperton or his party not finding it practicable to penetrate into the Interior from the Coast of Benin, and of their consequently returning to the Coast, instead of writing to you to release the Ship from further Attendance on that part of the Coast, you are to receive them on board again, and to convey them to any other part of the coast of Africa, from whence to make further attempts to penetrate into the interior; or you are to convey them to the Commodore for the purpose of being sent by him to England, as they may desire.” -

*1.11 Office of Ordnance to R.Wilmot Horton [CO 2/17 f. 117]
[29.7.25 – re supply of Mountain guns and muskets]*

Office of Ordnance 29th June 1825

Sir,

Adverting to Earl Bathurst's letter of the 25th instant, respecting an Equipment required to be shipped at Portsmouth, I have the honor, by the Boards's Commands, to request you will move His Lordship to signify whether it is intended that the two Light Field Pieces should consist of Light 3 Pounders mounted on Travelling Carriages with Limbers &c – or whether they should be

Mountain Guns¹⁷ to be carried on the backs of Mules; – also whether any Round and Case Shot or Stores of any kind should be supplied with the Guns.

The Board further requests to be informed whether Accoutrements are to be sent with the 24 musquets and whether by 200 rounds of Ammunition is meant that quantity in the whole or 200 Rounds for each Musquet.

I am at the same time directed by the Board to request information as to the Period by which the Equipment alluded to is required to be completed I have, etc., A. Bryham, for the Sec'y

[Annotations at margin:]

Ans^d 4 July 1825

- Mountain Guns
- 100 50 Rds of each [Rounds and Case Shot]
- No [Accoutrements]
- 200 Altogether [Ammunition for musquets]
- Immediately [Period for completion]

*1.12 Office of Ordnance to Colonial Office [CO 2/16.f. 221-5]
[7.7.25 – re Ordnance delivered on board HMS Camelion]*

Duplicate

Office of Ordnance
Portsmouth, 7th July 1825

Delivered out of His Majesty's Stores at this place to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Ship Camelion – the undermentioned particulars to be conveyed to the Coast of Africa and there delivered to the proper authorities authorised to receive the same – By Order of the Hon^{ble} Board 4th July 1825

Description of Stores	Proportion for two mountain 3 Ponders	Packages
-----------------------	--	----------

Ordnance, Brass		
Mountain – 3 Pr-	2	

¹⁷ Pack, or Mountain, Artillery, first used in the British services on the North Eastern frontier of India in 1772. The battery was armed with 3pr guns, which weighed 252lbs when dismounted from its carriage. Three mules were needed to carry the components. The other light piece used by pack batteries at this period was the 42/5in howitzer, which also weighed 252lbs. [Personal communication, from L.W. Smith, Curator of Technical Gunnery, Royal Artillery, Woolwich]

Carriages with wheels			
to be carried on Mules	2		
Ammunition Boxes			
for Mountain guns	4		
Spunges with Staves and Caps	4	}	
Wadhooks	2	}	In 2 Bundles
Spare Staves	2	}	
[one line illeg.]			
Aprons of Lead [words illeg.]			
Slow Match – lbs	18	}	In a case
Muzzle Caps – Leather	2	}	
Straps for side arms	10	}	
Spikes {spring	2	}	
{common	4	}	
Punches for Vents	4	}	
Spareheads {Spunge	2	}	
{Rammer	2	}	
Claw Hammers	2	}	
Portfire Clippers	2		in the case
Priming Irons Short sets	2		with Match
Marline Strains	1	}	
Water Buckets, Trench, small	2	}	
Grease Boxes	2	}	
Spare Linch pins	2	}	
Painted covers, Gun	2	}	
Pack Saddles complete for mules	6	}	In 6 Tarpaulin covers
Bridles do- do-	6	}	
Poles mounting	4		In the Bundles
 <u>Laboratory Stores</u>			
Shot fixed to } Round	50	}	
wood Bottoms } Case	50	}	
Cartridges		}	In the 4 Ammunition
filled with powder 9 ounces}	100	}	Boxes for Mtn Guns
Flannel Empty }	100	}	
Fuzies brass	120	}	
Portfires – long small	72	}	
Fuzie Boxes – Tin	4	}	
Straps for Do-	4	}	
Portfire Sticks	4	}	
Cutting Knives	2	}	In the 4 Ammun ^{tn}
Worsted – ounces	2	}	Boxes for Mountain Guns
needles – stitchng	4	}	
Thumbstalls	4	}	

Copper Powder } 4 ounce	2	}
Measures } 1 -"-	2	}
Scissors – pairs 2 }		
Cartouches – cannon, canvas}	2	}
Padlocks and Keys small	4	on the boxes
---	---	---
Musquets India Patt ^l }	24	In two Arm Chests
with Rammers Bayonets }		
and Scabbards }		
Flints – Musquets	100	
Cartridges – Musq ^l ball	200	
Rocket Signal { 11b	26	} in 8 Cases
{ 1/2 -	74	}
Portfires	16	}
[by second delivery:]		
Musquets India		
Pattern – complete	6	} In an arm Chest
Scabbards – Bayonets	6	}
Rockets – Signal 11b	14	}
with Sticks 1/2lb	36	} In four
Portfires	9	} Rocket Cases

(signed) W^m Spencer (s) Edw^d S Lower

1.13 Note re Supply of instruments [CO 2/16 f. 265-72]

[July 1825 – Admiralty annotation of equipment orders placed with Thomas Jones¹⁸ and J.N. Arnold]]

- re Thomas Jones's bill		
[marked ¹⁹]	[Item]	[Price in £stg.]
'	One best 31/2 ft Refractory Telescope in Mahogany case	26. 5. –
'	One tripod Mahogany Stand for do-	5. 5. –
'	Three Portable Barometers &c-	23.12. 6
'	One extra long do- with leather case	8. 8. –
One at the most	Three best Sextants, &c-	53. 3. –

¹⁸ Described on the firm's headed paper as 'Thomas Jones (pupil of Ramsden), Astronomical, Mathematical, Optical and Philosophical Instrument maker, to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, the Hon^{ble} Board of Ordnance &c &c &c.'.

¹⁹ Presumably by Barrow, for the Colonial Department, reducing the order. See 1.18 below.

‘	Eight best pocket Compasses	23.18. –
‘	One best 3 in. Theodolite &c-	19. 5. –
2	Three artificial Horizons	14.12. –
10	Twenty thermometers	21.14. –
2	Four cases of drawing Ins ^s &c-	45.18. –
‘	Three Katers Azimuth compasses	13. 4. –
4	Seven pairs of Spectacles &c-	14.14. –
2	Three best Camera Lucidas	7. 1. –
‘	One best Pedometer	7. 7. –

- [re Arnold's bill]

‘	New horizontal Watches &c- delivered to Capt. Clapperton	26. 5. –
‘	New do- delivered to Capt. Pearce	26. 5. –
‘	New do- delivered to Mr. Morrison	24. 3. –
‘	New do- delivered to Mr. Dickson	26. 5. –

[annotation below]

2 not three	artificial horizons
10 not Twenty	Thermometers
2 not four	cases of Drawing instruments
4 not seven	pairs of spectacles
2 not three	best Camera Lucidas

total bill thus reduced by	£ 92 – 1 – 8
to	£192 – 3 – 10

*1.14 T. Jones to Lt. Col S. Clapperton – invoice [CO2/16 f. 273-4]
[1.8.28 – Extract: further supplies to the Mission]*

Received of Thomas Jones 62, Charing Cross the following Instruments for the African Mission under Capⁿ Clapperton ...

- 1 Set Celestial Maps & Explanation
- 1 Formula of Chronometers
- 1 Set of Linear Tables
- 1 Formula of Lunars
- 1 Nautical Almanacks 1825 1826 1827
- 1 50 ft Decimal Tape
- 4 Silver Scale Thermometers in Brass cases
- 2 Metal Scale pocket Thermometers
- 1 Kators Hygrometer Repaired
- 1 Pair of Double Eyed Spectacles with *crepe* and Case

1 Mountain barometer with Spare Tubes etc
 1 Companion to do
 1 Map of Africa
 12 pair of Spectacles & cases
 1 hygrometer to order
 1 case packed with spare *Alter* for do-
 Spare mercury for Baromr- for Horizon
 Packing Case
 1 Quintant & Case (for Mr. Dickson)
 1 Protractor (for Mr. Morison)
 1 Gunter's scale

*1.15 J.N. Arnold²⁰ to Colonial Office [CO2/16 ff. 266-82]
 [July 1825 – Chronometers ordered by Clapperton]*

84 The Strand

Chronometer Watches as orderd by Captain Clapperton

July 1825	furnished by J.N.Arnold	
	Silver Chron ^r No 1999 ²¹	52.10. 0
Captn.C	Silver Hor ^l in Hunting Cases Ruby Cylinder Expansion Curb and with Seconds No 66	26. 5. 0
Captn. P	Silver Do Do- No. 87 Patent	26. 5. 0
Mr. M	Silver Do- not in Hunting Cases No 122 Patent	24. 3. 0
Mr. D	Silver Hor ^l Ruby Cylinder Expansion Curb in Hunting Cases No. 3870	26. 5. 0
	Engraving names in four batches	<u>18. 0</u>
		<u>156. 6. 6</u>
	Allowed for return of Pearce's watch considerably damaged	16. 6. 0
		139.10. 0

²⁰ Arnold's headed paper described the firm as follows: 'CHRONOMETERS OR TIME-KEEPERS by ARNOLD, No 84 Strand (corner of Cecil Street)', and the firm advertised 'Marine Chronometers, Pocket Chronometers in Gold and Silver, Regulators and Clocks, Plain and Repeating Watches, also Watches with Patent Winders'. The Board of Longitude awarded Arnold and his father £3000 as a reward for the excellence of the principle and performance of the firm's Timekeepers.

²¹ A gift for Muhammad Bello of Sokoto. [Annotation of 17 Sep 1828].

1.16 *H.J. Tatham²² to H. Clapperton [CO 2/16 f. 268-9]
[30.7.25 – personal arms for the Mission’s use²³ and as presents]*

To. H.J. Tatham
Charing Cross

1825

July 30 For Capn. Clapperton:

A double barrelled Gun with swivell & roller skeleton pan ²⁴ Locks patent britches platima ²⁵ touch holes – & a Rifle with swivell & roller skeleton pan Lock patent britch platima touch hole & Bayonet to fix	26. 5. 0
Swivells & sling & fitting to both Guns	1. 1. 0
Leather cover with plated buckles for Rifle Lock	– 8. 6
Shades for barrells of Do-	– 5. –
Spare ram rod & side nail for double Gun & Rifle	– 8. 6
Mallet rod & ball drawer & charger for Rifle	– 15. –
2 Flasks & 2 extra chargers and plated	
Thongs for both Guns	1.10. –
Shot bag patent charger	– 8. 6
Bullet Moulds bags balls boxes & pritches for both Guns	– 15. –
2 Turn screws prickers & Lock Vice	– 10. –
A wainscot ²⁶ base to hold the whole With canvas painted straps & plated buckles	3. 3 –
A brace of pistols with Swivell & roller skeleton pan bolt Locks swivel ramrods platima touch hole with cases & apparatus	10–10– 0
A pair of double holsters for Do- with cross belts <i>waist</i> Belts and pouches & plated <i>buckles</i>	1–18– 0
engraving name and cyphers on Pistols guns and Cases	7– 6
Deal Case hooped with iron	

²² Henry Tatham (1770-1835), gunmaker and sword cutler, at 37 Charing Cross, 1800-1833.

²³ Clapperton and Pearce ordered identical sets of weapons for their mission, consisting of a shotgun, rifle and a pair of pistols with accessories covering most needs – repair, replacement and make-your-own ammunition. The technical quality of the weapons was quite high, being fitted with the most advanced flintlock actions (with roller bearings to reduce friction and speed up firing action), waterproof pans and platinum touchholes to protect against corrosion; but it is interesting that they took flintlock weapons despite the availability of percussion weapons which had begun to appear in quantity from about 1820. [Personal communication from M. Murray-Flutter, Senior Curator of Weapons, Royal Armouries.]

²⁴ Waterproof.

²⁵ Platinum.

²⁶ Oak board.

[An identical order was placed for Captain Pearce; and a rather more modest one for Mr. Dickson – the latter including a

A full sized Hanger²⁷ with best blade
 Mounted to order & belt 3 3 –
 4 Couteaux de chasses for Servants 5 – –]

Presents:

3 African Mounted Swords with best blades & scabbard	9	–	–
2 Brace of Moorish mounted pistols for [illeg.] extra length with swivel & roller skeleton pan bolt Locks barrels & Locks richly embossed Stocks inlaid all over with silver & mounted with chased fur ⁿ²⁸ gilt dead ²⁹ and burnish with cases & apparatus complete for Sultan Bello and Gidado	13	10	–
Ten cases deal etc. & packing	1	8	–
A double barrell'd gun flintlocks with stock inlaid For Barca Gana	10	10	–
swivells and sling to Do- Case	10	6	
	2	6	
1 Brace of Moorish pistols with flint locks barrells & Locks embossed & Stocks inlaid for the Sheikh's eldest son ³⁰	10	10	–
Bullet Mould and cases	10	–	
Box iron hoped & packing	7	6	
A carbine with flintlock for Turab Bageh Turby (Gatherer of horses) ³¹	5	15	6
Swivell and sling to Do-	10	6	
Bullet Mould & Case	7	6	
Box iron hooped and packing	5	–	
Large stout box and packing the Whole	1	19	0
	£245	9	0

²⁷ A loop or strap on a sword-belt from which the sword was hung.

²⁸ Furniture.

²⁹ Matt.

³⁰ Sheikh al-Kanemi's eldest son, 'Umar, who succeeded al-Kanemi upon his death in 1837; see Brenner, *Shehus of Kukawa*, 63.

³¹ Presumably Mallam Muhammad Tirab.

1.17 Colonial Department Memorandum: Purchases of trade goods [CO2/16 f. 289-94] [July 1825 – Miscellaneous equipment]

	<u>No.1</u>	
10	yards Scarlet cloth at 12/-	6. 0. 0
10	do- yellow do at 10/-	5. 0. 0
50	do- common striped Muslin	5. 0. 0
20	do- Scarlet twilled Cotton	2.10. 0
10	mirrors of inferior descr ⁿ	1.10. 0
100	do- very inferior	5. 0. 0
20	common razors at 1/-	1. 0. 0
20	scissors at 1/-	1. 0. 0
20	knives at 1/-	1. 0. 0
20	combs at 6d	10. 0
10	Scarlet table covers 5/-	2.10. 0
1	Gross common gilt bracelets	40. 0. 0 (at 5 (&6) pce Pair)
30	lbs glass beads	7. 0. 0
10	lbs needles of different sizes	6. 0. 0
2	bugle horns	1. 8. 0
20	yards printed Calico	1. 0. 0
50	Dutch pipes	2.10. 0
20	Common Snuff boxes	10. 0
200	fish hooks	1.10. 0

List of articles already ordered for the service of the mission

25 June

[Summary of arms ordered per lists above, ...]

One hundred Yards of Scarlet Cloth 2d Quality
 One hundred Yards of Scarlet Silk
 One hundred Yards of Sky Blue Cloth 2d Quality
 One hundred Yards of Blue Silk
 One hundred Yards of coarse Muslin
 One hundred Yards of satin Silk
 Twelve large Scarf Shawls of various colours ordinary
 One hundred Pair of Cotton Stockings 2d Quality
 One hundred Pair of Cotton Gloves 2d. Quality
 One large Umbrella of Red Silk mounted upon a Pole
 A quantity of needles of large & middle Sizes
 A quantity of cutlery, consisting of knives & scissors
 20lbs of Cloves packed in a tin case
 4 small Mirrors

4 concave Do''	
4 convex Do''	
One musical box ordinary	
An assortment of coloured Prints, consisting of portrait of His Majesty, of eminent Persons, & of the different Arms of the Military & Naval Services	
One Gold Watch	
One small striking clock	
Four doz gilt chains 3 feet long	
One small dressing case with shaving Apps. ordinary	
2 doz phosphorous Boxes	
200lbs of Wax Candles	
A number of Arabic Books	
A quantity of [word illeg.]	
A case of Surgical Instruments	
A medicinal Chest	
Three Chronometers	
Coral (from £15 to £20 authorized to Captain Clapperton)	
Six Muskets	
Fifty Signal Rockets	
One double barrelled Gun	
A Pair of Pistols	
A small Carbine	
A Gold Repetition Watch	
A small Telescope	
3 Umbrellas – very large – red with white Fringe – for Kings	
9 Do'' smaller Blue for Ministers	
3 Message Canes Silver Mounted	
100 Gaudy Pictures	
Large round Cornelian Beads to the value of £20	
Decanters and Glasses with appropriate ornaments such as Elephants, Croco- diles to the value of	£20
Red Coral to the value of	£20
Bandanas do-	£15
Common Beads do-	£15
Gun Sword & Pistols for Mr. Dickson	
Gun Sword Pistols and Tent for Mr. Morrison	
Three Bell Tents for Messrs Clapperton, Pearce and Dickson	
One Pocket globe	
One Galvanee Battery and Leather case and spare [illeg.] ³²	4 – 2 – 0
One Russian Leather writing case	14 – 0
Six lenses in brass frames	2 – 0

³² An apparatus for the production of galvanic electricity (a phenomenon first described by Luigi Galvani in 1772 of developing electricity by chemical action).

*1.18 J. Barrow to R.W. Hay [CO 2/17 ff. 29-30]
[24.8.25 – Censure over bills]*

Hastings, 24th August 1825

My dear Hay,

I never would have imagined that these Travellers could have ventured to take upon themselves to purchase Articles evidently for their private use and wholly unconnected with the mission – for instance four watches for which I would certainly recommend that the cost should be charged against the pay of each respectively. The Chronometers stand on a different footing and I authorized Clapperton to apply for, not to purchase, two pocket ones, The Bills of Hamilton & Co contains articles solely for presents; but here Clapperton has exceeded his authority in the articles of Coral of which I think you limited him to £20 –; it is however I understand an useful almost indispensable article

But what surprizes me most is the Bill of Mr Jones, who knows very well that on all our Naval Expeditions I have required him to submit to me the lists that the Naval Officers may have given in; and who, in general, I am sorry to say, use but little discretion in their demands – and for things too that can be of no possible use. This is remarkably the case in the present instance; let any one look over the articles and he would conclude that, like the American Concessions, they were going to settle the boundary lines between the sovereigns of Africa or to watch the sattelites of Jupiter or to do some nice and delicate matter of Science, whereas I told Clapperton, over & over again that they were to consider themselves as mere pioneers, that we did not want the longitudes of places to the last second nor within a handful of Seconds; and that as to Barometers, more skilful and careful persons than himself had invariably found them most troublesome instruments to carry & when wanted wholly inefficient – they would not hold whole with them for twenty miles. I strongly therefore recommend that all the articles I have ticked off[f] in Jones' Bill be returned to him – In fact he had no right to furnish them, knowing as he must do that one half of them are utterly superfluous, and most extravagant in the Expense. I should tell him that I have travelled 2000 miles in Africa³³ with a pocket compass that cost me 5 shillings – these gentry must have theirs at £3 per piece Some of the minor articles I take for granted are meant as presents The Articles described will reduce the Bills about £300 – namely about £200 from Jones' & £100 from Arnolds – It appears also to me that they ought to have drawn the Stationery from the Stationery office through you, about one sixth part of what would have been an ample allowance, but I shall be well satisfied if they have occasion to use all they have got

³³ Barrow spent six years in South Africa at the turn of the century on the staff of Lord Macartney, Governor of Cape Colony. His work included running the first census, mapping parts of the interior and conducting geological surveys.

I think it might be as well for to address a cautionary letter to Cap^t Clapperton with regard to their incurring further expenses, acquainting him with what is the practice in the Naval Service, that every expenditure will be charged as an impost against him, until the necessity of it shall be fully & satisfactorily made In short, give all your travellers one of those strong doses which we at the Admiralty know so well how to administer and which after all are sometimes called for to keep men in order when armed with a little brief authority

I hope to be in town by the end of next week to relieve Croker³⁴ who is bent upon a dreadful Slaughter among the partridges
Yours very faithfully John Barrow

*1.19 Clapperton to Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 244-5]
[26.8.25 – apology and explanation]*

H.M.Ship Brazen, Spithead, 26th August 1825

Sir,

I regret extremely that I should have subjected myself to your censure for having ordered more instruments than you conceive necessary for the service I am appointed to & I beg to assure you for myself and my travelling companions that they were all bespoke with discretion & mature deliberation; not one of which but what we considered as absolutely necessary

Less might perhaps have been taken but not with that satisfaction with regard to accuracy and even accidents which travelling over unknown ground we deemed necessary

The immediate departure of the Brazen from Spithead I regret will prevent our being able to purchase substitutes for those instruments which you have ordered me to return & I hope therefore you will take into consideration where any credit stands at stake with the world, I must feel anxious to answer faithfully the expectation of His Majesty's Government & not subject the ground I go over to any question hereafter from future travellers

Under this impression I beg you will permit us to retain them leaving it to your discretion to charge them against the pay of the four gentlemen comprising the African Mission³⁵

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton

³⁴ J. W. Croker, MP, First Secretary of the Admiralty (1809-1830), a regular contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, and whose adopted daughter married the son of John Barrow.

³⁵ Clapperton received full support from Captain Robert Pearce for the line he took with Barrow [R. Pearce to H. Clapperton, CO 2/17, ff. 333-7].

[margin:]

Answered 31 August 1825

[Verso:]

Acq^t Capt. C. that it was with regret I felt myself called upon to object to the largeness of the sum expended by him & his Associates in the purchase of various Articles for their [one word illeg.] Mission but as my opinions on *the* subject were confirmed by a reference to M^r Barrow I have no alternative but to direct that the amount of the Articles w^h were pronounced by Mr. B to be superfluous, of w^h I have already given Capt. C a list sh^d be set against their pay

2. let this be done accord^y 27 Aug^t

1.20 *Hay to Clapperton [CO 2/16 f. 226]*

[9.8.25 – re translations of documents from Borno Mission]

Mr Hay presents his compliments to Captain Clapperton and transmits to him Translations of some of the documents which have been brought to England by Captain Clapperton

These translations were received yesterday from Mr- Salame and being in original Mr Hay would wish to have them returned to this office as soon as Captain Clapperton has caused copies to be taken³⁶ -

Downing Street, 9 August 1825

1.21 *J. Dupuis³⁷ to R.W. Hay [CO 2/17 ff. 267-8]*

[11.4.26 – unpublished Arabic maps and manuscripts from Kumasi relating to the course of the Niger River]

Mr Dupuis presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Hay, and, looking to the interest which has been excited in the public mind relative to the researches of Major Denham in a book recently published under the auspices of Earl Bathurst³⁸, he begs leave to submit some Arabic maps and charts or sketches, which were collected by him at Coomassy, and of which the latter have not yet been made public.

³⁶ No letters or documents are on file, but the reference is to those brought back from the Borno Mission, [see Bovill, *Missions to Niger*, Vol IV, 723-41].

³⁷ Joseph Dupuis, author of *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, London, 1824 (reprinted, London: Frank Cass, 1966).

³⁸ i.e., Denham, Oudney & Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries, etc.*

It is possible, Mr Dupuis thinks, that the mystery in which the course and termination of the “Kwara” River is still involved, may receive some elucidation by a comparison of the MSS in question with those brought to England by the enterprising travellers from Bornou, and should Mr Hay be of the same opinion, is requested that he will have the goodness to lay them before his Lordship, coupled with an apology for their unsightly condition, but which it is hoped will not obscure the translation should it please his Lordship to hand them over to the interpreter Mr Dupuis’ reading of the Arabic is possibly different in some particulars from that of other people.

If Mr Dupuis might hope to be included in submitting the plan for a mission to the interior of Africa, he would venture to say to his Lordship in the first instance the propriety of choosing such a spot for the start as Santa Cruz, or Mogadore or Morocco, affording the opportunity of joining the September caravan, and such a route as that across the great western Desert to Timbuctoo direct (a journey of forty days only from Suze) from whence the travellers might proceed down the Niger, or along its banks, with comparative facility either East or South, as the river may be found to incline – if the latter the problem of its course would certainly be solved in months, or less time

Gt. George St. Hampstead Rd., 11 April 1826

Encl: with a packet of Arabic MSS.³⁹

[Verso:]

transmit the documents to Salame to look at and return safely and carefully to Dupuis

2. Proceedings

2.1 *Clapperton to Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 257-8]* *[15.11.25 – Despatch from Cape Coast Castle]*

HM Ship Brazen off Cape Coast
15th Nov^r 1825

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of the arrival of the Mission at this anchorage yesterday all in perfect Health except Columbus who is suffering so much from Venereal that I can hardly calculate on his services into the interior ~ I shall get the canoes on board in the morning when Captain Willes intends proceeding on to leeward ~ I am given to understand that M^r Houtson is on bad terms with the King of Benin⁴⁰ which may oblige me to seek some other intelligent person in

³⁹ The papers forwarded by Dupuis are not in CO 2.

⁴⁰ Who objected forcefully to the interference of the British squadron in the slave trade.

which I hope to succeed – I beg to enclose the acc^t of the sums I have drawn as pay for each of the Gentlemen of the Mission for the quarter commencing Nov^r 1st also a Copy of the Order I have given M^r Peter John Fraser⁴¹ the most respectable merchant of Cape Coast Castle in the event of my requiring his services

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton

encl.

Memorandum of Bills

Draft fav ^r Captn- Pearce	£131 – 2
T. Dickson	138 –
R. Morrison	115
Myself	<u>113 – 2</u>
	515 – 4

[signed] Hugh Clapperton

Encl. Letter to Fraser [2.2 below]

[Verso:]

Let me see Clapperton's Instructions

2.2 *Clapperton to P. J. Fraser Esq. [CO 2/15 ff. 259-60]*
[14.11.25 – Appointment as Agent in Cape Coast Castle]

His Majesty's Ship Brazen
 Nov^r 14th 1825, Cape Coast

Sir

His Majesty's Government having been pleased to intrust to my charge a Mission for exploring the interior of Africa, with the assistance of the under-mentioned Gentlemen – Viz. Captain R. Pearce, R.N., Mr Thomas Dickson, and Mr. R Morison Surgeon R.N. it may be necessary for the purpose of avoiding delays that might be occasioned by Native Chiefs to give from time to time according to the custom of the Country Notes for Goods or Money as presents; I therefore appoint you Agent to the said Mission at Cape Coast Castle, and hereby authorize you to pay in marketable goods or specie according to the tenor of the document, all Notes bearing my signature or that of the other Gentlemen of the Mission in case of separation, provided sufficient reasons shall be assigned for the omission of my name; and I further empower you to draw on my Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the amount of such advances agreeably to the annexed form of a Bill, transmitting at the same time a letter of advice to R.W. Hay Esq^r Under Secretary of State

⁴¹ P.J. Fraser, a senior officer at Cape Coast Castle.

for the Colonial Department of all the circumstance of the transaction, as well as all Letters and Despatches from the Mission with such other authentic information as you may casually receive of our progress in the interior - I have however to request you be on your guard against idle reports without foundation especially of the sickness or Death of any of the Gentlemen of the Mission -

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton

Signatures of the Gentlemen attached to the Mission, and Form of Bill enclosed

One copy:

Sworn before me as being a true and faithful Copy of the original given by Captain Clapperton

John McBarry⁴² JP for The Gold Coast

[signed] P.J.Fraser

2.3 *H. Clapperton to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 261-2]
[29.11.25 – Despatch from Badagry]*

His Majesty's Ship Brazen
off Badagry 29 Nov^r 1825

Sir

Leaving Cape Coast the 16th Ins^t the Mission under my direction proceeded in His Majesty's Ship Brazen for our ultimate destination the Bight of Benin touching at Accra and Whydah for information, on our passage to this place where we finally anchored yesterday.- At Popoe we fell in with M^r Houtson the Gentleman to whom we are referred in our instructions who fortunately arrived there during our stay, Captain Willes having been led to that anchorage having to claim restitution of 231 Slaves having been landed from a Spanish Schooner detained by him off Accra.-

the information obtained from Mr. Houtson induced me to avail myself of his suggesting Badagry in preference to Benin for opening a communication with the interior [“ in which I agree in opinion” inserted] still having Benin in view as a last resource in the event of failure at Badagry, but I am happy to [proceed] by Eyeo- ~ I have desired him to acquaint M^r James of it that he may remove afterwards to Badagry to remain there as Agent to the Mission generally until the pleasure of Lord Bathurst be made known.-

The accompanying letter of Mr. Houtson's will explain the agreement entered into with that Gentleman to forward us on to Nuffee which I hope will meet the

⁴² Not further identified.

approbation of his Lordship.- I beg to enclose a duplicate of a letter to Captain Willes, which will explain the arrangements entered into with him and myself. The plants and minerals collected by Mess^{rs} Dickson and Morison will be left on board the Brazen for conveyance to England by the first opportunity, the Plants seeds &c I would recommend at the request of the Gentlemen to be sent to Mr. Brown⁴³, Linnean Society as early as possible as there has not been sufficient time to dry them

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton Comdr RN

[Enclosed: copy of letter from John Houtson to Hugh Clapperton – See 2.4]

[Marked:

Received 17 April 1826

Answered 23 April 1826, and sent to Admiralty 23 April 1826]

2.4 *J. Houtson to H. Clapperton [CO 2/15 f. 263]*
[27.11.25 – re Acceptance of appointment]

Dear Sir,

Though every consideration arising from my own feelings and desire to promote the objects of your enterprize by every means in my power would lead me to sacrifice both time and personal attention to endure your safe conduct to the interior – yet the circumstance in which I am at present placed by having a vessel with me and a trading voyage on the Coast and bound off in the course of a few months – will not allow me to devote much time to your interests without a compensation for the expenses of my vessel consequent on a considerable deviation from the course of her voyage. -

However, so confident am I of being able, through an influence with Addley the King of Badagry to procure you a safe passage to Eyeo, and from thence to Tappa and Nyffe – that I am willing to wait at Badagry until I hear of your arrival at Nyffe – in which case I shall expect six hundred pounds sterling for my loss of time and expenses -

But should any unforeseen circumstances arise in obstruction of the journey so as to cause the return of the Mission before reaching the aforesaid Nyffe – then I shall look for no further compensation than the satisfaction of having done my utmost to promote an enterprize having for its objects the promotion of science, and the extension of British influence to a quarter of the world which has excited so long the curiosity of the learned – and the benevolence of every friend of humanity

⁴³ Robert Brown (1773-1858) distinguished botanist, presumably known to Oudney. He bequeathed his collection of botanical specimens to the British Museum.

I have, etc., Jno Houtson
Brig Albert, Badagry Road Nov 27th 1825

2.5 *H. Clapperton to Capt. G.N. Willes [CO 2/17 ff. 51-53]*
[28.11.25 – Instructions for maintaining contact with the Mission]

on board HM Ship Brazen,
off Badagry 28 Nov^r 1825

Sir,

It appearing a favorable opportunity for the Mission to penetrate into the interior of the country from hence; it is my intention of landing in the morning with Captain Pearce, Mr. Morison & the Servants, with as much of the Baggage & Presents as we can conveniently carry, leaving Columbus & the remainder for the present, and until I can form a judgement of the interior & our future prospects.-

My Lord Bathurst in his Instructions informs me of that part of the Orders you are furnished with from the Admiralty, relative to your attendance on the Mission, I am therefore to request you will in the first place proceed to Whydah and send the included Despatch to M^r Dickson, now on his way to Eyeo through Dahomey, and that you will for the next three months afterwards take every opportunity of calling in both at Whydah where Mr. Fredk^k James⁴⁴ Agent to the Mission will reside, and to this place where M^r Houtson the other Agent will be found, for such information we may be able to afford them of our progress into the interior, or if our intention to return should insurmountable obstacles present themselves as we get on –

Our present prospects of success are certainly good, and if I find I can make my way forward you may rely on my giving you the earliest intimation of it in order to release you from this service as well as my further wishes respecting the Baggage & Presents, as also of Columbus.-

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton Capt- R.N.

2.6 *G.N. Willes to J.W. Croker [CO 2/17 ff. 45-50]*
[28.11.25 – Despatch on activities of HMS Brazen]

HMS Brazen, off Badagry 28th Nov^r 1825

Sir

I had the honor to address you last from Sierra Leone on the 26th Ultimo on the eve of my sailing to Leeward, since nothing particular has occurred, until the

⁴⁴ Frederick James; see Introduction.

last Week. We did not round Cape Palmas or clear the Rains until the 10th Instant in consequence of the unsettled state of the Weather, the rains having continued two months longer this year than usual. On the 14th I arrived at Cape Coast and sailed again on the 16th. Sickness had made great havoc among the Officers and Troops and delayed the movements of the Ashantee Army, who by accounts had suffered much from the same cause, & the heads of the Country being at variance with the King, no certainty could be made of their intention to revisit the Sea side.

On the 17th I reached Accra, the accounts at this place are of the same nature as those of Cape Coast. The Troops being all Blacks, except the Sergeants, were healthy & the fortification such as it is in good order, but I regret to state the Slave Trade is still carried on to a great degree within half gun shot of our forts; as proof of it, I have captured since I left Sierra Leone two Spanish Schooners, one off Cape Misurada⁴⁵ of 56 tons fitted for 200 Slaves, 36 only on board, the other off Accra of 200 Tons, fitted for 500, with 231, 60 of which were actually embarked at Dutch Accra⁴⁶, within half gun shot of our Fort. The Vessel having been at Anchor twelve days in the Roads under our Guns. Popoe was her lead deposit or factory, and she was making her second trip. Having occasion to mention the circumstance and in the absence of the Commodore, whom I am yet without intelligence of, together with the apparent good earnest in which the Dutch Government appear by Treaty to have entered into the abolition of the Slave Trade, I venture to suggest to their Lordships the propriety of asking the removal of the only Sargeant a Black Man, together with the Flag & Flag staff from the ruins of the Fort by name only, which gives shelter to this barbarous traffick, & prevents the Commanding Officer of our Establishment exercising authority over it to the full extent of the range of our Guns, for to be within range of one a vessel must be within range of the other for a good anchorage.

I sailed from it on 19th, Captain Clapperton not being able to find M^r Houtson (the companion of the late Belzoni) according to my Lord Bathurst's Instructions, or M^r Fredk. James, late of the African Company, the next most serviceable person on the Leeward Coast from his knowledge of the Interior, as well as the language of the natives, and proceeded on to Popoe; here we had the good fortune to fall in with the former on board his own vessel on his way to Cape Coast for a new Bowsprit, and it was only on my assuring him that I would as far as the Means of the Brazen afforded make good the defect, get him to turn back – considering the object of his services to the mission, and by saving of so much time it would meet with their Lordships approval. On the 25th instant I arrived off Whydah, and found M^r James, when it appeared evident from the opinions of M^r Houtson and himself that Benin must not be

⁴⁵ Cape Mesurado, site of Monrovia.

⁴⁶ i.e., Christianbourg Castle.

attempted unless as the last resource, the King of that province being unfavorable to the British flag, in consequence of the great annoyance our Cruizers are to the Slave trade, from which he derives the greatest profits. Here Captain Clapperton landed and found an opening for the interior through Dahomy on to Eyeo for M^r Dickson by means of M^r De Souza a Portuguese Resident, who having great influence with the King and offering his protection to the Capital, Captain Clapperton sent him forthwith, Mr. James engaging to reside if necessary there to keep the communication open until my return, if possible three or four Weeks.

I anchored here on the 26th, the point recommended by M^r Houtson as the most likely for the Mission to penetrate into the Interior, and I am happy to inform their Lordships that the King of Badagry has offered his protection from thence to Eyeo and further as far as his influence may extend.

Therefore to morrow morning Captain Clapperton & his Party disembark with such of the Baggage as may be necessary and after I have communicated with Whydah again to inform M^r Dickson of the movements here, I shall proceed in search of Water (which I am much in want of) to such Island as I can best make, that will ensure me to get back in less than a month, when I may expect to hear of the progress not only of Captain Clapperton but M^r Dickson has made as well as the decision respecting the presents for the Chiefs of the Interior which until then, it is arranged to remain on board. I dispatch this to night be the last Schooner I captured and have every reason to believe it will arrive at Sierra Leone, from the sailing qualities she possesses, in a short time.

I enclose a Copy of a letter from Captain Clapperton to me this morning which I shall attend to while I have provisions.

As Captain Pearce has written fully to Mr. Barrow, respecting their intended route, I beg to refer you to that Gentleman.

The enclosed report of Vessels boarded in merely passing down the Coast will convey to their Lordships a tolerable idea of the traffick which exists and I have every reason to believe to Leeward of this, they are trebly numerous.
I have &c- G.W. Willes Captain

encl.

Brazens Report of Vessels Boarded Oct – November 1825

[Copies forwarded by Barrow to Hay 18th April;
Extract of enclosures sent to Foreign Office 20th April]

BRAZEN'S REPORT OF VESSELS BOARDED – AFRICAN MISSION

Date	Place: Lat & Long	Name of the			How Rigged	Number of			From
		Vessel	Master	Owners		Men	Guns	Tons	
Oct 8 1825	8.35.57N 18.4W	L'Éclair	Fleury	Paul Gautier	Brigtn	18	2	134	C. Mesurado
Nov 1 1825	6.8N 13.10W	Modeste	Degournay	F. Lamoyne	Schnr	21	2	67	Gallinas
Nov 3	5.15N 10.30W	Clarita	Jose Morana	Not known	"	14	1	55	Not known
Nov 4	"	Constance	Adol Jaques	James Martin and Sons	"	14	2 swivel [guns]	57	Martin- ique
Nov 7	Off Beuby	Tom Cod	Jas [James] Pottar	Thos. [Thomas] King & Son	Brig	8	3	130	Bristol
Nov 15	Cape Coast	Young Row	Willcocks	Willcocks	Dandy	10	1 swivel [gun]	140	London
Nov 17	Off Accra	Ninfa	Jose Puiz	Fran [Francisco] Lourcire	Brig	46	4 and Pivot Do.	150	Popoe
Nov17	Off Accra	Active	Jose Puito	Franco [Francisco] Antonio de Olivera	Brig	21	-	149	Elmina
Nov 20	Off Quitta	Barbarita	P. Blanco	P. Blanco	Sch	19	1	65	Havannah
Nov 24	Off Whydah at anchor	Feliz Africano	Ant°[Antonio] Joseph Gabia	Joseph Cuquina Lucia	Brig	25	2	227	Bahia
"	"	Bienfaisant [Bienfaisant]	Luzet	Luzet	"	12	-	69	Rochelle
"	"	William	Woodborough	Asskill	"	6	2	200	Bahia
"	"	Magico	Inza		"	35	5	130	Havannah
"	"	Eliza		De Souza	Sch	25	-	85	St Thomas
"	"	Allianca das Nacoins	Liaz de Sylia		Brig	16	-	-	Bahia
Nov 27	Off Badagry	Orestes	Salso Estali	Iman de la Zusannah	Sch	36	3	102	Havannah

Signed G.N. Willes
Captain

Where		Days out	Lading	Consignee	Colour	Remarks
Bound	Belonging					
St Thomas W/Indies	Nantz	10	Ivory, Palm Oil, Rice & 169 slaves	Market	French	Boarded by the Maidstone off River St Paul 26 May by W. Griffith Lt
Martinique	Martinique St Perre	3	269 slaves	Do	Do	Do Off Gallinas May 1825
Havannah	Havannah	3	36 slaves Tobacco & Spirits	Do	Spanish	Detained her and sent her to Sierra Leone
Slaving	Martinique		Empty	Owners	French	Sent the prisoners detained in Clarita on board of her
Trading along the coast	Bristol	112	Ivory Gold &c	Do	English	Was boarded on the 5 Oct. off Mesurado by a Spanish Schnr & plundered of 70 fms [fathoms] of Chain Cable & an Anchor, the Anchor has 1784 on it, rather large in proportion, the chain without a shackle
"	London	84	General	Market	Do	Was formerly Mr. N. Curtis's yacht
Uncertain	Havannah	4	Do	Do	Spanish	Had five Negroes on board when first boarded, 231 Slaves recovered afterwards from Little Popoe, sent her to Sierra Leone
Molanbo	Pernambuco	-	Empty	Owners	Brazilian	Long hatches large Cabouse Canoe &c-
P. Island	Havannah	112	Do	Do	Spanish	Fitted for slaves. Sent the prisoners off the Ninfa on board of her
Molanbo	Bahia	84	Water	Do	Brazilian	With passport for 567 slaves from Molanbo
Trading	Rochelle	112	General	Do	French	
U. States	Beverly	18	"	Market	American	
Havannah	Havannah	4	Water	Do	Spanish	Fitted for slaves
Trading	St Thomas		"	Do	Portuguese	Do
"	Bahia		General	Do	Brazilian	Had been plundered by a small Schooner under Dutch Colours of an Anchor Cable &c-
St Thomas	Havannah	4	Water, provision	Do	Spanish	Boarded by the Maidstone 17 Oct and the Athol 22 Sept fitted for slaves

2.7 *P.J. Fraser to R.W. Hay [CO2/15 ff. 352-3]*
 [2.1.26 – re arrival of Mission on the Guinea Coast]

Cape Coast Castle , January 2nd 1826

Sir

I have the honor to enclose to you a Copy of a letter received by me from Captⁿ Clapperton R.N. commanding the expedition into the interior of Africa, thereby appointing me his Agent at Cape Coast Castle -

In compliance with his directions respecting the transmission to you, of all intelligence relating to the Expedition; I have to state to you, for the information of the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earl of Bathurst that I was informed by the master of a Portuguese schooner at the Dutch Settlement of St. George Del Mina that the Brazen Sloop of War, on its way to Benin, had touched at Whydah,

Captain Clapperton there meeting with an old African Settler, a Mr. James, was induced from his representations to disembark, intending to proceed from thence direct to the Capital Dahomey for the purpose of soliciting the influence of the powerful Monarch of that Country to further the object of the Expedition.

I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this report but in Compliance with the Spirit of Capt. Clapperton's instructions have conceived it my duty to acquaint you with it.

I have, etc., P.J.Fraser

[received April 20 1826]

2.8 *J. Houtson to H. Clapperton [CO 2/15 f. 269]*
 [5.12.25 – re Mission expenses paid by Houtson in Badagry]

The African Mission
 & Capt. Hugh Clapperton

To John Houtson *D^a*

1825

Dec^r 5 To Sundry expenses at Badagry to dispatch the Mission to
 Jannah -

	<u>oz</u>
Paid King Addeley for his permission Services and protection	100
Paid the Caboceers of the Town	20
General Bombanee	10
Fetish at Gazie	11 / 2

Governor of Apuka	11/2
Canoemen landing baggage	21/2
Carriers and H'men ⁴⁷	
five days to Jannah	<u>8</u>
oz trade 1431/2 @ 30/-	215. 5. 0
10 Gallons Rum to despatch the Messenger to Eeyo	@ 4/- 2. 0. 0
4 galls. rum to King Addeley	" 16. 0
8 galls D" on the mission visiting the King	" 1.12. 0
8 " D" on the King visiting the Mission	" 1.12. 0
4 " D" Canoemens working liquor	" 16. 0
16 " D" landing expenses	" <u>3. 4. 0</u>
	225. 5. 0
Discount for Government bill 10 per	<u>22. 0. 0</u>
	£ 203. 5. 0

E.E.⁴⁸ Badagry December 5th 1825

signed Jn^o Houtson
Hugh Clapperton Com^r R.N.

2.9 *Clapperton to R.W. Hay [CO2/15 f. 267]*
[18.12.25 – letter from Jannah]

Jannah 18th Dec^r 1825

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you for the information of Earl Bathurst that the Mission arrived here on the 15th after a fatiguing march through the woods from Badagry the greater part of which was performed on foot. – For the arrangements I entered into with the King of Badagry and the expenses I have been obliged to incur for the conveyance of the Mission and baggage as also the presents to the heads of the towns through which we have passed – I refer you to the inclosed lists for which I have given Mr. Houtson bills for the ammount – in the lists a great quantity of rum will be observed but I regret to say nothing in this country is to be done without it – I have taken the greater part of the presents with me the others I have left at Mr. Houtson's factory with part of our baggage ~ the Guns musquets and ammunition I have left on board the Brazen – one of the Guns I have ordered to be given to the King of Badagry for the very great service he has been in getting us through the greatest

⁴⁷ Hammock-men

⁴⁸ Commercial legal rider: Errors Excepted.

obstacles I trust we have to encounter – the towns situated on the beach whose inhabitants have a rooted aversion and hatred to English whom they know only through the medicines of the Slave traders our men of war seldom or ever having any communication with them except in a hostile manner to procure the slaves belonging to any vessel they may have detained

Jannah is the principal frontier town in the Kingdom of Hio – Yorriba and is in Latde- 6^o-56⁷-30[”]N and nearly due North of Lagos – and is the town where the kaffiles from the interior meet the slave merchants of Dahomey Porto Novo Lagos and Badagry – The people are remarkably civil and the Caboceer provided us with houses and carriers to Katunga the capital which will take us about thirty days – the people here are decently dressed in a shirt breaches and cap- I have not the least doubt of our getting through though I calculate on our being detained at Katunga at least a month -

Mr Houtson accompanies us as far as Katunga which will be a means of keeping the communication open and his interpreters will [268] be of the greatest service – I send a copy of my rough journal⁴⁹ from the day of landing at Badagry and I trust allowance will be made for its imperfections as I have been much harrassed – Capt^m Pearce and Mr. Morrison have been sick but are now convalescent - my English servant is still dangerously ill and I leave him here in hopes of his recovery in charge of one of Mr. Houtson’s men either to be sent after me or to return to England
I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton

Encl.: List of expenses [2 pp] & Journal

Verso:

C	double 1/2 pay and 20/- per diem	Subsistence
P	– d” –	
Dixon	10/- Salary & 20/-	– d” –
Morison	double 1/2 pay & 20/-	– d” –
Columbus	100 £ per annum	

⁴⁹ Journal to Jannah [CO2/17, ff. 115-130].

2.10 *Houtson to Clapperton [CO 2/16 f. 284-5]*
[5.12.25 and 28.2.26 – Extracts: Supplies in Badagry⁵⁰]

paid		
for the Canteen		5 – 8 – 0
Sending up the trade		
Gold by the Vessel <i>Geld</i>		10 – 0
[Illeg] the new one with <i>Bedley</i>		10 – 0
Custom House, paid for the		
Carriage &c of Beads		<u>8 – 10</u>
	4/	<u>6 – 16 – 10</u>
	1 – 14 – 3 each	
for Clapperton:		1 – 14 – 3
paid for 6 shirts		1 – 13 – 0
- 6 towels		<u>8 – 0</u>
		3 – 15 – 3
		<u>11 – 7 – 7¹/₄</u>
Decr- 5th to Paid for AC	66 \$	
Paid Charter	<u>4</u>	
70		
By 80,000 Cowries	<u>- 40</u>	
Once ty ⁵¹	\$ 30	
Book to Abaco		
1 gun		1.10. 0
1 ps cloth		1. 2. 6
1 gun		1.10. –
1 prs cloth		1. 2. 6
1 gallon Rum		4. 0
Book to Ebah		1.10. –
1 gun		1.10. –
5 Galls Rum		1. 0. 0
Bo + Tom & <i>Hooky</i> each		
	\$8	<u>1 – 12 – 0</u>
	Total	£9 – 11 – 0
by 50 A Crudhes	8 – 15 – 0	
4 \$ Pascoe	<u>16 – 0</u>	
		Total £9 – 11 – 0

⁵⁰ Extracts of accounts, complicated by being shared between four officers, of purchases, made in Badagry through Houtson and his trading factory, for themselves and to pay those who assisted them (e.g., Eboh and Abaco), and settled in a variety of currencies and exchange.

⁵¹ Troy ounces = trade gold.

for Morison Pd:

Curry powder		1	1	8
8 Boules Essence of Coffee		1	7	—
	4/		12	2

Pd for Captn Clapperton:

Bedding		4	3	—
			12	2
		4	15	2

Pd for Captn Pearce:

one pocket pistol		1	15	—
<i>For desk</i>			6	—
Atlas Ancient			12	—
		2	13	—
			12	2
		3	5	2

Pd for Mr. Dickson:

Bedding		£	4	3	—
			12	2	—
			4	15	2

beeds	4	6	
coral &c	4	14	—
lace/gold	1	—	—
total	5	18	6

Mr Morison:

1/4 canteen	£7	1	15	—
do utensils	5.12.3	1	8	3/4
do tea 18.6.2	4	11	61/2	
do Saddle Robes	4. 4. 0	1	1	—
1 Hammock	2.12. 0	2	12	—
		11	7	71/4

&

for bedding		4	15	2
		6	12	51/4

two Cases country glass

3 chests – medecine

1 box [illeg.] powder

1 chest Tea

A Tent & 2 poles & [2 illeg.]

a box candles

10 yards Scarlet cloth

200 fish hooks ...

total 90 – 18 – 0

2.11 *J. Houtson to H. Clapperton [CO 2/17 f. 270]*
[20.12.25 – re Accounts in Jannah]

The African Mission
 & Capt. Clapperton

to John Houtson

1825

Dec^r 20 To Sundries paid on acc^t of the Mission on the Journey from
 Badagry to Jannah, viz -

Paid	Caboceer Accra	1 yd cloth	1. 5. –
“	the <i>Duly</i> & another Fetish	2 D”	2. 5. –
“	8 g rum @ 4/-	1.12.-	
“	Cab- of Apooke add ^l	1 yd Cloth	1. 2. 6
“	King of Eeyo’s Cap ^t & Men	2 Do Do @ 22/6	2. 5. –
“	do do	4 g. rum @ 4/-	16. –
“	2 Bags Salt	1 yd cloth	1. 2. 6
“	Caboceer of Humba	1 yd	1. –. –
“	D’ Hammockmen	1 Do	1. –. –
“	D” of Bidji	1 Do	1. 5. –
“	D” of [illeg.]	1 Do	1. 5. –
“	D” of Jinnahs Man	1 Do	1. 5. –
“	D” of Do –	4 galls rum	16. –
“	Expended on the path	8 D– D–	1.12. –
“	Cowries for Carr ^s of baggage from the beach to Badagry		2.10. –
“	Cowries expended on the path from Badagry to Jannah 40,000		<u>5. 0. –</u>
			26. 1. –

E.E. Jannah 20th Dec^r 1825

[signed]

Hugh Clapperton Jn^o Houtson

Verso

The African Mission – a/c with Mr. Houtson

1825

Dec 5th – Badagry

” 20 – Jannah

2.12 *H.Clapperton to G.N. Willes [CO 2/17 ff. 62 – 63]*
[30.12.25 – re death of Captain Pearce and Seaman Dawson]

Town of Engwa, 20 [=30th] Dec^r 1825

My dear Willes,

It is my misfortune that I have nothing to communicate but the worst of news – poor Pearce died yesterday and I buried him to day as respectably as I could; all the people of the Town paying the greatest attention whilst I read the Service. On the 24th poor Dawson died after having the ague only three or four days. Mr Morison had discharged him at Janah – I have sent poor Pearce's Clothes, Books, Drawings &^c, giving his bed & a few Articles to Pascoe, who has behaved with great faith to his late Master – What things I sent down were three trunks and a Carpet Bag, open them and take an account of every thing & send them to Mr Hay – My Servant Richard is better – With constant fatigue and Watching I have got an Ague, and am at present hardly able to move, however be under no alarm for me, but remember me to every one on board, & believe me &^c Hugh Clapperton

2.13 *H.Clapperton to R.W. Hay [CO2/15 f. 286]*
[28.12.25 – re death of Pearce and Dawson]

Town of Engwa 28th Dec^r 1825

Sir,

I have the honour to report to you for the information of Earl Bathurst – that the Mission left Jennah on the 22nd contrary to my persuasion the Dr- entertaining an opinion that a change of Air would make them better – of course I gave way to his opinion taking also my own servant whom I mentioned in my last as going [to] leave behind – on Friday the 23 Mr. Morrison begged to return as he was not getting better - I therefore gave Mr. Houtson an order to see him down to Badagry if necessary ~ the next day George Dawson a Seaman belonging to the Brazen who had vol^d [= volunteered] to go as Mr. M's servant – this man having been discharged by his master died on the 24th at the village of Ega after a ague of only 3 or 4 days standing

Tuesday the 29 we arrived at the town of Engwa where we had good quarters but I regret to say that at 9 P.M. poor Captain Pearce died – he kept sensible to the last but left no directions as to the disposal of his affairs the [w]hole of which I sent home to the Colonial Office his papers and drawings journals and part of the public instruments & watch - his own papers Obsvt^{ns} &c- will show much better than I am able to write what a loss he will prove to the Mission and his country - his worth as a friend to me was never surpassed –

On the 28th at 11A.M- I had him decently buried according to the rites of the

Church of England and a pallisade put round the grave which is in one of the open squares of the house such being the custom of this country and his servant Pascoe has behaved to him with great attention and I take Pascoe with me as he is a good man ~ my English servant Richard Lander whom I pay at my own expense I hope will have the pay intended for Columbus who has not been of the smallest service to me since I left England -

I leave this in two days – the inhabts- have behaved with the greatest kindness to us and strange to say we have never lost an article since we left the beach except by the Badagry people who accompany us ~ I hope an ague caught from want of rest will excuse this letter of which I am unable to take a copy before the messenger goes off

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton

[Marked:

Let an extract of that part of this letter which relates to
Capt. Pearce be made & transmitted to his Friend

Sent 30 June

- to Capt. Pearce's friend 30 June 1826

- to Mr. Barrow 30 June 1826]

2.14 *G.N. Willes to J.W. Croker [CO 2/17 ff. 58-61]*
[2.2.26 – reports of Mission's progress]

Extract of a letter from Captain Willes of HMS Brazen to Mr. Croker
dated off Cape St. Pauls 2nd Feb'y 1826

“I have the honor to inform you that in pursuance of Instructions from the Admiralty I returned to Whydah on the 4th Instant, where I received the enclosed letters from M^r James, Agent for the African Mission there; which will shew in what manner M^r Dickson has been received and the disposition of the King of Dahomey to His Majesty's subjects.

On the 6th I arrived at Badagry where I found letters from Captain Clapperton. On the 6th December he writes saying through the intercession of the King of Badagry he has permission of the King of Hio to pass through his Dominions, and that a proper escort of Horses & C were waiting his arrival, hearing at the same time that Hio was the Yaraba of the Arabs and that it was his intention of proceeding forward the next morning, which it appears they did, going first by Canoes up the Lake [= lagoon] near to Popoe.

On the 15th he writes from Jennah a town in the Kingdom of Yaraba or Hio,

requesting me in the event of calling about the 25th to return again in ten days afterwards for [word illeg.] &C. On the 20th of the same month he writes again from Jennah requesting me to land one of the Brass Field Pieces for the King of Badagry, whom he speaks of being the greatest use to him, he also describes the woods through which they had to pass on foot to Jennah as most difficult and fatiguing but the Country there fine and beautiful, the people kind, well dressed in cap shirt and trowsers and plenty of horses – he has learnt from Jennah to Katanga the Capital of Yaraba is only thirty days Journey, and thence only three days to the Niger, they have been treated with the greatest kindness by the Natives but regrets to say Captain Pearce, M^r Morison and their white servant have suffered much from fever, but are now getting better. He requests if I could communicate with M^r Dickson to beg he would join him as soon as possible.

On the 24 I regret to say M^r Houtson writes by Captain Clapperton's directions to say that in consequence of Mr Morison's severe indisposition, and after having advanced from Jennah twenty miles he had been obliged to send him back to the Coast for embarkation, that the others were recovering and in full expectation of reaching Sockatoo in good time – but on enquiry I lament to say that M^r Morisons Trunks had arrived with black Seals, both himself and servant having died soon afterwards at Jennah on their way to the Coast – As there appeared to be some petty war going on, on the Coast and no communication with the Shore I took the opportunity of going to Fernando Po⁵² for Yams, having Cattle Bread on Board, leaving word with M^r Houtson's vessel that I should return again soon , but it was the 27th before I got back again, when I found Mr., Houtsons Brig had sailed for Princes⁵³ with many letters for us and the only intelligence of the Mission was by letter from M^r Houtson's to his Agent at his factory, bearing date the 10th January from Chiado (or Chuado) wherein he stated

I found on return here from Jannah to Engwa that Captain Clapperton had been ill from fever and was still extremely weak, and his servant Richard the same, (here it seems poor Captain Pearce died) when he waited two days longer and then started afresh, the Invalids are getting their strength but slowly, which has retarded in some degree our progress

in another part he says

I hope you have received Captain Pearce's and Mr Morison's Trunks,

he continues

I think there is no fear of Captain Clappertons health now, in a short time he will have accomplished what has been the object of other Nations, of travelling from West to East of the great African Continent. the last five days we have been crossing the Mountains of Kong which [word illeg.] the most romantic & beau-

⁵² Clarence Cove on Fernando Po (Sao Tome), a victualling depot for the Africa Squadron, was being surveyed for possible development into a permanent Naval shore establishment.

⁵³ Principé.

tiful scenery imaginable, we are now I suppose 2,500 feet above the level of the sea⁵⁴, a fine atmosphere thermometer 89° – 90° (we have had it 98°) and in Latitude 8°-23'-30" and half way to Katanga, to which as we travel so much faster now we hope to arrive at in twelve days – you will hear from me there. I shall see Captain Clapperton across the Niger and return with all haste – you may expect to see me about the end of February or beginning of March

I called again at Badagry on the 29th Ultimo and Whydah on the 30. from the former I received Captain Pearce's trunk &c whose death I cannot sufficiently lament, both as a friend and an Officer, and as a most valuable acquisition to the Mission, as from his pencil the most perfect description of that unknown part of the world might have been expected, indeed the little his journal contains will explain what a treasure is lost in him.

Cape Coast 10 Feb^{ry} Our Tender arrived last evening having called at Whydah a week since being [word illeg.] to look for me with orders from Commodore Bullen. Lieutenant Walker⁵⁵ landed and learnt that intelligence had been received since I left, of Mr Dickson having reached Shar⁵⁶ in good health and as nothing is said about obstacles in getting forward I have every reason to hope he will arrive soon at Katanga and join Captain Clapperton, from that enterprising gentleman every thing may be expected and all difficulties not insurmountable overcome

My Lieutenant Walker who Spoke the Redwing two days since I received a Dispatch from Captain Clapperton taken from Mr. Houtsons Brig at sea, the Copy of which I enclose and forward by the Dispatch⁵⁷, also duplicate by the Transport Baltic Merchant homeward bound together with the luggage returned, Journals, Drawings, Plants, Animals &c

The Engineers report they expect to be able to leave Cape Coast in about ten days, will then call at Annamaboe and Accra, previous to Captain Pearce's⁵⁸ going into the Bights for Major Laing⁵⁹, whom I have heard nothing of

⁵⁴ The high plateau around 'Chiadoo' (Okpara Forest, West of Ofiki and Shaki) lies at some 1,000 to 1,200 ft above sea level, with peaks rising to some 1,600 ft.

⁵⁵ Lieutenant Walker was a protégé of Robert W. Hay of the Colonial Department.

⁵⁶ Za (Itsa), a Yoruba group north-west of Dahomey (around Bante).

⁵⁷ HMS *Dispatch*, commanded by Capt. Parsons.

⁵⁸ A slip; he meant Parsons, not Pearce.

⁵⁹ Laing left Tripoli in July 1825, and in February 1826 had in fact only begun to make his way south from In Salah, heading for Timbuktu.

2.15 *G.N. Willes to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 374-5A]*
[10.2.26 – re news from Clapperton and Houtson]

His Majesty's Ship Brazen
 Cape Coast 10th Feb^y 1826

Sir

I have the honor to forward for the information of My Lord Bathurst Dispatches I have received at three several times from Captain Clapperton and Mr. T. Dickson and although I beg to congratulate His Lordship on the success of these Gentlemen in getting forward in the cause in which His Lordship has so long advocated I deeply regret having to state that their losses have been most severe.

It appears by letters received from Captain Clapperton last evening by our Tender from Whydah that the Service has lost that valuable and intelligent officer Captain Pearce, whose services to the Mission had he lived would have turned such a perfect light on the new explored country they had to pass through as perhaps never had been recorded in history before.- The small part of his Journal will shew what the country had to expect of him and by it estimate his loss.- It appears that he died at Engwa, a town of the Fellata country on the 27th December; and by M^r Houtson's letter M^r Morrison Surgeon and his servant were taken off the same day at Jennah, at which place M^r Houtson had stopped with the hope of getting them back to the sea side.- M^r Morrison's loss is severely felt by Captain Clapperton in consequence of M^r Dickson having taken the route to Dahomey to Shar, at which place Lieutenant Walker learnt last week at Whydah he had arrived quite well and from nothing being said about delays I have every hopes of his getting forward and meet Captain Clapperton at Katanga.- The letters I forward no doubt will inform you of the particulars of their movements; it seems that Captain Clapperton had, owing to excessive fatigue to Jennah, suffered by fever, as also his Servant who is the only European to go on with him in the event of M^r Dickson's not joining him.

M^r Houtson writes me on the 10th Ultimo after being five days in travelling over the Mountains of Kong, which he describes as most beautiful and romantic scenery he ever saw – that he should soon overtake Captain Clapperton who was before him some distance, and they expected to reach Katanga in twelve days, as they were coming to a level country – he should see him across the Niger which is only three days from it, and then return to the coast – yet I am inclined to believe he will go on to Sokoto should it be Captain Clapperton's wish – he certainly has been of great use to the Mission, and like Captain Clapperton while the fever and ague keep off which disap^s [= disapoints] the strongest spirit, but which they are both accustomed to, nothing but necessity or delays by Palavers of the Natives will allow them to stop until the great and grand object is gained.-

I am quite at a loss to account for the ready assistance which has been afforded by the most determined Slave dealers⁶⁰, and Factors, of this unhappy Country without [word illeg.] that a thirst for knowledge has at length reached their contaminated minds (the first step to civilisation) – and broke through the dark and unhappy cloud which has so long lowered over a race of beings which Great Britain has long expressed so much anxiety about. Should it fortunately turn out that the Niger is navigable and a way of access, a wonderful change in a few years may be expected in the interior of Africa.-

I send this by the Baltic Merchant Transport, also Boxes of Seeds, Plants, Minerals &c as well as the Trunks of the deceased – a Trunk containing Captain Pearce's Journals, Drawings and some Nautical Instruments I shall forward by His Majesty's ship Dispatch and on consideration I think it advisable to send Captain Clapperton's and all M^r Dickson's Dispatches by the same conveyance, as it seems doubtful at present which will arrive first I have, etc., G.N.Willes, Captain

2.16 *H. Clapperton to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 288-289]*
[25.2.26 – Report from Katunga]

Hio or Katungah, in the Kingdom of Yoruba
 25th Feb^y 1826

[Stamped: received August 12 1826]

Sir,

When I wrote my last from Engwa reporting the death of Captain Pearce I expected the late Mr. Morrison would have lived to join the Brazen where he would have had proper medical assistance – but it pleased God to order otherwise, He died at the city of Jenna on the 27th December 1825. Mr. Houtson in whose care I sent him down had him decently buried and sent his baggage and journals to Badagry where they have been received on board HM Ship Redwing as my last letter informs me and will be forwarded to the Colonial Office by the earliest opportunity.

I have heard nothing of Mr. Dickson and I fear I have been much misled by the reported facility with which we would have been able to get through Dahomey – in consequence of which I have ordered Mr. James to cease acting as Agent and Mr. Dickson I have advised to return home as it is improbable from the rains coming on before he will be able to leave Badagry – as also a number of presents [would be] necessary none of which he has got or can procure that he will ever be able to join me as I leave this [place] in two days for Yauri.

⁶⁰ Probably a reference to Francisco Felix de Souza in particular.

The communication through this country might be easily kept up by a resident agent in Oyo should ever HM Government think it proper to establish one as the present King is anxious that an Englishman should reside here but I have every reason to believe the people on the coast would prevent it if they possibly could. The power of Yorriba is on the decline as the Fellatas have got Nife on the East bank of the Kwara or Niger River on this side with several other towns to the southward of Oyo and have an open communication with Jabo and Lagos – owing to their war with the Fellatas I am obliged to take the road through Yauri instead of Nife the latter of which is the most direct –

the King sends a messenger with me who will forward me to Bornu as I have to cover my design of visiting Bello – after delivering His Majesty's letter and presents to Bello I shall apply to him to send me to Timbuctu during the rainy months. On my return from there I shall proceed to Adamawa, from there to Bornu and round the Chad – my next letter will be from some part of Haussa most likely Sokatoo and I could wish that any letters addressed to me might be sent by way of Tripoli as by that way I shall be sure to receive them.

With respect to the slave trade as carried on here it appears to me that when ever a slave vessel arrives at Lagos Aguda⁶¹ or Badagry news are sent to the interior. The vessel lands her cargo and if there be not enough of slaves on hand they either make an inroad into their neighbour's territory or on the slightest pretence create a palaver with one of their own towns catch the habitants and sell them –

all my endeavours to ascertain where the Kwara or Niger enters the sea have been fruitless. They sometimes say it enters the sea at Benin other times between Jabo and Benin. I could not prevail on the King to allow me to visit it during my stay here. He could not conceive why I should want to see it here when I should have to cross it in going to Yauri – indeed it might be from his inability to get me through the Fellatas on its banks, it being only two days' distant to the Eastward from this place.

I regret that I am under the necessity of sending the telescope with [word illeg.] instruments [word illeg.] which got damaged and wet with great part of the baggage in landing from the Brazen at Badagry. I at the same time send a copy of my journal the barometrical and thermometrical [word illeg.] courses and distances latitudes and longitudes of the different places through which I have passed and a chart of my route. I also send a list of what will be useful and what the King says he wanted if any other traveller be sent out by His Majesty's Government through the kingdom of Yorriba

⁶¹ i.e., Ouidah.

In my letter dated December 20th 1825 I advised you of my having drawn on the right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of HM Treasury in favour of John Houtson for £203 – 5 shillings the amount of expenses paid by that gentleman on arrival of the Mission to despatch it from Badagry and I have also drawn at thirty days sight dated February 25th 1826 in favour of the same person £644:15:0, the £600 for his services to the Mission agreeably to the engagement entered into with him on board the Brazen off Badagry a copy of which was enclosed with my letter of 29th November 1825 and the *rest* for balance of advances to the Mission as for [word(s) illeg.] amount – the amount of expenses will not appear unreasonable I trust when it is considered that during the route I never had less than a hundred carriers.
I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton Com^r RN

2.17 *H. Clapperton to Frederick James, Whydah [CO 2/17 f. 76]*
[4.3.26 – termination of James's appointment as agent]

Katanga or Eyo the Capital of Yourriba, 4th March 1826

Should Mr. Dickson have been fortunate in proceeding through the Kingdom of Dahomey before this reaches you all will be well – if not I have requested him to return instantly to Badagry – In either case your services can no longer [be] necessary to the Mission – You will there fore no longer consider yourself as agent to the Mission and cease drawing any more pay

I have, etc., Hugh Clapperton
Com^r R.N. in charge of the
Mission to the interior of Africa

[Covering letter from Admiralty to Hay [CO 2/17 f. 71, Verso:]]

The letter from Capt Clapperton is so far important as it establishes the fact as to the period when he considered Mr. James's Services wd. be unnecessary

2.18 *P.J. Fraser to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 360-1]*
[4.7.26 – re news of Clapperton, Dickson and Houtson]

[Received Sept. 29 1826]

Cape Coast Castle, July 4th 1826

Sir

I have the honour to transmit to you for the information of the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earl of Bathurst an extract from a letter which I received from Captain Clapper-

ton on the 4th June the following is a correct Copy, from which you will perceive at that period he was enjoying good Health and excellent Spirits

Eyo – Hio or Katungah, March the 4th 1826

You will no doubt have heard, long ere this reaches you, of the death of my companions and no doubt would expect to hear of mine by the next arrival. I had a very strong attack of fever but had to stand my own Doctor and of course recovered. I now enjoy as good health as a man can expect in Africa who is not actually a native. Houtson who has been here with me has also been Sick as also every Man, and Boy, Black or White belonging to my party owing to the bad Roads, Swamps, Cold caught in the Harmatan, a Superabundance of Goat's Flesh and Yams. I have often wished myself under your Hospitable roof or that I possessed the lamp of Aladdin to have you and your House conveyed here or that I could have been conveyed there.

I leave this in a day or two and leave you to Houtson for all the information on this country which is great

Signed J. [*sic*] Clapperton

PS I have superseded Mr. James. He can no longer be of any service.

By the same conveyance Captain Clapperton's letter reached me I received one also from a correspondent at Accra communicating the arrival of M^r Houtson at that place on the 8th of May and in a very precarious state of Health. The same letter mentions that he died on the 13th of the same Month.

Being the only Agent acting for the Mission I lost no time in dispatching a Messenger to Accra requesting that all Public documents relative to the Expedition should be forwarded to me unless any of HM Ships should happen to be in the Accra Roads, in that case to deliver them to the Captain of such Ship with instructions to forward them by earliest conveyance to England; by return of the messenger I received intelligence that the Vessel in which M^r Houtson was on Board of and on his passage from Badagry to Accra fell in with H.M. Ship Dispatch commanded by Captain Parsons; and the whole of the Dispatches which were intrusted to the late M^r Houtson's care on his parting with Captain Clapperton were delivered to Captain Parsons.

there are reports in circulation that M^r Dickson, one of the Gentlemen attached to the Mission and who landed at Whydah was murdered in the interior of Dahomey; how far this is correct I cannot attempt to give an opinion. Should anything further transpire regarding the Mission I shall make appoint of communicating by the earliest opportunity.

I have, etc., P.J. Frazer

2.19 *Clapperton's Memorandum [CO 2.16 f. 246]*
 [6.3.26 – Instructions to his servants in the event of his death]

In the event of my death in Africa I desire my servant Richard Lander may take charge of all my Books and papers and deliver them to the Colonial Office -

Should this event take place on this side of the River Niger it will be more expedient that he should return to Badagry to M^r Houtson – provided he cannot get into Sudan to deliver the King of England's letter, with the Arabic books, to Sultan Mohammed Bello at Sockatoo – but in this he must use the utmost discretion.

In case of my dying on the other side of the Niger he may entrust himself with the fullest confidence to Sultan Mohammed Bello and the Shieke [*sic*] of Bornow – and will be sent home by either, by the way of Tripoli – In case any dispute should arise regarding the payment of my servant Richard Lander's wages at the Colonial Office it is my desire that they be paid by my relations out of my private property -

In the event the said Richard Lander should also die I desire that W^m Pascoe my negro Servant may take charge of the Books and papers and deliver them to the Colonial Office -

as witness my hand this sixth day of March 1826
 Hugh Clapperton

Signed in the presence of
 John Houtson

Katunga the Capital of Yourriba, Mar 6th 1826

2.20 *J. Houtson to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 f. 387-9]*
 [27.4.26 – re Clapperton's departure from Katunga for Borgu]

HM Ship Dispatch off Whydah Ap^l 27th 1826

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of My Lord Bathurst that I arrived at Badagry from the interior on the 12th inst. after an absence of four months and five days. -

Cap^l Clapperton left me at Katunga on the 7th March on his way through Baraba or Burgho towards Youri – The last acc^{ts} I heard were of his arrival & departure from Yarro or Kiama a province of that Kingdom. The King had met him at some distance from the city at the head of 500 Horse treated him with great distinction – furnishing abundance of provisions & every thing necessary

for his journey – From Kiama he would proceed to Wawa in the province of Barraba and distant from Youri four days – where I trust he has before this time met M^r Dickson. He left Katunga in good health and spirits. His Serv^t Richard was also quite recovered -

I left Katunga on the 14th and was received every where on my return with the same kindness and attention manifested on our journey up the King's Messenger Abuco attended me to Badagry – Capt Clapperton gave the King of Yourriba an order for the 30 Muskets left on Board the Brazen – but as that vessel has not arrived at Badagry I have paid my own muskets instead – and trust to meeting her at C Coast -

Capt Parsons being under sail I have not time to send you a copy of my memorandums of the journey home from Katunga but I shall send by the first of H.M. Ships I fall in with -

I have deliv^d to him addressed for the Col. Office
 a telescope & Stand
 a Chronometer
 a Microscope
 A Case of Surgical Insts-
 all damaged by the Canoes filling with water on first landing at Badagry
 I have, etc., Jno Houtson

[Received August 12 1826]

3 Reports of progress and affairs of the mission

3.1 *G.N. Willes to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 376-7]* *[14.2.26 – forwarding papers and news of Mission]*

Brazen at sea, 14th Feb^y 1826

Dear Sir

I have put all drawings of poor unfortunate Captain Pearce into a Portmanteau marked with Brass Nails R.P. N^o 4 together with his Journals and memorandum book which is worth looking closely into – and with Bow & arrows sent it in charge of Parsons of the Despatch – you will find in the despatch all I have received from Cap^t Clapperton & M^r ~~Morrison~~ Dickson – your friend Mr. Walker heard of the latter's arrival at Shar having called at Whydah [2 words illeg.] – he is in command of a very fine schooner tender – and was kind enough to bring me a prize on his way from S. Leone he also had an action and running fight for many hours with a Dutch Slaver – of superior force – and would have taken her no doubt had he not fallen in with the other [word(s)]

illeg.] which divided his crew and filled him with prisoners. indeed there is nothing he takes in hand but what he does in superior style – he was at S. Leone with the Tender when the Commodore was [word illeg.] and in writing to me he says it would be [word illeg.] to Mr. Walker was he not to mention that his conduct during his Stay there nearly a month had been most Exemplary & Correct I am happy to say he enjoys perfect health

I am, etc., G.N.Willes

[Margin:]

- Ext[ract] to Captain Pearce's friend 7 June 1826

- to Mr. Barrow 30 June 1826

[Received June 6 1826]

3.2 *R.W. Hay to Clapperton [CO 392/3 ff. 83-5]*
[25 April 1826: Earl Bathurst's disapprobation of appointment of Agents on the Coast]

Downing Street, 25th April 1826

Sir,

I have had the honor to receive and lay before Earl Bathurst your letter of 29th of November last together with its enclosures.

The satisfaction which his Lordship experienced in learning that the Mission had safely arrived at their primary destination on the Coast of Africa was much diminished upon his Lordship's finding that you had taken upon yourself in the very outset of your proceedings, to indulge in such unnecessary extravagance in the disposal of public money. No authority was given to you in your Instructions which can in any degree justify your appointment of Mr. James as Agent at Whydah, or the agreement which you have made to give so large a sum as that which you have mentioned to Mr. Houtson in case of your safe arrival at Nyffee; and until you can shew clearly that those measures were absolutely necessary, his Lordship will not feel himself warranted in consenting that any payment be made to either of those persons. But as their cooperation with you may have exposed them to some inconvenience, his Lordship will direct that they shall be remunerated at the rate of one half of the sums agreed upon, which will be placed in an Imprest against your pay

I am etc., R.W. Hay

3.3 *R.W. Hay to F. James [CO 2/15 f. 368]*
 [3.5.26 – disapprobation of contract as Agent for the Mission]

[At top:] released January 1827
 in consequence of Mr. James' death

Downing Street, London, 3rd May 1826

Sir

Captain Clapperton having apprised Lord Bathurst of the arrangement which he had made for stationing you at Whydah as Agent to his Mission, with a Salary of £400 per annum, I am directed by His Lordship to acquaint you that he has been under the necessity of signifying his disapprobation of such arrangement, until further explanations shall have been received from Captain Clapperton upon the subject.

As you may, however, have been subjected to some degree of inconvenience by your detention at Whydah, if that be not your ordinary place of residence, I am desired to add that his Lordship will not feel at liberty to sanction the payment to you of a similar rate of Salary for the future

I am, etc., R.W. Hay

4 Lander papers

4.1 *H. Clapperton to R. Lander*
 [From R. Lander, Captain Clapperton's last expedition, Vol I, pp. 222-4⁶²]
 [re arrival in Sokoto]

Tuesday October 26, 1826, Sockasoo

Dear Richard

I arrived here on Thursday, after a most fatiguing and harassing journey. I find the city in much the same state as on my former visit. They say it has been burnt by the rebels of Goober, but I have observed no traces of a recent conflagration, and therefore suspect the rumour to be unfounded. Sultan Bello has been investing Coonia, the Capital of Goober, with a large but irregular army. I visited him in my camp previously to my arrival here. He appeared glad to see me, and welcomed me to his country with the utmost cordiality. He is now at Magaria, anticipating an attack from the rebel chief, but is expected here shortly. The Arabs have already begun their underhand and deceitful practices, by tampering with Mohamed (an Arab servant⁶³), and insinuating the injury he would do his soul by serving an enemy to their faith. The man hardly knows how to act; on the one hand he dreads the resentment of his namesake the

⁶² These three letters were evidently edited by Richard Lander's brother, or the publisher or both.

⁶³ Publishers' parenthesis.

Prophet; and on the other if he quits my service, he must necessarily throw himself upon the good-nature of his rascally countrymen, who indeed make golden promises, but whose filthy niggardliness is proverbial, even amongst the Falatahs. I shall certainly feel his loss severely, if Mohammed follows their advice, as I have no one in whom I can repose so much confidence as himself; but I have left it entirely to his own choice, either to go or stay. I have just had a conversation with a messenger arrived these few minute from Bello and the Godado; he tells me the rebels are hourly expected near Magaria, and of his sovereign's wish for me to make all haste to him, as he is utterly unconscious how long he may be detained with his army. For the purpose of assisting me on my journey, the Sultan has sent me two camels and a horse; and most likely I shall leave this city today or next day.

It is most violently hot here. I fancy the weather has already made some impression on my health, for I feel now and then a little feverish and unwell. I sincerely wish it may not increase upon me. Heaven knows I have had enough of sickness since I first set my foot on African soil; and it would be disheartening indeed if I should be laid up at this particular time. Let me hope your health is improved since I saw you. It would grieve me exceedingly to hear an unfavourable account of it; and I would suggest you keep both mind and body as much employed as possible. By right you should have no idle moments. I hope you ride out every day, and amuse yourself with shooting and stuffing birds: this will tend to keep you in good health and spirits. Apply you mind strictly to the duties of religion; rely firmly on the mercy and assistance of Heaven; for in all your difficulties and distress, this alone will bear you up like a man, and render you superior to misfortune.

I pray God to bless you; and believe me to be
Your sincere friend and master Hugh Clapperton

[received 12 November 1826]

4.2 *Clapperton to R. Lander [Ibid. Vol.1, pp. 224-8]*
[re Bello's refusal to permit a return to Borno]

November 7th, 1826, Sockasoo

Dear Richard,

I returned from Magaria yesterday; the Sultan received his present with rapture; nor did the Godado appear much less pleased with his. I enjoy, thank God, tolerable health, with the exception of being afflicted at times with a sharp pain in my side, which annoys me greatly; but I hope I will soon wear off. The Sultan does not seem in the least willing for me to visit Bornou, by reason of

the war; but I shall do all in my power to overturn his unjust prejudices. He fancies, no doubt, the present intended for the Sheikh consists of warlike stores; at least, I am pretty confident my kind friends the Arabs have intimated as much to him. Yet I am infinitely pleased to learn that Bello does not altogether relish their counsel, and that he judges pretty correctly of the falsehood and deceit they have so often practised to serve their own ends.

If the road to Bornou be denied me, I really can't tell what we should do, or how we shall get home. It is certain if we pursue a different route, my business will be incomplete, and of all things this lies nearest to my heart. It is not likely, however, I shall be kept in suspense a great while longer, and I shall know with certainty in perhaps a few days. I am already heartily tired of this place; and most devoutly wish I were with you. I long to turn my face towards our dear country again; yet whenever I think calmly of it, as oftentimes I do, a cloud seems to hang over the future which saddens me, I know not why, and makes me excessively low spirited. I would cheerfully dissipate all gloomy reflections if I could; but they come over one at times when one is least capable of resisting their influence, and an unpleasant sensation steals insensibly upon the mind, and renders one careless of oneself, and regardless of the world.

My dear Richard, do *you* endeavour to keep up your spirits. You tell me you are ill; I imagine this proceeds more from brooding over your misfortunes than any other cause whatever: it is not well to do so; you should not suffer despondency and dejection to have the mastery over your judgement and resolution. Think of your friends in England, and fancy yourself in their little circle; never permit hope to sink so far within you, as to say to yourself, "I shall never see my country again." Such thoughts, I repeat, should never be indulged; for they are ever attended with mischief. Your disorder is, indeed, a peculiarly painful one; yet it is one which every European must expect to be visited with in this remote region. I have been afflicted with it myself before now, and you see I am completely recovered from its effects.

Let me entreat you, therefore, to hope for the best: it is unmanly to repine at any trifling casualty that may befall one, which we are all so very apt to do. Above all things, place your confidence in the wisdom of the Almighty; let your whole heart and affections rest upon him, for he alone is able to support you under the trying sickness that wastes you, and conduct you in safety to dear old England. Pray to Heaven night and morning, and read the church service as often as you can, particularly on the Sabbath; for a firm reliance on the goodness and mercy of the Divine Power, will inspire you with confidence, and bear you up with cheerfulness and courage, even when all earthly enjoyments fail you. For my own part, I am inclined to believe you will soon be well, and that we shall shortly see better and happier days. Most likely I shall leave this city for Kano the latter part of the week, and surely I need not repeat how happy I shall be to

see you again.

Adieu, and believe me
Your sincere friend and master H. Clapperton

[received 18 Nov. 1826]

4.3 *H. Clapperton to R. Lander [Ibid. Vol.1, pp. 251-3]*
[Frustrated plans and illness]

Soccosoo, Wednesday Dec 13 1826

Dear Richard

I hope you do well; I am still here, contrary to my expectations, and Heaven knows when I shall be permitted to leave. This cursed Bornou war has overturned all my plans and intentions, and set the minds of the people generally against me, as it is pretty well understood, by both rich and poor, that I have presents for their enemy the Sheikh. I wish, with all my heart, it was ended; no matter whether the Falatahs or Bornouese be victorious, so I could conveniently pursue my journey. The Sultan has told me that I may return by way of Bornou, if I insist upon it, but raises so many obstacles, that it amounts to prohibition. He is evidently unwilling for me to have any dealings with his adversaries. I do not know how this matter will end; I must acknowledge I do not like the appearance of things just now; God grant my fears may be groundless. Since my last I have been seriously ill with an enlargement of the spleen* but am now much relieved from the pain attendant upon this complaint; and the swelling is also greatly reduced. I amuse myself as often as opportunities occur, which are seldom enough, and frequently take a ramble through the town, or a ride into the country. I generally feel stronger after the exercise, and would recommend you to adopt a similar practice, for, believe me, you would soon experience the benefit of it. Three or four fires have happened here lately, which have done much mischief; but nothing of mine, I am happy to say, has been injured by them, although a house adjoining ours has been burnt to the ground. People say the rebels of Goober are the authors of them, but I put no confidence in these rumours, as they are without the slightest proof. I believe I have nothing more, in the shape of news, to acquaint you with, and my only reason for writing to you at all, is to let you know how I get on, that you may not be uneasy on my account. Adieu, Richard, and rest assured I have your interest and welfare at heart.

Your sincere friend and master, Hugh Clapperton

* In some counties in England called “ague-cake” and supposed to arise from the effects of intermittent fevers.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Footnote in published text.

4.4 *R. Lander's diary note of 10 April 1827 [CO 2/16 f. 8]
[10.4.27 – re Clapperton's death-bed instructions to him]⁶⁵*

Socketoo April 10th 1827 My Master said to me at 12 at noon Richard i am going to die, i cud not help sheding tears has he has Behaved like a father to me since i had been with him ~ i went into the hut He was then laying in a shade outside ~ he said Richard come here my dear Boy its the will of god it cant be helpd, dont fret bear yourself up under all Troubles like a man and a english man ~ do not be affraid no one will hurt you ~ I do not fear that, Sir, it is for the loss of you who has been a father to me since i have Been with you,

my dear Boy I tell what you do ~ take great cares of My jornals and when you arrive in London go to my agents and tell them To send directly for my uncul and tell him that it was my wish that he Wod go with me to the colonoal office and see me delever the gornals That they might not say there were aney thing missing, my little money any ~~Cloaths~~ Close and every thing i have heir belongs to you ~ sell the close And put the money in your pocket and shud you be obliged to make yuse of it before your return to england charge government with it ~ the wages Which I agreed to give you my agent will pay you, and apply to the Colonoal office for 80£ Pur annum which whas to be alloud me for a servant ~ I have no dought but the[y] will give it to you has i wrot concerning it from Kutunga, Bello will lend you money to buy cammels and provisions and Send you home over the desert with the gaffle and when you arrive at tripiolie Mr. Warrington will give you what money you want and Send you home the first opportunity,

My books is not worth takeing home [word(s) illeg.] to[o] much lumber ~ leve them here likewise the boromoter boxes And sticks and anything else you can spare ~ go home has light has possable ~ Writ down the names of the Towns you go throu and all purticklurs And if you get safe home with the jornals i have no doubt of your Being well rewarded for your truble

4.5 *R. Lander to H. Warrington [CO 2/16 f. 10]
[27.5.27 – re Clapperton's death and plans for return to the Coast]*

Kano May 27 1827

Honored Sir

With sorroy i have to accunt you of the deth of my master capt Clapperton ~ he Departed this life at socketoo the 13th of April at 6 o,clock in the morning after 36 days hillness with a severe infirmation in the inside much regretted by me Has he had always behaved like a father to me since i left england ~ i burried

⁶⁵ Lander, a practical man, presumably kept this note both for personal reasons and as a record of instructions. The original spelling is retained.

Him at jungavey a small vilige 5 miles E of sockato st 3 o'clock in the afternoon Of the same day according to the rites of the church of england and he was carried on one of his own camiels and fowlowed by no one but me and 8 pepole who were With me to dig the grave

we arrived here the 20 of Julay 1826 and was treateat [sic]with the greatest respect and the[y] were well pleased with their present until Master hasked to go to burnou ~ after this we where treated like spyies, I whas Left in Kano to take care of the baggage and master proceedeed to sockato with the Presents to bello ~ when master hasked to go to burnou he dispatched a messinger off to Kano to bring me and all the things instantley ~ i left Kano the 25 of November and Arived at sockatoo the 20 of December 21 onnown to my master ~ the sultan demanded the sheke of burnu Letters ~ master gave them to him ~ he desired master to oupon them ~ Then he said its more than my head is worth to oupon my King's letters ~ he said then i will ~ he said that He had letters from severell respectable persons to say we where spyies ~ master Said He must se them but he cud not show them ~ he waved his hand for us to go ~ we Went home and in the afternoon of the same day the Kings head men came and demanded the shekes present and spare harms ~ master said their is no faith In you you are worse than highway robbers ~ the[y] said take care or you will loose your head. he said if i do i loose it for the rites of my cuntry ~ the[y] took the presents and harms and went off and sent to say he must go bay the desert or the Way he came ~ he must not go to burnu

i left sockatoo the 4th of May and arrived At Kano the 26 of May - i am waiting are for 2 hundred and 45 thousand cowrees for diffrient artickals purchest by the sultun of sockatoo ~ has soon has i receive That which is expected in 10 days i proceeded to the sea side the way we came or 5 and 30 days ~ a nearer way 10 days due s of culfoa⁶⁶ a called fundah which [one word illeg.] To the bite of benin ~ here the corra⁶⁷ runs to it ~ this river is called by us the niger - I[f] the sultan of culfou ashures me of the road being safe i will go Has it will be of great Advantage to the inglish ~ i send the copley of the jornal from Katunga To this town by a arab⁶⁸ who I have told on delevering them safe you will give him 30 Dollars

I Remain Sir your most Obedient humble

Servent Richard Lemon Lander, Servent to the late Cap^t Clapperton

And Late with Major Colebrooke [“commissioner” inserted] at The cape of good hope with him i traveld Throu the british settelments of that cuntry

⁶⁶ i.e., Kulfo.

⁶⁷ i.e., Kwara.

⁶⁸ The only record of the fate of the second copy of Clapperton's main journal from March 1826 to March 1827. It never re-appeared.

5 Aftermath

5.1 *Lt. Governor Lumley to R.W. Hay [CO 267. f. 94 & ff.]*
[20 Jan 1828: Extract of letter reporting arrival of Lander and Clapperton's death]

Received CO 5th May 1828

Cape Coast Castle, 20 Jany 1828

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that on the 18th Instant the servant of Captain Clapperton, conductor of the Mission into the Interior of Africa, arrived at the settlement from the Bight of Benin where he was found by an English trading vessel & was conveyed to Cape Coast. He brings the distressing intelligence of his master's death which took place at Sokoto on the 13th of April last & which was occasioned by an attack of dysentery. As great part of his personal property, however, and above all the valuable Journal and Papers have been preserved by the fidelity and persevering care and attention of his servant, it is my intention to send him to England along with the Journal by HMS Esk which I daily expect to call here for my despatches. Capt'n Clapperton's papers I shall for their better security cause to be enclosed and sealed with my own seal.

The servant who is a young Englishman arrived here perfectly destitute and at his own request, I intend to supply him with such money as he may require to furnish himself with accessories and bear his expenses in London. The amount will be charged by the Commissariat to the Army Extraordinaries.

I understand from this young man that his master had received positive intelligence of Major Laing's arrival at Timbuctoo. There is considerable reason to fear, however, from subsequent accounts that had reached Sokoto that he has fallen a sacrifice to some popular tumult. It was admitted by the Sultan of Sokoto, himself, that Major Laing had been attacked and that he had lost one of his arms, but it would appear from the intelligence obtained by Captain Clapperton's servant that he had afterwards been beaten to death. I, however, trust the event may prove otherwise. ...

Lumley, Lt. Colonel & Lieut. Governor West Coast Africa

5.2 *Colonial Department Memorandum [CO 2/16 f. 6 & ff. 263-4]*
[2.5.28 – Clapperton's property deposited by Lander]

List of Articles belonging to the late Captains Clapperton and Pearce and Dr Morrison delivered up by Richard Lander (Servant to the late Captain Clapperton) to Robt Hay Esq^{re} Her Majesty's Under Secretary of State for the

Colonies at the Colonial Office on Friday 2nd of May 1828

List of Articles belonging to the late Captn Clapperton

- C.O.⁶⁹ Journals
 Two Sextants
 Artificial Horizon
 A spy glass
- C.O. A silver Watch
 Three pocket compasses
 Two brass circles
 Two pocket thermometres
 Two Rulers
 A prayer Book
 The Economy of Human Life
- C.O. Memorandum books
 A Commanders Dress Coat
- C.O. 8 Specimens of minerals
- C.O. A Specimen of the poison for Arrows
 3 Boxes of Bramah's Pens
- C.O. A Country Flute
- C.O. A Country Hand Knife
- C.O. A Country Call
- C.O. A portfolio (in which are contained many very valuable Papers)
 A Paper of Pencils
 – D" – of Paint Brushes
- C.O. A parcel of Country dye
 A Case of Instruments
 Indian Rubber
 Gloves (white)
- C.O. Macedamia Butter (contained in a small round Box)
- C.O. Seed of Butter Tree
 A Silver Pencil Case
 Three Maps
 A Measuring Tape

Articles belonging to the late Capt. Pearce

- A case of Instruments
- C.O. A Silver Watch
 A Song Book
 Cowpers' Poems

⁶⁹ 'C.O.' denotes retention of the item by the Colonial Office; other property was presumably forwarded to Clapperton's personal representatives.

Articles belonging to the late Dr. Morrison
A Case of Instruments

For Colonial Office

C.O. A Gold Watch – intended as a present for King Bello

5.3 *Colonial Department Memorandum [CO 2/16 f. 27]*
[2.5.28 – List of Clapperton's papers deposited by Lander]

Memo.

1. Journal from 27 August 1825 to Nov^r 1826.
2. Journal 29 Novr 1826 to the end of February 1827
3. Journal in sheets from 25 February 1826 to 23 July 1826
4. A smaller Journal commencing 30 March 1826 -
5. Sketch Book.
6. Book containing entry of Captain Clapperton's letters.
7. A Map of Africa
8. Three Arabic Documents, and one Book containing Arabic.
9. Letter from Captain Clapperton's Servant to Mr. Warrington dated 27 May
10. Memorandum made by Captⁿ Clapperton's Servant on the 10th of April.
11. Letter of the Master of the "Maria" to Captⁿ Clapperton's Servant dated 8 January 1828⁷⁰

5.4 *2 letters from G.N. Willes to R. Lander [CO2/16 ff. 12-13]*
[5.5.28 – re date of death of Columbus]

i)

May 5th 1828

Union Hotel, Cockspur Street

Referring to the Brazen Log I see we landed Columbus at Whydah on the 3^d Dec^r '25 and by the best information obtained from that place afterwards he died within the Month of the disease he had been expended with ere we left England

G.N.Willes, late Captain HMS Brazen

⁷⁰ Of these eleven items, the journals and letters (Items 1-4 and 6) form the basis of the present text. Item 8 (three Arabic documents and one book containing Arabic) are the nine documents translated by A.V. Salamé and published as an Appendix to *Journal of a Second Expedition* [pp. 329-40]. The Map of Africa (Item 7) is an edition of C.A. Walckenaer's map of 1820. The sketch book was lost and there are no other references to it, although we may take it that Barrow and Murray had sight of it at the time. Items 9-10 are reproduced in this Appendix. Item 11 [CO 2/16, ff. 259-60] is a note from Captain Laing offering a passage to Cape Coast to the 'White Man, a traveller in this country on shore here'.

ii)

London 5th May 28

I hope Lander the Memo I forward you will enable [you] to receive Columbus Salary allow his death. I can only add that your late masters attachment to you from the first has in my opinion not been abused. – but has been rewarded by faithful upright [one word illeg.] on your part which must ever reflect credit to your name as long as you live – I wish you every success and if I can be of any service to you for the sake of your good old master it will afford me the greatest Pleasure

G.N. Willes

[note on reverse of envelope]

I live at Hythe near Southampton

5.5 *R.Lander to R.W. Hay [CO 2/16 f. 14-15]*

[May 1828 – re Pasco]

[undated, stamped received 8 May 1828]

15 Duke Street Adelphi
Monday Morning

Honored Sir,

I suppose you are already acquainted with the conduct of Pasko, who was taken by the late Capt. Pearce, from the Ranger, to proceed with him, into the Interior of Africa, and after his death retained by Captain Clapperton, as his Cook, – he was to receive Seaman's pay and provisioning and grog, money, during the time he should be absent from England. Pasko was discharged by my late Master at Soccatoo, for his behaviour, but retaken when I myself, being very ill, was unable to pay proper attention to his numerous and urgent wants. – On his death-bed, ~~my~~ Capt. C. solemnly forgave his past conduct, and promised that all should be forgotten. It was on the virtue of this declaration that Pasko consented to remain in my service – and return with me to England after his lamented death, much against the wishes of Sultan Bello – who did all he could to prevent his leaving Soccatoo, and indeed would by no means have given him permission to depart, until I had first protested he should be sent back, on my arrival at Kano. On my journey to the sea coast, I found nothing to complain of in Pasko's general behaviour – he at times rendered me the most essential service, in giving ~~quick~~ prompt answers to the interrogations of the Kings and Chiefs who were suspicious of our motives for visiting the Falatahs, with whom they were at war, when the least hesitation on my part, might have been the means of having my head severed from my body.

This is not all – when desperately ill with fever and dysentery, and quite blind, Pasko paid the utmost attention to me, and was the means, under Divine Providence, of my preservation from a miserable death, and the safety of the papers committed to my care.

Under these considerations, Sir, I hope you will overlook, as my Master did, his past conduct which, for the known character of the African race, every allowance is to be made, & send him to Cape Coast where he has left his wife & friends

I remain, etc., R. Lander

[notes on reverse of envelope:

- R left Brazen in Nov^r 1825
 Accomp^d Clapperton as far as Sockatoo
 P ran away from ‘Sanson’ in Oct 1826
 Hired again and was forgiven April 1827]
- 16 \$
 6 Sovereigns
 1 Gun
 2 Pistols
 2 1/2 doz Scissors
 2 Papers of Beads
 10 knives
 6 gold chains
- Without his [Pasco’s] assistance afterwards Lander could have died.

5.6 *Two Memoranda – Colonial Department and Admiralty*
 [27.5.28 – re Pasco, his pay and return to Africa]

i) **Colonial Office Memo [CO 2/16 f. 16]**

I enclose a letter which Lander has written in favour of Pasco the black Seaman. Mr. Barrow is of opinion that a few pounds might be given to him to enable him to go down to Plymouth from whence he is to sail in the Madeira

C.O 27 May jS.

ii) **Navy Office Memo [CO2/17 f. 114]**

Navy Office to CO

if we are to pay Pasco while on the mission, then we need a certificate that you have not paid him

5.7 *A.V. Salame to R.W. Hay [CO2/17 f. 385]*
[3.6.28 – re translation of papers in Arabic brought from Sokoto]

Blackheath 3 June 1828

... As to the late Capⁿ Clapperton's papers [and their] intended publication, I beg to assure you that whatever may lie in my humble assistance to render that Publication perfect or interesting shall not be spared; and herein I beg to submit to your perusal the Translation of some documents addressed to Mr. Barrow, relative to the death of Mango Park, his Party & his Papers, which are part of the arrangement I had made & which were unknown to Mr. Barrow⁷¹.

The originals of them I have discovered among the leaves of the Memorandum book that came to me with the last or 3rd lot of Clapperton's papers

If you permit me however, I will perhaps tomorrow do myself the honor to submit to you a list of the Contents of all the Papers I received that you may judge of their interest or value⁷²

With the highest respect etc., A.V. Salame

5.8 *J. Rennell⁷³ to prob. R.W. Hay [CO2/17 ff. 378-9]*
[27.9.28 – Re Clapperton's journal and map of route to Oyo]

Wednesday Sep 27th 1826

Sir

I beg leave to offer you my sincere thanks, for your very great politeness & kindness in allowing me to read Capt. Clapperton's Journal and to examine his Map. They have afforded me much Information, & of course pleasure. However, the Mystery of the Course of Niger appears to be still as far from being developed as ever; especially as Capt. Clapperton has found that the K. of Hio does not scruple to acknowledge that he wishes not to reveal what he knows.

⁷¹ See published text, Appendix II, pp. 333-4. Salamé was grieved at not receiving a copy of the Borno Mission, as is evident in a letter from John Barrow to John Murray, Admiralty, 21 January 1829 (John Murray Archives), 'My dear Sir: Pray accept my best thanks for the very elegant little volumes you have been kind enough to send me. It is a beautiful little book. I see you have launched Clapperton & the Quarterly together. I am prepared for some saucy remarks on that subject. I think you should send a Copy of Clapperton to Mr Hay who gives us freely whatever they have in his office; and poor Salame was sadly disappointed in not getting one of Denham's. He ought I think to have a copy of the present book even if you charged it (which would be very fair) to Clapperton's representatives. Yours very sincerely, John Barrow'.

⁷² No list, nor papers, remain in CO 2/17, and presumably went to Barrow and Murray for purposes of publication.

⁷³ James Rennell (1742-1830); see Introduction.

I do not know whether you have been informed that the easterly Course of the Niger was known to Mr. George Barnes, the English Govr- of Senegal, as early as 1764; but it was then so little thought of in England that he did not think it worth making known. He was fully aware of the Course of the Trade from Timbuctoo, up the River, thro' Jenne, & from thence by transhipment, in the vessels of that place, to Soosutu, the falls or rapides of the Niger (probably at Bamakoo); & finally in the pirogues or Canoes of the Natives thro' the country of Mandinga westward! It has been only very lately indeed, that I have learnt this, from the son of Govr- Barnes

If, Sir, you are desirous of hearing other Particulars, I will with pleasure communicate them, when the paper is sent back to me.

I am , etc. J. Rennell

P.S. I have been obliged to retain the Despatch too long; having suffered in my eyes, & not being able to read comfortably at Night; which is a serious loss to me

[Margin:

Clapperton's Journal has been returned by Major Rennell]

5.9 *Treasury memo [CO2/16 ff. 233-38]*
[costs of the expedition]

The late Captain Clapperton and his companions proceeded to Africa on the following terms;

Captains Clapperton and Pearce to receive double their half pay, as Commanders in the Navy, that is to say, 8/6 or 10s/ per diem (it is not certain which) over and above their ordinary half pay, and 20s/ per diem, each, for subsistence money – Messrs Morrison and Dickson to receive 10s/ per diem each, and also 20s/ per diem for subsistence. Columbus, a man of colour, who accompanied the Mission in the capacity of Head Servant, to receive pay at the rate of £80 per annum – Beyond these allowances there was to be no expenditure of any description. –

It appears that the sums drawn by the Mission, have amounted in the whole to £3207.0.3 which was distributed in the following manner:

To Captn Clapperton	273	5	0
To Capt Pearce	273	5	0
To Mr. Morrison	236	10	0
To Mr. Dickson	289		

For their Outfit	400		
To Columbus	25	17	3
For Extra Presents to Native Chiefs, Canoemen & Carriers And Small Stores	309	3	0
To Mr. James whom Captn Clapperton appointed Agent to the Mission	300		
To Mr. Houtson for his Services To the Mission	600		
To Mr. Dickson in payment of his Bill For Stores &c	<u>500</u>		
Total	3207	0	3

Captain Pearce and Mr. Morrison having both died on the 27 of December 1825, and the sums drawn by them having in the one case exceeded and in the other equalled what they were entitled to, their Representatives can claim nothing –

Mr. Dickson's case requires no consideration at present –

With respect to Columbus, the day of his death has not been reported: but as he was paid up to the 1 of Nov^r 1825, and as it has been determined to consider Lander, it will be found that Lander is entitled to the sum of £200 being Columbus's Allowance at the rate of £80 per annum from the 1 of Nov^r 1825 to the 1 of May 1828, subject to a deduction of the sums advanced to Lander by this office amounting to £60 – “ 80 16 Seps.

Capⁿ Clapperton's claim will stand thus:

$\frac{1}{2}$ pay from 5 July 1825 to 13 April 1827 (652 days, say at 10s/ per diem	277	2	0
Allowance of 20s/ per diem from 1 August	625	0	0
Total	902	2	0
Deduct advance as stated	273	5	
Remains due	628	17	

Subject to the consideration whether a surcharge should be made of any, or the whole, of the monies drawn for the remuneration of Houtson and James, or of the charges of Messrs. Arnold & Jones for watches and Instruments purchased without authority.

5.10 *D. Denham to R.W. Hay, Colonial Office [CO 2/17 f. 269]*
[21.20.26 – Costs of care of Abdelahi, liberated Mandara slave]

Albany, Octr- 21st- 1826

I beg leave to send you or the other side⁷⁴, an Account of the Disbursements made by me for the maintenance of Abdelahi the Native of Mandara⁷⁵ I have etc. D.Denham

[Verso:]

Amt be paid

Account of Disbursements made by Major Denham on Account of Abdelahi the Native of Mandara

Paid 25 Weeks lodging and Board	£	s	d
At £1-1-0 per week from Jany- 1 to 24th June 1826	26	5	0
Paid Do- to 14th October 1826			
16 weeks at £1-1-0 per Week	16	16	0
Do- Extras	8	0	
Paid for clothes – 16 Months	21	10	6
Do- Paid for Three quarters Tuition	3	13	6
Dr- for mending Clothes etc.	1	3	6
Do- for pocket money 41 Weeks @ 2/6 per week	5	2	6
Do- for boots shoes and hat	7	5	0
Do- for 12 Shirts @ 5/1 each	3	–	–
Do- for Washing, 41 Weeks – @ 3/- per week			
		<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
			<u>0</u>
	<u>£</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>7</u>
			<u>0</u>

⁷⁴ i.e. the Treasury.

⁷⁵ In January 1824 Denham obtained from Pasha Yusuf Qaramanli 'his seal to the freedom of a Mandara boy, whose liberation I had paid for some months before'; [see Bovill, *Missions to Niger*, Vol. III, 511-12 & n]. There is no reference in Denham's published papers, however, to the attempt in August 1824 to take the boy to England. The boy had been in the service of Kachella Barca Gana; see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 208-9.

APPENDIX II

Correspondence of Robert Pearce, Thomas Dickson and James Houtson

1. Captain Robert Pearce, R.N.

1.1 Pearce to Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 332-7] [29.11.25 – Despatch from Badagry]

H.M. Ship Brazen – off Sierra Leone, 27th Oct^r

Sir

As the communication from the Interior with Sierra Leone has been more frequent of late & conceiving that the desire existing with His Majesty's Government of obtaining information relative to that country, I made enquiry during my stay there as to the means by which the intercourse was carried on, the results of which I beg to subjoin for Lord Bathurst's perusal and the commencement of my journal – the different positions alluded to being noted in the rough map at the bottom of this sheet by way of reference

Three Sego merchants were there during our stay & the Colony is *now* frequently visited by those people – Shortly after the death of Sir C McCarthy the Son of the Shireef of Sego¹ came down ostensibly as a trading merchant – but in reality I believe as a spy – he remained a year in the Colony – & came to it by way of Bammako & Tamba² to Tumbo³ through the Foulah country to the Scarcies & intended returning though the Timaneys⁴ & Korankos⁵ & thence by Sangara⁶ & Kang Kang⁷ to Bambarra a route he said he preferred being all Pagan Countries like his own – The road from Port Segou to Tumbo is but *seven* days ride through the Mandingo & Timaneys – the latter being the only troublesome natives between the Colony & Bambarra & these dare not openly obstruct you situated as they are so near our influence. Beyond these the

¹ The 'Shireef of Segou', a reference to Shaykh 'Ahmad b. Muhammad Lobbo, who was under the suzerainty of Segou until he launched a *jihad* in 1818, which resulted in the creation of the Caliphate of Hamdullahi and the conquest of Segou; see William Allen Brown, 'The Caliphate of Hamdullahi ca. 1818-1864: A Study in African History and Tradition' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1969), 13. Also see the reference in Chapter 6, p. 182.

² Tamba, located on River Bafing.

³ Timbo, capital of Futa Jallon, located further upriver on the Bafing.

⁴ Timaneys, presumably Temne.

⁵ Koranko, inland from Freetown.

⁶ i.e., Sangaran.

⁷ Kankan

Soolimas⁸ Tambas & Jallonkas are all friendly & the road in consequence is perfectly open & a constant communication kept up – Indeed if Segó be the object by Tumbo & Tamba the Foulah King who is the most powerful & who has influence over all the intermediate tribes of Jallonkas Sousous Tambas & some Timaneys can frank you the whole way to Bambarra – an instance of which happened not long ago in his sending down an escort for a Mulatto trader by the name of Gabiddon⁹ which he says he could do for any body & that he can guarantee them through all the tribes as far as Segó. Dakaba¹⁰ the present King of Segó is also friendly & sends a message to Sierra Leone occasionally – For Tumbo & the Foulah country the best road is through Balia¹¹ & Hamana¹² both of whom are friendly but neither of them have power to stop you on the road – Several men of Balia were at Sierra Leone very lately – The Sera-koolies¹³ also keep up a constant communication with the Colony. They are a migratory tribe having no fixed country of their own but travel as Gold Factors bringing that article from various parts of the interior & taking back in exchange different manufactures arms &^c from our country – They usually return by Sangara & kang Kang but they also visit Ashantee & the Senegal – The Niger according to the Segó merchants who frequently come down it against the stream is navigable for Canoes much further than has been generally supposed – In allusion to that river the Segó Shereef says “that seven years ago the King of Bambarra declared war against a nation bordering on the Ashantees – that the Infantry were sent by the Joliba down which they went with the current & proceeded up another branch of it against the stream – but that they arrived so long before the Cavalry that the affair was terminated before they made their appearance”¹⁴ -

Tuesday 1st Nov^r The Brazen fell in with & boarded a French schooner La Modeste of 67 tons with 269 slaves on board from the Gallinbar bound to Martinique¹⁵ The lower deck where these unfortunate wretches were heaped together was measured by the carpenter of the Brazen & found to be only 2 feet

⁸ i.e., Sulimana, the kingdom inland from Sierra Leone, and inhabited by the Jalonke. ‘Solima’ in Susu refers to people with sharpened teeth and indicates the non-Muslim background of the Jalonke. Much of ‘Solima’ country had been incorporated into the Muslim state of Futa Jallon through *jihad* in the 18th century. See J.S. Trimmingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa* and Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xxii-xxiii.

⁹ Stephen Gibiddon (d. 1839).

¹⁰ The *fama* (ruler) of Segó at this time was Da Monzon (1808-27); see Richard Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves: The State and Economy of the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 36.

¹¹ Balèya; see Yves Person, *Samori: Une révolution dyula* (Dakar, IFAN: 1968), I, 319-24.

¹² Amana, whose main centre was at Kouroussa; see Person, *ibid*.

¹³ Sarakole, a reference to Jakhanke merchants of Soninke origin whose towns dotted the trade routes of the interior.

¹⁴ Perhaps a garbled reference to the outbreak of *jihad* in Masina in 1818, when Shaikh Ahmad Lobbo staged an uprising against the Bambara state of Segó and founded the Caliphate of Hamdullahi; see Brown, ‘Caliphate of Hamdullahi’, 121.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the interception of slave ships, see Introduction.

8 inches under the beams, the circulation of air being nearly prevented by those who had the better fortune to get a berth in the square of the main hatchway – 50 of whom were counted in that space by L^d Wakefield the Officer who boarded – This vessel was fitted out & belonging to Ste. Pierre's Martinique commanded by a man named Grendinay with a proportion of water for the voyage of a month's average of 14 gallons a man – This vessel had been six months at the Gallinbar procuring her cargo & she left *four* other vessels in the roads belonging to the same nation & employed in the same traffick

3 Nov^r A Spanish schooner was captured by the Brazen with 35 slaves on board from Timba – 150 he calculated on taking by his own account but he says he was cheated out of the remainder by the King who did not return him the full value in exchange for his goods – The schooner was armed with a long nine pounder & answers tolerably to the description given of a vessel of that nation who has been threatening and firing into the French in the same trade – it being a frequent practice amongst the Spaniards to take the slaves out of other vessels by force when they fail in obtaining them by regular barter – The prize was sent to Sierra Leone on the 4th – on the same evening the crew of this vessel were put on board a French schooner La Constance of Martinique from whom we had other information of having been chased by a Spanish schooner As there appears to exist a great deal of acrimony between the individuals of these two nations who mutually jarr against each others interests in the pursuit of their ill gotten traffick both readily recriminating whenever the opportunity offers I am inclined to believe much might be done in the way of detection by cherishing the mutual spirit they seem to possess of informing against each other -

From the **5th of Nov^r** till the **10th** our cruise lay alongshore at a distance of from two to twelve miles – & even with that offing we had daily communication with the canoes & fishermen of Sangwin Krou Settra Niffou & Cape Town¹⁶ bringing off a few yams, fowls, & occasionally an elephants' tooth which they exchanged for tobacco the staple barter on this part of the coast – an article in great demand

These canoes are small & light cut out of the trunk of the Silk Cotton or *Pullane*¹⁷ tree – they usually carry three hands sometimes more & though apparently an unsafe conveyance to such a distance they are managed with great dexterity – & even when capsized which sometimes happens they contrive to

¹⁶ i.e., Sanguin, near Baffu Point; Kru Settra, one of the five towns; while Cape refers to Cape Palmas, a 'Fishmen' town, now called Harper. Niffou appears on Pearce's map, located on the south bank of the mouth of the next river down the coast from Settra Kru, apparently Puleba, and the town there is Grand Cess, 47 miles south of Settra Kru (and 35 miles North of Cape Palmas). On Pearce's map, however, Niffou is shown as being slightly nearer to Settra Kru than the Cape – in which case it could be today's Sass Town, 34 miles south of Settra Kru.

¹⁷ *Ceiba pentandra*, silk cotton tree; in Portuguese Creole, *poilao* or *pelon*; in Temne, *am-pòlong*; see J.M. Dalziel, *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa* (London, 1937), vol. I, 118.

right them again with great facility – The Cape Palmas fishermen are most expert & as an instance of a desire of trade I have known them take a bar of iron to the *Sesters*¹⁸ 100 miles distant in exchange for [word illeg.]¹⁹ rudely shaped collars of the same material as an ornament to wear around the neck –

On the **7th Nov^r** having a number of Krou men on board as passengers from Sierra Leone we landed them at their respective towns Settra Krou and Krou Settras²⁰ – These people are a hard working industrious race of men who go to Sierra Leone as well as to the vessels of war & merchant ships on the coast & hire themselves out as labourers – at this occupation they are usually absent from their country two or three years during which as they are frugal in their expenditure. They continue to amass two or three hundred dollars which they lay out in merchandize such as cloths, hats, muskets, Powder, Iron Bars, tobacco in stone jars, Large Brass pans, beads, knives &^c &^c & with the fruits of their labour on their return they purchase as many wives as they can maintain²¹ – their rank being afterwards estimated according to the proportion of that scale of establishment – They are a well made muscular race of men & are found to be extremely useful – Afloat every man of war carries in general sufficient to man one or two boats who do all the fag & drudgery such as watering wooding &c where exposure to the sun would endanger the health of Seamen – they are borne on the Ship's books as a part of the crew & although not enabled to do their duty aloft nevertheless of great use in the common run of work where labour & not skill is required – besides which they are sober and not at all troublesome In Sierra Leone they have a village of their own about a quarter of a mile away from Free Town inhabited by a migratory population of perhaps from four to five hundred²² – they seldom take up their residence entirely in the Colony but they frequently return after leaving it when their pockets get low and continue a fresh period of servitude till they have accumulated what they consider sufficient wealth to call themselves Gentlemen on their return

Between these and the Palmas men however there is a constant feud – the latter being constantly trained afloat as fishermen are more dexterous in the management of their canoes & from the natural hazard of their [word illeg.] are more inured to danger & possess superior courage to the Krou men, who seldom on that account return with the produce of their labour in their canoes apprehensive of the predatory habits of their neighbours waiting in preference for the chance of a man of war or other safe opportunity for carrying home their

¹⁸ Cess or Cestos River.

¹⁹ Unidentified.

²⁰ Pearce refers to two towns: Settra Kru and Kru Settras. On his map they are shown a couple of miles apart, and Settra Kru is the most northerly. In which case Pearce's 'Kru Settras' is today's Nana Kru, some 8 miles south of Settra Kru.

²¹ On the social importance of polygyny among the Kru, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 95.

²² This estimate for the Kru settlement at Freetown accords well with other information; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 10-14.

effects – M^r Morison & myself landed with a part of these Krou passengers at Krou Settra where we were received with great hospitality – considering the frequent intercourse carried on by a part of its inhabitants with Sierra Leone the curiosity we exacted was scarcely credible.²³

Leaving Krou Settra on the morning of the 7th our intercourse continued by occasional visits from canoes with a few articles for traffic as we passed along shore to Cape Palmas where having landed some natives of that country who we also bought from Sierra Leone – a fine breeze sprung up from the westward and with it we had a total cessation of rain not a drop having fallen the whole of our passage since along the leeward coast – the line of demarcation seeming to be distinctly marked at the Cape for on speaking an English vessel the following day at anchor off Beachy²⁴ they told us they had not had any rain for a fortnight although at a distance only of about 60 miles- This vessel the Tom Cod of Bristol was taking in Ivory, had been some time on the coast and is usually about 15 months between this & the Gabon River collecting a cargo which is very precarious – Besides Gold dust she had on board about 3 tons of ivory – 5 being as much as they expect owing to its being dear – 3.6 a pound and besides being difficult to be procured – They gave us information of having been boarded lately by a Spanish schooner carrying one long gun amidships & were fired into by her & plundered of their chain cable & anchor, some porter, two watches &. In return for which they had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating by releasing 30 slaves who they found collected by the schooner at Bissau & who they embarked and set them free in the American settlement at Mesurado²⁵

Saturday 12th off Cape Lahou²⁶ several large double banked canoes came alongside with a good deal of ivory but as we were going fast through the water our communication with them was but short – These Lahou men are the most perfect looking savages we have seen & quite a distinct race from the Krou men to windward who in comparison are a civilized people – they are almost in a state of nature – a stout athletic race but cunning extremely suspicious and apparently great rogues & their heads being disfigured by the hair platted into a variety of fantastical shapes & plastered over with a thick coat of red clay added greatly to a natural ferocious appearance

The good results arising from intercourse with our colonies of Sierra Leone &^c are very evident – for in proportion to the proximity to civilized countries there

²³ For the ongoing feud between the Kru of the ‘five towns’ and the so-called ‘Fishmen’ of Cape Palmas and other parts of the coast as far as the Bandama River, see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 71, 73, 88-89.

²⁴ Apparently Blieron.

²⁵ The site of Monrovia.

²⁶ Apparently also ‘Fishmen’, i.e., Bete, who lived between the Sassandra and Bandama Rivers; see Brooks, *Kru Mariner*, 73.

is a striking contrast when compared with others who, removed beyond their influence, carry both in appearance & habits distinct traits of barbarism – Such seem to be the natives about Lahou who situated about midway between our leeward Establishments at Cape Coast &^c & the partly civilized natives of the Krou country & Cape Palmas seem to be in proportion to the latter what those people are to the residents at Sierra Leone.

On the **14th** [November] we anchored at Cape Coast & sailed again on the **16th** for Accra off which Cap^{tn} Willes detained La Norifa a large Spanish schooner of 46 men and 5 guns, fitted in every way for slaves – & on information of her having lately landed a number of slaves at Popo she was carried in with the Brazen to Accra – During our stay there my servant a native of Houssa²⁷ having been told by some of his countrymen whom he met on shore that a number of Children had been stolen lately & that it was suspected that they had been shipped on board the same schooner which they recognized as having been at Accra for several days about a fortnight before – it induced further inquiry into the affair & the whole circumstance was finally described by two of the crew who confirmed the reports “that the Norifa had actually carried off from Accra *even* about 50 slaves, that they were brought off at midnight & carried down to Popo where they were deposited with others in the hands of the Caboceer whose son was sent on board in lieu and detained as hostage for the redelivery of the slaves on their return – There were four of these hostages on board when she was first examined which created the first suspicion of her intentions & it was on that plea coupled with the information alluded to above that the schooner was first detained by the Brazen.²⁸

Running down from Popo another Spanish schooner La Barbanta – a small vessel of 45 tons & 1 gun was examined at anchor off Quita – she was quite prepared for receiving her cargo, water filled & full of provisions &^c but there being no further evidence we anchored the following day at Popo & a summons was sent to the Caboceer to demand the delivery of 233 slaves acknowledged now by the Captain of the vessel to have been paid for by him & actually being in their possession – Some little demur arising the Brazen was moved closer to the beach and a shot fired over the town to despatch the business which had the desired effect as the slaves were seen shortly after led into the town in a long string chained leg & leg together in double file each pair being secured to the one ahead by an iron collar round the neck & a piece of rope fast between them – 231 were embarked & received on board the Brazen where their irons were struck off alongside & the whole restored to freedom before 4 P.M- & the circumstances relative to Accra confirmed by the identical slaves being embarked amongst the number.

²⁷ Pasco, see Introduction.

²⁸ Reference to commercial pawning; common on the Gold Coast, at least at Accra. See Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, “Trust, Pawnship and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade,” *American Historical Review*, 104:2, 1999, 332-55.

The same evening M^r Houston [*sic*] arrived in his schooner at Popo the merchant to whom we were referred in our instructions & as he appeared to be the only man qualified to assist our views from possessing much local information on this Coast, Captⁿ Clapperton engaged him to return with us to Badagry, a place represented by him as having constant communication with the interior by way of Eyo through Tapa & Nuffee²⁹ to Haoussa – on our way to Badagry we anchored off Whydah in order to inquire if any Fellatas had arrived from Sockatoo as expected by Captⁿ Clapperton but finding none he dispatched M^r Dickson to Abomey to solicit from the King of Dahomey permission to pass through his dominions to the Interior – The Jealousy & suspicion with which Europeans have been hitherto exposed to make but a very faint hope of obtaining our request from that quarter – M^r de Souza however, a Portuguese resident at Whydah, having great power with Dahomey & having promised to assist Mr. Dickson in his views I am in great hopes though contrary to what Mr. de Souza believes to be his interest in forwarding an Englishman to the Interior that he may in this instance feel desirous of bringing himself into notice by using his influence for a passage through those dominions – But should success attend our application I am not so sanguine as to any future benefit being likely to be derived as I shall be if we can open a passage by Badagry & Eyo, for the latter being a commercial people & holding as they do a regular communication with Haoussa it might be of the most beneficial consequence to England hereafter if we can once clear a path for future enterprise and speculation.

The King of Badagry³⁰ being represented as well inclined to the English & in some degree desirous of looking up to our future support much might be expected could his power be extended sufficiently to hold in check under our guidance the immense traffick in slaves which exists so openly along the whole of this leeward coast – I know not whether His Majesty's Government can be aware of the extent to which this unnatural trade is still carried on or the consequent evils of Piracy & lawless violence that it entails; but even with the short observation I have been enabled to make in merely running along the coast it is very evident that much exertion is still required to put down this iniquitous practice -

At Whydah I accompanied L^t Walker of the Brazen to examine a Spanish schooner *El Marqeo* whose equipment & movements seeming to correspond with the information we received to windward in the case of the robbery committed on the Tom Cod of Bristol off Beachy – we cross examined very closely the two Mates & Boatswain of that vessel & but for the want of time I feel convinced much might have been detected by their own prevarication that their trade here was anything but of an honest nature – for having taken down

²⁹ An error; Tapa is Nupe.

³⁰ i.e., Adele.

a written deposition of each in which they alleged that they had been at anchor at Whydah for three months without having once started their anchor, on re-examining them & reminding them that they had during that time gone in chase of a vessel under French colours to Popo & brought her back with them to the anchorage – they each after a little bullying confessed having done so – that they went out in quest of her with *Il Compisdor* a Spanish Brig of 16 guns & 60 men (a vessel notorious for her illegal practices on the coast) by the orders of this M^r de Souza, that they boarded her and brought her down to Whydah & obliged her to pay 8000 dollars to him for property of that amount taken from one of his vessels by her on his former voyage & in default of the Spaniards not enforcing the payment de Souza threatened to detain the vessel belonging to the latter which he had already in his possession – in the afternoon we went to M^r de Souza on the subject who confessed that he had obliged them to do so & that had they not [word illeg.] got his losses made good he would have secured instead what was already in his hands belonging to them -

A small schooner under Portuguese colours was also lying in the Roads belonging to de Souza – This vessel originally was under Spanish colours the crew of whom ran her into the Roads – & laid one of M^r de Souza's vessels alongside (which happened to be at anchor with a full cargo in) & turning their crew aboard made a regular exchange leaving instead their own empty vessel to make up the difference as she now stands -

But these I understand are not at all uncommon occurrences – it is the every day practice of the trade – the weaker always going to the wall – & it frequently occurs that vessels cruize to intercept the full laden slave ships whom they ease of their cargo & walk off with the contents themselves to the Havannah leaving with the sufferers a lesson to avail themselves of similar means -

Monday 20th off Badagry – M^r Houtson having been despatched yesterday by Captain Clapperton to Addally King of Badagry he has returned to day with an offer from that Chief to forward the Mission as far as Eyo a Messenger having been sent this evening to the King of Eyo to apprise him of our approach on the confines of whose territory at about 5 days march from Badagry an escort with horses is to meet us – In the chart N^o 2 I have stated the number of days usually taken in this journey to Haoussa as given to M^r Houtson by the King of Benin – It appears to be of all others the most desirable route to open a communication by to the Interior owing [to] its being constantly travelled over by Mahometans traders from Haoussa & c – all the different powers of Eyo Tappa Nyffe and Haoussa being on friendly terms – and as Badagry is rising in importance & promises to become in a short time what Adrah³¹ hitherto has been the outlet to the trade of Eyo which is the direct

³¹ i.e., Porto Novo.

channel of commerce with Soudan I have every reason to believe much good will result in the event of our success in this quarter -

Badagry has attained its present importance owing to the energetic character of Addally the Ex King of Lagos who was expelled from his own country about 15 years ago³² by his Brother usurping the throne – he fled to Badagry with only a few followers but has since been able to collect a considerable force sufficient to subdue a number of towns depending on Lagos & also to conquer Ardrah from whence he has transported the Chief Caboceers with their property to Badagry.

This Chief may be deserving of attention from his friendly disposition towards the English & especially from the specific proposal which he has made through M^r Houtson to the British Government to destroy the slave trade from the borders of Dahomey to the River Benin comprehending Lagos the greatest outlet of that traffic

We land to morrow at Badagry from whence my journal will be continued towards the Interior

I have, etc., Robert Pearce

[Verso:]

Copy of this Journal & Remarks made by Captⁿ Pearce between the 27th October and the 29th November 1825

[sealed]

[Enclosed]

Map N^o 2

Continuation of the track of African Mission under Captⁿ Clapperton on board H.M.Ship Brazen, Captⁿ Willes from Sierra Leone to Badagry between 27th October & 29th of Nov^r 1825 –

2. Dr. Thomas Dickson

2.1 *J. Barrow to R.Wilmot Horton [CO 2/17 f. 7]*
[22.6.25 – re recommendation of Thomas Dickson

Admiralty, 22nd June 1825

My Dear Sir,

The enclosed is written by a gentleman well known to M^r Keith Douglas³³ who

³² In fact, Adele was exiled in 1821; see Robin Law, 'The career of Adele at Lagos & Badagry, c.1807 – c.1837', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9:2 (1978), 42. Also see Sorensen, Caroline, 'Badagry 1784-1863. The Political and Commercial History of a Pre-Colonial Lagoon-side Community in South West Nigeria' (Ph.D thesis, University of Stirling, 1995), 177-88.

³³ Not further identified.

thinks him well suited for the climate of Soudan & if you mean to gratify the Sultan of Sockatoo with a Doctor perhaps we may not find a better.
Very faithfully yours, John Barrow

2.2 *enclosure: Dickson to Hugh Clapperton [CO 2/17 ff. 8- 9A]*
[22.6.25 A Curriculum Vitae]

22 June

Dear Clapperton

By way of memorandum excuse a dish of egotism.

I studied at Edinburgh seven years two of which I was House Surgeon of the Royal Infirmary – I took a Surgeon's diploma & Physician's degree and was Senior Annual President of the Royal Medical Society for 1814.

I afterwards visited with our friend Hannah Lishom the Mediterranean, the United States of America & the Leeward Islands. On leaving Hannah I spent some time in Paris and finally settled in Demerara where I practised Physick six years. I returned to England about two years ago and have since ~~spent~~ been in Holland & Germany.

So much for my studies & peregrinations. As to the African expedition I have no stipulations to make I submit a carte blanche to Government – being of course fitted out suitably for the journey. And I have one whim to be indulged – I no longer sport my Doctorate & don't wish to be attached nominally to the expedition in a Medical capacity altho' my best services in Physick, & every thing else, shall ever be zealously devoted to the success of our common object.
Ever yours – Thomas Dickson

2.3 *F. James to G.N. Willes [CO 2/17 ff. 64-67]*
[6.1.26 – re Dickson in Abomey]

Whydah 6th January 1826

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and to inform you, that Mr. Dickson left this place on the 12th December accompanied by Mr. De Souza and Self for Dahomy, which place we reached on the 16th & were received by the King & his Caboceers with the greatest respect. Mr Dickson at this time was attacked by a severe fever which did not leave him until the 23rd & consequently retarded in some degree our communications with the King on the subject of his Mission into the interior

On the 26th Mr. Dickson was sufficiently recovered to attend an audience, when the object of his journey being stated to the King he after some hesitation

consented to give him a safe conduct through his Dominions & those of his Allies to a place called Shar³⁴, said to be 17 days journey from Dahomey in a Northerly direction; and on the 31st Ultimo, every thing being arranged for his departure he left Dahomey accompanied by 50 Armed men & 100 Bearers. The King of Dahomey appointed a relation of his own as a Guide & Ambassador to accompany him on his journey – a man who has travelled through the interior in various directions, and among other places he has visited Yaraba – his intended route is North-Westerly to Shar, & from thence rather take Eastward of North to Yourie³⁵

I am happy to state that Mr. Dicksons health was perfectly reestablished when he left Dahomy. I beg further to inform you that from the best information I had been able to obtain respecting the country called Attapa – I have every reason to believe that it lies S.E. of Youri & S.W. of Houzza, & from the Natives of that Country wearing the Moorish habit and making use of Camels in travelling that it is either tributary or connected with the territory of Soudan. I think it necessary to acquaint you that on the 22nd Ultimo the King of Dahomey received intelligence that Captain Clapperton and his Colleagues had arrived at the town of a man called *Losairhee* (who is a fugitive from the Hio country)³⁶ and said to be five days journey from Badagry, where they were informed that they could not proceed further in consequence of the disturbed state of the interior – and on the 28th further intelligence was brought that Captain Clapperton had commenced his journey back to Badagry this was immediately communicated to me by the King, and although from such a source I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information there are hopes that Captain Clapperton will overcome the difficulty.

I cannot forbear to mention the great interest which Mr. De Souza has taken in forwarding Mr. Dickson's & the Views of Government throughout our communications with the King of Dahomy; I may safely say that to his exertions may be attributed the present prospect of success in Mr. Dicksons undertaking

I have &c Fredk James

2.4 *T. Dickson to R.W. Hay [CO 2/15 ff. 381-382]
[31.12.25 – Report from Abomey] [also in CO 2/15 347-8]*

Abomey	Lat by Obs.	6. 36. 28. 5
	Long by acct	1. 47. 6. 8
		31st Dec ^r 1825

Sir

In compliance with Captain Clapperton's instructions of which I presume you

³⁴ i.e., Itsa (Tsa).

³⁵ As noted above in de Souza's report, Dahomey appears to have had some communication with Sokoto.

³⁶ Possibly the *onisare*, the head of Ijana; see Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 227.

are already furnished with a copy I landed at Whydah on the **25th ult.** – having previously received assurances of Mr. de Souza a gentleman of unbounded influence in Dahomy that he would exert himself to the utmost to procure for the Mission the King's safe conduct to the interior. Since that time I received further instructions from Captⁿ Clapperton – informing me that he had determined to make the attempt at once from Badagra, and leaving it to my discretion to proceed if possible by way of Dahomy in order to explore the country in various directions and eventually to cooperate in maintaining a permanent communication with the sea-coast. It being requisite to obtain the King of Dahomy's permission to visit him in his capital of Abomey, Mr. da Souza despatched messengers to intimate my arrival, who returned after the delay of a few days with a favourable answer – at least as far as regarded my visit – the King reserving his final sanction of my passing through his dominions until the matter was more fully explained to him. In this state of suspense I was detained some days longer until Mr. de Souza's affairs permitted me to accompany him to Abomey.

At length we set out on the **12th inst.** and arrived here on the **16th inst.** being received in all the towns through which we passed with the distinction paid to strangers under the special protection of the King. On our arrival in the capital a royal salute of 21 guns was fired in honour of his Majesty and another of the same number to greet the Embassy from England as they considered it. Unfortunately I had been seized with fever on the road and was so seriously indisposed that I was scarcely able to undergo the tedious ceremonial of a first reception which although lasting six hours was much curtailed on my account. But on being presented to the King I obtained immediate leave to retire – then almost in a state of frenzy. In consequence of this exposure to the sun during a paroxysm of fever I was afterwards confined to bed for some days which prevented Mr. De Souza from urging my wishes with the King until the fever had abated.

On the **24th inst.** I was as far recovered as to be able to pay my visit of ceremony when the King in the most decided manner gave me an assurance of his protection as far as his direct influence extended and promised to recommend me afterwards in the strongest terms to the King in whose territories I should arrive. The King frequently expressed his gratification at renewing his intercourse with the British nation which he professed to hold in high esteem and again and again assured me of security as far as Sha or Shar – about 22 days' journey to the northward of Abomey – at the same time cautioning me with a degree of modest candour I did not expect to apprise Government that he could only pledge his word for my safety as far as that place although he would not fail to use his best endeavours to expedite progress still further.

This favourable declaration I owed entirely to De Souza who, the moment I began to recover, had a private interview with the King in which he solicited the greatest personal obligation that could be conferred on himself that my journey to the interior should be permitted; and from essential services that he has more than rendered the State never yet has his suit been denied; he had also arranged the presents to be made to the King as well as to his Tributaries & Allies through whose territories I am to pass – so that my duty was a mere matter of form. What is remarkable and contrary to expectations of everyone, so well had De Souza laid his plans that not a single member of this jealous government made one objection to such an unusual and to them almost incomprehensible request; and I am persuaded that if ever an intercourse is to be established with the interior no man is more likely and no one has it more in his powers to further the intentions of Government. Besides he is quite above mercenary views and to my certain knowledge has in this instance expended large sums on presents which make no item in his list of advances. The Goods too are all furnished at prime cost and although dearer than in England it must be recalled that Mr. De Souza himself purchases them at high prices. The presents were stipulated in Ounces of trade – of the nominal value of 8 Dollars an Ounce but by assorting Goods supplied they are reduced to a Pound Stg. –

I may also mention that my expenses are necessarily increased from the circumstance of being landed at Whydah without a single article of the Presents provided at home and having both to gain goodwill of the people here and to supply myself with things suitable for the interior for without liberal presents nothing can be done in the Coast where all are accustomed to large Dashes from the traders who resort to it. The articles in request are all bulky and their carriage has added considerably to the expense. However I have the satisfaction of thinking not a farthing has been misapplied, and that although the expense had certainly been less if the same presents had been sent out from England, yet the local information requisite for such a selection was not to be had. Indeed without setting out at first under the protection of a powerful government whose very name is feared among its neighbours I feel convinced little or nothing can be accomplished in the way of discovery and if I may be allowed to express an opinion on the subject the success of the former mission was chiefly attributable to the respectable footing on which the protection of the Bashaw of Tripoli placed it at the start.

Some unfavourable reports having reached [me] as respecting difficulties experienced by Captⁿ Clapperton, I have been more anxious to conciliate the power of the King as I am given to understand his protection may be ultimately of use in extricating the party from the [word illeg.] delays or perhaps worse – as likely to be occasioned by the petty states that surround Badagra which itself is too inconsiderable to command respect –

Account of sundry presents to the King of Dahomy on (part) of the African
 Africa under command of Capt. Phipps, by Mr. D. ...
 Present to the King and 2 Cabours of Whydah £ 9...
 Customary Present to the King of Dahomy on
 entering his Capital City 2 pieces Damask & 15... of 42...
 13 Cans of Rum & 20...
 Present to the King of Dahomy for his safe conduct
 into the interior } 100...
 Present to two King's Councillors for their influence } 15
 Horses and Servants supplied by the King } 48.5-
 Present as stipulated to the King of Dahomy, for
 the King's Cabours (the Structures and Allies) through
 whose territories Mr. Dickson passes, consisting of
 Rum, Balls of Calico, Manchester yards, Pipes,
 and Corals, amounting to } 18...
 Conveyance of above Presents from Whydah to Abomey } 15...
 Conveyance of Dute into the interior as far as
 Shad, to which Place the King of Dahomy affords
 a safe Conduct - Cabours being ordered from the
 English Port. } 30...
 Presents for the interior King's Councillors } 40...
 Gingham 2 1/2... - Handkerchiefs 15 } 27...
 Paduan Doney 2 8.15 - Claves 2 10... } 18.15-
 Umbrellas 2 7.10 - Gumpoon 2 8.10 } 10...
 Rayon Knives and Blades } 10... 75.15-
 £ 500...
 Abomey 31st December 1825.
 Francisco Felix de Souza
 349

Letter, Francisco Felix de Souza - CO 2/15, f. 349

Pardon the liberty of suggesting the propriety of transmitting a letter of thanks to Mr. De Souza who I trust if the mission succeed will be also recommended to the government of Brazil (of which he is a subject) to receive from the Emperor some honorary badge of distinction; for I have already mentioned that his large fortune places him quite above the offer of a pecuniary reward and I was even authorised by Captⁿ Clapperton to throw out a hint of the reward which I believe has had great effect in procuring his cordial assistance.

Columbus was sent to me on account of the state of his health when Captⁿ Clapperton left the Brazen and I am happy to say is so far recovered that I expect him to be able to [word illeg. = withstand] the fatigue of the journey³⁷. Mr. James was appointed Agent here by Captⁿ Clapperton there being no opportunity of communicating with me previously but as I am concerned he can be of no service unless Government entertains ulterior views to a permanent intercourse with the interior; meanwhile communications will be more certain of reaching their destination under cover to De Souza of whom Mr. James however is a very old and very intimate friend.- My health is almost completely re-established and I feel confident of reaching Shar in the course of Jan^y or beginning of February – making allowances for stoppages on the road -. I took leave of the King this morning and expect to commence my journey in the afternoon.- I left on board the frigate a collection of Seeds and Specimens of plants – made at the different places where we touched – which I hope Earl Bathurst will permit to be sent without delay to my friend Mr. Brown at the Linnaeum Society – also a small collection of Minerals to be divided, if it meet his Lordship's approbation, between Professor Buckland³⁸ of Oxford and Professor Jameson³⁹ of Edinburgh.-

Mr. da Souza having been kind enough to give me a handsome Cloth of native manufacture presented to him by the King, I trust I may be excused the liberty of soliciting its acceptance by the Countess Bathurst
I have, etc., Thomas Dickson

2.5 *F. de Souza to T. Dickson* [CO 2/15 f. 349]
[31.12.25 – re Accounts in Whydah and Abomey]

Account of Sundries furnished Mr. Dickson – on Acct^t of the African Mission under Command of Captⁿ Clapperton by Mr. De Souza of Whydah

³⁷ Columbus died at Ouidah in December [Appendix I, document 5.5].

³⁸ William Buckland (1784 – 1856), Reader in Geology and Mineralogy, at the Old Ashmolean Museum, Oxford from 1815 – 1849.

³⁹ Professor Robert Jameson, Department of Natural Sciences, Edinburgh University; a friend of John Barrow, and well known to Clapperton and Dr. Walter Oudney's circle in Edinburgh.

A Present to the Vice Roy & 2 Caboceers at Whydah by order of Capt'n Clapperton	£	9. –. –
Customary Presents to the King of Dahomy on entering the Capital viz 2 pcs Damask @	£15. –. –	[£ 30]
12 Ankers Rum @ 20/–	£ 12	£ 42
Presents to the King of Dahomy for his safe conduct into the interior	£	100
Present to the Kings Councillors for their influence	£	15
Horses & Servants supplied by the King	£	<u>48. 5. –</u>
Presents as stipulated by the King of Dahomy for the Kings Caboceers (his tributaries and Allies) through territories Mr. Dickson Passes, consisting of Rum, Roll Tobacco Manchester goods, Pipes and Coral amounting to	£	205. 5. –
	£	164. –. –
Conveyance of above Presents from Whydah to Abomy conveyance of D ^o – into the interior as far as Shar, to which place the King of Dahomy assures a safe conduct – Bearers being ordered from the English Fort	£	16. –. –
	£	30. –. –
Presents for the interior Viz <i>Sastracundees</i>	£	10. –. –
Gingham £12. –. – Shawl, Handkerchiefs £15	£	27. –. –
[word illeg.] <i>Davies</i> £8.15. – Cloves £10. –. –	£	18.15. –
Umbrellas £7.10. – Gunpowder & Flints £2.10. –	£	10. –. –
Razors Knives & Beads <u>£ 10. –. –</u>		
	£	<u>75.15. –</u>
	£	<u>500. –. –</u>

Francisco Felix de Souza
Abomy 31st December 1825

2.6 *T. Dickson to F. James [CO 2/17 f. 72]*
[28.1.26 – re arrival in Shar]

Char, 28th January 1826

Dear Sir,

I am safely arrived here but the distance is nothing. – You will much oblige me by forwarding the letters to M^r Hay & Clapperton. The letter to the former is a Dupl. of the one I wrote from Abomey & must not go with the original. Don't write to England of my being here until you receive another despatch for M^r Hay which I shall send on leaving this by the 3 men of the English Fort I have retained – Remember me to *Moss* Whitwell Joashim Prado & the other gentlemen with you⁴⁰ –

Ever believe me yours very truly Thos. Dickson

⁴⁰ Residents at the Fort at Ouidah.

2.7 *T. Dickson to the King of Dahomey [CO 2/17 f. 74]*
 [28.1.26 – re arrival in Shar]

Char, 28th January 1826

(Copy)

Sir,

I arrived safely here on the 18th inst and send back forty four men belonging to the Forts at Whydah – retaining three of the English Fort to accompany the boy Bambo⁴¹ home should the King of Dahomy order his return – but as his loss would be irreparable to me (for through him alone I am enabled to make my arrangements with the people here and to converse with *Acuta*⁴²) I feel confident that the King will with his wonted goodness allow him to remain with me.

I am very sorry to have anything disagreeable to communicate but *Soba*⁴³ has committed a most imprudent theft to which I deem it my duty to call the attention of the King. In the bustle of putting aside the packages on being first conducted to our residence here he suddenly disappeared with his attendants carrying off one of my Rolls of Tobacco – assigning as an excuse to those near him that it had been given to him by Char Chars.

I have now the pleasure of expressing my sincere thanks to the King for the most honourable fulfillment of all his engagements to me. To the King's recommendations I also owe the flattering reception given to me by his ally the King of Char who himself has promised to conduct me to *Barba* and is already making preparations for the journey. Such friendly services of the King of Dahomey I shall not fail to represent in the strongest light to the English Government, meanwhile I respectfully offer to the King the renewed assurances of my gratitude for the kindness and ardent wishes for his long life and increasing prosperity.

Thomas Dickson

2.8 *C. Bullen to [probably] J.W. Croker [CO2/15 ff. 379-80]*
 [6.4.26 – with Dickson's letter of 31 December 1825 from Abomey]

H.M. Ship Maidstone at Cape Coast 6 April

Sir

The accompanying Letter⁴⁴ I received a few days since at Whydah from a M^r de Souza, a person well known to M^r Dickson now in the interior of Africa -

⁴¹ Not identified.

⁴² A reference presumably to the ruler of Itsa.

⁴³ Another attendant or guide provided by King Gezo.

⁴⁴ Not in the CO 2 files.

Mr. Dickson had perfectly recovered from his Fever and was advancing but de Souza says that such is the irritability of his temper, that he very often offends the Natives most seriously this I dare say has been from the effects of his Fever, which I trust he has now got the better of, and I sincerely hope will live to return again to his Country

If there is any thing I can do for you in this Country pray Command me and Believe me, etc., Cha Bullen Commodore

May I request you will do me the favor to forward the enclosure free of Portage to Mrs. Bullen -

[received in CO 19 June 1826]

2.9 *C. Bullen to J.W. Croker [CO2/17 ff. 878-82]*
[9.10.26 – re De Souza’s account of the Mission’s progress]

H.M. Ship Maidstone, Accra Roads, 9th October 1826

Sir

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I visited Whydah on the 24th Ultimo for the purpose of learning the latest intelligence that had reached Mr. Desouza of the progress of the mission to the interior of this Continent, & where I found that he had ascertained though the King of Dahomy that Captain Clapperton had arrived at the residence of the Sultan Soolim⁴⁵ at Sockatoo, by whom he had been made extremely welcome. The Sultan expressed great pleasure at again seeing his Friends, and readily offered all the protection & assistance in his power to further his exertions. Since Captain Clapperton had left this place he had subdued a territory adjoining Soolima country⁴⁶, which he had attached to his own designating the whole by that name, & which change has considerably extended the power of the Sultan, as well as presents good prospects to Captain C. in travelling through his dominions.

Dr. Dixon had arrived at Youri five days since from Soolima Country on the banks of the Niger at which time he was in excellent health and spirits, the King of which territory seemed disposed to render every assistance. Captain Clapperton it was supposed would immediately proceed to Timbuctoo – where he would await the joining of Dr. Dixon from whence they would make the best of their way on.

⁴⁵ ‘Sultan Soolim’, apparently a reference to Muhammad Bello, who held the honorific title ‘Sarkin Musulmi’, ‘King or Emir of the Muslims’.

⁴⁶ Bullen is confused here, perhaps assuming a connection between ‘Sultan Soolim’, i.e., Sarkin Musulmi Bello, and ‘Soolima’ country in the interior of Sierra Leone. Alternatively, de Souza could have been reporting on Bello’s recent campaigns against Gobir and Maradi.

Mr. Desouza (who has interested himself warmly in this affair, & frequently sent persons into the interior to obtain information, but owing to the intricacy of the paths it requires a very considerable time to get it correct) has at my particular request solicited the King of Dahomy to send a Messenger as far as Timbucto to ascertain if they had visited that place, as also their intentions, & whether they had met each other; as soon as he returns their Lordships shall be made acquainted with the result. The linguist who accompanied Captain Clapperton had died, but he had fortunately procured another, & was capable of making himself understood. These accounts are up to the end of July & state he was in excellent health & spirits and confident of success.

Their Lordships will perceive by this that the supposition expressed in my letter N^o 47 of the death of Dr. Dixon was groundless, the delay therein mentioned originated by his being ignorant of the Customs of the inland Chiefs, one of whom brandished his weapons in his face, agreeably to their tenets, the Doctor imagining it was in token of defiance immediately stabbed him, which precipitate act caused a great discord among his tribe, however after numerous concessions this aggression was amicably settled, and he at length allowed to continue his route

I have, etc., Charles Bullen, Commodore.

3 James Houtson

3.1 *Houtson papers: Letters from E. Oates, solicitor, to Earl Bathurst [CO 2.17 ff. 347-410] [July – October 1826, re Death of J. Houtson at Accra and his personal affairs]*

a) **Edward Oates to Lord Bathurst of 21 October 1826**

Furnivals Inn, 21st Oct^r 1826

My Lord,

I have the honor of forwarding to your Lordship the Copies of Letters received from Mess^{rs} Duckworth & CO, highly respectable solicitors at Manchester, as well as from the Super Cargo⁴⁷ of the Brig Albert of which Mr. John Houtson formerly of Liverpool but for seven years past resident in Africa was the proprietor giving information of the sudden death of the Gentleman at Accra, distant about 100 Miles from Cape Coast Castle, leaving his Ship & Cargo with a considerable property in Government Bills in exceedingly insecure state and as appears from the letter of the super cargo in great danger of plunder and depredation

⁴⁷ Employed by the owner to manage trading operations at ports and supervise the cargo on board the ship.

As Mr Houtson has at various periods been of most essential service to many travellers and Officers in the service of His Majesty or under his immediate patronage, having made many most desirable arrangements for Mr. Belzoni's intended expedition, and from his knowledge of the Country and his acquaintance with the Sovereigns of Benin & Eyo⁴⁸, was of essential service to Capt. Clapperton and his party (whom he accompanied to the Niger leaving his vessel and concerns to the care of the ["Captain and" inserted] supercargo until his return) it is hoped that under such circumstances it will not be considered presumptuous in requesting that the Journals, Books, papers and effects of this Gentleman may be recommended to the care and attention of the Commander of the Fort of Accra⁴⁹ (where he died and where it appears great part of the Cargo and property was landed) as well as the Governor of Cape Coast Castle⁵⁰ where it seems the vessel was ordered by the governor from Accra, in order that some questions which had arisen relative to the property might be investigated before the Magistrates -.

Mr. James Houtson of Manchester⁵¹ is the only brother and next of kin to the deceased and as such entitled to his papers and effects but having no knowledge of any respectable persons either at Cape Coast Castle or Accra, he has taken the liberty of laying his case before his Lordship in the hope that your Lordship might consider a proper case to justify a special recommendation to the Commander of Accra and Governor of Cape Coast Castle, to do whatever may lay in their power for the protection and security of the Journal, papers and property of the deceased, for the benefit of his Brother to whom by the Laws of this Country they belong-.

The value of the Cargo is stated to have been £7000 besides Government Bills amounting to £900£ and it is known that Mr. Houtson was possessed of a Journal and papers of the greatest value to his relatives;

I have, etc., Edw. Oates

[Margin:]

This shd be [word illeg.] with as far as protection to the late Mr. Houtson's effects can be [word illeg.]

[Encl. Duckworth (Solicitors) to E. Oates]

⁴⁸ There is no evidence that Houtson had met the Alaafin of Oyo before the Expedition.

⁴⁹ Not identified.

⁵⁰ The title, correctly, was Lieutenant Governor, under Major General Charles Turner at Freetown, the Governor.

⁵¹ Not further identified.

b) Enclosure: Duckworth & Co., Solicitors, Manchester, to E. Oates, solicitor, London [CO2/17 f. 349]

Edw^d Oates Esq^{re}

Manchester 13th Oct 1826

Dear Sir

The bearer of this is Mr. James Houtson of Manchester for whom we have to request your assistance in the following business-

Mr. James Houtson had an only brother Mr. John Houtson who died on 13th May last at Accra on the Coast of Africa-. He was on his way to Bahia having freighted a vessel which belonged to him for the voyage -. He was unmarried and his father and mother being both dead his only brother Mr. Ja^s Houtson will administer for the benefit of himself & his sisters – From a letter which Mr. Ja^s Houtson will show you, it appears that the vessel & freight (the property of his late brother) was in jeopardy, the mate and another person having both tried to appropriate it – Mr. Houtson’s brother had accompanied Captⁿ Clapperton’s expedition into the interior under an engagement with our Government and has also been in correspondence with Lord Bathurst respecting a plan he proposed for abolishing the trafic in slaves – At Lord Bathurst’s office they will no doubt be ready to give Mr. Houtson any information and assistance they can to secure his brother’s papers and property and the object of his visit to London is to take measures for this purpose -

Yours &c Duckworth, Dawson & Humphrys

[Encl. 1]:

[Letter of 1 July 1826 from Lazarus Wallage, late supercargo of Brig Albert, to James Houtson – re death of John Houtson]

To Mr. James Houtson

Dear Sir

Painful as this may be to you, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to acquaint you of the death of my sincere friend and employer your most affectionate Brother John Houtson who died on the 13th of May last and was buried on the 14th being the anniversary of his birth 38 years much respected when living and now lamented by all who knew him. Alas it is folly to complain as none of us are long for this transitory world. A few days prior to his death we were both consoling ourselves on seeing the Land that gave us birth about Christmas, having been a long time on the Coast -

He was taken with that infernal disorder that proves fatal to so many brave fellows in warm climates, the Dysentery on the third of the same month, being

then at sea bound to Cape Coast from thence to Benin to complete our Cargo for Bahia & then for Old England, when after a tedious passage of five days we reached a place called Accra, a British colony⁵², when my friend's disorder so increased that he expressed a wish to land there for medical assistance, but alas! on his going on shore there was none to be found – he then sent for me onshore as usual when I found that he had been taking Black Man's medicine which he continued until the fifth day after his landing, about nine in the evening when he closed his worldly career without a sigh or groan -

My dear Sir, but for a very unpleasant business I have on hand respecting the property of Mr. Houtson, it is more than probable that I should have been the bearer of this unpleasant news myself – You will perhaps think me a very free and explicit sort of person but indeed I think I cannot be too explicit to you & will therefore give you a small idea of the business on the evening of my friend's death – A person resident here named Richard Frederick Fry⁵³, one of no great reputation, came to the house before the breath was out of the body and placing a pen in the right hand put a signature to several documents & called himself Executor – in that place I was a perfect stranger and the Captain in the Army commanding the Fort⁵⁴ an old stupid drunkard & the Captain on board worse however I fixed him from running away with the Brig – he is an American & the vessel under American colours – At length I heard the Governor from this place was coming down when I contented myself until that period arrived at a great expence of 10/- per day mere board & lodging – when the above Governor appeared I laid my business before him & administered to the same, when I was requested to repair to Cape Coast there being a Bench of Magistrates I therefore repaired here on the 16th June & have been waiting for my opponent who is not yet arrived or I should be happy to give you more particulars – He had taken all the Cargo out of the vessel & I assure you going on in a highly proper manner to appropriate that property to his own use which he had not the least business with – Mr. H's creditors would have come off short, much less you – I expect the vessel here in a day or two and when the business is settled be assured I will take the Earliest opportunity to give you every information – I omitted to inform you that Mr. Houtson arrived from the interior on the 12th April in better health & spirits than I ever saw him – he was absent from me 4 months and 5 days – You are no doubt acquainted with his undertaking with his Majesty's African Mission as he wrote you prior to his departure about the 7th Dec^r -

yours &^c Lazarus Wallage
late Supercargo – Brig Albert

Cape Coast 1st July 1826

⁵² Neither Accra nor other parts of the Gold Coast was strictly speaking a colony at that time, although British establishments were under the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

⁵³ Not to be confused with Robert Fry, who apparently was a 'Commissioner' at Accra – probably Commissioner of Oaths, although the similarity in names supports the suggestion of fraud alleged here.

⁵⁴ Captain commanding the contingent at the Accra Fort not otherwise identified.

[Encl. 2]:

[Letter of 1 July 1826 from L. Wallage to an unidentified colleague in the merchant marine trading on the West Coast. Re death and affairs of John Houtson]

Copy of a letter from the same person to another party⁵⁵

Cape Coast 1st July 1826

My dear Sir,

With much regret I write to acquaint you that Mr. John Houtson is no more – After his Journey to the interior of Africa 4 months and 5 days he returned in better health and spirits than I had ever seen him – At his starting on the 7th of Dec^r he appointed me Supercargo of the Brig & happy I am to say that I gave him that satisfaction, it was his intention to continue me as such – he returned to me the 12th of April after being 30 Miles of the Niger – when we left that cursed place Badagry for Cape Coast to purchase more Cargo & proceed to Benin & thence to England via Bahia – we had a lot of ivory & scavillois on board which he, Mr. H, intended to have sent to Mr. Hooper in all about two tons or more – half of which was prime ivory – remainder scavillois of Sea Cow-Teeth⁵⁶ – On the 3rd of May being at sea Mr. H. was attacked with dysentery & which continuing to increase he requested to land at Accra as soon as we could fetch, at which place he landed on the 8th of May – No medical assistance being there I found him on going ashore a few hours after taking Black Medicine which he continued until the 13th of May at 9 P.M. when he closed his worldly career – Just before his death Mr. Fry who I dare say you know made his appearance & stuck a pen in the dying man's hand & signed the Power of Attorney and some Government Bills to the amount of £900 Sterling calling himself Exc^r for the Estate – sent troops on board & took the cargo out of the Brig and I assure you was going on most famously for his own benefit – I was all this time awaiting the arrival of Colonel *Twiden* who at length arrived when I laid the business before him & administered the same – The Governor requested me & him & many more who came forward to be witnesses – I have been here since the 10th of last month expect the Brig here in a day or two – I wrote to Mr Frasier⁵⁷ prior to coming here but did not recollect him being agent for the firm on my arrival or I should have saved myself much trouble and expence – I beg to inform that Mr. H lived to receive yours from Sierra Leone by Captⁿ Spence⁵⁸ 3 days prior to his death -

⁵⁵ Presumably to another merchant trading on the West Coast.

⁵⁶ Hippopotamus.

⁵⁷ Possibly J.P. Frasier.

⁵⁸ not identified.

I expect there will be sufficient to pay everyone as I think the Cargo ought to fetch £7000 Sterling -

I suppose you saw Captain Falkner⁵⁹ at Sierra Leone indeed I think they made a bonny [word illeg.] of the schooner as for Mr. King, I was obliged to run over to Princes⁶⁰ with the Brig during Mr. Houtson's absence left Mr. K. in charge of the Factory & so great a Drunkard and Scundrel I never knew – however 'tis well it was no worse -

Yours &^c Laz^s Wallage

late Super Cargo – Brig Albert

[Encl 3.] **The following is an Extract from a Letter appearing in the Public Newspapers:**

July 8th 1828, Cape Coast Castle

I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Houtson, the person who joined the mission under Captⁿ Clapperton died at Benin soon after his return. He conducted the Captain to the Niger and left him in good health and excellent spirits intending to prosecute his Journey in two or three days from the 4th March being then at Katunga in the Eyo dominions -

3.2 *J.O. Bold⁶¹ to William Wainwright, forwarded to Mr Huckifern MP, 2 Fledger Street [CO 2/17 ff. 07-10]*

Bedford Hotel, 14 Dec^{br} 1826

My dear Sir

It will no doubt be in your recollection that Mr. Houtson a British Merchant, Resident at Cape Coast Castle undertook to convey the African Mission under Captain Clapperton to a certain point in the interior of Africa, which he completed [word illeg.] & died a few days after his return to the sea coast, leaving a valuable Vessel and Cargo behind him which was taken possession of by Mr Robt Fry⁶² (I believe Commissioner there) of which no account has been sent [word illeg.] to this country -

⁵⁹ James Fawckner, captain of the *Henry* of Sierra Leone, involved in provisioning British stations along the West African coast; see *Narrative of Captain James Fawckner's Travels on the Coast of Benin, West Africa* (London: A. Schloss, 1837). Fawckner recounts his meeting with the Clapperton expedition at Little Popo, 116-23.

⁶⁰ Princes = Principé.

⁶¹ Another merchant active on the West Coast – not further identified, but possibly related to E. Bold, author of *The Merchants and Mariners' Guide; containing an accurate description of the Coasts, Bays, Harbours, and Adjacent Islands of West Africa*, which was originally published in London in 1819 and republished in Salem, Mass., by Cushing and Appleton, in 1822.

⁶² Apparently Commissioner of Oaths at Accra.

Having a considerable claim against the [6-8 words illeg] I would feel obliged by your enquiry at Lord Bathurst's office if any instructions have been sent out to the authorities at Cape Coast Castle to take possession of the property & if such, whether an order to that effect could be sent out if there is no officer there duly authorized to receive the Same for the benefit of all parties concerned

When the African Company held the Porto⁶³, the Registrar was the person to take charge of the effects of deceased persons [3 or 4 words illeg.] ignorant of the existing Laws which is the cause of my now turning to you

I am etc.

⁶³ i.e., the full legal authority under the Royal Charter of the Africa Company.

APPENDIX III

Arabic Correspondence and Fragments¹

This appendix contains Arabic correspondence relating to the Clapperton expedition, including relevant documents from the Borno Mission. Eight of the letters are to be found in CO 2/13, Mission to the Interior. First Journey: Major Denham, Dr. Oudney, Capt. Clapperton, Mr. Tyrwhitt, 1821-1826, immediately following Clapperton's final report on the Borno Mission, and with a covering note by A.V. Salamé.² These copies were compared with photocopies, apparently from the originals, which are now held in the Sokoto State History and Culture Museum, Sokoto. The translations of these documents and translations of two others were published in Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 723-41. The original Arabic and English translation is presented here. Yacine Daddi Addoun examined the Arabic manuscripts and A.V. Salamé's translation, updating the orthography and occasionally amplifying the earlier translation. Wherever there are differences, these are noted. In addition four Arabic documents from CO 2/16 (ff. 110, 132, 34, 364) are also included.

The style of script in the various documents is similar to the Maghribi-Andalusi style analysed by A.D.H. Bivar, who suggests that the Ifrīqī style, which was used in Borno, is archaic and prevailed in Qayrawn, and from there was passed to Jarīd and then to Borno without alteration by the Andalusian influence after the reconquista.³ The 'Ajamī script for use with Hausa and other vernaculars was a development of the Ifrīqī script in sub-Saharan Africa. The Naskhi script, which is common in the Middle East, was introduced to sub-Saharan Africa from Egypt by 1750 onwards. Bivar provides the example of Abdullahi dan Fodio's autograph, where the features of Naskhī and 'Ajamī styles are mixed. Bivar has called this script Jihādī, which he shows to be

¹ For this section on Arabic materials, we are indebted to Yacine Daddi Addoun, who checked the original translations of A.V. Salamé's (see Introduction) and otherwise provided advice on the presentation of the material.

² The note reads: 'These are eight [underlined in original] different African documents on various subjects, delivered to me by Capt. Clapperton for translation. A translation of them in English was made, arranged according to their respective numbers & delivered by me to R.W. Hay Esqre. on the 6th Augst. 1825'.

³ A.D.H. Bivar, 'The Arabic Calligraphy of West Africa', *African Language Review*, 7 (1968), 3-15. For the Maghribī scripts, see Octave Houdas, 'Essai sur l'écriture maghrébine', in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux* (Paris: Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1886), 85-112. Houdas examines four Maghribī scripts, including Qayrawān, Fās, Andalus, and Timbutu styles. Khālid Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Khaṭṭāt, *Marja' al-ṭullāb fī 'l-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* (Bayrūt, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmīyya, 2002), 208-22. He examines five kinds of Maghribi script, Maghrebized Kūfī, Maghrebized Mashriqī, Mabsū? (opened), mujawhar (pearled), musnad or zimāmī (inclined, or notebook script). Also see François Déroche, *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2000), 221-42.

different from the other scripts and used by the *tābi'ī* (the followers of *jihād*) and is also current in Nigeria. Bivar does not examine the *Sūqī* script, which is distinctive, and can be found in sub-Saharan Africa, especially among Kell Essūq Touareg and in Timbuktu.⁴ In an earlier study, Bivar examined the seals used by the Borno chancery, arguing that the octagonal form was only used there.⁵ However, there are also samples of octagonal seals from the courts of justice in Algiers around the same time.⁶ Bivar also examines as an auto-graphed document that appears to be in hand of Muḥammad Bello, which looks like the same handwriting as the Bello letter below. Bivar also analyses a letter from Yūsuf Qaramanlī Pāshā to Muḥammad Bello, and while the handwriting is similar to that included here, it is not the same.

⁴ John Hunwick, 'Manuscripts 1: Markaz Aḥmad Bābā', *Sudanic Africa; A Journal of Historical Sources* 9 (1998), 187-91.

⁵ A.D.H. Bivar, 'Arabic Documents of Northern Nigeria', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 22:1/3 (1959), 329.

⁶ For example the seals of Miftāḥ al-Dīn b. ?usām al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, Qāḍī Ḥanafī in Algiers. 1818 and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Sulaymān. Qāḍī Ḥanafī in Algiers. 1826, among others. Personal communication, Yacine Daddi Addoun.

I. Shaikh Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī to King George IV, August [11], 1824

Received
June 2, 1825.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ



مر عبد الله تعالى محمد الامير بر محمد الكاشغري
 الوالي المفضل على تظلمه المحترم دور فخرنا به العظيم الانقليزي
 سلام بليوبه منا اليه اما بعد فقد قدم علينا مراسيلكم
 الضارورة في الارض بفضد التنزه والوفود على عجايب الارض على ما
 ذكره في حيننا بهم واكرمنا تزلهم لما نسمع عنكم من
 معاصلتكم للمسلمين وشعوت العجبة الدنياوية بينكم وبين
 سلاطير المسلمين من اباكم و ابايهم واجدادكم واجدادهم
 براعية تلك العجبة وعاملناهم بسفتنا اننا على حسب ما
 قدر الله عز وجل وبلغوا سلامكم وما ذكرتموه لنا في كتابكم
 من انكم ما تنصرون في كرامنا فنترحه من المصالح صاري علمنا وشكرنا
 ذلك منكم وهما هم قد توجهوا راجعين اكم بعد ان قضوا امرهم
 ومات من حضرا جلده وهو الميبي ونعم هو رجل عاقل حاس العالج
 وطلب منك الراس تحيل الطريو والمسافر في طلب سر الجويل
 وريش الغرام وغير ذلك من العوايج التي لا توجد في بلادنا
 له ارضنا هذه لاننا لمسافر تقبل ما احب ما عظيم كما علمتم
 حالها وبنها بعد نفوه اما انكارنا سر حوافر بظاعتهم فليلة
 مثل اربعة او خمسة فلا بأس به هذا غاية ما اذنا له فيه اما اكثر
 من ذلك في ايتواء واذ اردتم ان يعود منكم من سر العهزة الخاجية
 والاحسار يكون الراس تحيل انه عرف الناس وعرف الارض وصار من
 جملة اه الوطيرة والمصالح اللازم فلنا ذكرنا هو في تسعة هاهنا واطلة
 اليكم واكتب للفصل الذي في طرايسر والفصل الذي في مصر بانه ارجح
 احد من حد امنا واخراج لهم في امر بر او تداريقوه له ويفضو له ما
 استفضاهم ايتاءه والسلام

بنار: ربح عشية يوم السبت
او اسد شهر الله ذ الحجة
العام 9

I. Translation of a ‘Letter from the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kānimī, Chieftain of Barnū, in the Interior of Africa, to his Most Excellent Majesty King George the Fourth. Brought by Major Denham’⁷

Praise be to God, and blessings and peace be upon the Prophet of God.

From the servant of God almighty Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī, to the pre-eminent above his equals, and the respected among his inferiors, the great King of the English, salutations worthy of him from us: Whereas your messengers, the travellers through the earth, for the purpose, as they state, of seeing and knowing its marvelous things, have come to us, we welcomed them, and paid attention to their arrival, in consequence of what we heard of your intercourse with the Muslims, and the establishment of your worldly relations between you and their kings, since the time of your and their fathers and ancestors.

We have thus regarded that friendship, and behaved to them according to its merits, as much as God the Omnipotent enabled us. They communicated your compliments to us, and that which you stated in your letter, that you would not object, if we should be in want of any thing from your country, was made known to us; and we felt thankful to you for this offer on your part.

They are now returning to you, after having accomplished their wishes; but one of them, whose period of life was ended, died. This was the physician;⁸ and an excellent and wise man he was.

The Rā’is Khalīl⁹ desired of us permission that merchants seeking elephant-teeth, ostrich feathers, and other such things, that are not to be found in the country of the English, might come among us. We told him that our country, as he himself has known and seen its state, does not suit any traveler with heavy loads, who may possess great wealth. But if a few light persons, as four or five only, with little merchandize, would come, there will be no harm. This is the utmost that we can give him permission for; and more than this number must not come. If you should wish to send anyone from your part to this country again, it would be best to send Rā’is Khalīl; for he knows the people and the country, and became as one of its inhabitants. The few things that we are in want of are noted down in a separate paper, which we forward to you.¹⁰

Write to the consul at Tripoli, and to that at Cairo, desiring them, if any of our servants should go to them for any affair, either on land or at sea, to assist them, and do for them according to their desire. And peace

Dated on the evening of Saturday, the middle of the month Dh-‘l-Ḥijja, the sacred, 1239 of Ḥijra [August 11, 1824].

Sealed. The will of God be done, and in God hath his faith, his slave Muḥammad al-Amn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī.¹¹

⁷ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 723-24 (Letter I).

⁸ i.e., Dr. Walter Oudney.

⁹ Rā’is Khalīl, the traveling name of Major Dixon Denham.


¹⁰ There is no separate paper attached with a list of al-Kānimī’s requests, but these included a printing press and a mint for coins.

¹¹ The seal is not clear, although A.D.H. Bivar translates it as: ‘What Allah wills. Allah sufficeth. Confidence in his servant Muḥammad al-Amīn bin Muḥammad al-Kanemī. Year 1238’ (‘Arabic Documents of Northern Nigeria’, 330).

II. Muḥammad Bello to King George IV of England, 1st Ramaḍān 1239 [1 May 1824].¹²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 على الله وسلم على النبي المصطفى الشريف
 محمد وآله وصحبه واتباعه تسليما

2048 Africa
 Received
 June 2, 1824.



التي آتت واتبعت ووقف مؤذنه و اعلمه كرامة التتويج
 نالها ولم يزلها خافوا الذي كان كثير البرقة نالها
 بالوفد وكان عندك مشاهد تعرف فيها للمنى انما نواهد
 ودهم مسعد الم يتغص راحة ولا تكفر بالخير تساحة زعيم
 العنة النبوية وعزيز العقيدة الانكليزية علم انك تبت
 الششوة وكهلاء تنال الصبوة جوارح الارباع ملك
 البركان الكبير اربعة جالس الله الهدى والسلم
 على من اربح الهدى هو اوانه فذرة علينا خير ففضل تكسر
 التفت بعقله وخطه تكم الرويسر عبد الله فوجت ناله حيا فكل
 وبالضوايا نالها انما ناله كماله تكم ونما تكم وشراف
 ورسالتك وتعرف فهدى وسياستك تم لقا خان نصري ووان
 كتحته كلب من ان نصل لك علمه نيكاتك وان تمتع التتويج
 من جلب العبيد التي اشاعت واد اعصى وانستني اجملة التي
 لم يمد من المصلحة لنا ولكن على ان ياتيناكم بحمد بريدكم الرسمى
 اناك بعد عيسى وما يملك جكران اليد من البرودة والترطاب وشرها
 وكذا ما انك من النبي وحينئذ يبعث شكر وفتنا بتعارف
 مع فنصر كمن علمه دار العترة في كل شيء ويعيننا وفتنا معلوما
 لزود شعبكم للتجارة فان جارة ويسوقون مع جلالنا
 بعد جرحهم بملس القنصر بلك الم من حارس علمنا فيها
 ان شاء الله منه ومنه والسلم على اول منظرنا

¹² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 724-25 (Letter II). The seal is not legible.

II. Translation of ‘a Letter from an African Chieftain [Bello] of Soudan, to his Majesty King George the Fourth. Brought by Mr. Clapperton’

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement. May God bless our favourite and generous Prophet Muḥammad, his family, his followers, his strong party and those who follow the right path.

To whom he ruled but did not abuse, whose favors poured and did not stop, who rendered obsolete vain richness [*kāsida 'l-nnakhwati nāfiqan*], who was not represented by someone incompetent [*ablaha khāfiqan*], who is very generous, who cares about his delegation, who has memorable scenes, celebrating for desire virgins with beautiful breasts, whose epoch is happy, whose rest is not disturbed, whose land is not conquered by others. The leader of the Christian faith, the most respected among the Englishmen, who attends pleasure clubs [*andiyati 'l-nnashawati*], and leads in enemy attacks. Jawj [George], the fourth, the great king of Britain.¹³

Praise be to God, who guides, and peace be upon those who follow the right path. Your Majesty’s servant, who acknowledges your favors and services, Rā’is ‘Abd Allāh, [Clapperton], came to us, and we found him a very intelligent [man] and saying right things; representing in every respect your courage and greatness and wisdom and power and comprehension and diplomacy. When the time of his departure came, he requested us to form a friendly relation, and correspond with you, and to prohibit the exportation of slaves by our merchants to Atāghira,¹⁴ Dāḥumī, and Asantī. We agreed with him upon this, on account of the good which will result from it, both to you and to us; and that a vessel of yours is to come to the harbour of Rāka¹⁵ with two cannons, and the quantities of powder they require and shot, &c. which they require; as also, a number of bombs [or shells].¹⁶ We will then send our officer to arrange and settle with your consul custom taxes for every thing, and fix a certain period for the arrival of your merchant ships; and when they come, they may traffic and deal with our merchants.

Then after their return, the consul may reside in that harbor, as a guardian¹⁷ together with our agent there, God, with His grace and generosity, willing. Peace. Dated 1st of Ramaḍān, 1239 of Hījra [18th April, 1824]¹⁸

¹³ Salamé’s translation: ‘To the head of the Christian nation, the honoured and the beloved among the English people, George the Fourth, King of Great Britain’.

¹⁴ Atāghira is to be identified with Idah, on the Niger below the confluence with the Benue River.

¹⁵ Rāka, possibly a reference to the Oyo town near the Niger, but more likely Rabba, on the Niger and the main town in Nupe in this period.

¹⁶ Salamé translated [Arabic] as “muskets,” but more likely they were explosive devices that were shot from cannon.

¹⁷ Salamé’s translation: ‘protector, in company’.

¹⁸ The corresponding date is 1st May 1823. On a number of occasions, Salamé was mistaken in his correspondence of dates.

III. Yūsuf Pāshā Qaramanlī to 'Our beloved Sīdī Muḥammad al- Kānimī al-Amīn', 28 Shawwāl, 1238 A.H. [8 July, 1823]

۱۲۱۰

و صلوات الله على من لا ينو احوال

الحمد لله المستوفى

حضرت العالم العامل الماملع ربه ضلوا الطمع الكامل الغرير الاذيب الذي والبراري
والذرائع الفعوية بالنصر والتلويح حاصي بيضة الدير الجاهل وسبيل رب العالمين المستنك
بسننة الصادق الامين محمدا نبي محمد الكافي الامين اسرف الله في نعماء السعادة فتشبه
وجبل على مكره الاخلاق نفسه امير المستعاضة عليك ورحمت الله وبركاته وازكي قيلت
ما تعلمت سكتت الكون وحركته ويديه سيري بحر السؤال عدل اخر العرضية
منه الله بالظلمة العجبة هو انه بلغنا كثر فيك الشرايف وخطايك اللطيفة فتتبع
بعابر نشرة واطلعنا على مكنون سرور وعرفنا من جانب الاجل ولزنا لربك في كل يوم
وانه بلغ اليك حظي فيك العزير هو وانفرد احبنا لانا انقلير ورحمت الله غابيت القرع
واصنبت سكرت في استنصار الحبيب بالحبيب ووجعت في نبيح ما احتوت عليه مملكتك
من محراب البراء واطلعت في كل ما احلها بعلم غريب الانظار والبعار وعلقت في
ما يلبق بجبانك ويؤيد انظر من اعز احب اليك بجزاك الله عن خبير وكبركهم وصلوا وصبروا وهزار
والله هو انظر الجميل فيك والاعتقاد فيما تراكوت به العاجبة لربك بمثل شرفك لو فرتنا عليك
خه وصرح هو والاه المستيلائات مع انسال الله على مكره انك بل احسن المذوات
والان الذي اعرف به الميسرة وعنم العبد والادارة اين يكون نظرك سما اني على كل حال ووجه
لايق مو فقرايها وان كنت رعاك الله مع الانجاش القويم وانما هم في راحة تكاير من الشرف وندخلوا
مثل احبابنا الانقلير العربي لغرينه الكيسر انك لا تنو في هذا الشرايف ونطلبوا منك نوصيل الانقلير
البحري بطرفك لنواجيه السود ان ايكلموه مع كل من و غير له وجهد فينا بكل خير وعار ليه فالطلب
منك ابوالحضر في بقدر الامكار في توصيل ليلو السودان اماره الكليات والايقات واهاب القسما
الطرايات حيث تطعم من عهدهم في الذهب والاباب اطمانا الايفر بعلي في ذلك الخناب واذ الان كذا لك
باربعل واعني وتكلمه اذا بلغنا مقصود في مواجع ورحموا امين من اطلب في كل طابفة التامل
الذي لا يفي في العبد الذي لا يفي في اجماع ما يقع احبنا لوهلك معك كانه معنا وان يشد الله تعالى
توصيل على يدك بمعاذة الصورة وتجرع على ما هو فادينه من الامالي المذكورة نرتك الهديفة
السنية الالهة في كل طابفة لا يقع قد الاموال في غير هذا الاموال من غير ان يفتد
التي تعاقبت على الاموال ويكون على يدنا من قبلها في كل الاموال من غير ان يفتد
في مرضاهم بالان

III. Translation of a 'Letter from Yūsuf, Pāshā of Tripoli, to the Shaykh of Borno'¹⁹

Praise be to God, He who deserves it, and peace be upon him who was the last of the Prophets.

To the active learned, the excellent imam, the accomplished hero, the ingenious gentleman in his appearance and thinking, the hill [fortress] with [its] victories and religious observance, the protector of the egg of religion, the Mujāhid for the sake of the God of the universes, the one who holds to the sunna of the Sincere, Faithful one, our beloved,²⁰ Sīdī Muḥammad al- Kānimī al-Amīn, May God shine His sun on his sky of happiness, and make him stand steady in [maintaining] the standards of good ethics; amen.

Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you, as well as His most pure salutations as long as last the movements of the universe.

After asking about the state of your illness [health?], Master, may God improve it [health] with His hidden kindness, [we inform you] that we received your noble letter, and your fine address. We rejoiced with its beautiful scent, and understood its secret contents.²¹

You informed us that our beloved son, Abū Bakr b. Khallūm,²² arrived in your dear presence, in company with some persons of the English nation, our friends; and that you received them with extreme kindness. You rejoiced for them as does a friend to a friend and showed them all the marvelous things that your kingdom contains, and made them see all the extraordinary rivers and lakes that surround it; and that you behaved to them as becoming your high station, and indicating your esteem and regard towards us. May God reward you for all this kindness, and protect you from all evils. This kind treatment was our sanguine expectation, and indeed the proof of our friendship, which we are already sure about. We ask God to reward you best for the way you handled our delegation, especially accompanied with these officers. What we have now to acquaint you with – masters, people of pride and profit – is our request that you embrace them and provide all that is needed, required and is worthy of their distinction, and extend protection in all situations (though we doubt not you do need this recommendation. It is a mere additional pronouncement from us.

Our friends, the British, ask [on behalf of] the great king to correspond with you on this matter to ask you to lead the British in your presence to different regions of the Sūdān, to behold its marvelous things, and traverse the rivers, and deserts therein.²³ We beg of you to use your utmost endeavors, as far as lies in your power, in their safe arrival at the country of Sūdān, accompanied either by letters of introduction, or by troops and guards, in order that they may obtain the accomplishment of their wishes, in a such a way that you will be assured in their departure and their return. This will increase your esteem [in our eyes].

Resolve therefore, and exert yourself, as we are confident of your goodness, and let them see all the places, which they wish to visit. When they return back safe from what they fear, we will be very grateful and will extend our unlimited benevolence to you; because they are our friends, we regard the way you treat them as if it were us.

If God give us the good news of their arrival with your help, in this way, after they reached their goals, you will receive the beautiful present, which is suitable to your rank. They reserved for you one of the marvelous gift for the delivery of which, unto your hands, we pledge ourselves.

This is all that we have to say at present, and if any affair should occur to you in this country, let us know.

Peace,

His servant,
Yūsuf Pāshā Qaramānī
May God assist,
Amen

Dated 28th of Shawwāl, 1238 of Hījra [8 July, 1823]

¹⁹ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 725-26 (Letter III).

²⁰ Salamé translated *muḥibbunā* as 'true friend', but more properly, 'beloved'.

²¹ Salamé's translation: 'of Lord of the country of Barnooḥ, and its dependencies, whom may God protect and dignify, and prolong his life long in happiness and felicity. Peace be unto you, and the mercy and blessings of God be upon you, as long as the inhabitants of the world shall exist. It follows, my Lord, subsequent to the due inquiry we make after your health, which may God preserve, that your esteemed letter has reached us, and we became acquainted with its contents'.

²² For the identification of Abubakr Bu Khulum, see Introduction.

²³ Salamé's translation: 'This being the proper desire of the great King of the English himself.'

IV. Yūsuf Pāshā to 'Our son Abū Bakr b. Khallūm', 2 Dhu-'l-Qi'da, 1238 A.H. [July 11, 1823]

٢٠

الحمد لله المستخف
وصلواته على من أنبأ بها

إلى الأجل العاقل الأفاضل الوجيب الأقبل ولو نزل به بكره خلقه إلى الله العليم
 عليه وروضته الله وبركاته ووليته أعلم به وأنه ورد عليك جوابك واطلع عننا مقلوبك
 وجميع ما عرفت بطلبه صلواته بالمال وأسر منواله وفوقه إنك بلغتم الله بفرح انتم
 وبسببنا إننا استبنا على العمل حاله واستبنا منكم بحسن الشراج
 سيري محمد الكافي غاية الاستبنا من وروح الاستبنا إنك على جميع البرهان
 والعمارة بحزاه الله من أجزاء الحسنة وهو خلقه كما تفرقه لاجل ذلك وتشرى
 صبيحة معك وصلواته تعالى أن يعيننا على مكرهاته بخير وفوقه على من خلقه
 عليك وخالفه على الطريقة إن شاء تفعلوا منه وأحوالها وأحوالها وتفعلوا منه
 غاية الانتفاع وأما الاستبنا من المذكور في ما أوردت من فروع وانك معك ملازم
 له في النزول والأحوال في غير معك على الوصل المذكور (أي مكانه) حتى
 يفضوا مكرهه ويقوموا مقلوبه ويطلبون على المرواح برفوعه على وهو العراد
 هل ذلك أو أبلغه جوابنا وانتم برفوعه برفوعه على الوصل المذكور وإذا بلغتم ذلك
 في الطريقة بارجع على الفور وجه العبد الذي معك كحضرنا وإذا بلغتم بجزء ما بعد
 أخيك حلالا إلى برفوعه ليقيم مقامك في شأن هؤلاء الاستبنا من لانا ما وجد هناك
 الأب سلفه وصراعات أحواله ولا يمكن التحلب عند الأيه إذا الوجه المذكور
 ومثل الحاجة التي يردده التكرير إن العبد في دسترنا معك وقد هابط ورجوعه
 على العمل حلالا على تعلق العفصود ودمت بخير والحمد لله
 في سنة من سنة الفيل المعسر الذي يرعى بالله عيسى يوسف بارئنا

IV. Translation of a 'Letter from the before named Pāshā of Tripoli to Abū Bakr b. Khallūm at Borno'²⁴

Praise be to God, He who deserves it, and peace be upon him who was the last of the Prophets.

To the most excellent, the most honored, the most favorable distinguished, our son, Abū Bakr b. Khallūm; may God honor. Amen. Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you.

We inform you that we received your letter, [...] and comprehended all that you stated to us in the fullest. We were glad to hear that you, and our friends, the English travellers,²⁵ had arrived at Barnūḥ²⁶ in safety; and that you were kindly received by our friend, the Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad al-Kānimī, who immediately allowed the officers to inspect all the deserts, and rivers [*baḥrs*], that are in his country. May God reward him best for this act of kindness. We have written to thank him for his laudable behaviour; and we pray to God to enable us to show him equal kindness in return. With regard to the persons²⁷ who were obstinate and disobedient to you on the road, we can track them one by one and punish them severely.²⁸

As long as the officers²⁹ remain at Barnūḥ, you have to attend, and be with them wherever they go, as I mentioned, until they shall have obtained their wishes, and accomplished their object; and when they desire to return, you may accompany and come with them as you went. If this letter should reach you before you leave Barnūḥ, you must stay with them, as above stated; if it reach you while you are on the road, you must return immediately, and only send us the slave you have with you; and if you should arrive at Fazzan before this letter reaches you, you may then send your brother³⁰ to Barnūḥ, to replace you besides the officers; for we only sent you on their account, for the purpose of facilitating their proceedings, and all their affairs. It is, therefore, impossible that you should leave or part with them, but in this manner; and we are sure that, to a person like you, there is no need to add any stronger words, especially as you know that they are in our honour, and under our protection, both in their going and returning in safety; which is the accomplishment of our wishes. And may you live in happiness and peace.

The one who implores God, His servant,

Yūsuf Pāshā

2nd of Dhū-'l-Qi'da, 1238 [July 11, 1823]

²⁴ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 726-27 (Letter IV).

²⁵ Salamé adds 'with whom we sent you as guide and conductor'.

²⁶ Spelled this way Barnūḥ is composed from Bar and Nūḥ, which can literally mean 'the land of Noah'.

²⁷ According to Salamé, 'of the different tribes'.

²⁸ According to Salamé, 'they have been apprehended, and taken and punished one by one', but in fact the text makes no such claim.

²⁹ Salamé interprets as 'English travellers', but properly 'officers'.

³⁰ Possibly Hadje Alī Bu Khulum, younger brother of Abubakr Bu Khulum ibn Musa, or Hamadu, another brother who had remained in Murzuq and acted as a communications point for the mission. See Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 105.

V. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī to 'the Knowledgeble [Ibrahim] Dābū, Emir of Kānū',³¹ 6 Rabī' al-Thānī 1239 [9 December 1823]

الحمد لله والصلوة والسلام على رسول الله

من عبد الله تعالى محمد الامير بن محمد الكانمي
 الى ادم ارضه وزدام قومه العالم محمد دا بوا صاحب
 كنز الاسلام التمام ورحمة الله مع الابرار ادا با بعد وها هو
 الفاضل عليكم منبذ محمد البرحمي ومعه رجال من الانفيلين
 اتوا الى ارض السود ان فدية التنزه بها انكروا عليه
 من بعض الخبايب وتردح الخضرية البحار والاشجار
 والسبب انهم ملككم لاذ الكوفة كانت
 بينكم وبين المسلمين على هذه وصحت دنياوية
 من انكم اجدتم في دور غيرهم من اصحاب الملل
 الزارفت التي انزلت للملة الشقية ولا كانت بينكم وبين
 المسلمين شيئا ولا يشتموا من بين المسلمين والاهالي
 الا وهم مع المسلمين كما وقت منهم اعانة عظيمة
 للاسلام يوم اخذ مصر من يد النصارى اليرنسيين
 ولذا كان غاية وغار في بلاد الاسلام وبنو دله ورضيت
 شاموا واصير وهم على افيال غرقت كذات الروم
 صرفوا الزناكرم كتاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 المحتوم على عدله للاسلام خير بعثه اليه مع حجة
 الكلبية هي الله غنه باخذ الكتاب وجماله في فصحت
 من ذهب ولم يسلم كما هو من ذكر في كتب السير
 واذا بلغهم الله اليك فكن منهم بسا او ابقتمهم
 من يولد له ليله كاشفنا ساليين امين في خدمته
 وامن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولا تخش عليكم ما كما احدثت

نعم
 من
 عبد
 الله
 بن
 محمد
 الكانمي
 الى
 ادم
 ارضه

³¹ Ibrahim Dabo, emir of Kano, 1819-1846.

V. Translation of a 'Letter from the Shaykh of Borno to the Amīr of Kano'³²

Praise be to God, and prayers and peace be upon the Prophet of God. From the servant of God almighty, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī, to the head of his land and the leader of his people, the learned Muḥammad Dābū³³, governor of Kānū: Perfect peace, and the mercy and blessings of God, be upon you.

Hence, the bearer, who is going to you, is our friend Muḥammad al-Wardī,³⁴ in whose company he has some Englishmen; who came to the land of Sūdān' for the purpose of seeing and delighting themselves with the wonders it contains, and to examine and see the rivers [*bahr*], and forests and deserts therein. They have been sent by their king for this purpose.

Between their nation and the Muslims, there have existed, since the times of their fathers and ancestors, treaties of worldly amity and friendship, special to themselves out of all the other nations that have erred, and are at variance with the true doctrine.³⁵ There never was between them and the Muslims any dispute; and whenever war is declared by the other Christians against the Muslims, they are always ready to help us, as it has happened in the great assistance they gave Islam when Egypt was delivered from the hands of the French. They have, therefore, continually penetrated into the Muslim countries, and traveled in peace wherever they pleased with confidence and trust. They are, as it is believed, descendants of the ancient Greek emperor Heraclius,³⁶ who received and esteemed the letter sent to him from the Prophet of God, blessings and peace of God be upon him, by Daḥiya al-Kalbī,³⁷ may God be pleased with him, containing his exhortation to him to embrace Islām. On receiving that sacred epistle, preserved it in a gold case, – though it is stated, in the hagiographies, that he did not convert to Islām.

Thus, if God permit them to reach you in safety, be attentive to them, and send guards to conduct them to the country of Kāshina, safe and unhurt; for they are at the mercy of God, and at the honour of his Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him; and you are well aware of the traditions.³⁸ Dated Wednesday, the 6th day of Rabi' al-thānī, 1239 [December 10, 1823]

³² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 727-29 (Letter V).

³³ Curiously, the ms is in error; the emir of Kano was Ibrahim, Muḥammad. This may suggest that this is a copy of the original, an error introduced in copying.

³⁴ Muḥammad al-Wardī (Mohamed al-Wurdi), whom al-Kānimī appointed to escort Clapperton and Oudney to Sokoto, accompanied Clapperton to Sokoto and back to Kano again in June 1824, where Clapperton left him.

³⁵ Salamé read al-Ḥanafīyya and noted that 'Aboo Hanifa, or Imam Kanafee, was one of the four great imams or high priests, founders of the four orthodox rites of Mohammedanism; and whose doctrine, it seems, is followed by these people'. In fact the people in question followed the Mālikī school, not the Ḥanafī. In fact there is probably a copying error here, as well, the word intended being al-Ḥanīfa, i.e., 'the true doctrine/religion'.

³⁶ Heraclius was the Byzantine emperor, who in the 6th year A.H. received a letter from the Prophet.

³⁷ Daḥiya al-Kalbī, Daḥiya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī Khazrajī took the Prophet's letter to Heraclius.

³⁸ Salamé's translation: 'Alcoraanic sayings upon the subject of the observance of honour. And peace be with you'.

VI. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al- Kānimī to the Imām of the Sudanic Kingdom, the Ruler of the Hāwsā Region, our beloved, the Knowledgeble Muḥammad Bello b. Shaykh ‘Uthmān, 23rd of Rabī‘al-thānī, 1239 [December, 27th, 1823]³⁹

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله



إلى حضرة انبييه الشريف المحترم العجيف الوجيه جيهينه الوقت والاور وعلامة
 العصر والزمارة امام المملكة السودانية وحاكم الناحية الحوسية حيث العلامة
 محمد بن جبر الالهامة الشيخ عثمان عليه من الله سبحانه الرحمة والرضوان بسلام
 يتمر بشئ المسك دونه ويا مصر ويا الدهر تنوته ورحمت الله له الي و بركاته
 المكنونة المخزونة له بعد ما عشا التغيير وعين الرقم والتشهير اعلامكم
 علمتم التغيير وتبين التغيير جئتم انز بقية من انصارو يستعم و بيم المسلمير
 من تريم الازمنة عهد غير متكونه وسعة ديوية عبر الابل والاحد اهور وثة
 ولما انك يتو غوري ببلد الاسلام حيث اردوا وبتخلو الاقطار والاقليم امين
 كية اناروا وفضل انوارها في اقبنتها الاذاه في دعة الاجازة من العيب الاكمل البسبر
 يوسف باشا صاحب طرابلس وامننه الك كيتن هو اذ عجايب ببلاد السودان
 ويقووا على شرابها مابها من البحار والقيام النار مثلها في كثير من الاوطار و لما فخوا
 مبارتهم مباراتهم برشوخ و ما جاورها طلبوا من العايزة التي جهنكم لما سمعوا
 ان العجايب شتم مكترها في اذ تتلعم في المسير واحببتهم كنبه تنتر من ترة التغيير
 وقد رجم انصوار بنه عن ما ورد في حقه الذمة عسبرنا رسول الله شيعم الامة صل
 الله عليه وعلى آله وكتبه القادة الامة وقد علمنا ان العسبير تنكوا و ما وهم
 ويسع بنو منكم اذناهم وكونوا منهم بياز ولا تظروا امرهم في و ايا الالهمال
 ولا يودهم احد يقو ولا يوقو ولا يفرغ لهم بسوء حتى يعودوا اليك ان شاء الله امين
 مطمئير مستانسير كما فرحو معنا والله تعالى يجازيكم عنا احسن الجزا وينبنا
 وياكم في سلك عماله المقربين الالهامة والسلام على كافة من حو له حضر نتم
 وعين من هو منكم وياكم عموما ببلد تخمير والسلام

هذا الكتاب من كتاب
 تاريخ السودان
 من تأليف
 الشيخ محمد بن جبر
 في شهر ربيع الثاني
 سنة 1239

³⁹ For a discussion of the letter of introduction and the allegations of a parallel letter warning Muhammad Bello against the English, see Introduction and Chapters 6-7.

VI. Translation of a 'Letter from the Sheikh of Bornou to Mohammed Bello, Sultan of Hoossa'⁴⁰

Praise be to God, and blessings and peace be upon the Prophet of God.

To the excellen renowned, the pure, the respected, the chaste, the considerate, the intelligent and the learned of times, the imām of the Sūdānic kingdom, and the governor of the Hausa region, our beloved scholar, Muḥammad Bello b. [son of] the thinker Shaykh 'Uthmān, whose soul may God shelter with the clouds of mercy and peace.

Our kind salutation, accompanied with affection as strong as the odour of musk, and as perpetual as the movement of the globe, and with the mercy and blessings of God, be upon you.

Hence, the cause of writing this letter and the purpose of its lines, is to inform you (May you know good things and be protected from the bad ones) that the English nation among the Christians, has maintained with the Muslims uninterrupted treaties and worldly amity and friendship, established since ancient periods, which they inherited from their forefathers and ancestors; and, on this account, they penetrate into the Muslim countries whenever they please, and traverse all provinces and lands, in confidence and trust, without fear. They came this region, sent to us by the most honored, the most accomplished friend, the Lord Yūsuf Pāshā, ruler of Tripoli, to see and delight themselves with the wonders of the land of Sūdān, and to become acquainted with its rarities, as rivers, and forests; equal to which are seldom seen in any other countries.

After having accomplished their wishes, in seeing all the things that the land of Barnūh and its environs contained, they felt anxious to visit your country from what they heard of the innumerable wonders therein. I have, therefore, permitted them to proceed on their journey, accompanying them with letters which are presented for protection.

You are well aware of what is stated on the subject of the observance of commitments, dictated by our Lord, the Prophet of God, the intercessor of the nation, may God bless him, his family and companions, the leaders and imams. You are well aware that the blood of Muslims is equal, and that the lower among them deserves protection.⁴¹ Be then attentive to everybody, and cast them not into the corners of neglect; let no one hurt them, either by words or deeds, nor interrupt them with any injurious behaviour: but let them return to us, safe, content, and satisfied, as they went from us to you; and may the high God bestow upon you the best reward for your treatment to them, and insure to us and to you a place among His most honored and chosen creatures.

Our salutation may be given to all who are about you, and to those who are related to you in general. Peace.

[Seal] Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī

Dated evening of Saturday 23rd of Rabī' al-thānī, 1239 [December 27th, 1823]

⁴⁰ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 729-30 (Letter VI).

⁴¹ Salamé's translation: 'and that the true Mooslemeen have always avoided shedding the blood of Christians, and assisted and protected them with their own honour'.

VII. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Ghumzu, to the ‘Prince’ of Yāwri, Dan Ghagha⁴²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 من عبيد الله محمد بن الحاج عمر غمز الوحيين
 الى صاحبنا وامن الناس عننا امير يدور في بلاد
 السلام عليك لا غاية ولا نهاية انت وجميع اهلك
 واذا اسكتنا عنا وعرا هلتنا واميرنا فستصير عارية
 وقدم علينا غلامنا رجو وجواب منك وفردته
 وورثته لا امير وخرج به وما منفتاح من رسول
 اليك الا الامير وجهنا لتلا حية الصخر وخرج
 بعزم مصالحة واذا رجع اليه بتاسا لعا تنصر
 رثوي اليكم ومعا هو الامير وجه اليكم عبد الله
 وابعد ان غلبت وهو اشترا تقصر يادى وريارتك
 لا تره هو كبيره الشيع الحاج لمير وكالكا امير كنوا
 وكذا الامير الصلح من جلاله كرم اكرمه
 في الا الرجوع علينا كتب اليك بان منك
 وجميع من ادى اليك باسم نزل على خبير
 وجميع من ادى اليك باسم نزل على خبير
 وجميع من ادى اليك باسم نزل على خبير
 وجميع من ادى اليك باسم نزل على خبير

⁴² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 730-31 (Letter VII).

VII. Translation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj 'Umar Ghamzu, to the 'Prince' of Yāwrī, Dan Ghagha⁴³

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement. Peace of God be upon our Lord, Muḥammad

From the slave of God, Muḥammad b. Ḥājj 'Umar Ghamzu, to our friend, the dearest we have, the Prince of Yāwrī, Dan Ghagha.

Salutation without end or termination be upon you and all your friends and relations. If you inquire after our health, and that of the Amir al-Muslimīn, and our friends, we are all sound and vigorous. Our slave D.r.dū has reached us with the letter from you, which I showed and read to the prince, and he was delighted with it; and we are prevented from sending you a messenger with an answer, only by the prince having ordered us to proceed to the eastern parts of the country to attend to some of his affairs there. But, if God be pleased to cause us to return in safety, you shall receive an express messenger from me.

The prince now sends you the English Rā'is 'Abd Allāh, who is anxious to see your country and visit you. He has been honoured and esteemed by the shaykh al-Ḥājj Amīn⁴⁴ and by the prince of Kānū, as also by the Amīr al-Muslimīn; and as you rank among the generous, receive him and honour him generously. When he returns, send us a letter, and express all your wishes in it.

Give our salutation to our brother Wākī [Wākī?] and all the friends, and we exhort you to attend to the contents of this epistle for the sake of the friendship which was established between you and our ancestors, and is now between me and you; especially as you never behaved towards us but very laudably. And may God bestow upon you more good sense, in addition to that which you possess.⁴⁵

⁴³ Muḥammad b. Ḥājj 'Umar Ghamzu (Mohammed Hadji Omar Gumsu), the principal Arab resident in Sokoto, to whom Clapperton had a letter of introduction from Hadji hat Salah of Kano, had lived 'for many years' with the 'Sultan' of Yauri (presumably in Yauri). Ghamzu was apparently present when Park visited Yauri in early 1806, and had also been a prisoner in Yorubaland for three years. The 'Sultan of Yauri', the recipient of the letter, who is referred to as the 'prince of Yauri', appears not to have been the emir of Yauri but his *wazīri*. Ghamzu told Clapperton that Dan Ghagha was a native of Sockna in the regency of Tripoli, and prided himself on his birth (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, 680-1). According to the Lander brothers: 'This morning we were visited by the chief of the Arabs of this city, who (if such a title can be used with propriety) is Prime Minister to the Sultan. He is a very old man as dark as a native; and was dressed in the costume of his countrymen which is very becoming. His beard was long and as white as snow ...the old man was yet very communicative and intelligent and among other things he informed us that Mr Park did not visit the city of Yaourie but remained in his canoe at the village where we landed yesterday, and despatched a messenger in his stead to the sultan, with a suitable present. This Arab had been sent by the sultan to the village with presents in return'. He had a cutlass and double barreled gun of Park's, which Lander exchanged for another one (Lander and Lander, *Journal of an Expedition*, Vol II, 35-6).

⁴⁴ Salamé inserts 'of Bornou'.

⁴⁵ This last section is difficult to read in the original.

VIII. Death of Mungo Park, Account verified by Muḥammad b. Dahmān [no place, no date]

أما بعد الشاهي حيا، بما جحد بوزن الصريح والحق ما أورثه من العلم والهدى
سائر الكرام في العلم وغيره، ووطئوا المظلمين وأورثوا الصالحين من العلم
الملكوتاني بلوراً صبراً وترسلاً لهم من سببهم في الدنيا والآخرة
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم
أبهر هذه الشئ والعلماء عليهم والسلام مع من كسر بريد عمار
وسد في بيدهم وطاقم في النكار والرجلا الإرفاق
صلى على سلايهم ونذر عليهم في والله في سنة

VIII. Translation of Account of the Death of Mungo Park⁴⁶

Hence, be it known that some Christians came to the town of Yāwri⁴⁷ and landed in the port of Yāwri and purchased provisions, as onions and other things; and they sent a present to the Sulṭān of Yāwri. The said Sulṭān desired them to wait [patiently] until he should send them a messenger, but they were frightened, and went away by the river [baḥr]. They arrived at the town called Būsā, and their ship then rubbed upon [struck] a rock, and all of them perished in the river [baḥr].

This fact is within our knowledge. Peace.

It is genuine from Muḥammad b. Daḥmān.⁴⁸

And they agreed, or arranged among themselves, and swam in the river [baḥr], while the men, who were with them, appeared on the bank of the river [baḥr], and fell upon them till they went down in it.⁴⁹

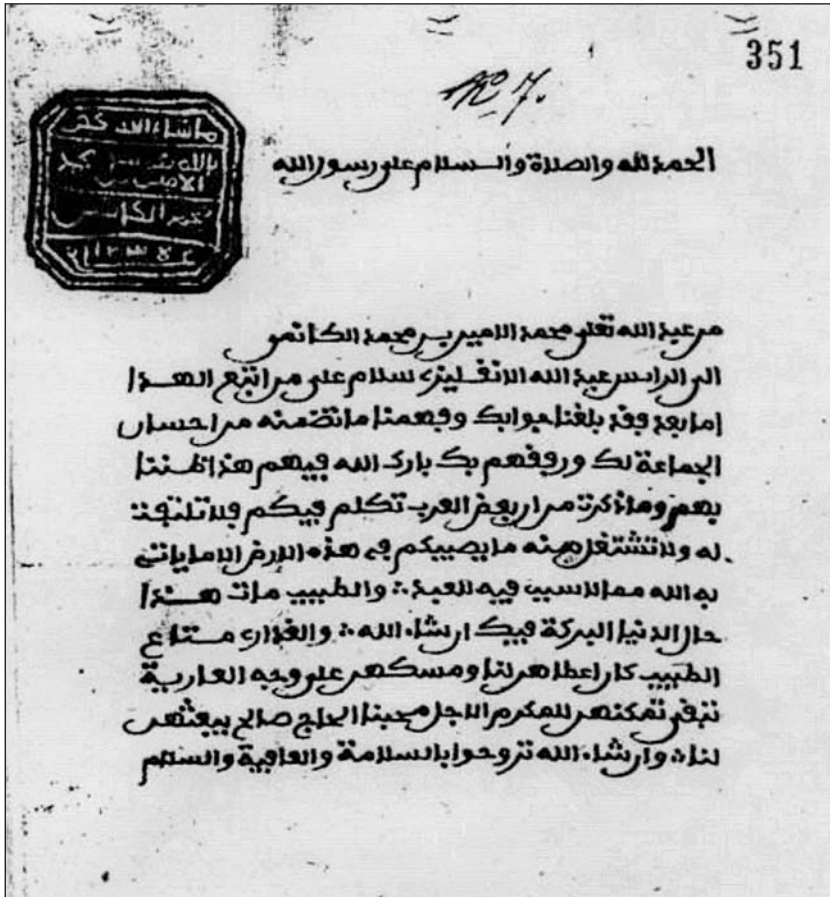
⁴⁶ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 731 (Letter VIII). During his first visit to Sokoto, Clapperton discussed Mungo Park's fate with Muhammad Gumso (see above n. 44), which is virtually identical to the account here. Gumso claimed to have been in Yauri at the time Park's boat sank, (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 680). There is another account of the death of Mungo Park in an appendix to the published version of the second expedition, the original Arabic since lost. It is attributed to the secretary of Muhammad Bello, apparently Malam Mohamed. Salamé's translation has the title, 'An account of an expedition of discovery, made some years ago, by forty Christians, who had built a ship or vessel in the interior of Africa, and proceeded down the river Cówara' (Clapperton, *Journal of Second Expedition*, 333-4).

⁴⁷ Salamé's translation: 'in the kingdom of Yaoor'.

⁴⁸ Muḥammad b. Daḥmān appears to have served as a witness to the authenticity of the account, since the line in which his name is given is written in a different hand than the account. According to Salamé's transcription, 'Mhd ben Dehmann' had previously served as a witness on another occasion; see Clapperton to Hay, 6 June 1825, Postscriptum (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol IV, 776), Daḥmān died in Katagum in early 1825. According to a letter from al-Kanemi to Denham on 20 March 1825, 'Nothing new has happened since you left us... We however have lost our illustrious and noble friend Hassan Et-Teflati, who died in this town; as likewise Mohamed Ben Dehman of Katacoom, and Yakoob Al-Owjal of Ankarno (Ngorno), to whom may God show mercy and forgiveness' (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 739-41). We have identified him with Benderahmani, the Fezzani merchant residing in Kano whom Clapperton met in late 1824, who reputedly had been in Nupe with Hornemann 21 years earlier (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 657-8), and possibly was the source of one or more maps (see Appendix V).

⁴⁹ This postscript is by a third hand, and is both ungrammatical and scarcely legible. Salamé renders [baḥr] as river, when it can mean 'sea', [sāḥil al-baḥr] as 'bank of the river' when it can mean 'coast of the sea'. He also translates [al-laḍī ma'ahum] 'who were with them' as 'pursuing them'.

IX. Shaikh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī to Rā'is 'Abdallāh [Clapperton], the Englishman, Seal dated 1238 A.H.



IX. Translation of a 'Letter from the Sheikh of Bornou to Captain Clapperton'⁵⁰

Praise be to God, and blessings and peace be upon the Prophet of God.⁵¹ From the servant⁵² of God almighty,⁵³ Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al- Kānimī, to the Rā'is 'Abd Allāh, the Englishman. Peace be upon him who follows the light of instruction.

Hence, we received your letter, and comprehended its contents; as also what you acquainted us with relative to the kindness and friendship which the people showed you. May God bless them; and we never doubted this behaviour on their part.

With regard to what you stated upon the subject of the calumny uttered by some of the Arabs against you,⁵⁴ you need not turn your mind to, nor think of it; as nothing shall befall you, while you are in this land, but what God Almighty may inflict upon you, without the instigation of any of his creatures.

The physician⁵⁵ is dead. This is the state of the world; May the benedictions, God willing, be upon you.⁵⁶ He promised to give his pistols to us as a present; and on this condition he kept them for his own use, as being borrowed from us, until his return to his own country,⁵⁷ you may deliver them to the honored, the respected, our friend Ḥājj Sāliḥ, to send them to us. And may God conduct you in health and safety.

(Seal)

Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al- Kānimī

⁵⁰ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 732 (Letter IX).

⁵¹ Salamé: 'Praise be to God, and prayers and peace be unto the Apostle of God'.

⁵² Salamé: 'slave'.

⁵³ Salamé: 'the high God'.

⁵⁴ The calumny is a complex story; see Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. II, pp 64-75. In short, Abdullahi was hired as a temporary employee by Clapperton, but was sacked because Clapperton's servants suspected him of being the thief who stole a camel carcass. Aduallahi complained about his treatment, not to Bu Khulum, but to one of the Arab leaders, Montasir, a Hassauna from Tamazaua in Wadi Shiati. This man had been refused tobacco by Clapperton, so invented the story that Clapperton was involved in homosexual relations with one of his Arab employees (i.e., Abdullahi). Denham used this rumour maliciously at a suitable time (the great quarrel of 13 April 1823). Abdullahi, who was 40 year old, was furious about the false accusation, and Denham eventually admitted that the story was a fabrication.

⁵⁵ i.e., Dr. Oudney. Salamé inserts 'your friend'.

⁵⁶ Salamé inserted for purposes of clarification: 'and may God increase your life; before his death'.

⁵⁷ Salamé inserted 'but now, as he is dead'.

X. Counsel Shaykh Sīdī al-Ḥājī Muḥammad al-Amīn, 27 Rabī' nabawī 1239 [30 December 1823].⁵⁸



⁵⁸ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 732-34 (Letter IX).

X. Translation of Document from ‘the Borno Court of Justice’

Praise be to God alone. May God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his family, and his friends.

Whereas, at the court of the honored, the most prestigious, the one whose consideration and station are elevated, the just, the pure, the alert, the understanding, the excellent, the imām, the example, the *faqīh*, the vigilant, the knowledgeable, the descendent of the experts, the lantern of lights,⁵⁹ the Lord Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Kānimī, may God direct this judgments and extend his life, and help him. Son of the Lord most excellent Imām, the acting knowledgeable, the Shaykh Sīdī al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Kānimī may God protect him with the clouds of benediction and acceptance. Present were Ḥājj ‘Alī b. Ḥājj Mūsā b. Khallūm and the English physician Waḍnī [Oudney], with his two friends, Rā’is ‘Abd Allāh [Clapperton], and Rā’is Khalīl [Denham]. They demanded [of the said Ḥājj ‘Alī] the restitution of two thousand silver riyāl Dūrū,⁶⁰ which Abū Bakr b. Khallūm received on credit from the British consul in Tripoli to restore to them in Barnūḥ,⁶¹ according to his own acknowledgment during his life time.⁶² Now, they are demanding this amount of money [from Ḥājj ‘Alī] because he is in custody of all his deceased brother’s property. He [Ḥājj ‘Alī] replied, that he knew nothing of their claim upon his late brother, but, if they possessed a bond [*bayyina*], they might produce it to prove their claim. They produced a paper, not written in Arabic, bearing the seal of the said deceased Ab Bakr; and, as no one could read what that paper [wathqa] contained, the judge told them that, notwithstanding it bore the seal of the said deceased, it could not be valid, nor of any use to them. They then produced the Qāḍī Ujlī,⁶³ one of the friends of the deceased Abū Bakr, as witness, who attested that, while at Tripoli, he was sent by him to the consul’s house, where he received the two thousand dollars and delivered them to him (the deceased), knowing that they were to be repaid at Barnūḥ, according to the present claim. The judge did not approve of his testimony, however.⁶⁴

They appeared a second time at the said court of justice, may God protect it, and alleged that Ḥājj ‘Alī, after their first appearance, acknowledged, and pledged himself

⁵⁹ Salamé merely summarizes: ‘here the titles of the sheikh and his pedigree follow’.

⁶⁰ Salamé translated riyāl Dūrū as ‘dollars’.

⁶¹ According to Salamé, ‘his said friends had lent to his late brother Aba Bak’r ben Khalloom, through the English consul at Tripoli, on condition of I repaying them after their arrival at Barnoooh’.

⁶² Before leaving Murzuq, Oudney had deposited the Mission funds, in Spanish dollars, with Bu Khulum. Bu Khulum subsequently used the cash to invest in trade goods for sale in Borno and the Sokoto Caliphate. The agreement had been notarised in Tripoli. In consequence of Bu Khulum’s death, the Borno Mission ran out of ready funds (see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 165-7, 170-4). The witnesses included Zy Abudin, a merchant from Fezzan and brother of the *qadi* of Murzuq, who traveled from Fezzan with Bu Khulum’s caravan. He also apparently acted as *qadi* to the Bu Khulum family. The second witness was Muhammed ben Ahmed ben Abu Bakr, a cousin of Zy Abedeen (Bruce Lockhart and Wright, *Difficult and Dangerous Roads*, 173, n3). The third was Muhammed ben Hadji Milad ben Taleb, a merchant from Sockna who traveled with the Mission from Murzuq departing in November 1822. He returned with the caravan to Fezzan in September 1824 (Bruce Lockhart and Wright, *Difficult and Dangerous Roads*, 278, 289-90).

⁶³ Possibly ‘old Hadje Mohamed’ who traveled with Bu Khulum’s caravan and who intervened when the Arab escort for the Borno Mission threatened to mutiny. He was well known to al-Kanemi and perhaps served as the *qadi* for the caravan of the Borno Mission; see Bruce Lockhart, *Clapperton in Borno*, 15, 76, 90, 96.

⁶⁴ This section is blurred in the original.

to pay them the two thousand riyāl which they claimed from his late brother; that he paid them a part of the said sum in cotton clothes to the value of six hundred riyāl in Barnūḥ money, and that the remaining fourteen hundred were to be repaid to them by him at the city of Kānū in the land of Sūdān; and they, therefore, wished to legalize this before the judge.

Ḥājj 'Alī, however, said, that he gave them the six hundred riyāl merely as an act of kindness on his part, and as a loan from him to them, which they were to return to him at Kānū; and that he never acknowledged nor promised to pay his brother's debt; but that he told them, if they should be in want of more money at Kānū, he would advance them as much as he could afford. They then requested the judge to restrict him from selling or sending his brother's property to Kānū (lest it should be lost on the road), until they had proved their claim by better evidence. Ḥājj 'Alī, at last, agreed, either himself or through his agent, to pay them five hundred riyāl more, in addition to the six hundred, two months after their arrival at Kānū in the land of the Sūdān; and fixed a period of one year, from the date of this document between them and him, for the proof of the justice of their claim. If they fail to prove their demand upon his deceased brother before the lapse of the said period, they were to repay him the eleven hundred riyāl, and forego all their claims. But if, on the contrary, they should be able to substantiate their demand within the stipulated period, he would then repay to them the nine hundred dollars, balance of the two thousand.

Upon these conditions, both parties agreed and declared themselves content and satisfied, while they were in a perfect state of health and mind as to deserve reliance and dependence upon.

Monday the 27th day of Rabī' al-Nabawī (I), one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine of the Prophetical Ḥijra [December 1, 1823] in the presence of Muḥammad Zyan al 'Ābidīn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, may God, with his grace, assist. Amen, Amen.⁶⁵

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr, may God, with his grace, assist. Amen, Amen.

Muḥammad b. Ḥājj Milād b. Ṭālib, may God forgive him. Amen, amen, amen⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Salamé adds: 'Issued from the Court of Justice of the honoured and learned sheikh Mohammed El Ameen ben Mohammed El Kanemy, at Bamooḥ'.

⁶⁶ Salamé adds: 'And may the high God be witness upon all'.

XI. Muhammad b. Sa'da⁶⁷, Tyrwhitt's accounts, CO 2/16, f. 345

السواوي يحيى صهر الشريف
 345
 فلكن ملاصق بحدود مصر
 العكرواني بوزن سنت وعشرون مائة
 شمع صمغ عسار اوزان الالاعطى طارست زبالا
 اللوز دسهم انظار عظيم رابلي الاذ بمصر عليه
 انظار شونيم الخيف مشه برمال انظار شونيم ريان
 خصب الخيل انظار ريبا مصر وفي الخندامه انظار و
 خصب الخندامه وجر الذكور انظار ريبا سدس
 مهور وفي انظار ثلاثه ربالا مابى وخبس
 ومهور وفي وانبيا خمسة ربالا حو لنا بدهى
 نصراني موزن ثمانه الروا انظار ريبا وربعه سمويه
 مهور وفي انظار اخوة ثابا ربهه ارطال كيو انت
 انظار ثلثه ارطال فطوره الجمل انظار مثل
 اخذ ثابا ريبا صفا كعبه ودهن الخيل انظار
 اخوة ثابا ثلثه ربالا انظار زدا مهور وفي
 ريبا خصب انظار ريبا مهور السوقي انظار
 انظار مهور في صلحنا ب البيرو انظار مياسى
 سنت عشى جى شقه القه ربيع ربالى ريبا خصب
 وريال خمسه البيت والخندامه انظار مئله
 ربالا ثلاثه ريبا خصب وريال مهور في كسوف
 وريال فشف الخيل و السبق المذكور
 فشف م السبق المذكور
 عكرا
 انظار صر نيل على البيت بنه با حقه فاعشكر ريبا لاد وريال انظار
 لاد وشفق القه اربعه ربالا ريبا مكرانا وريال دخان اليم وريال
 زرد سواوي

⁶⁷ Tyrwhitt's servant.

XI. Translation of Tyrwhitt's accounts, Muhammad b. Sa'da, CO 2/16, f. 345

Praise be to God alone. God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his family,

Remembrance of what Muḥammad b. Sa'da had spent after the death of the Christian, the twenty-sixth of the month of God 'afar, of the year 4 [*sic*] first of those we gave three riyāl [to the person who buried him?] and gave also two riyāl to the person who watched him. We bought some stuff for the horses with one riyāl and we bought with one riyāl *qaṣab*⁶⁸ for the horses, and one riyāl was spent for the servants and one riyāl *qaṣab* for the servants and the fore mentioned Muḥammad, and one riyāl butter we spent, and five riyāls we changed the Christian form his first place, and one riyāl and half for butter, and spendings, and took [exchanged] four pounds of [?] and three pounds of cade [tar] oil for the camel and we used one pound to buy rope [and ties] for the horses we also took *cade* [tar] oil with three riyāl, and added spending of one riyāl on *qaṣab* and one riyāl spending in the market and one riyāl spent to repair the well. On the sixteenth of the godly month of Rabī', we spent two riyāls, one for *qaṣab* the other for the room and the servants. We also spent three riyāls, one riyāl for canes [*qaṣab*], one for the market spending, and one for horse things in the same month.

In the date of 28th of the mentioned month of the year 04 [*sic*]

We also spent for the [construction?] of the room eleven riyāl duros. I also bought for him, while he was in al-Qazī⁶⁹ four riyāl: One riyāl of [mirkab = horse gear, stirrup] one riyāl of tobacco for snuff, two riyāl for two bracelets.

VERSO:

After two months of his death, we run out of money to spend on ourselves and on the horses. We borrowed from some people forty-five riyāl. Among the people we borrowed from is the lord Shaykh in al-Qazī. When he came and told him. He responded to us that we couldn't give. You write to them and go to your office until we go to see them, and then you settle accounts with them.

⁶⁸ Apparently *qaṣab* or guinea corn.

⁶⁹ Location not identified.

XII. Arabic Receipt, CO 2/16, f. 364

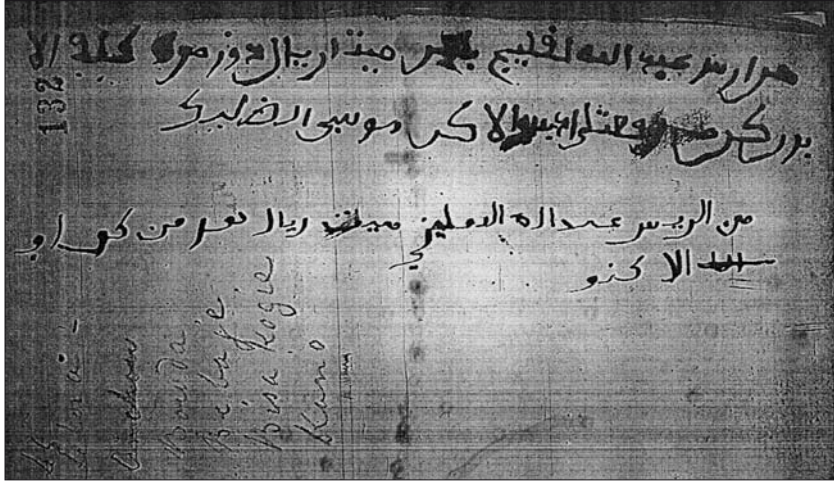
XII. Translation of Arabic Receipt, CO 2/16, f. 364⁷⁰

Praise be to God alone. My God bless our master and lord Muḥammad, his family and companions most fully.

Remembrance against forgetfulness and the vices of the time, which took [...] search [...] first of which, three large papers [copy books?], five pounds of coffee, eight cups with their saucers, a pound of gunpowder, a pound of [tea?], a coffee mill, two knives, one big coffee pot, a tent, one pound of [...], solar mirror, a stone of the Christian's land, two saddles, a packhorse, and two boxes. He also took 60 riyal duros and took again 50 riyal duros.

⁷⁰ Apparently another extract of notes made by Tyrwhitt's servant Muhammad b. Sada.

XIII. Receipt, Mūsā Dalīk, Remark Book, CO 2/16, f.132



XIII. Translation of Receipt, Mūsā Dalīk, Remark Book, CO 2/16, f. 132

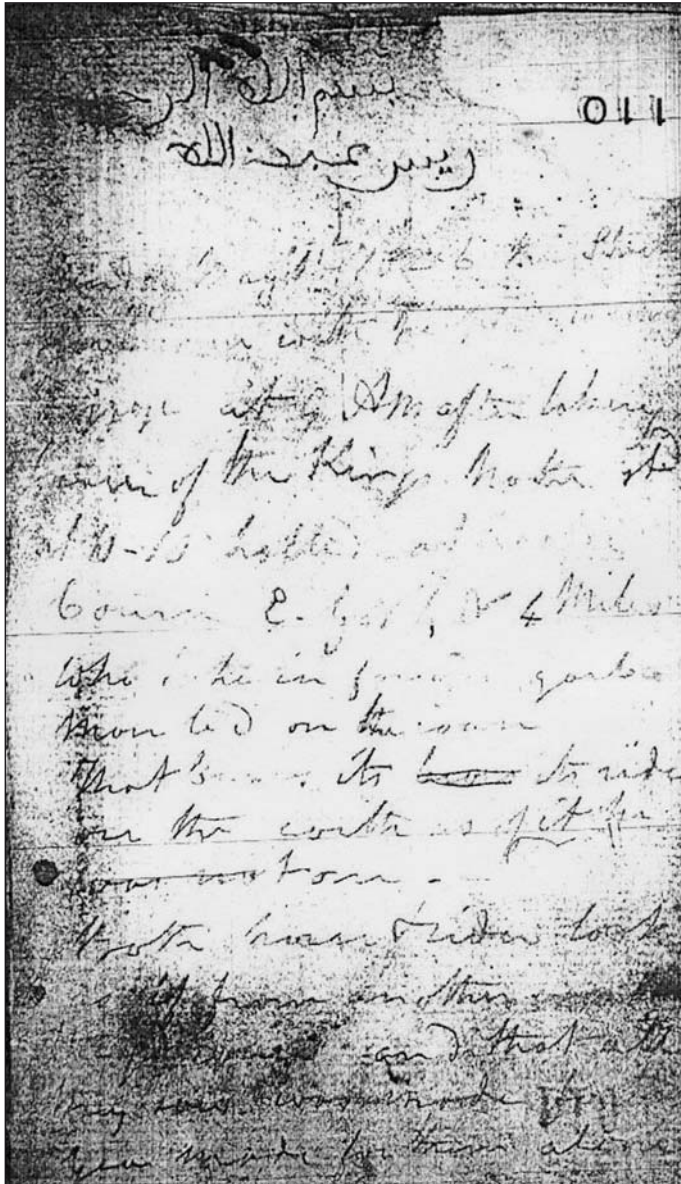
From the Rā'is 'Abd Allāh Laqlīj [the 'English'] one hundred riyāl dūrū from K.L.F. [Kulfo] to B.R.N. Kanū [Birnin Kano] by Mūsā Dalīk⁷¹

From the Rā'is 'Abd Allāh al-Inglīzī [the 'English'] one hundred riyāl dūrū from K.L.F. [Kulfo] to Kanū⁷²

⁷¹ Mūsā Dalīk, the Trabolize merchant (i.e., from Tripoli) whom Clapperton contracted to carry his goods from Kulfo to Kano. Mūsā arrived in Kulfo on Friday 10 June, and negotiations continued on Tuesday, 14 June, and a deal was reached on Sunday, 19 June. Clapperton met Mūsā again in Birnin Gwari.

⁷² The Arabic is unclear, but it appears that the first two lines are essentially repeated in the second two, but in a different hand. The repetition may have been an acknowledgement that the payment was received, or it was in preparation of document for Dalīk to sign.

XIV. Clapperton's Signature, Remark Book, CO 2/16, f. 110



XIV. Translation of Clapperton's Signature, Remark Book, CO 2/16, f. 110

In the name of God most merciful

Rā'is 'Abd Allāh

APPENDIX IV

Clapperton's Cartography and Itineraries

Clapperton has left us full records of the route of his journey from Badagry through Oyo, Borgu and Nupe into Hausaland and thence to Sokoto. He sent home to the Colonial Office in March 1826 a detailed itinerary and chart of the route to Katunga (Oyo-Ile). No similar original itineraries or charts exist for the remainder of the journey to Sokoto; but most of it can be satisfactorily pieced together from the notes in his journal. Clapperton's record is by and large an accurate one. The difficulties of keeping a reliable running estimate of distances and courses travelled, on horseback, by foot or by hammock, along winding paths, through closed forest or open tracts of featureless savannah can well be imagined. Confusion caused by ill-health, tiredness, or simply haste is also apparent.

Clapperton's itineraries have been traced on modern maps of Nigeria, principally the US Department of Defense USAF Tactical Pilots Series (1:200,000), which provides suitable scale and detail, and High Commissioner Frederick Lugard's map of 1905. Reference has also been made to the maps and itineraries of other nineteenth-century travellers, including Heinrich Barth, Daniel May, William B. Baikie, and Gerhard Rohlfs.¹ Other maps in British Colonial reports of the early twentieth century also provided a useful source for comparison. For details of place-names in certain regions, reference was also made to maps published in work of Peter Morton-Williams, Robin Law, Michael Mason, S.O. Babayemi, and Kola Folayan.²

Clapperton's chart of the route to Oyo-Ile from Badagry has an eastward skew. This can partly be accounted for by inaccuracies in his (occasional) estimates of longitude – a difficult enough computation in any circumstances at that period³ – when he puts his position 1 and sometimes almost 2 degrees

¹ Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H. B. M.'s Government in the Years 1849-1855* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857-59); Daniel J. May, 'Journey in the Yoruba and Nupe Countries in 1858', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 30 (1860), 212-33; W.B. Baikie, 'Notes of a Journey from Bida in Nupe to Kano in Haussa, Performed in 1862', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 37 (1867), 92-108; and Gerhard Rohlfs, 'Reise durch Nord-Afrika vom Mittelländischen Meere bis Zum Busen von Guinea, 1865 bis 1867, 2. Hälfte: von Kuka nach Lagos (Bornu, Saria, Nupe, Yoruba)', *Petermanns Geographischen Mittheilungen Ergänzungsheft* 34 (1872).

² Morton-Williams, 'Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade', 25-45; Law, *Oyo Empire*; Mason, *Bida Kingdom*; Babayemi, 'Upper Ogun: An Historical Sketch', 72-84; and Folayan, 'Trade Routes in Egbado in the Nineteenth Century', 83-95.

³ Clapperton's best estimates of longitude were made at fixed times, such as at an eclipse. Poor visibility, for instance in the harmattan, or in conditions of cloud cover in the rainy season, made astral navigation difficult in this geographical region.

further east than in reality it is. There are also internal inconsistencies in some of his navigation. His record of courses marched on unambiguously identifiable routes, such as from Zaria to Kano, indicate that his compass readings could be two or three points out in a northerly direction – i.e. he records a reading of East when actually travelling ENE or NE by E. His readings of latitudes, on the other hand, taken when time and weather conditions permitted, are on the whole reliable.

In areas remote from long established centres, names of settlements change, and locations have sometimes moved. Settlements may have been moved for access to new or better agricultural land, or from low to high ground for defensive purposes at times of war or anarchy. Thus in Hausaland for example, Clapperton's routes are reasonably clear along well used, traditional roads between principal places of habitation, and most of the locations correspond to settlements of the same, or similar name today. In southern forest regions, however, the locations of settlements, and of roads and tracks, have clearly altered over time. Another source of uncertainty about place names derives from the inevitable difficulties in transliterating, even with the help of interpreters, the actual names of settlements, regions, towns, rivers and hills. Many place names Clapperton recorded are immediately recognizable; others, however – possibly names used only locally or at a particular prescribed period – are harder to make out.

This list of itineraries has been divided into three parts. Part I is a transcription of Clapperton's own summary of his journey from Badagry to Katunga – with some minor (and marked) editorial additions. For example, we have added in square brackets, for purposes of completeness, the names of places through which he passed or where he made a brief halt which he mentioned in his journal but did not include in his summary of itineraries. Part II, containing the remaining sections of this Appendix, covers Clapperton's journey from Oyo to Kano and thence to Sokoto. These itineraries have been compiled from notes in Clapperton's journals of courses and distances, or time, travelled – combined with any information in his remark books and a handful of notes written up for the purposes of maintaining a running record of his position. The latter are too insubstantial to merit reproduction, and by and large the routes can be identified today with confidence. Part II also contains a note of Clapperton's journeys in the environs of Sokoto before his final illness and death. Part III presents, for background information and purposes of comparison, an itinerary of the routes Clapperton travelled between Kano and Sokoto on the Borno Mission in 1824. This list, compiled from his (published) journals and (unpublished) remark books of that journey, gives a further insight into the roads used during a period of change and development in the Sokoto Caliphate.

Where our column 'likely identification' has been left blank, this means we have been unable to identify the particular settlement in question in any maps or literature available today. The probable locations of these are normally quite

clear from the context of the journey. Clapperton's own map of the journey from Badagry to Katunga is reproduced in the Introduction.

I. Clapperton's itinerary of his journey from Badagry to Katunga, from December 1825 to January 1826.

Transcribed from Clapperton's own list of itineraries, sent with an accompanying map to the Colonial Office from Katunga [CO 2/16 ff. 35-7]⁴

[Date & Coordinates]	[Route]	[Courses and miles marched]	[Likely Identification ⁵]
[f.36] 7th [December 1826]			
O-C Dist ^{6e}	Badagry to Bawie [Gazie Creek]	WNW 4 N 1 River Yewa	Bawi
8th			
O-C Dist ^{6e}	Bawie to Pukia	N1/2E 4	Ipokia ⁷
9	Puka to Dagmoo [halt at Isako]	NE by N 8	nr. Oniro
10			
6-41 ⁸	Dagmoo to Humba	do. 5	Ihumba
11	Humba to Saada [past Akolou] [past Etu]	EN.E [illeg.] 4 Ito	Isado
12	Saado to Bidgi	E. by S 5	Gbeji
13	across the river to Atalia Bolu to Tolu to Lalu	E by N 1) ⁹ EN.E 4) E by N 6) East 5)	River Yewa Atiolobo, nr. Alagbado Ilaro

⁴ The place-names on this list may be compared with those Clapperton recorded for the route from Ijanna to Katunga as reported by the *alaafin's* messenger [Monday 19th December 1826: Chapter 2].

⁵ For purposes of consistency, spellings of today's place names are based on the US Department of Defense 1967 map series, rather than on other conventions for transcribing local languages, unless otherwise noted.

⁶ The symbol for a calculation of latitude based on the distance of the sun from the moon; but not recorded here. Clapperton used these astral readings to calibrate his running estimates of latitude and longitude.

⁷ For a discussion of the route through Egbado see Introduction. Morton Williams ('Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade', 35 n. 1) corrects some errors in a similar account of the route offered by Philip Allison in c.1956.

⁸ An estimate of Longitude North, presumably calculated at Ihumba [6°41'30"N].

⁹ In his list of itineraries, Clapperton bracketed together notes of courses marched in one day.

15	Lallu to Jannah North 2	N by E 1/2E 2	Ijanna
	\underline{Q}^{10}	6°-56'-30" N	[Ijanna, 6°56'N]
22 Dec ^f	Janah to Beechy	E by N 4	Ibeshe ¹¹
23	m.t.k. Bachy to Tshou NbyW 1)	N.N.E 4)	Sawonjo
24	Show to Ega	North 6) NE 4)	Igan Okoto
25	Dawson died Ega to Eguadoy Liabo [past Emadoo]	N by W 3) N by E 3)	Aibo Erinmado, or Eemado, 5 m. S of Aiyetoro
26	Liabo to Ekwya	NE 3) N by E 3)	Eripa, or Eekpa, by Aiyetoro
	\underline{Q}	7°-17'-5" N	[nr. Balogun, 7°17'N]
Ekwya to Engwa Capt ^l Pearce dies		N by W 6	nr. Idi Emi ¹²
Jany- 3 – [18]26			
	Engwa to Afora & river a town called Shagru	NE 5 3 Miles NE by N 7 NNE 3	nr. Inawole and Fagbire River Oyan Asagu
	\underline{Q}	7°-38'-17"N	
	Afora to Assoulu	NE by N 10	Asunnora [7°39'N], 5m. WSW of Igangan
5	Assoolu [past Itali] to Assudu Elabu Tudi	N by E 3 to) NE 8)	Assado [7°45'N] by Tudi Hill
6	Assudu to Cho-Cho hills	NE by N 6 4) N by E 4 8)	Eri and Eyin Hills, 4m SE of Iwere-Ile

¹⁰ Navigational symbol representing the Sun's lower limb.

¹¹ Morton-Williams ('Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade', 36) recorded a local tradition that the fourth King of Egbado was reigning at the time of the expedition.

¹² Possibly Ewon, once the most northerly Egbado town (Williams, 'Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade', 36). The journey through Egbado went through territory that suffered war and invasions throughout much of the nineteenth century. The names of many small places are not retrievable today.

[f.37A]

7th	Chu Chu to Fudaboo to Bendika	NE by N1/4N 4 8 NNE 4 3	W of Tijo Hill Gbenleke, by Arapawon Hill ¹³
8-	Bendekka to Duffo	NNE1/2 [] 4 9	by Baba Ode
9	Duffo to Way or Eweiah [past Issia] Way to Alikwa [past Leppah/Lekwa] to Chiado	NE by N 3 2 NE1/2E 5 4 ENE 5 4 NE by N 5 4	Awaye, nr. Igbo Ijaiye nr. Akendu Hill nr. Batola Hill, [8°25'N], 4m. SW of Ofiki
	<u>Q</u>	8°-23'-30"N	
12	Chiado to Erawa Matoomi left Matoomi Erawa	E by N 3 4 3 miles E by N1/2E 5 NNE 3	NE 5 Irawo-Ile
13	Erawa to Washu to Mountain paths to Chaki	NE 7 NNE 5	nr. Fori River tributary, S of Igbo Ologun Shaki
14	Chaki to [2 words illeg.] to Burgoo to Cussu	NE by E 5) NNE 2) E by N 5) E by N1/4N 6)	Kusu ¹⁴ , c. 3m S of Agebonle [c. 8°50'N]
	<u>Q</u>	8°-55'-13"N	
16	Cussu to Ensukusu [thru] Yaboo	E3/4N 4 NE by E1/2E 4	Onisikoso ¹⁵
17	Ensukusu to Laduli ¹⁶ Laduli to Ajidubu to Akibosa	NE by E 2 NE by E3/4E 3 E by N 3	
18th	Akabosu to Adju E3/4N 4 Adju to Loku/Loksa	East 3 E3/4N 6	
19	to Salu to Laydoo	NE by E 2 NNE 2) E1/2N 3)	

¹³ A sketch map of the road from Assoulou to Bendekka, showing an outline of hills, allows us to identify the positions of Cho Cho, Fudaboo and Bendekka [CO 2/16, f. 111]. However, many of the settlements further north, in the hills on the western rim of the Offiki valley from Bendekka to Irawo Ile, are not readily identifiable today. Settlements in 1826 were probably higher above the valley floor for defensive reasons.

¹⁴ See Babayemi, 'Oyo Ruins', 8-11.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The route lies to the north of the former principal trade route west from Oyo Ile passing through Ogboro and Igboho, which was under Fulani attack in 1826.

20th	Lado to Leo Galloo to Bong bong	East 4 – do – 6	Gbongbong
[f.37]			
20	to Atupa	E1/2N 4	some 7m SE of Kishi ¹⁷
21	Atipa to Nama [R. Tuffee] to Leobado	E1/4N 5) E by S3/4S 5)	River Soro, W. tributary of Tesi river
22	Leabado to Show ¹⁸ Assinu to Katunga SE by S 12 ¹⁹	SE by E3/4E 6 SE 7	Oyo Ile [8°58'N, 4°18'E]

II. Clapperton's Itineraries compiled from course notes recorded in his journals and remark books²⁰

II a. Route travelled from Katunga to Kano, March to July 1826

[Date]	[Route]	[Record of courses, or distance/time marched]	[Likely Identification]
March 1826			
7	Left Katunga Katunga to Assinu	[4 hrs] ²¹	
8	Assinu to Tshow Tchow to Algi	N by W1/2W 7 N by W1/2W 8 7	
10	Algi to Watatu	N by W1/2W 5 4	
11	Watatu – River Moussa Boru Boru to camp in wood	N 3 N by W1/2W 2 N by W1/2W 4	River Moshi Boru ²²
12	Camp to Oblah Oblah to Socka Sacku to Kiama Mn Altde Dubhe 9°-37'-33" N	N by W 18 N 6	Sokka, 8m SE of Kiama ²³ Kiama [9°37' N]

¹⁷ Atupa appears on Isaiah O. Gilbert, compiler, *Northern Nigeria*, March 9, 1905, Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London, 1905 – some 3 miles north of Komi on today's Igbetti-Kisi road.

¹⁸ This settlement was probably located at the cross roads of tracks [9°1'N, 4°.10'E] on the watershed between the tributaries of the Teshi-Moshi river complex to the north and west and the upper Iwa river which flows to the SE, passing round to the south of Oyo Ile.

¹⁹ The journal continues with a summary of the above itineraries in the form of northings and eastings from last coordinates, used for calculating a running estimate of position – and not reproduced here.

²⁰ Remark book entries [CO 2/16 ff. 28-37] allow us to complete navigational details for most parts of the route from Katunga to Kano.

²¹ Notes of time travelled are taken from journal and remark book notes

²² See Gilbert, *Northern Nigeria*, 1905.

²³ Ibid.

18	Kiama to Bonaga	S.E1/2S 7	[by a route lying S of today's road]
19	Bonaga to camp by stream	SE by E1/2E 8 E.N.E 7	
20	Camp to Barakina Barakina to River Oli Bila on S. side of river	NE by E1/2E 14 ENE 6	River Oli
21	Bila to walls of Wawa	NE1/2 E 6	Wawa
26	Lat ^{de} of Wawa	9°-53'-54" N	[9° 54' N, 4° 25' E,]
	Long ^{de}	[]	
30	Wawa to Bajiba Mount George (1/2 mile dist., bearing E by S) Bajiba to Injum Injum to brook brook to Kumbrie village [1.40 hrs] village to River Menai W. Gate of Boussa	E by N 4 NE by E 5 [2 hrs] NE1/2E 6	Gbajibo Aikina Hill southern tributary of River Menai [Kambari village] River Menai Old Bussa

April 1826

1	Lat ^{de} of Boussa	10°-14'-12" N	[10°10'N, 4°31'E]
	Long ^{de}	6°-11'-46" E	
2	Bearings from King's houses: Table topped Mt. at Youri Bearing NE1/2E 25-30m ²⁴ Mt. George SW1/2W 45 12		Aikina Hill
2	Boussa to Cumbri village [1 h] [at junction of roads] village to Niger falls Falls to Songa	SSW1/2W 12 SSW 8	South of Old Bussa ²⁵ Bubaru rapids ²⁶ c. 3 m N of Koso
3	Songa to Comie the ferry	SSWbyW 16	Komi
4	Comie to Wawa	NW1/4N 16	Wawa
6	Wawa to Comie	Komi	
8	Lat ^{de} of Comie ²⁷ by Mn Alt ^{de} Dubhe	9°-50'-9" N	

²⁴ See entry Sunday 2nd April. The position of Yauri was significant to Clapperton for future reference; who, from these bearings, estimated its latitude at 10°4'N [Remark book, f. 41]. This corresponds correctly with the position of Jinjina Hill, from which Bin Yauri lies in fact 9 miles further NNE.

²⁵ Old Bussa, and the country south to Komi, lies of course today under the waters of the Kainji Dam.

²⁶ For an account of the likely site of Mungo Park's boat-wreck and death, see Lupton, *Mungo Park*, 208-9.

²⁷ The village of Komi in recent times (both before and after the construction of the Kainji dam) is situated at 9°46'40" N. Clapperton's course notes indicate that the ferry may have been sited 3 m further north (at today's Kainji) in the 1820s.

10	Crossed River Niger Comie to My yarra by stream at Dalu ²⁸	NE by E 6	River Maingyara, c. 3 m W of Kwota nr. Shinkafi
	Dalu to Etwata	E1/2N 5	
11	to blacksmith villages to Bagagu to Oglu	E by S 2 E 3 E 2	
	Oglu to caravan camp	E3/4S 4	
12	camp to Funga to Kenabrou across bridge into Tabra	E3/4S 1 E1/4S 4 E by S 2 E.N.E 4	Tabria
14	Tabra by Mn Alt ^{de} Dubhe Lat ^{de}	10°-3'-24" N	[c. 9°58' N]
21	from Tabra to ruined village on ravine to second ravine Kitako on its south bank	SbyW1/2W 18 SbyW 9	nr. Beji at head of Yanpere valley nr. Twsafu at head of Eku valley
22	Kitako to halt in wood halt to Jirmee Jirmie to Sanson ²⁹	S3/4W 26	Zugurma
24	Sanson to halt halt to Jannie	[2.30hrs] [2 h]	
25	Jannie to Kitako Kitako to Tabra	[5 h] [7 h]	
May 1826			
2	Tabra Goudah		
	To Koolfu	E by N 3	Kulfo
June 1826			
11	Koolfu Lat ^{de} Long ^{de} 6° -40'-28"E	10° -5'-18"N	[10°0'N, 5°6'E]

²⁸ The small Kambari settlements through which Clapperton passed on the 25 mile road up the Maingyara valley to Tabria are not readily identifiable today. He travelled on the north bank of the river, and apparently sometimes at a little distance from it, on higher ground. Clapperton's record of distances between villages, although broadly correct, is not entirely clear.

²⁹ By a running calculation from Tabria, Clapperton estimated the position of the Sanson at 9°12'12"N, 6°25'24"E. Not surprisingly, given the forced march – partly by night – he overestimated the distances travelled. Actual coordinates of Zugurma are 9°28"N, 4°58"E.

20	Koolfu to Kufu	E.N.E 3	Some 5 miles N of Kulfo ³⁰
21	Kufu to caravan halt to hills	N.EbyE1/2E 8	
	thru hills to Ekibli	NE1/4E 2	
22	Ekibli past Cumbri town [border with Youri]	E.NE 8	
	past second Cumbri town to Bullabulla	EbyN3/4N 7	Bolo Bolo
23	Bulla Bulla to Ragadawa	SEbyE1/2E 2	Ragadawa ³¹ , nr. Kontagora
24	Ragadawa to Washee	EbyN1/4N 3	
25	Washee to Wazo in Kotong Kora	EbyN 6	Wasu ³²
27	Wazo to Worm or Wormzou	SbyE 5	Worm ³³
	to river camp in wood	EbyN1/2N 5	Tributary of River Kara'a
28	from camp	E.N.E 4	
		N.N.E 3	
	to Womba	N.E 4	Womba
	Mn Alt ^{de} Antares		
	Lat ^{de} 10°-35'-1" N		
	Long ^{de} 7°-22'-4" E		[10°40'N, 5°59'E]

July 1826

1	Womba to Gillma	EbyN 4	Galama
	Gillma via Sabongree to camp by river	ENE 3	Kurihau (E bank) of River Mariga ³⁴
2	camp to Akingjie	EbyN 6	Kakangi
	Akingie to Currijie	EbyN 6	Kurigi
3	Currigie to Sabongree and banks of river	EbyN 8	NW of Kashua Hill a small tributary of River Mariga
	river to Gubir in Dushee	E1/2N 5	Goran Dutshe Galadima
4	Gubir in Dushee to Guari	E 12	Birnin Gwari
6	Guari		
	Lat ^{de} 10°-54'29" N		[11°1'N, 6°47'E]
	Long ^{de} 8°-1'-34" E		

³⁰ See Baikie, 'Journey from Bida to Kano', 92-108.

³¹ Ibid., near Kontagora today.

³² Gilbert, *Northern Nigeria, 1905*.

³³ Baikie, 'Journey from Bida to Kano'.

³⁴ Baikie, 'Journey from Bida to Kano', has Kurita. The settlement on the west bank today is Kwanje.

9	Guari to Makurdi to Eastd. of Cazigie By Mn Alt ^{de} Antares Lat ^{de} 10°-53'-46" N	E1/2N 5 ESE 6	Makurdi Hill Safon Kazage [11°4'N, 6°59'E]
10	from Cazigie to stream dividing Guari/Zegzeg granite mounts to camp, S of Fatika	[5 hrs] [1 h] E1/2N 16	River Damari Kurbawa [2,350 ft] Fatika
11	from Fatika to N of Morai thru 2 ravines to camp	SbyE 6 EbyN 61/2 ENE 11/2	Murai hills by Karaukarau
12	camp to Zaria ³⁵ Mn Alt ^{de} Antares Lat ^{de} 10°-59'-1" N	E by N 9	Zaria [11°3'N 7°43'E]
16	Zaria to Lekoro	N.E by E3/4E 10	Likoro
17	Leokoro to Roma	N.E by E3/4E 8	Ruma
18	Roma to Aushin	ENE 8	Auchan
19	to stream dividing Zegzeg and Kano stream to Dunchow	NE by N1/2N 10	Dan Gora nr. Paki
20	Dunchow to Baegegie	ENE 12	Bebeji
21	Baegegie by Mn Alt ^{de} Antares Lat ^{de} 11°-34'-1" N Long ^{de} 9°-13'-[] E		[11°40'N 8°16'E]
22	Begegie via small stream to Madagie to river to Kano	River Kunza river [1.30hrs] [3.30hrs] NE by N 28	Maidobi Chalawa River Kano

II b. Route travelled from Kano towards Sokoto, August 1826

August 1826

24	Kano – Koffin Dalkie to river 1/4 mile wide to Toffa	NW 11	Tofa
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³⁵ Clapperton's remark book entries with navigational notes on the journey from Fatika to Zaria contain confusing deletions and alterations, and errors in dates, but the journal makes the route reasonably clear.

³⁶ A tributary of the River Kamanda, which joins the River Chalawa 15m to the NW, the Masama marks the state boundaries still today.

25	Toffa to Kiawa to Gagai to Gongadi	NW by N1/2N 8 W.N.W 4 Gogori	Kiyawa
26	crossed river & streams running E to Koki	NW by N 4	Kokai
27	Kooki to Duncamie to Jaza in Kashna	Yankamaye W1/2N []	Gyaza in Katsina Emirate

[Journey aborted in the rains, and Clapperton was constrained to return to Kano]

II c. Route of travel from Zurmi to Konya and thence to Sokoto, October 1826

Journey begun from Kano 24th September 1826; record begins 11th October at Zurmi³⁷

October 1826

11	from outside Zurmi crossed river several times to Quarrie		Zurmi River Bunsuru Kwarin Zurmi
12	to river Futchir at its junction with the River Zurmi to camp ³⁹	NNW 6 NNW 12	lakes nr. Baderawa River Gagere ³⁸ nr. Katuru
13	to camp by lake formed by rivers Zurmie and Quarrie		N 18 nr. Makwarua
14	from camp to camp	N 20	nr. Sabon Birni
15	from camp to swampy & stream	[3 hrs]	River Maradi nr Souloulou nr. Malamay
16	to Bello's camp from camp to war camp to Conya walls ⁴⁰	E by N 12 [2 hrs] E by N 3	Konya, nr. Karandia
17	war camp to old ribat ⁴¹	W1/2N 30miles ⁴²	nr. Dan Tudu on westwards turn of Rima

³⁷ No records exist of travel from Kano to Zurmi [see entry, 11th October 1826], but see Section IV below showing routes travelled through this region in 1824.

³⁸ The two rivers run parallel and close to each other, with interlinking branches, for some 25 miles in the wide valley until they join to form the Rima River near Makwarua.

³⁹ 'called Gatto' [Remark Book ff. 81-5].

⁴⁰ Remark Book [f. 81-5] has: 'EbyN thru cornfields, at 8 halted, 8 Miles; Course to Conya EbyN, *Kingwa* 17, 4 Miles'.

⁴¹ A camp that may have dated to the campaigns against Alkalawa in 1804-5.

⁴² Distance taken from note in Remark Book, f. 81-5.

18	to southward turn of Rima and thru ravines to former camp	W1/2S 28 S by W 4 [4 hrs]	nr. Kwakwazo and Goronyo ⁴³
19	to SW of alluvial hills to western turn of river to south bank to Magaria	[4 hrs] [3 hrs]	River Rima, nr. Dangwara Magaria, 5m E of Wurno ⁴⁴
20	to Sokoto	[8 hrs]	Sokoto ⁴⁵

II d. Journeys in the vicinity of Sokoto, October 1826 to March 1827⁴⁶

October 1926

26	Sokoto to Magaria by M ⁿ Alt ^{de} Formht: 43°-10'-4'' = Lat ^{de} [] ⁴⁸	NE by E1/2E 16 ⁴⁷	Magaria [13° 17'N]
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November 1826

6	from Magaria to halt at spring to Sokoto	[4.30 h] [2.30 h] W by S3/4S 14	nr. Makera Sokoto
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December

1	from Sokoto to valley camp	[4 h] S	escarpments on Talat Mafara road.
2	to planned new town	E 2	on River Rafin Ale, nr. Gyalande
2	from valley camp, overnight direct		
3	to Magaria ⁴⁹	[9 h]	
4	Magaria to Sokoto	[6 h]	

⁴³ It is not clear whether the track followed lay on the north or south bank of the Rima valley going west from Goronyo to Dangwara. Clapperton's reference to travel through hills indicates the former.

⁴⁴ Magaria appears from Clapperton's descriptions to have been situated near Dabagin Yari on the east side of the Rima River, about 5m E of Wurno, which was developed as a *ribat* five years later.

⁴⁵ Clapperton made three separate attempts, early after his arrival in the city, to establish accurately the latitude of Sokoto, viz., 13° 4' 55'' N, 13° 3' 49'' N and 13° 4' 52'' N [Remark Book, f. 50]. In 1824 he calculated the latitude as 13° 4' 52'' N [see Itineraries IIIb, entry 3 May 1824, below. The actual coordinates are 13° 4' N, 6° 14' E.

⁴⁶ Compiled from Clapperton's published journal, Chapter 7. The few Remark Book entries relating to these journeys do not add to information in the published text.

⁴⁷ The road, running broadly NW, probably went through Acida and Dinawa.

⁴⁸ A calculation never completed.

⁴⁹ The route probably stayed east of the River Rafin Ale, crossing the River Sokoto near Durbawa, climbing to higher ground towards Acida, and thence through Dinawa to Magaria.

January 1827

15	from Sokoto to Magaria	[10 h]	[Clapperton ill]
16	to Sokoto	[6 h]	

February

8	from Sokoto Malam Mudi's village	[6 h]	[camels unwell] 2 or 3m SW of Wurno, nr. Dan Kamu
9	to Magaria	[3 h]	
15	from Magaria to Malam Mudi's		[hunting in Rima valley]
16	to Magaria	[4 h]	
n/d	return to Sokoto ⁵⁰		

April

13	died Sokoto buried Jungavie		Jangebe, nr. Modo, 5m ENE of Sokoto
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III Clapperton's journeys between Kano and Sokoto, 1824**III a. Journey from Kano to Sokoto, February to March 1824**

Compiled from Clapperton's journals and Remark Books written on the Borno Mission⁵¹

February 1824

23	Kano to Yaromba	NWbyW 12	
24	Yaromba to Toffa	[3h]	Tofa
	Toffa to Roma	NW 14	Romo
25	Roma to Gadiana	NW by N 12	Gadanya
28	Gadiana to Faniroa	NW 12	Farin Ruwa
29	Faniroa to river	[3 hrs]	tributary of River Karanduwa that divides Kano and Kashna
	to Duncamu	NW by N 12	Yankamaye

⁵⁰ Date of return to Sokoto, in late February, is not clear from published text.

⁵¹ To complement the 1826 itineraries, the editors include here details compiled from Clapperton's (published) journals (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV) and (unpublished) remark books (Brenthurst Library MS 171/4) covering his journeys from Kano to Sokoto and back in February to May 1824.

March

1	Duncamu to Geaza	[6 hrs]	Gyaza
	Geaza to Ratah	N by W1/2W 20	Radda
2	Ratah to Bershee	NW 10	Birchi
3	Bershee to Kajaria	NW 5	
4	Kajaria to Roma	NNW 4	Ruma ⁵²
	Roma to Bobagill	W.N.W 10	
5	Bobagill to Zurmie	[6 hrs]	Zurmi ⁵³
	Zurmie to River Quora		River Bunsuru
	R.Quora to Quoli	WNW 18	Kwarin Zurmi
13	Quoli to Burduwa	W.N.W 7	Baderawa
14	Burduwa to River Fushee		River Gagere
to 15	(2.30 AM)		
	to Gondoma Lakes		Gundumi ⁵⁴
15	Gondoma Lakes		
	to Wells of Kamoon		Dan Kemu
16	Camoon		
	to Sockatoo	W by S	Sokoto

III b. Return journey from Sokoto to Kano in May 1824**May 1824**

3	Sokoto		
	Lat ^{de}	13° -4' -52" N	
	Long ^{de}	6° -12' E	[13° 4' N, 5° 15' E]
	to Kamun	Dan Kemu	
5	Kamun to Lake Gondumi		Gundumi
6	to Futchir river		River Gagere, probably nr. Isa.
7	to Quari		Kwarin Zurmi
8	to Zirmie		Zurmi
11	to Yakua and Roma		Ruma
12	Roma to Kashna		Katsina
	Lat ^{de}	12° -59' N	[13° 0' N]
17	Kashna to Miwa		nr. Abukur and Rimi
	to Eatowa		Iyatawa
18	to Sabon Gree		Sabon Gari
	Burderawa		Bindawa
	to Kafindingee	SW 16	Kafin Dangi

⁵² The road from Birchi to Ruma probably passed through Zakka and Batsari.

⁵³ The westerly track from Ruma through the Ruma Bush to Zurmi evidently ran parallel to, and south of, the River Fafara, an eastern tributary of the River Bunsuru.

⁵⁴ The westward journey from the river Gagere was probably begun at Isa Sanson, a traditional gathering place of caravans on the eastern side of the Gundumi Bush.

19	Kafindingee to Sofa		Tsa
	Sofa to Dunkamee	[9.30 hrs]	Yankamaye
20	Dunkamee to Gдания	SW 15	Gadanya
21	Gдания to Roma	SE 9	Romo
	Roma to Toffa	Tofa	
22	Toffa to Kano	[10.30 hrs]	Kano

APPENDIX V

Contemporary Maps

This appendix includes eleven maps relating to Clapperton's expedition, all but two obtained on the earlier Borno Mission. Since geographical reconnaissance was a primary motive of these expeditions, these maps record information that proved to be useful in planning the route for the second expedition. It is clear that Clapperton's route from Badagry to Old Oyo and beyond was based on the knowledge of the trade routes revealed in these maps, which are based on the accounts of indigenous merchants and travellers, and represent an important element in the absorption of information by European scientific circles about the geography of the then unknown lands between the desert and the Guinea Coast. These texts form the meeting point between the itineraries of Muslim-dominated trade routes and European cartography.

Chronologically, the maps begin with a route from Futa Jallon to the Sokoto Caliphate, drawn in 1822, collected by Denham in North Africa, and found in the H. Beechey papers in the map library of the Royal Geographical Society. Seven of the maps were obtained by Clapperton at the time of the Borno Mission; these are now located in the Royal Geographical Society, in W.D. Cooley, 'A Collection of Route Maps of the Niger River, together with original letters¹ from Clapperton and Others' (nr Nigeria S/S.39). Several of these maps trace routes from Kano to Nupe and the 'sea', and one shows routes from Katagum Emirate, east of Kano, in four directions, including to Nupe. There is also a fragment of a map from Wase, south of Bauchi, to the Niger-Benue confluence that appears to be a continuation of the Katagum map. Also included here is a map and notes on the area near Ragada in Nupe, which is to be found in Clapperton's Remark Book (Brenthurst MS 171/5/4) on an otherwise blank page apparently written during his journey from Kano to Sokoto in February-March 1824, without further comment or attribution. There are two versions of a map of the Sokoto Caliphate or 'Houssa Territory', and finally a map showing the course of the Niger River from the western Sudan to the 'sea' at Nupe.

The various maps in the Cooley collection were sewn together at some point, apparently to keep them together, although they have been reorganized here as appropriate. The collection consists of 13 sheets in total, 33cm x 45 cm, with leaves 1, 2, 12, and 13 being blank protective covers. The verso of the first map indicates that Clapperton gave the maps to his 'intimate friend', Barry Cornwall, who in turn gave them to Captain W.H. Smyth R.N., who was a

¹ Two letters dated 1822, in Murzuk.

member of the Royal Geographical Society. Smyth subsequently presented them to the geographer, G.C. Renouard, who was also a member of the Royal Society. Renouard's made notes on the verso of several of the maps, supplementing Clapperton's own descriptions of the maps. It is not clear when Cooley, also a geographer, received the maps, but almost certainly after the publication of his book on geography, *Negroland of the Arabs examined and explained; or An Inquiry into the Early History and Geography of Central Africa* (London: J. Arrowsmith) in 1841, since Cooley only refers to Clapperton's published accounts.

The provenance of the several maps is not entirely clear. The map of West Africa from Futa Jallon to Borno was obtained from Sheikh Mohamed, an Arab merchant from Ghadames. The maps in the Cooley collection were obtained in Kano and Sokoto. The 'Plan of the Territory of Houssa' is attributed to 'Malam Mousa a Faghee of the Felatah Nation'. Musa appears to have been a member of Muhammad Bello's household. He was probably the author of the map – a somewhat similar but more extensive version of the same general account of the extent of the Caliphate – that was published in the narrative of the Borno Mission under the title, 'A Reduction of Bello's Map of Central Africa', which is also reproduced below. The 'Route from Youri & from the latter to the see [*sic*]' was based on information from 'Bendar Rachman a Moorish merch', who is identified as Muḥammad b. Dahmān, a Fezzani merchant who resided in Katagum and who reputedly had been in Nupe with Hornemann 21 years earlier.² Dahmān served as a witness on the account of Mungo Park at Bussa reprinted in Appendix III. Clapperton met him in Kano in late 1824. The map entitled 'Route from Katákum & Masfi to the Sea' was probably also obtained from Muḥammad b. Dahmān. The other route from Kano to Nupe was based on information from 'the slave of Hatsala', apparently a reference to a slave of Hadje Hat Salah, the principal Tripoline merchant in Kano and al-Kanemi's commercial agent there, who had been long involved in Sudanic trade, and indeed in the politics of Tripoli-Fezzan-Sudan relations. Clapperton came to know Hat Salah well and to have confidence in him, appointing him his own agent in 1824 and again in 1826, when he even entrusted Lander to his care. A related translation of a portion of this route is credited to the same source. Finally the map of the Niger River was prepared by Muhammad b. Ahmad Masané at Muhammad Bello's instructions.

The approach adopted here was first to establish the genesis of each map, and then to identify all places and geographical features. For this purpose, various maps were consulted, including the excellent maps of the colonial period, examined at Arewa House, Kaduna, and at the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, Toronto.³ Certain Arabic terms on the maps

² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 657-8.

³ Yacine Daddi Addoun examined the maps in the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, York University, and constructed new maps with places and geographical features identified. The maps were further examined at Arewa House, with the assistance of Musa Salih Muhammad, archivist.

have specific meanings in Hausa, and hence ‘mountain’ in fact refers to inselberg formations that are known in Hausa as *dutse*, while the Arabic for ‘village/town’ inevitably refers to a walled town, *birni*, in Hausa. Similarly, the term ‘fadam’ refers to Hausa *fadama*, irrigated farmland near rivers and streams. Generally Arabic *bahr* is ambiguous and can refer to the sea or a river, and in the context of the mapping presented here usually refers to the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, if not simply the Niger itself. The Niger is also identified by its Hausa name, Kwara, and the capital of Oyo by the Hausa name, Katunga. Finally, there is a reference to ‘walnut’ trees in Nupe, which may refer to cashews or shea butter trees, but certainly not walnuts.

I. Route from Futa Jallon to Borno

The source for this map and commentary, as noted above, was Sheikh Muhammad, an Arab merchant from Ghadames, whom Denham had met crossing the desert and who was the source of information on the raid on Bagirmi in 1821 under the Bey of Fezzan, Mustapha al-Ahmar, among other things.⁴ The document is located in the papers of Captain Henry Beechey, RN, in a file, ‘Rough notebook from his journey to Libya’.⁵ The map was written on triple crescent watermarked paper with Arabic notation and contains the following text:

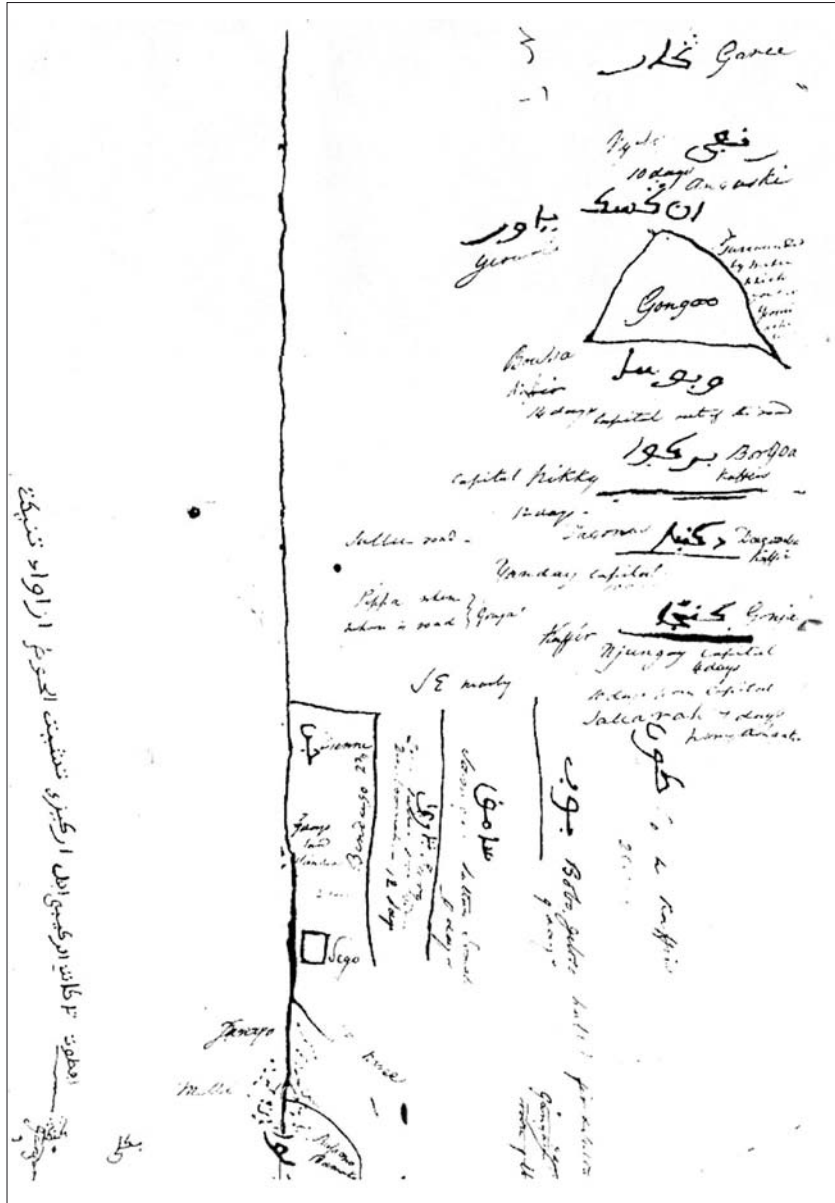
From Julu [Futa Jallon] to Mali. I rode from Mali to SiK [Sikoso?]. I rode and crossed the river to MN YK I crossed a small river to Tari then I crossed the river Tari to Sahiq or Samiq. I walked to BuBJLu [Bobo-Dioulasso] and walked to Gun [Kong?]. I crossed the Gun river [Volta?] to Gaja or Guja [Gonja] and walked from Gja to DaKba [Dagomba], from DaKba to ZGu [Djoungou]. From ZGu to BRG [Borgu = Nikki]. From BRG to Busa and crossed the river [Niger] to GnG [?]. From GnG to Gski [Ngaski⁶]. From Gski to Wunba [Womba], from Wunba to GaR [Gwari?], from Gar to JZR [Zaria?]. From JZR I crossed the river [Chalawa] to Kun [Kano].

The drawing below the itinerary extends from west to east, in the south, showing: ‘Julu [Futa Jallon], MN, SN or ML? [Mali?] and SiK [Sikasso?], and in the north, [...], WaSL [Wa or Wasulu?]; BNDK [Bonduku?], Tari [?] and JLSu [Bobo-Dioulasso?]. The small drawing at the top of the map mentions (from top down) GNG or KnG [Kong], Busa, BRK [?], DaKba [Dagomba], and Dabuya [Daboya]’. There are additional notes:

⁴ Denham took down an account when in Murzuq from Sheikh Muhammad. See Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. II, 79-80; and for Denham’s account of the raid on Bagarmi, vol. III, 539-53.

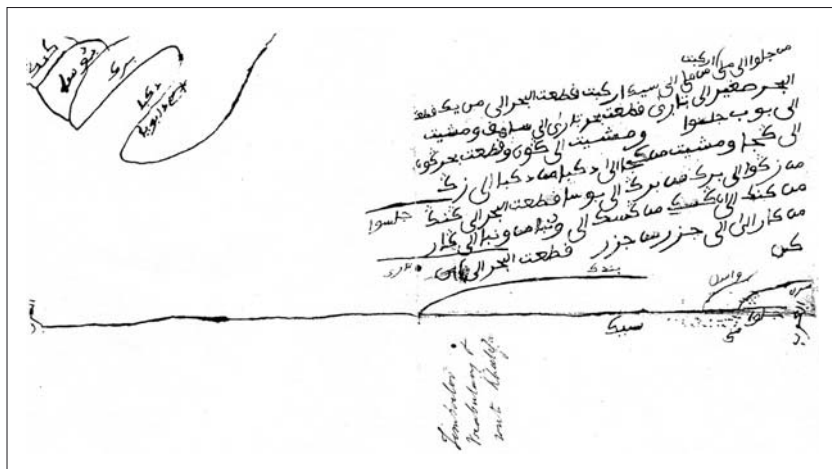
⁵ We wish to thank Dorothy Thorn for drawing attention to the document. The file consists of folded sheets of paper 20cm by 16.5 cm with a crown and Britannia watermark – one set of 8 folded half sheets cut away. The other set has nine folded sheets. The handwriting is not Beechey’s or Clapperton’s. The papers included grid maps with markings of terrain that in fact are Denham’s route notes from 29 November to 17 February. The dates fit Denham’s schedule rather than Clapperton’s travels

⁶ Perhaps Ngaski, a ferry south of Birnin Yauri on the Niger.



خطہ کے بارے میں سب سے زیادہ تفصیلی اطلاع
 مندرجہ ذیل کے سفر ناموں میں ملے گی۔

خطہ



From Kasarowa [Gasr Owa – between Al-Qatrun and Tajarhi] a road goes off to the SE by which all Kafilis proceeding direct to Waday move[;] it is also the shortest road to Bornou but a great scarcity of water[.] Sultan Mustapha went from hence to El Futtah on his way to Buhermi [Bagirmi].

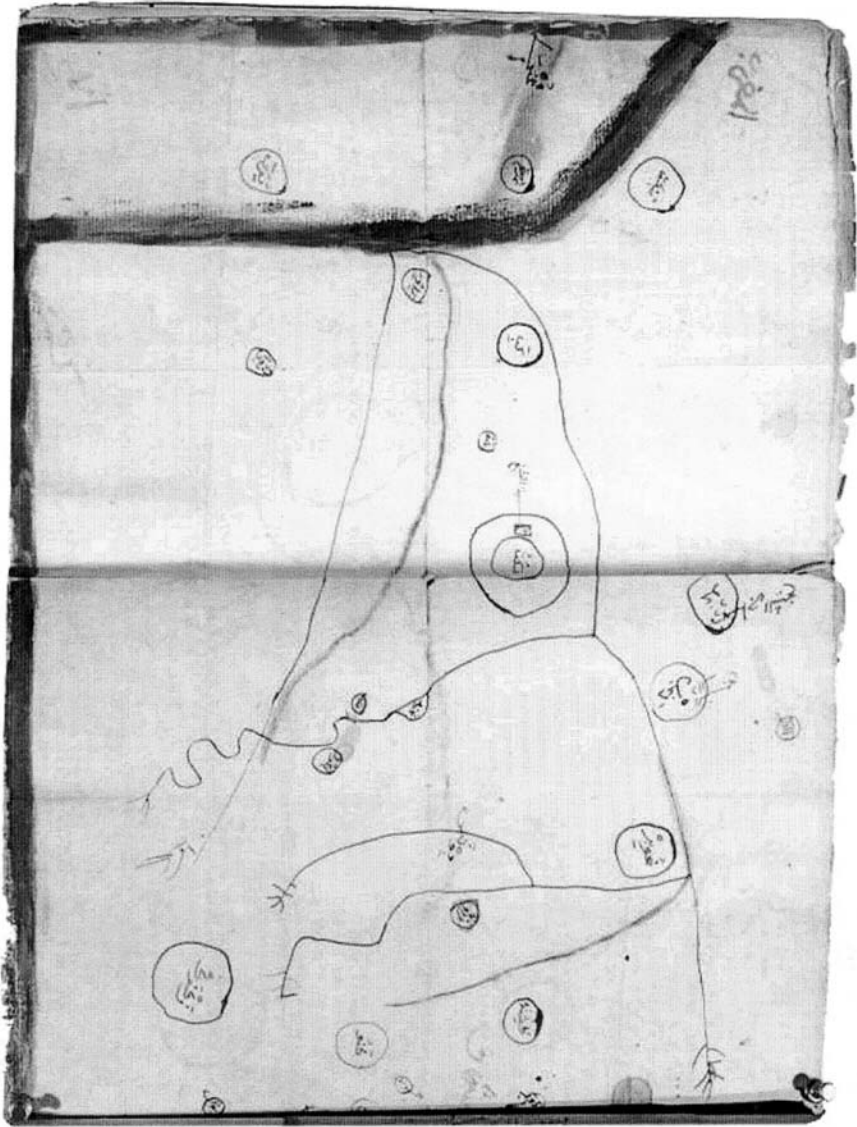
Omrah well [Wells of Oma – first wells south of Tajarhi]] water impregnated with lime and chalk. Probably 1400 feet above the sea

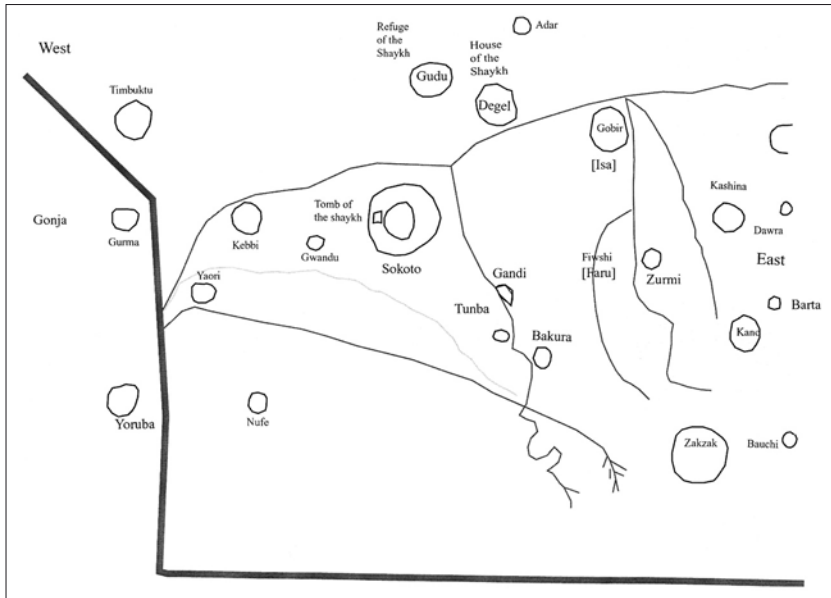
16 Decr- 2 miles W by S SS to 11/2 S y W

6 miles in all 10 miles

According to Denham, Sheikh Muhammed was a Ghadames merchant who had been to Timbuktu ten times and who claimed to have spent 13 years as a prisoner in Bagirmi. He clearly knew the central Sudan well. He accompanied the Bu Khulum caravan, which took the Borno Mission across the Sahara.⁷ The notes with the map suggest that Denham and Sheikh Muhammad discussed the latter's travels in the central Sudan while travelling between Gasr Owa and the Wells of Oma. Sheikh Muhammad claimed to have been at Segu-Sikoro in 1805 when Park was there, and he was sure the Niger was navigable by small vessels from Timbuktu to Cairo. There are two scripts on the map – English and Arabic in different hands. The English is presumably Denham's but rather smaller and tidier than other samples. The annotations in English are reasonably complete, and the route is explicable to anyone who knows the Niger bend. There is one curious note, 'Timbuctoo Vocabulary & route Khalifa [Kafila?]', apparently referring to a list since lost.

⁷ See Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. II, 79, 197.

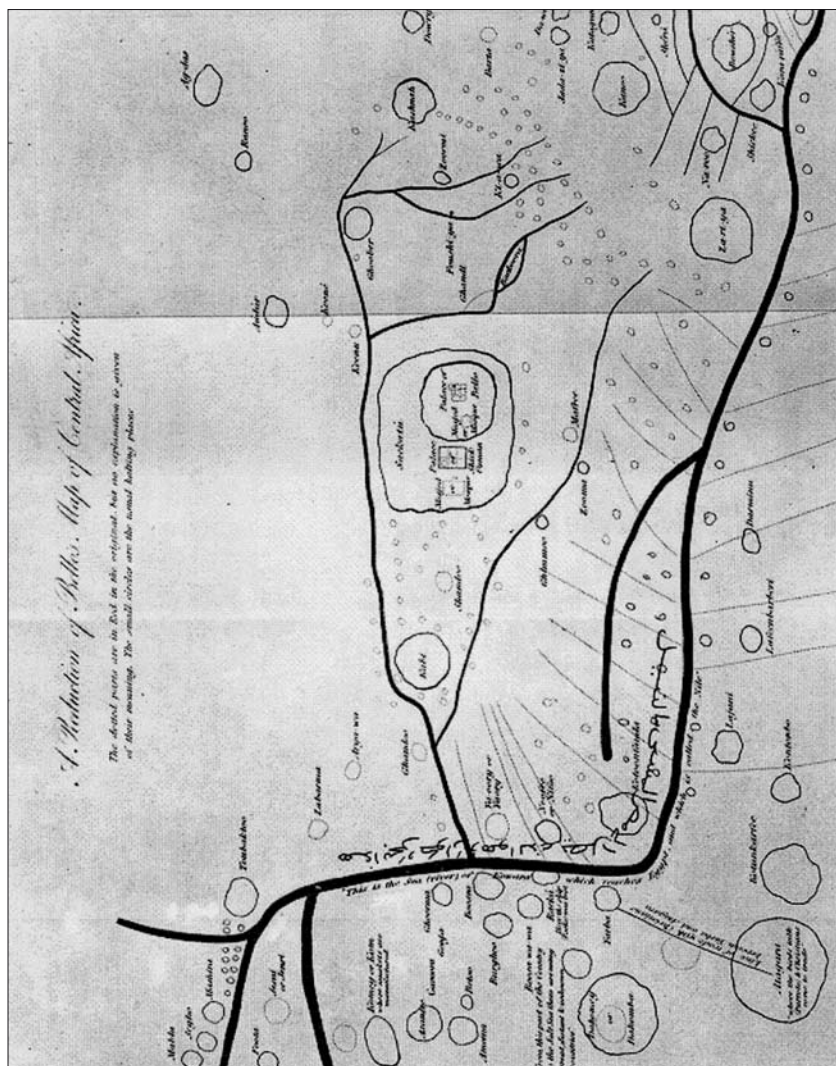




Map II. 'Plan of the Territory of Houssa'

As described in the published account of his first expedition, Clapperton had a map of the Sokoto Caliphate prepared in Sokoto in 1824. Leaf No 8, in the Cooley collection (nr Nigeria S/S.39), is described by Clapperton as 'Plan of the Territory of Houssa by Malam Mousa a Faghee of the Felatah Nation' and appears to be connected to, and possibly was an earlier version of, the map that Clapperton requested from Muhammad Bello. The map shows the location of the major towns in the Sokoto Caliphate and the country to the westward in relation to the Niger River, and apparently by extension also the Benue, which is shown to the south of Zaria and Bauchi. There is no apparent outlet for this river system to the Atlantic, river(s) forming the bottom edge of the paper. It is not clear who Malam Musa was.⁸

⁸ On the verso, Renouard rephrased Clapperton's note as 'Plan of Hausá by Ma'allam Músa, a Fakíh of the Fellátah Nation brought [by] Clapperton from Sakatú' and including his initials, G.C.R.



Map III. Bello's Map of Central Africa

The published map in the narrative of the Borno Mission has the title 'A Reduction of Bello's Map of Central Africa'. According to Clapperton, at one of his audiences with Muhammad Bello, Bello 'drew on the sand the course of the river Quarra, which he also informed me entered the sea at Fundah [Fanda, Opanda]', which in fact was located at the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers. Bello also noted, moreover, that 'Two or three years ago the sea... closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was at present a day or two farther south; but, during the rains, when the river was high, it still ran into the sea by the old channel'.⁹ On another occasion, Clapperton again discussed the course of the Niger:

The sultan again drew on the sand the course of the Quarra, with an outline of adjoining countries. I now requested him to order one of his learned men to make me a chart of the river, on paper, which he promised to have done. The sultan restated that Fundah is the name of the place where the Quarra enters the sea, during the rainy season; Tagra [Atagara = Idah]¹⁰, a town on the sea coast, where many Felatahs reside is governed by one of his subjects, a native of Kashna, named Mohamed Mishnee.¹¹

On April 30th, Bello gave Clapperton the map.¹² The name of the 'learned' man who undertook the task of drawing the map is not stated, but it may have been Malam Musa. It is clear that there were two maps, since the notes on the published map refer to red markings that are not on Musa's map. There is an Arabic note along the Niger River, which presumably was copied onto the map by Salamé, and which is translated as 'This is the Sea (river) of Kowara which reaches Egypt, and which is called the Nile'. In fact, the Arabic refers to '*misr*', which can be translated as Egypt, Cairo, any large city, or even a country or frontier. Muhammad Bello told Clapperton twice that the Niger entered the sea at Funda (Opanda), and that 'Atagara', i.e., Idah, was on the seaside, i.e., below the confluence. Hence the map is not clear. The apparent claim that the Niger went to Egypt proved controversial after publication, seemingly providing indigenous confirmation of a linkage of the Niger and the Nile. In fact the map notes that 'Atagara' was 'where the birds talk (Parrots) & Christians come to trade'. The line of the river continues eastward rather than heading southward at 'Atagara', and Koton Karfi and 'Lafeenbarberi' [Lafia Beriberi, or more commonly simply Lafia] are placed on the south of what is apparently the Benue River, when in fact they are on the north side.

⁹ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 682.

¹⁰ For the identification of 'Atagara' with Idah, see Kanya-Forstner and Lovejoy, *Agents, Pilgrims and Interpreters*, 144 n. 60.

¹¹ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 688-9.

¹² Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 699.

Map IV. 'Route from Youri & from the latter to the see [sic]'

The map comprises two sheets, leaves 3 and 4, of the Cooley collection (nr Nigeria S/S.39) and shows the route from Kano through Kotonkoro to Nupe and Yorubaland. The description on the verso emphasizes Yauri, although on the map itself Yauri is shown as a branch off the main route, suggesting that the map was drawn in part from a possible desire to link the river route that had been followed by Mungo Park with overland routes that were aimed at the same goal, the location of the Niger River in relation to the sea. On the verso of leaf 3 is the following note:

Route from Youri & from the latter to the see [sic] by Bendar Rachman a Moorish merch'. (The above in the handwriting of Cptⁿ Clapperton who obtained these papers in his first visit to Sakatú) Docketed by Barry Cornwall, an intimate friend of Capt Clapperton R.N. who gave this paper to Captain W.H. Smyth R.N. by whom it was given to G.C.R. [G.C. Renouard]

Bendar Rachman, the 'Moorish merchant', is to be identified with a Fezzani merchant resident in Kano, Benderachman, whom we have tentatively identified with Muḥammad b. Dahmān,¹³ who appears to have served as a witness to various business transactions, as revealed in an account included in Appendix III.¹⁴ Clapperton met him in Kano in 1824 and learned that he had been in Nupe with Friedrich Hornemann 21 years earlier. On the basis of this information, Clapperton arranged to purchase any surviving papers, but the courier who was sent to Nupe learnt from one Yusuf, a Fulani *malam* in Labozhi, with whom Hornemann had lodged, that all papers had since been lost in a fire that had destroyed the house.¹⁵ Dahmān died in Katagum in early 1825, according to a letter from al-Kanemi to Denham on 20 March 1825,¹⁶ which dates the maps attributed to him.

This route to Nupe was by a slightly more westerly journey than the route south from Kano to Zaria and Birnin Gwari, and this route had the option to travel to Yauri when it was safe. Travel to Yauri and the traditional Niger ferry at Ngaski was not possible after the uprisings of the *tawīya*. The route from Kano to Goja and the Sokoto river was by a safe road through Hausa territory. The section of the road from Goja to Wabi through southern Katsina is clearly identified. This mountainous country however was on the fringes of confederate territory and probably not very safe. The road into Kamuku country to Kotonkoro is clear, but the route then entered a zone of anomy. There was apparently a narrow corridor of settlements where caravans could be confident of some support. Traditional links to Katsina seem to have held firm, but inde-

¹³ According to Salamé's transcription, 'Mhd ben Dehmann'.

¹⁴ Clapperton to Hay, 6 June 1825, Postscriptum (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 776).

¹⁵ Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 657-8.

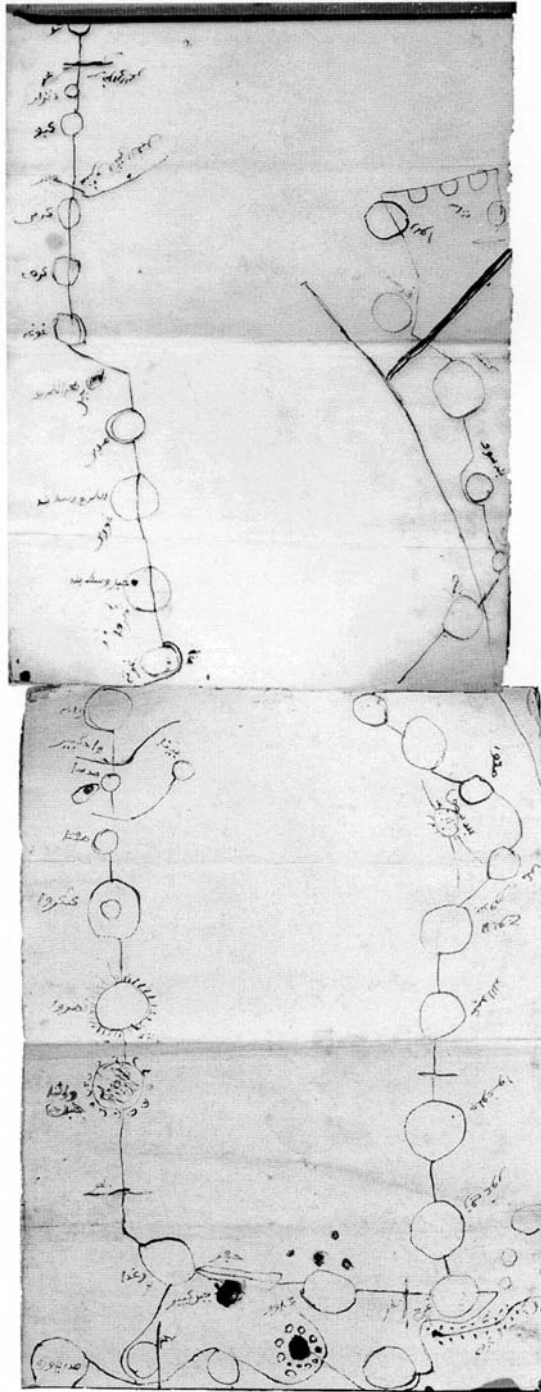
¹⁶ According to al-Kanemi, 'Nothing new has happened since you left us... We however have lost our illustrious and noble friend Hassan Et-Teflati, who died in this town; as likewise Mohamed Ben Dehman of Kataoom, and Yakoob Al-Owjal of Ankarno (Ngorno), to whom may God show mercy and forgiveness' (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 739-41).

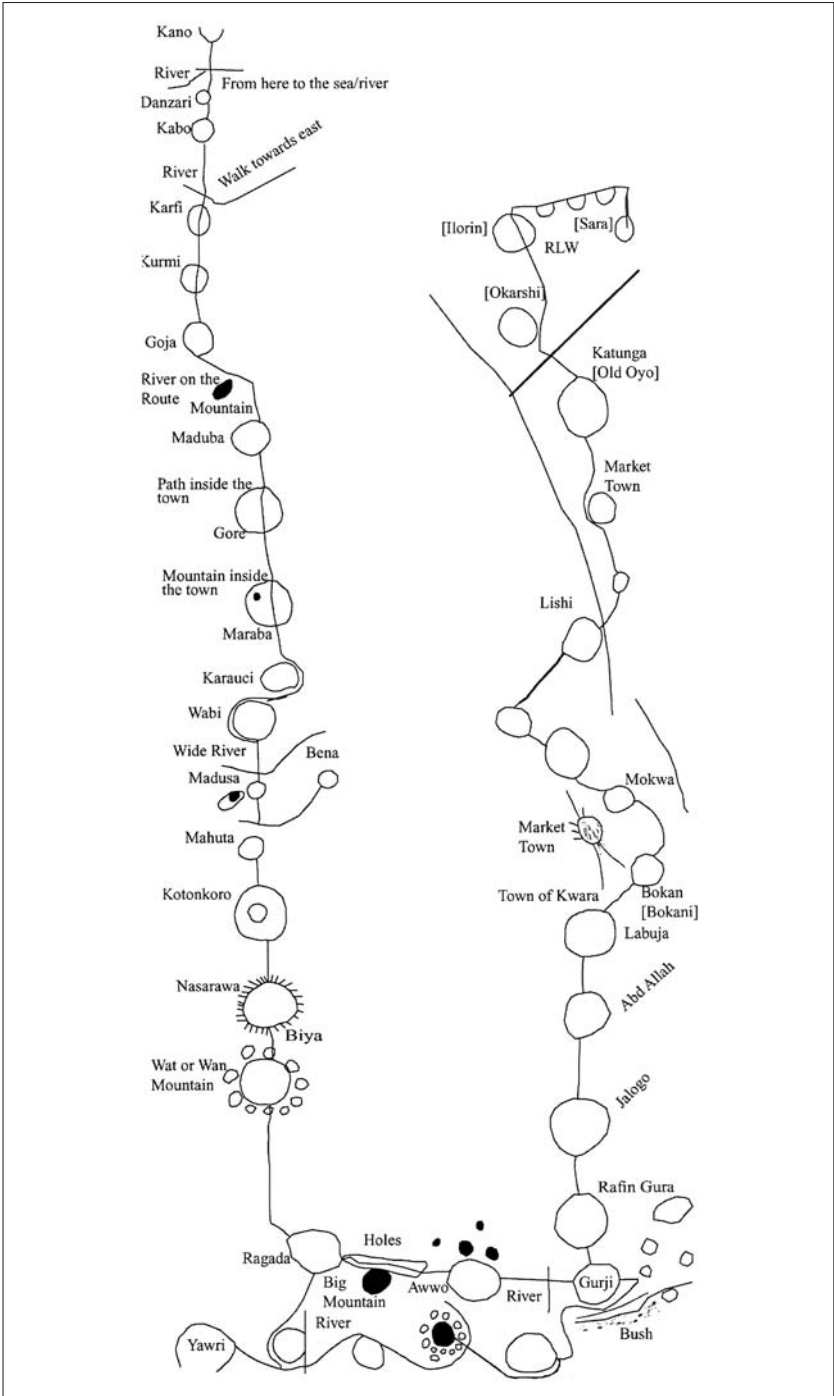
pendent Gwari were pressing across the River Mariga from the east; and the country was remote from Yauri's writ. The recommended road apparently went from near Ukata to Libu or Waso and then to Raganda in the low-lying lands of the headwaters of the River Farin Ruwa. The existence of walled towns has already been noted.

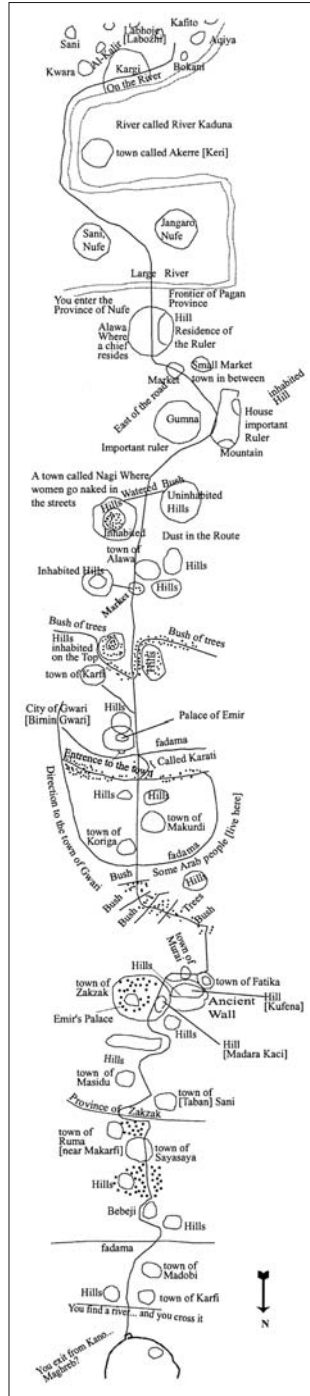
In 1826, caravans travelled north from the major trading entrepot town of Kulfo to Bolobolo and then west through Ragadawa to Waso. Tolls were raised at both places to raise tribute for Yauri, and a son of the Emir was visiting the region when Clapperton passed through. It should also be noted that, whereas in 1827 Lander was taken from Womba (which by 1862 had replaced Kotonkoro as capital of the region) direct to Beri, in 1824 Beri was bypassed. South of Ragada, the road cannot be clearly identified. Here, the Ungwoi and Basa people in the Farin Ruwa and Rafin Gora river valleys imperilled a route to the east. The country to the west was a no-man's land beyond the reach of either Yauri or Nupe. It seems the caravan road crossed the head of the Rafin Gora valley and went in a line SSW, across 'the empty quarter' of the British colonialists, towards Bokani. Mosques at Safo and Kwati can probably be attributed to old settlements, of which was known as Julugo or Adbullah's. Robizhi similarly on the borders of Nupe and an independent enclave seems another likely caravan halting place. But these are only guesses. The road to Bokani, through south-west Nupe to Mokwa to Rabba is clear – but in 1826 this was a region of civil war.

The apparent detour to Yauri, approaching it from the south-east, is indicated on the map. This detour is also shown on a sketch Clapperton drew in his 1824 remark book, shortly after leaving Kano. Yauri was cut off by insurgents and to its south, the Kambari peoples living in the Niger valley and the Zugarma bush were unreliable hosts for passing caravans. On the south-eastern fringes of Yauri emirate, however, there were towns where Hausa caravans could find protection. The caliphate had at least a minimum outreach into this region, revealed on aerial maps show as a semi-circle of walled towns running south through eastern Kotonkoro as far as the River Farin Ruwa, then back northwest to Ngaski and Birnin Yauri. There is no comparable incidence of walled settlements anywhere else in the region between the Kaduna and Niger rivers. It seems likely that the construction of these walls dates to the 1820s-1830s, the period of consolidation of the Caliphate, and were built to strengthen settlements in an intractable region – to defend Yauri and Kotonkoro provinces from troublesome Kambari, Basa, Ungwoi and Gwari intrusion, and to reinforce a secure route for travel and trade.

Once over the Niger, the route was the traditional road from Lagozhi (Lishi on Clapperton's map) to Raka and south to the Oyo capital at Katunga, as it was known in Hausa. By 1826 this region was a major field of battle, and Clapperton tried several times in February 1826 for permission to travel this road, but Alaafin Majotu sent out a scout who reported that it really was unsafe. The road from Katunga runs SSE to Ilorin across the top of the Weru river valley – Saia







on the map is probably to be identified with Saro (identified by Daniel May in May 1858). By the mid-1820s the whole of northern Oyo, from Ilorin west to Igbeti and Igboho, once formerly densely populated, had been wasted by Fulani incursions.

Map V. 'Route from Kano to Nyffe'

The map is identified on the verso of Leaf 7, Cooley collection, as 'Route from Kano to Nyffe by [] the slave of Hatsala. The original in Arabic, given to Captⁿ Clapperton at Sakatú G.C.R.' (mr Nigeria S/S.39). Renouard's note should not be construed as meaning that Clapperton received the map in Sokoto but rather than he obtained it on the expedition from Borno to Sokoto. The caravan that he accompanied included 27 Arab merchants and about fifty Borno merchants, and al-Kanemi's commercial representative in Kano and Sokoto was Hat Salah, as discussed above. The map is in a long strip, with three, cut sheets pasted together, the first from Kano to Murai in Zaria Emirate, the second through Birnin Gwari, and the third showing Nupe. It appears to be the basis of the following maps, and hence is presented first. It has been reconstructed with translations of the Arabic. It is unclear who the 'slave of Hatsala' was. At the time, Clapperton was staying in a house in Kano provided by Hat Salah, and reports overhearing a conversation including 'the man the governor of Katagum sent with me', but this man later proved unwilling to discuss what he knew and therefore is unlikely to have been the source of the map.¹⁷

Map VI. 'Route from Kanó to the Kwárá in Yarabah'

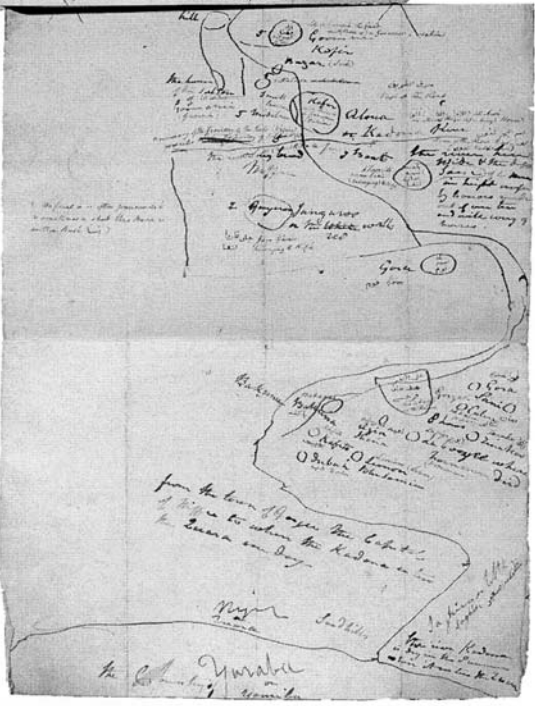
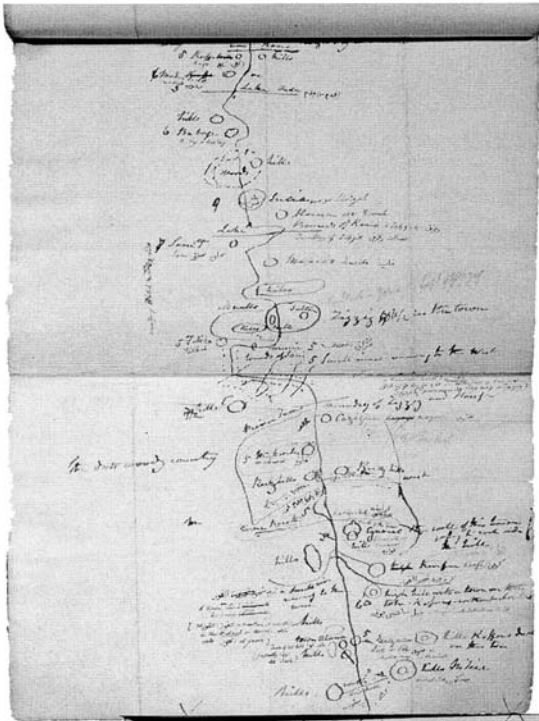
This map is a route from Kano to the Niger River, and comprises Leaves 5 and 6 of the Cooley collection. The verso of Leaf 5 indicates 'Route from Kanó to the Kwárá in Yarabah... from the original copied by Clapperton' (mr Nigeria S/S.39). On the verso of Leaf 6 is written, 'N^o 1 Route from Kanó to Melei' (mr Nigeria S/S.39).¹⁸ As the description indicates, this map is a copy and elaboration of Map IV and hence is derived from information provided by 'Hatsala's slave'.

The road through Hausaland to Zaria is quite clear, although it ran a little to the west of the road through Bebeji and Dan Gora followed by Clapperton in 1826. The section of the route from Zaria to the border of Zaria Emirate beyond Fatika and west across the head of the River Damari and through the Makurdi hills to Birnin Gwari is fully identified. Worries about safety here and further south in Gwari territory was probably a reason for alternate routes through southern Katsina.

The road south from Birnin Gwari to Alawa is over mountainous country on the high ground of the watershed between the valleys of the Kuseriki and

¹⁷ Clapperton refers to this man as 'the slave of emir Dan Kauwa [of Katagum]'. Another discussion apparently took place in the house of al-Wurdi, friend of Hat Salah (Bovill, *Missions to the Niger*, vol. IV, 642-4).

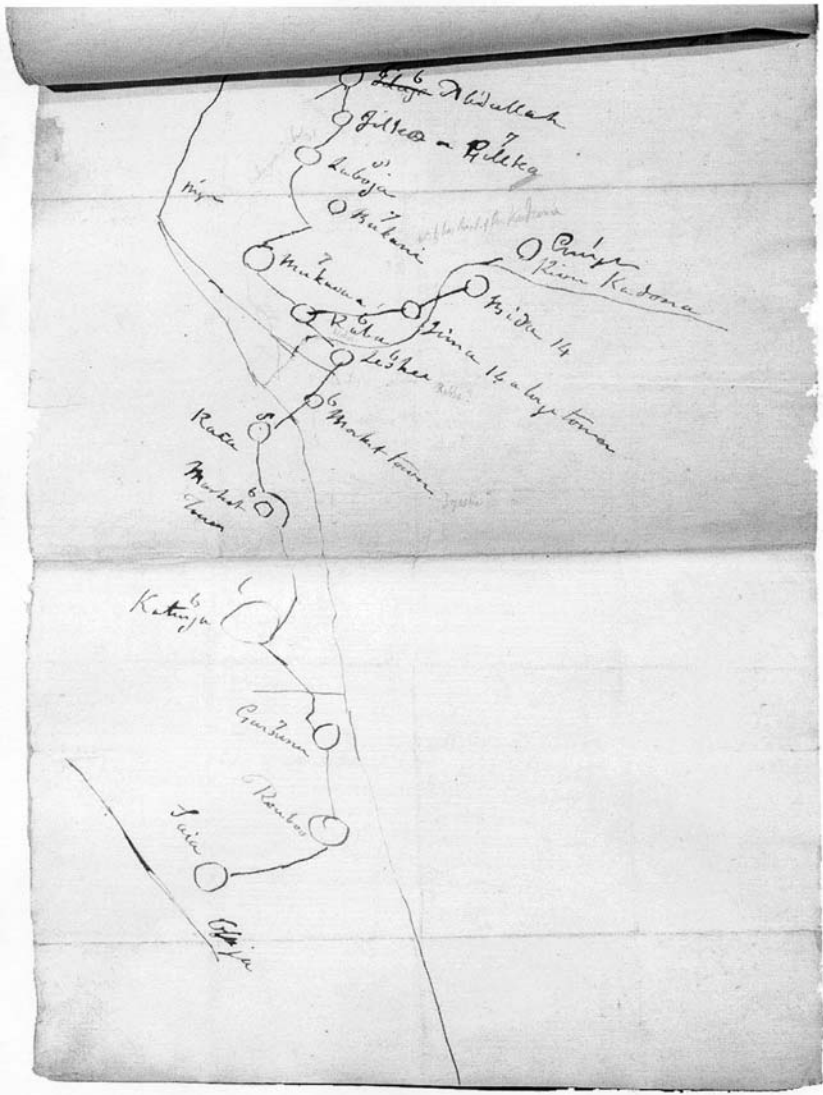
¹⁸ There is a note that the maps 'came with the courier from Kuka – 10 items listed', although the list has apparently disappeared.



Koriga and their tributaries. It was a country populated by non-Muslim peoples often living in hill top villages. The map is unclear on where the road from Gumna crossed the Kaduna. There was probably more than one ferry point. It seems that the recommended route went past old Jakilo ('market town') to Garun Gabas; and then due south to old Jangaru to cross the Kaduna to today's Wushishi – rather than south-east to modern Zungeru (on the east bank). The route to western Nupe and Rabba crossed the River Kaduna at Gwariko, below the confluence with the River Mariga. The location of the towns in the Kaduna valley, however, seem confused, and may be no more than jottings (in rough geographical disposition) of the settled districts of Nupe that were well known, and linked by regularly travelled roads. Clapperton made a note on the map that it was at Labozhi in southern Nupe where Friedrich Hornemann died, in c. 1803.

Map VII. 'Route from Kano to Nuffe – translation'

Leaf 11 of the Cooley collection is described as 'Translation with distances in English miles of route from Kano to Nuffe by the slave of Hatsala (with pencil additions)' (nr Nigeria S/S.39) and appears to be derived from Map V and Map VI. This additional reference to 'the slave of Hatsala' confirms the importance of this man in the genesis of several maps. Despite its title, the map in fact only shows the area of Nupe and northern Yorubaland and hence is only a 'translation' of the last section of Map V (Leaf 7) and Map VI (Leaf 6). The map includes a number of Nupe towns that are not on the route maps from Kano to Nupe and hence reveal connections among towns within Nupe, such as Jima and Bida, which later would become the capital.



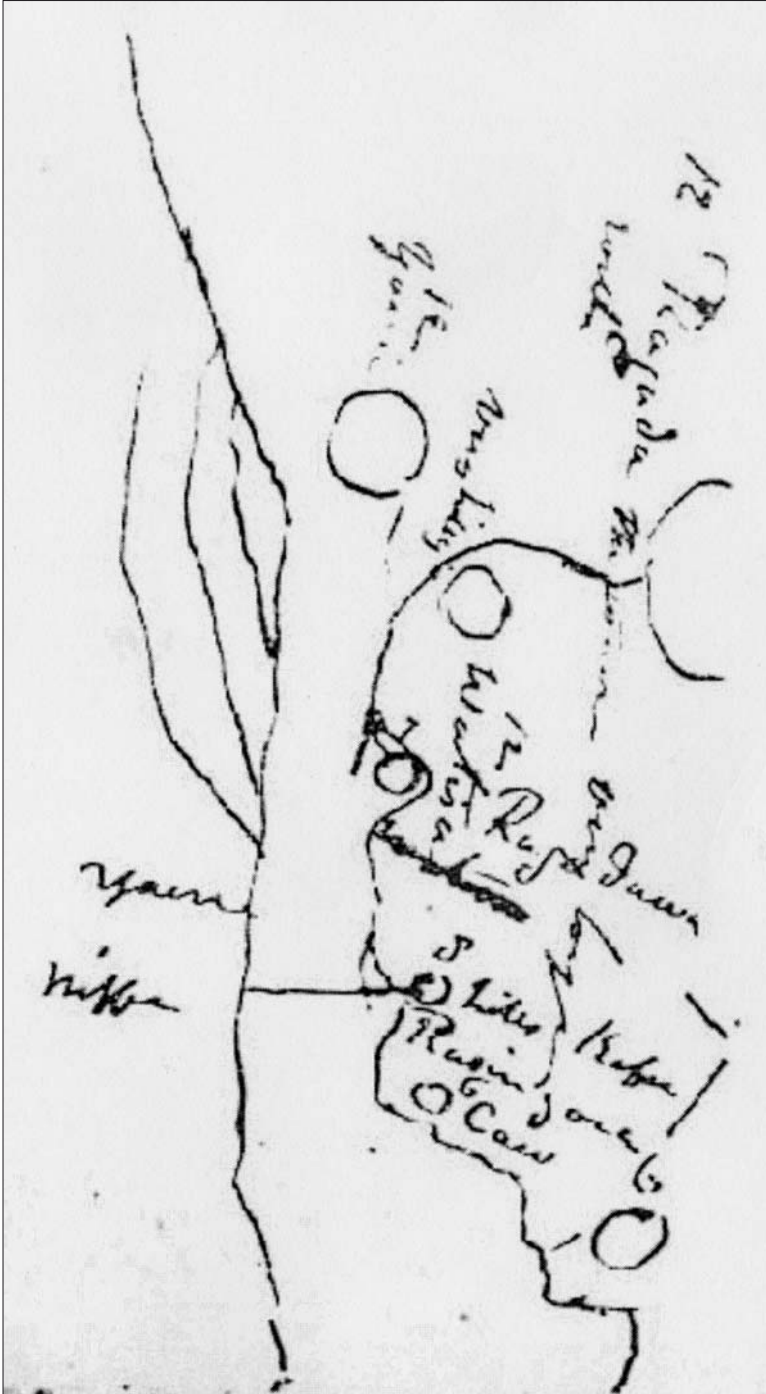
Map VIII. Ragada

This sketch is a rough map of the region of northern Nupe near Ragada, with places identified in English. It was written on an otherwise blank, loose page taken from the remark book he used on the Borno Mission for miscellaneous records and jottings.¹⁹ The map is in its essentials a duplicate of the bottom section of map III [Route from Youri ... to the sea], namely that between Ragada to Rafingora, with an indication of a line of travel to Yauri (12 days distant). Minor differences between the two versions include, however, notes (not entirely clear) of days' journeys between some of the locations, and the remark that Ragada is a very large town. It seems likely that Clapperton made this duplicate, perhaps early in the course of his visit in Sokoto, when he was still making preparations, with the help of Mohammed Gamso, to travel to Yauri. In the event, however, Sultan Bello, denied Clapperton permission to travel, on account of wars in the region between Sokoto and Yauri and the imminent onset of the rains. His purpose at the time was probably in the first place to clarify where he would arrive if he proceeded from Yauri south-east to join the route to Nupe and Rabba.²⁰ There is in addition one more loose paper in this Remark Book which could be relevant: a note immediately following the Ragada map about 'Tagra', i.e., Idah.²¹ This note was made apparently made after a conversation with Sultan Bello about the course of the River Niger. It appears that Clapperton may also at that time have been trying to piece together the various towns and places along the Niger near the confluence with the Benue River.

¹⁹ Brenthurst MS 171/5/4, which contains a fair copy of part of Clapperton's journal of his journey from Kukawa to Kano from 14 December 1824 to 23 January 1824. The remark book also contains sketches made in Fezzan, and a record of thermometric readings in Kukawa and a handful of navigational and other notes.

²⁰ Clapperton, no doubt expecting to be escorted from Yauri to Ragada after a visit, does not appear to have recorded anywhere a note of the route and towns he would pass on it. The route would have gone broadly South-East, past Libelli, Ibeto and Bolo Bolo towards Ragadawa and Rafingora. In June 1826, Clapperton noted that Ragadawa was tributary to Yauri, and met there a son of the emir [Chapter 5, p. 128].

²¹ The part about 'Tagra' reads: 'Tagra – Mohmed – a great place of trade[;] Good & beautiful food – Mohamed ben Misnee a native of Kashna – Sultan of that town – another sultan less than Mohamed – Tyna/Tyra? ~ He gives the law to the People – & is a servant of the sultan – the people from Yaraba or Yoriba meet the Christians at Tagra ~ they bring the Widah or Cowries from here'.



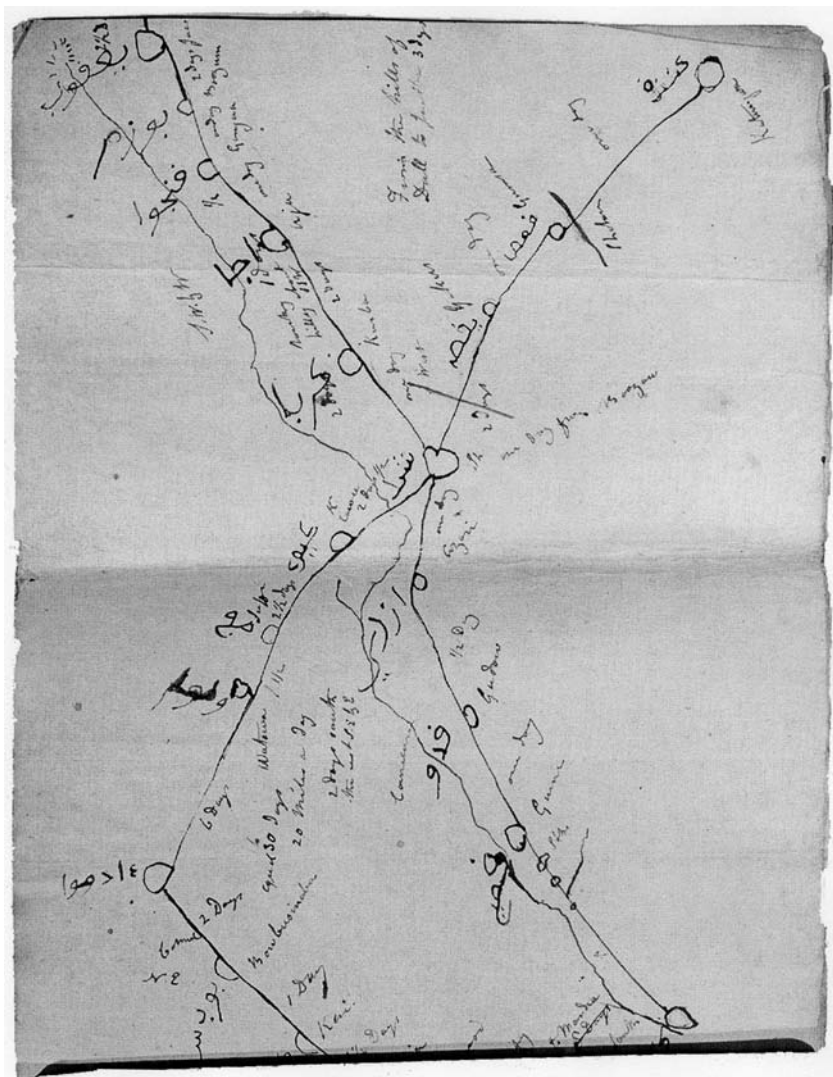
Map IX. 'Route from Katákum & Masfí to the Sea'

Leaf 10 is 'Route from Katákum & Masfí to the Sea obtained by Capt^m Clapperton at Sakatú given by Captⁿ Smyth to G.C.R.' (mr Nigeria S/S.39). The focus of this map is on Katagum and the emirates east of Kano, showing four routes radiating outward from Shira in Katagum Emirate. The information could have come from Mohamed al-Wordi, one of two Fezzani merchants resident in Kukawa recommended to Clapperton by al-Kanemi, who led the large caravan with which Clapperton travelled from Borno to Kano and then escorted him to Sokoto. Clapperton got to know him well over several months. The focus of the map on Katagum, however, suggests that Muḥammad b. Dahmān, who was from Katagum, may have been the source.

This map provides a unique insight into trade routes through the eastern parts of the Sokoto Caliphate at a period on which little information is available; and potentially sheds new and interesting light on contemporary communications between Adamawa and Borno. The map clear in its broad outlines, but some place names cannot be identified. There is in addition one other fragment that appears to be related to the map, a note of a route through Wase to Opanda (map X). There are four trade routes marked on a map which is centred on the caravan cross roads at Shira. The routes include a) Shira to Katagum (NNE); b) Shira to Katungwa (WNW – 4 days journey); c) Shira to Yakoba (SW by W); and d) (i) Shira to Adamawa, (SE – 11 days) and thence (ii) from Adamawa to Kukawa by way of Mandara. (NNE – 17 days?).

The route follows the road from Katagum, along the east bank of the Yo river valley, as is the main road today. It passes Azari, Gadau, Gumni and Sokwa, and crosses the river at Katagum, to join the principal east-west routes across the central Sudan. Only the first part of the route from Shira to Kano is recorded, the section passing through Gukus and Gumsa on the way to Katungwa, where the road joined the principal east-west road from Katagum to Garko, which Clapperton travelled on his journey from Borno to Sokoto in 1824. Another route heads due south to Yakoba (Bauchi), and while some place names cannot be identified, the route clearly followed high ground between the valleys of the Yobe and Gana rivers, the two main southern tributaries of the River Yo. Clapperton was told that the journey was one day to Kurba, then two to Aja (which may well be identifiable with today's Miya); thence one day to Gongua, one more to Boozum, and two further days to Jakoba, i.e., Bauchi.

Of interest here is the fact that Clapperton's informant made no mention of any other route from Kano to Bauchi. Hence we assume that Shira was an important trading entrepot and Islamic centre through which caravans preferred to pass, at least in 1824, and that little or no use was made of the more direct road from Kano and Garko through today's Birnin Kudu. The alternative route through SE Kano into eastern Zaria to Zongon Katab on the headwaters of the Kaduna river and thence on to the plateau through a pass in the escarpment meant travelling through unsettled non-Muslim country, and was unsafe, and less practicable for trading caravans at that period.



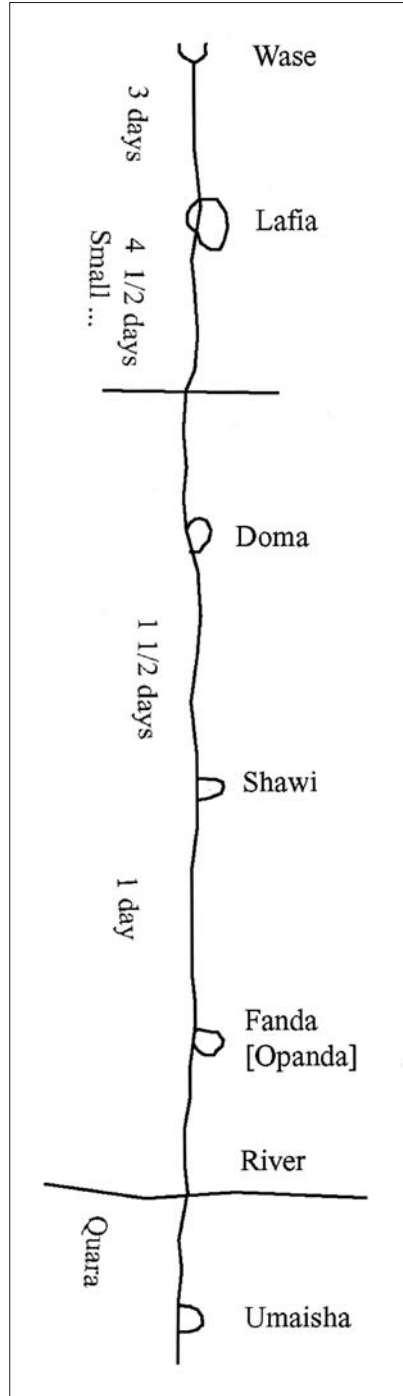
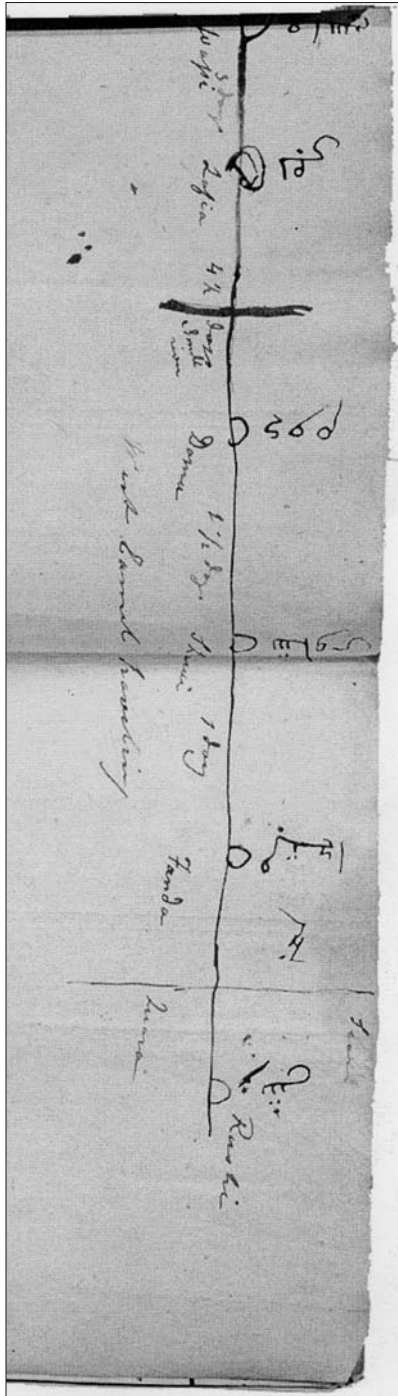
The route from Shira to Adamawa followed a line of a 12-day road SE presumably to Numan and then to Yola, but this can only be surmised from Clapperton's map. Caree is identifiable as Keri, SE of Shira, and logically, Watawa may be somewhere near Gombe. Beyond that point, we can only speculate as to how the merchant caravans descended to the confluence of the Gongola and Benue rivers in 1824, past the Hammanruwa hills and pagan country, to the settled valleys of western Adamawa and its Fulani overlords paying allegiance to Sokoto. A second route went from Adamawa north to Kukawa, while the southern section of the map is not identifiable, the existence

of the route throws interesting light on communications between Fombina and Borno in the 1820s. The safe route passed through eastern Fombina to the Mayo Louti valley on the east side of the Mandara massif, close to Maroua, to Mora, the capital of Mandara. Such a route predicates thriving and strong Fulani influence in the Mayo Louti (and is consistent with information from Denham in 1824).

The place names in the southern sector of the route as recorded by Clapperton are not retrievable: Comul (2 days from Yola), Bowbusinaba (1 day further?), Keri (1 day further), Kooja (?2 days further). The entry 'Musfy, 2 days good from Kooja', however, confirms that the caravan road crossed to the east of the Mandara massif to Musfeia, situated near Boula, some 25 miles due west of Maroua. The map continues with the remark '2 days to Mandra', by which Clapperton was evidently referring to its capital Mora (a length of journey which is consistent with information from Denham, who had traveled that road with the Borno and Mandara armies in 1823 on the ill-fated raid on Fulani settlers at Musfeia). The last sector of the route of 5-8 days to Kukawa followed well-established roads. Clapperton's map provides interesting evidence of a preference for an easterly road for communications and the trade between Adamawa and Borno in 1824, part of which was destined for the markets of Fezzan and Tripoli. Perhaps the reason for this preference related to the fact that the the country of Mubi, Biu, Marghi further north was an unsafe zone of conflict on the border of zones of competing Sokoto and Borno influence. Fombina merchants may have been familiar with this route along the eastern rim of the Mandara massif, because the roads also linked up with the caravan roads bound for the eastern Sudan via Massenya and Bagirmi.

Map X. 'Simplified Route Wassi-Rushi [Wase-Umaisha]'

Leaf 9 is described as 'Simplified Route Wassi-Rushi Arabic & English with days' journey noted'. (nr Nigeria S/S.39) is a fragment of a section of a road south of Bauchi, starting at Wase and continuing to Lafia, Doma, Opanda (Fanda) and Umaisha, on the Benue, near the confluence with the Niger, and appears to be an extension of Map IX. The route passed south from Bauchi to the east of the Jos Plateau, and then went through the salt-making district on the northern side of the Benue River to Lafia.



Map XI. 'The Course of the Kowara or Quarra'

In the published edition of Clapperton's second expedition is a map that is described as 'A Geographical description of the course of the river Cówara, the road from Soccatoo to Maséna, from Timbuctoo to Soccatoo, and the countries thereabouts, with their inhabitants, produce, &c. &c. as delineated in the chart annexed.'²² It has on it letters which are keyed to an appendix that describes the details of the map. Unfortunately, neither the original of this map nor the Arabic notes associated with it have been located. As a result the published version of the map and the associated appendix are produced in their entirety here. The original map, which Clapperton referred to as a 'chart', was in Arabic, which Salamé translated as 'the course of the Cówara river, the road from Soccatoo to Maséna, and from Timbuctoo, with the names and geographical description of the towns and countries adjoining'. The key to the map is as follows, all parenthesisises being those of Salamé:

- A. "Representation of the city of Soccatoo, metropolis of the Prince of the Believers (Sultan Bello)."
- B. "The island and town of Oodel or Goodel²³, together with the branch of the river which surrounds them."
- C. "The town of Boory²⁴, two days' journey from Bagrá-foogal²⁵."
- D. "The town of Bagrá-foogal, one day's journey from Ghagró²⁶."
- E. "The town of Ghagró, three days' journey from Toondebi²⁷."
- F. "The town of Toondebi, one day's journey from Sharif²⁸."
- G. "The town of Sharif, three days' journey from Kasbi, or Kasb²⁹."
- H. "The town of Kasbi, two days' journey from Seehgo, or Sheeghó³⁰."
- I. "The town of Seehgo, or Sheeghó, one day's journey from Kabará³¹."
- J. "The town of Kabará, half a day's journey from Timbuctoo."
- K. "The city of Timbuctoo, ten days' journey from Jéri³²."
- L. "Representation of the city of Timbuctoo."
- M. "The island and town of Jéri, together with the branch of the river that surrounds them. This island is in the middle of the territory of Maséna, or Masera, and between it and Sego is seven days' journey."
- N. "This branch of the river is called, in the language of the Felan people, Bálió, and in Arabic, the Black Sea or River. It extends from Jéri to Foota-Jaló."

²² Frontispiece and pp. 329-33.

²³ Ghudil/Ghutil, according to Barth (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 532), the river crossing north of Say.

²⁴ Burre; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 465.

²⁵ Bagrá-foogal, not identified.

²⁶ Gao

²⁷ Mt. Tondibi; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 472.

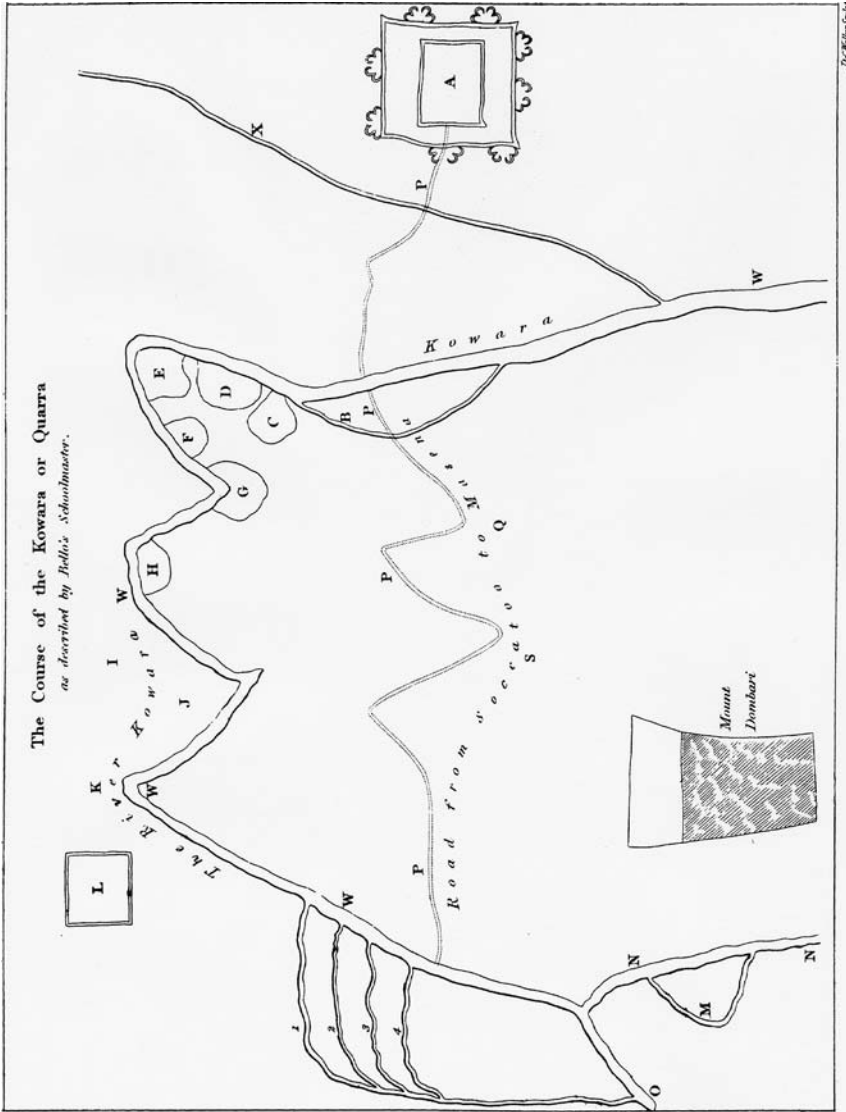
²⁸ Tin-Sherifan; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 458

²⁹ The district of Kasba, and the location of the town of Bamba; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 443.

³⁰ Seehgo/ Sheeghó, not identified.

³¹ Kabara, the port on the Niger for Timbuktu.

³² Jenne.



- O. "This branch is called by the Felans Ranioo, and in Arabic the White Sea or River. It extends from Maséna to Segó, Foota-toroo, and to Darhoz (perhaps San Salvador), one of the towns of the French Christians."
- P. "The road from Soccatoo to Maséna, which is frequented in these days, across the river and the island of Oodel, with the names and description of the towns and countries that are on it, between the river and Maséna.
 "On the west bank of the river the country of Biténkoobi³³ lies. Its inhab-

³³ Bitinkogi.

itants are of the tribe of Felan; it abounds with mountains, rocks, plains, elephants, and buffaloes; and has along the bank of the river many white hills. Some of the people drink their water from the river, and others have shallow wells.

“Next to this, at one day’s journey through an inhabited country, the territory of Maázo-moudi³⁴ lies, whose inhabitants are of the tribe of Tooroodi. It is a low mountainous country, and abounds with thorny trees and wells. Its prince is a tall and extremely strong man, and renowned for his courage and wars.”

- Q. “Is the country of Yaghrá³⁵; between it and Maázo-moudi is about three days’ journey, through desert and stony plains, with a few trees and some mountains. In the midst of the plains, however, there is a well-known river, called Sirba. Yaghra is now possessed by a prince of the Felans, named Ibrahim (Abraham) Boonti. It contains woods, small mountains, and a well-known deep river, called Yalí, from which the people get their water.”
- R. “Is the country of Lebtakó³⁶; between it and Yaghrá is two days’ journey, through woody plains and low ground. Its inhabitants are Felans, and its prince is named Saléh³⁷. They are a great warlike people, possessing fine swift horses and many cattle. They subsist upon the corn called dokhun (millet); and their country is hilly and sandy, and has a large lake, called Dúry.”
- S. “Is the country of Jelghooji³⁸; between it and Lebtakó is two days’ journey, one of which is through villages, and the other through desert plains, in the midst of which there is a large lake, called Bookma. The king of this country is named Hamarkoli, and the people are Felans, and well known as great warriors. They possess abundance of swift horses, oxen, and other cattle. The country is mountainous, woody, and has a well-known lake, called Jeboo, besides a great many wells.”
- T. “Is the territory of Hajri³⁹, one day’s journey from Jelghooji. It is extensive, but very rocky, stony, and mountainous; has a great many sandy hills and a few vales; water in it is very scarce, and it has but few wells, so much so, that its inhabitants are obliged to store their water, during the rainy season, within the trunks of trees. The inhabitants of the vales are the Felans, who originally conquered these countries; but the mountains are inhabited by a people called Benoo-Hami (the children of Ham), of the tribe of Sokai. They are great warriors, subsist upon the dokhun, and have abundance of swift horses and oxen. In the middle of the country there is a very great and lofty mountain, equal to which is not known in those parts, and here is its

³⁴ Lamordé, capital of Torodi Emirate.

³⁵ Yaga Emirate.

³⁶ Liptako Emirate, which is not actually marked on the map.

³⁷ Saalu, emir of Liptako from 1816/7-1832/3. Paul Irwin, *Liptako Speaks: History from Oral Tradition in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 76.

³⁸ Djelgodji.

³⁹ ‘Hagri’ is not marked on the map and is otherwise not identified.

representation. [See ▲ in the chart⁴⁰.] Upon it there is a town called Oonbori⁴¹, whose king is named Noohoo-ghaloo-farma, of the tribe of Sokai⁴², and is reknowned for his generosity and munificence.

“All these countries, except Oonbori, are subject to our Lord the Prince of the Believers, Mohammed Bello, whom may God cause to be ever victorious, for the glory of the faithful, and the annihilation of the infidels.”

- U. “Is the territory of Maséna, seven days’ journey from Hajrî: it is very extensive, fertile, and abounds with rivers and lakes. Its villages join both the old and modern ones of the Felans. Its inhabitants are powerful warriors, since ancient times possessing abundance of oxen and sheep, and are blessed with every comfort of food and living; most of them subsist upon rice, butter, fish, and meat. In the middle of the country there are two lofty mountains, called Soroba and Goran, and its cattle feed, throughout the four seasons of the year, upon grass; and as the lands are almost continually covered with water, the shepherds and herdsmen gather the grass, heap it up in large stacks, and, while the cattle are grazing, live upon the tops thereof till the water are dried up. Though this may appear marvellous, it is the fact with these people.”

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. “Are four rivers (perhaps canals) belonging to Maséna.” “The present Sultan of Maséna is Ahmad Hamad Labo⁴³, who rules over Timbuctoo, Jeri, and Oonbori⁴⁴, and indeed may be called the sovereign of the Gharb (West) in Soodan. He is now at war with Segou.

“From Soccatoo to Benji⁴⁵ is one day’s journey through Sislibi⁴⁶, which is the metropolis of Ghalooji⁴⁷. This country is level and fertile, and contains rivers, woods, gardens, and wells. On the east side of it there are two rocky, rugged mountains; on the right there is a river, and on the left there are plains and barren deserts. In the environs of the capital of Benji there are, however, several villages or towns belonging to the Mohammedans. Between the territory of Benji and that of Mouri⁴⁸ is three days’ and nights’ journey, through barren and sandy deserts. Mouri contains small mountains, woods, and has two roads on the left; on one of which there is a deep stream, and on the other are two lakes, surrounded with flowering and fruitful trees. This country originally belonged to the Sultan of Kabi, and its inhabitants are infidels. Its present sultan is named Ghagara⁴⁹, and has a city

⁴⁰ ‘Mount Dombari’ on the map.

⁴¹ Hombori.

⁴² Songhay.

⁴³ Amadu Lobbo Bari, referred to as Seku Amadu; see David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal. The Western Sudan in the mid-Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 79.

⁴⁴ Hombori.

⁴⁵ Binji

⁴⁶ Sislibi, unidentified.

⁴⁷ Gerlaje [?]; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 543.

⁴⁸ Dallol Mawri.

⁴⁹ Ghagara, not identified.

for his residence named Lukoo-you⁵⁰, which has a great lake near it. The chief towns of this country are Dogordoosi⁵¹, Myzani, Toonsubi, and Tabada. There are many smaller ones, which need not be mentioned for brevity's sake. The lands are mostly stony, sandy, and hilly. There are a great many deep wells, well supplied with water; but the country altogether has but few trees, though it abounds with reptiles.

"Next to it, at two days' journey through dry deserts, with one track of road only, though woody and hilly, the country of Emanoo⁵² lies, the first town of which is Bakendoosi⁵³, which is of a moderate size; and has, on the east, a lake surrounded with trees; and, on the west, a well-known great and very tall tree. Between this town and the metropolis of the sultan, whose name is Aghmarak, is half a day's journey. Emanoo is part of the countries of the Tuaricks, and contains lakes, wells, mountains, hills, and sands. Its people live upon the dokhun, and possess a great many cattle.

"Next to this, at one day's journey, is the territory of Taghzar⁵⁴, which also belongs to the Tuaricks, and contains hills, wells, and natron lakes, which is called in our language *káwa*⁵⁵, or salt. East and west of this country there are mountains well stocked with cattle. The people are the worst and most ill-disposed of the tribes of Tuarick; and their chief living is peas and dokhun. Their sultan is named Hama-ráwadó, and also Hama-zanzamá, which means in our language Dog.

"On the right of the country the territory of Jerma⁵⁶ lies; it is a narrow vale, between hills and hillocks of sand; and on the east it has a lofty mountain; it contains natron and other deep lakes. It is inhabited by the tribe of Benoo-Hami, who are great warriors, possessing swift and well-trained horses, and their spears are extremely long and well-ironed with sharp blades. They are ill-disposed people, and have no lawful sultan, but their chief is one chosen out of the tribe. They subsist mostly upon dokhun, and their country abuts on the great sea or river Cówara.

"On the left of the before-mentioned country (Taghzar) that of Azwa⁵⁷ lies, which is inhabited both by the Tuarick and by Benoo-Hami. It contains plains, vales, mountains, hills, and sands; and has deep streams. They possess abundance of cattle, and most of their living is the dokhun.

"Between Taghzar and the river Cówara is three days' journey, through a barren desert, without any human being in it, inhabited only by wild beasts; and it has a long and deep stream running through sandy hills. From this

⁵⁰ Lokoye, the capital of Arewa before the *jihād*; see Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, III, 642.

⁵¹ Dogon Dutse (Dogondoutchi).

⁵² Imanam

⁵³ Bakin Dutse (Baki-n-dutsi).

⁵⁴ The valley of Ahzar.

⁵⁵ Hausa: *kanwa*, natron.

⁵⁶ Zarma.

⁵⁷ Azaouak.

stream the people of Taghzar provide themselves with water when they go to the chase of the giraffe in the winter season. The distance between their town and this stream is half a day's journey, through some woody plains, a few small mountains, and sandy hills. On the road, however, there is a small lake, surrounded with shrubs and trees, in which water is found only in the autumn.

"Near the river there are a great many white hills, without any trees upon them; but on the banks there are very tall trees of tamarinds, under the shade of which travellers rest themselves.

- W. "Now the great river Cówara comes, and here is its representation. This great river is the largest in all the territories of Houssa; we know not of its source, or of any one who has seen it. It rushes and precipitates itself through the country from left to right, and contains many islands inhabited by fishermen herdsmen, husbandmen, and settlers. As to the variety of its animals, birds, and fish, it is only known to the Lord Creator; it has rocks and mountains, which break and shatter to pieces all vessels that are driven against them; and its great roaring and noise, with the agitation of its waves, astonish the hearer and terrify the beholder; and, at the same time, exhibit the wonderful power of the Omnipotent Creator.
- X. "Is an undescribed branch of the river.
- Y. "The writing of this copy ended on Thursday afternoon, the 5th of Rajab 1242, of Hegira – (January 31, 1827, A.D.), in the city of Soccato, residence of the Prince of the Faithful Sultan Mohammed Bello, by his special command to me, Mohammed, son of Ahmad Masané)⁵⁸ – for Abdálláh the English Christian."

⁵⁸ On 28 February, Clapperton noted in his journal (p. 33) that he 'Paid Malem Mohamed 20,000 cowries for his writing me an account of the country between Soccato and Masina, and Kano and Sennar, and making a chart of the river Quorra, between Cubbie and Masina'.

APPENDIX VI

Medical Supplies

1. Memo by R. Morison – List of drugs, July 1825 [CO 2/16 f.299]

A list of drugs contained in Mr. Morison's medicine chest for his use¹ on his expedition to Africa

1 oz	*Sulphuric acid	8 oz	*Cerat[i] Cetacei
4 oz	*V[ini] Antim[onialis] Tart[arizati]	2 oz	*Zinci Sulph[atis]
4 oz	*Argenti Nitrat[is] [2/9]	2 oz	V[ini] Ipecac[uanhae] A[ntimonialis]
6 oz	*Cerati Calamin[ae]	1	Ol[ei] Croton Tiglii
1 oz	*Conf[ectionis] Aromat[ici]	2	Sulph[atis] quinae £3 – ?
2 oz	*Cretae P[re]p[arata]t[ae]	5	Acid[i] tart[arizati] 4/11
1/2 oz	*Cupri Sulph[atis]	1 1/2	Sodae Carb[onatae] 6/5
2	*Emp[lastr]i Lyttae		*Wedgwood Mortar
3	“” Plumbi		*Tile glass
6	*Ext[racti] Coloc[ynthi] comp[ositi?]	2 1/2	Pt Bottles
?1/2	Hyd[rargyri] Oxymuriatis 4 2/3d	2	*Vials 1 aa-
3	Calomel 1/3d	1 oz	*Glass Measure
2	Jalapae Rad[icis] Pulv[eris]		*Set scales & Weights
?	Ipecacuan[hae] Pulv[eris] 6d		*1/2Pt pewter Funnel
	*Liq[ui]oris Arsenicalis	10	Arrow root 3/6
	“” Plumb[i] Acetat[is] 3d	8 yds	Calico 6/8
	*Magnes[iae] Carb[onatis]	8 Do-	Flannel 9/4d
	“” Sulphatis 1/4	2 -	Lint
3	*Ol[ei] Menthae Pip[eritidis]	12	Pill Boxes
7	“” Ricini	3 oz	*Sponge
	*Opii Colat[i]	8 oz	*Potassiae
	Subcarbon[atae]		
	*Pil[ulae] Hydrarg[yr]i	4	Phosphorus Bottles 1/7d
	*Tinct[urae] opii		Camphor &c -- 1/10
	*Acid[i] citric[i] concentrati 10/-	1	Trunk 29/-
	“” Muriatic[i] 61/2d		
	Ol[ei] Cinnamon[i]		
	Sp[irit]u[s] Lavend[ulae] 6 -		
	V[ini] Potassiae		
	“” Antimonial[is]		

¹ i.e. for the Mission's use.

- 1 *Rhei[barbaris] Rad[icis] Pulv[eris]
 *Sp[iri]t[us] Aether[ae] Sulph[atis] Optiss[us] 6d
 1/2ox *Tinct[uræ] Digital[is]
 * “” Ferri Muriat[i]
 *Ung[uenti] Hyd[rargyri] fort[is]
 * “” “” Nitr[atis]

The transcription and annotation of Dr. Morison’s list of drugs and medical supplies was provided to the editors by courtesy of Surgeon Commodore Baldock, Medical Officer in Charge, and Ms Jane Wickenden, Historical Collections Librarian of the Institute of Naval Medicine, Gosport.

Dr. Morison’s list derives largely from the table of ‘Proportions in which medicines and utensils are to be supplied to His Majesty’s Ships and Vessels’, an appendix to *Regulations and instructions for the medical officers of His Majesty’s Fleet (1825)*.² Items in Dr. Morison’s list which are mentioned in this table are marked with an asterisk.

The commentary on the list below was drawn up with reference to the 1825 table of instructions and other *materia medica* and, with respect to the chemical substances, with reference to the Material Safety Data sheets available on the ‘Chemical and Other Safety Information’ listings produced by the Physical and Theoretical Chemistry Laboratory at Oxford University³.

Sulphuric acid	<i>Sic. Almost certainly in a dilute form.</i>
Vini Antimonialis Tartarizati ⁴	<i>Wine of antimony. In solution and at sufficient strength, antimony may be fatal if swallowed.</i>
Argenti Nitratiss	<i>Silver nitrate. Caustic & stimulant. Poisonous.</i>
Cerati Calaminae	<i>Calamine ointment: compound of zinc oxide and iron oxide</i>
Confectionis Aromatici	<i>“Aromatic confection”.</i>
Cretae Preparatae	<i>Probably a syrup.</i>
Antacid and treatment for diarrhoea.	<i>Prepared chalk.</i>
Cupri Sulphatis	<i>Copper sulphate. Emetic/caustic; poisonous.</i>
Emplastrum Lyttae	<i>Plasters of Lytta”. Lytta vesicaria is the so-called Spanish fly, aka cantharis (under which name it is on the 1825 list), an irritant and stimulant.</i>
Emplastrum Plumbi	<i>“Plasters of lead”.</i>
Extractum Colocynthis compositum	<i>Extract of colocynth compound. Irritant and cathartic.</i>
Hydrargyri Oxymuriatis	<i>“Mercuric oxyhydrochloride” Chloride of mercury</i>

² Reprinted in full in *Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service*, Vol. 87, No 1 (2001), pp. 6-81.

³ (<http://ptcl.chem.ox.ac.uk/MSDS>).

⁴ Abbreviated forms in the list have been expanded – with Latin names in the genitive.

Calomel	<i>Sic. Mercury chloride. Poisonous.</i> <i>For treating syphilis</i>
Jalapae Radicis Pulveris	<i>Powdered jalap root.</i> <i>Irritant and cathartic</i>
Ipecacuanhae Pulveris	<i>Powdered ipecac. Expectorant and emetic.</i>
Liquoris Arsenicalis	<i>?Potassium arsenite or Fowler's solution, for treating malaria.</i>
Liquoris Plumbi Acetatis	<i>Lead acetate solution. Astringent lotion; toxic if swallowed.</i>
Magnesiae Carbonatis	<i>Magnesium carbonate</i> <i>Antacid and cathartic</i>
Magnesiae Sulphatis	<i>Magnesium sulphate – Epsom salts.</i>
Olei Menthae Piperitidis	<i>Oil of peppermint</i>
Olei Ricini	<i>Castor oil. Ricin in its isolated form is extremely toxic.</i>
Opii Colati	<i>Opium pills</i>
Pilulae Hydrargyri	<i>Mercury pills. A poison.</i>
Tincturae opii	<i>Tincture of opium (laudanum)</i>
Acidi citrici concentrati	<i>Concentrated citric acid. Antiscorbutic and refrigerant.</i>
Acidi Muriatici	<i>Hydrochloric acid (almost certainly in a dilute form). Mrs Beeton recommends it for cleaning port-stained glass.</i>
Olei Cinnamoni	<i>Oil of cinnamon</i>
Spiritus Lavendulae	<i>Spirits of lavender</i>
Vini Potassiae	<i>Wine of potassium.</i> <i>Probably related to:</i>
Vini Antimonialis	<i>Antimonial wine</i>
Rheubarbaris Radicis Pulveris	<i>Powdered rhubarb root. Laxative</i>
Spiritus Aetherae Sulphatis ?Optissimus	<i>?Best spirits of sulphuric ether.</i> <i>Now simply called ether.</i>
Tincturae Digitalis	<i>Tincture of foxglove (digitalis). Cardiac stimulant</i>
Tincturae Ferri Muriati	<i>Tincture of ferrous chloride hydrate.</i>
Unguenti Hydrargyri fortis	<i>Strong mercury ointment;</i> <i>to treat syphilis.</i>
Unguenti Hydrargyri Nitratris	<i>Nitrate of mercury ointment;</i> <i>for skin diseases. Toxic if eaten.</i>
Cerati Cetacei	<i>Spermaceti ointment.</i> <i>Soothing and emollient.</i>
Zinci Sulphatis	<i>Zinc sulphate</i>
Vini Ipecacuanhae ?Antimonialis	<i>Antimonial wine of ipecac</i>
Olei Croton Tiglii	<i>Croton oil. Irritant, cathartic and now a Class 1 poison.</i>
Sulphatis quinae	<i>Quinine sulphate – antimalarial.</i>
Acidi tartarizati	<i>Acid tartrate of potassium was used to increase the solvent properties of medicated wine: it renders a drink effervescent.</i>
Sodae Carbonatae	<i>Sodium bicarbonate</i>
Potassiae Subcarbonatae	<i>Potassium bicarbonate.</i> <i>Antacid, antilithic, and diuretic.</i>

**2. T. Dickson to R. Wilmot Horton [CO 2/15, f.340-3]
re contents of Medicine chest for Al-Kanami**

15 Duke Street, Adelphi, 15th July 1825

Sir,

At the request of Cap^l Clapperton I beg leave to enclose a list of Medicines such as I consider best adapted for Presents to be sent to the Sheikh of Bornou. In the choice I have been regulated by those that produce immediate & obvious effects and that may be administered with a certain degree of impunity. Perhaps it might be well for me to have an interview with Mr. Salame respecting the brief directions which accompany each Medicine so that I may ascertain how far he understands them. The main difficulty is in fixing quantities & weights.

Permit me at the same time to call your attention to the circumstance that I am still unprovided with a sword gun & pistols – and as arms are indispensable in the country we have to explore, were it merely for parade, I will trust you will cause the necessary orders to be issued. An Air-gun⁵ I humbly conceive could prove extremely useful and without any additional expense would further serve to impress the natives with a high opinion of our skill & superiority.

I may also mention that another Tent is requisite – only two being ordered – and that a common equipment of bridles saddles with holsters &^c might be found extremely serviceable. I feel assured you will pardon these suggestions – well knowing that a matter seemingly trifling may be attended with serious inconvenience to the Mission.

I have [etc.] Thomas Dickson

[Margin:] copy sent of inclosure to Salame, 21 July 1825

List of medicines for the Sheikh of Bornou

No	1	High Yellow Bark ⁶
	2	Sulphate of [illeg = quinine]
	3	Rhubarb ⁷
	4	Jalap
	5	Aloes
	6	Calomel
	7	Ipecacuanha

⁵ Presumably with a detachable ball or butt chamber. First effective use of an airgun was made in Austria in the 1740s. Producing no flame or smoke and relatively little noise, and available in different calibres, the gun was favoured in the early 19th-century by snipers and widely used for specimen collection. [Personal communication from G. Gardiner, Sothebys].

⁶ Chinchona bark, source of quinine.

⁷ Medicinal root-stock, purgative and subsequent astringent, used as a laxative.

- 8 Tartar Emetick
 9 Dovers Powders [Ipecac and opium mix]
 10 James's Powder⁸
 11 Opium
 12 Blister Flies [*sic*].⁹
 13 Citrine Ointment [= Unguentum Hydrargyri Nittratis (qv)]
 14 Blue Stone [= Blue Mass, a preparation of mercury]
 15 Red Precipitate [= mercuric oxide]
 16 *Liinsen* [*sic*]¹⁰ Caustick
 17 Pills of Aloes with Coloquinth) 6 doz. of each
 18 Pills of Calomel – (3 gr^s each))
 Scales & weights

Directions

- 1 & 2 For Intermittent Fever
 Dose of N^o 1 – from 20 to 30 Grams – in a little water – to be given between the paroxysms of fever every second hour.
 Dose of N^o 2 – from 1 to 2 Gr^s – every second hour without regard to the paroxysms of fever

- 1[=3], 4, 5 & 6 Purgatives
 Dose of Nos 3 & 4 from 20 to 30 Grams) As 1 & 2 cf.
 Dose of N^a 5 – from 10 to 15 Grams)
 Dose of N^o 6 – from 4 to 8 Grams No 6) ought to be taken overnight to be followed in [the] morning with half a dose of any of the other Purgatives. It must not be repeated within the interval of a month otherwise it may occasion salivation

- 7 & 8 Emeticks
 Dose of N^o 7 – from 20 to 30 Grams.
 Dose of No 8 – Three Grains being dissolved in Six table-
 spoonfuls of water – One Tablespoon of the Solution is to be given every ten minutes till the Medicine begin to operate when lukewarm wat[er] is to be freely drunk – This Emetick is on no account to be given to pregnant women

- 9 & 10 Medicines that promote Perspiration
 [“In warm water” inserted]
 Dose of N^a 9 – from 20 to 30 Grains
 Dose of N^a 10 – 2 to 4 Grs
 The patient to be kept warm

⁸ A diaphoretic and cathartic mixture of antimony and phosphate used as fever reducer, invented by Dr. Robert James (1703-1776).

⁹ An alcohol solution of powdered beetle, *Lytta vesicatoria*, used for raising blisters

¹⁰ Possibly linseed, used as a demulcent.

- 11 To induce Sleep Dose from 1 to 2 Grains
- 12 A more gentle Substitute for Burning Mixed with Past[e] to be applied for 12 hours as a Plaster – on the seat of an inward pain where there is no external inflammation
- 13 To be applied to the edges of Sore Eyelids
- 14 – 16 & 17 for foul Ulcers
A piece or two of N^o 14 to be dissolved in water for a Wash which may be freely used.
A very little of N^o 15 – to be occasionally sprinkled upon the ulcerated surface –
N^o 16 – to be very rarely applied
- 17 & 18 Pills for the Sheikh's own use 2 of N^o 17 – & 1 of N^o 18 –
to be taken together for a dose – in case of Bilious Attacks –

T.D.

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INDEX

- Abaco (Abuca) 138, 143-4, 145, 147, 153, 158, 385
'Abd al-Rahman al-Nufawi 45-6, 226
'Abd al-Salaam 41, 46
Abd el Krim (Abdelkrim) 255, 257, 286
Abdulfitha 326
Abdullahi (Arab employee in Borno Mission) 459
'Abdullahi dan Fodio 46, 215, 294, 296, 303-4, 329, 339, 440
Abdullah Kalu 172, 178
Abdullahi Turmusoama 56
Abeokuta 41
Abiodun 42
Aboh 2
abolition 11, 15, 23, 25, 54, 56-61, 71, 90, 100, 103, 312, 352-3, 377
Abomey 27, 92, 93, 227, 421, 424-6, 429-31
Abubakar Bu Khulum (Aboo-Bakr, Bookhaloom) 19, 257, 289, 447, 449, 461
Abubakar Atiku 294
Accra 23, 27, 30, 33, 69, 88-9, 120, 124, 374, 377, 380, 387, 391, 396, 420, 432-8
Adamawa (Adamowa; also see Fombina) 25, 50, 106, 257, 269, 276-7, 283, 300, 312, 324, 328, 332, 338, 340-1, 394, 506-8
Adamoli, of Ipokia 106
Adandozan (Adan Louzan) 91-2, 149
Adar (Ader, Adir) 290-1, 302, 312, 323
Adele (Adooli) 43-4, 93, 96-7, 100-1, 105-6, 108, 112, 421, 423
Adja (Adjah, Adju) 119, 136, 334, 438, 473
Admiralty 1, 2, 13, 15, 18, 26, 62, 358, 362, 370, 375-6, 389, 395, 410-1, 423, 432
Afonja 40-1
African Association 8-10
African Station 24, 83, 359
Agades (Aghadez, Ajudiz) 291, 318, 323, 325
Agaja Trudo 99
Agasu 99
Agbonle 227
Ageedo 99
Aggidibah 119
Agolly (Aquallie) 227, 229-30
Agoué (Agwey) 89
Agwaragi 249
Agwarra Hill 199
Ahaggar 24, 299
Ahmad Baba 57, 441
Ahmad b. Muhammad Lobbo 299, 415
Ahmad Masane 324
Aibo (Eybo, Liabo) 44, 122, 472
Aikina Hill 192, 475
Air Massif (Anbur, Asben) 291, 323, 331
Ajan 101-2, 440
Ajidi (Ajidibu) 135
Ajido 99
Aki 136
Akibosu (Akibossa, Akibossu, Akkibosu.) 119, 135-6, 473
Akingjie 246, 477
Akinia 125
Akolou 110, 471
Akura (Akure) 162
alaaḡin (also see Majotu) 40-2, 44-5, 110, 114, 129, 143, 147, 149, 156, 434, 471, 495
Alewa 276, 297
Algi (Algie) 2, 168, 301, 441, 474
Algiers 2, 301, 441
Ali, Oyo official 107, 109
Ali Dan Yakubu 49, 249, 322
Ali Eisami 37, 40
Alimi 41
Allada (Alladah) 41, 42, 93, 98-9, 101-2, 147, 162
al-Maghili 57
al-Mukni 15, 20, 228
Aloukwa 129
Alwali 274
Amali 170, 192
Anderson, Alexander 9, 187
animals (also see cattle, horses) 47, 52, 77, 83, 158, 163, 177, 185, 189, 247, 249-50, 253, 273, 276, 281-2, 287-8, 318-9, 391, 515
Annan 3, 26, 117, 174
Apomu 44
Arabs 8, 14, 20, 51, 71, 73, 82, 109, 175, 212, 257, 264, 267-9, 272-4, 285, 289-90, 293, 298-300, 302-3, 318-9, 332, 335, 337, 341-2, 389, 400, 402, 455, 459, 486
Arabic 2, 10, 19, 29, 37, 52-3, 62, 64, 73, 175, 184, 205, 211, 226, 228, 286, 292, 299, 302, 312, 319, 328, 334-5, 341, 343, 349, 368, 371-2, 397, 408, 411, 440-1, 443, 445, 457, 461, 466-7, 486-7, 489, 493, 499, 508, 510-1
Arctic 13, 23, 286
Ardo Sale 55, 332
Ardrah 98, 423
are ona kakamfo 40-1

- Arewa 295, 486, 514
 Asante (Ashantee, Ashantie) 11, 27, 35, 37, 58, 88, 128, 162, 171-2, 174, 196, 227, 229, 231, 299, 371, 377, 416
 Assadoo (Assodu, Assudu, Assado) 44, 119, 126, 472
 Assinu 140, 167, 168, 474
 Assola (Asula, Assoolu) 119, 125-6, 472
 Atiolo (Ataliobolu) 112, 471
 Atiku (Atigo, Atego) 77-8, 284, 293-4, 303-4
 Atipa (Atepa) 119, 138, 160, 474
 Auchan (Aushin, Aushur) 258-9, 260-1, 264, 309, 326, 478
 Awjila (Augela) 271
 Awole 44, 147, 156, 472
 Ayaki 345
 Azai 345
 Azouad 24

 Baba Ode 128, 473
 Babayemi, S.O. 37, 39, 42-3, 143-4, 469, 473
 Bachey – see Igbeji
 Badagry (Badagarye, Badagee) 1, 23, 26-7, 30, 35, 42-4, 63, 67-72, 79, 93-6, 98, 99-102, 105, 107-8, 111-2, 116, 118, 120-1, 124, 130, 146-8, 150-1, 158-9, 162, 173, 182, 187, 195, 204, 328, 374-6, 378, 380, 382-5, 387-91, 393-8, 415, 421-3, 425, 437, 469-71, 485.
 Bagagu 209, 476
 Bagirmi (Bagermie, Bagharmie) 16, 17, 19, 20, 55, 299, 300, 324, 487, 489, 508
 Bahia 12, 27, 35, 57, 58, 90, 101, 380, 381, 435-7
 Bahr Erguig 324
 Bahr-el Azrek 324
 Bahr-el-Abiad 324
 Baikie, William Balfour 22, 61, 469, 477
 Bajiba 192, 475
 Bako 133, 345
 Bali 216, 225-6, 233, 415-6
 Bambara (Bombarra) 13, 299, 343, 416
 Bambuhu 299
 Banaga 249
 Bandama River 83, 419
 Barakina 179, 180, 475
 Bariba (see Borgu) 172
 Barrow, John 1, 2, 6, 9, 12-16, 18, 23-4, 26, 63, 67-8, 70-2, 105, 286, 340, 357, 370, 411, 424, 429
 Barth, Heinrich 29, 49, 342, 469
 Bassa 33, 47, 83, 345
 Bathurst, Henry 12, 15, 17-9, 23, 58, 88, 325, 329, 347, 349-50, 355-6, 358-9, 374, 376, 382-3, 388, 392, 395, 397, 399-400, 429, 433, 435
 Bauchi (Boushi, Jackoba, Jacoba) 55, 230, 278, 312, 331-2, 338, 340, 485, 491, 506, 508
 Bawie 105-6, 471
 beans 90-1, 96, 232, 316, 320
 Beaufroy, Henry 8, 11
 Bebeji (Babaegie, Baebaegie) 260, 262, 264, 277-8, 309, 478, 499
 Beechey, H. 485, 487
 Belzoni, Giovanni Baptista 23-5, 27, 204, 352, 358, 377, 434
 Ben Abdulla 303-4, 329, 339
 Ben Ali 8, 11
 Bengazi 272
 Beni 213, 286, 299, 344
 Beni Omar 286
 Benin 1, 8, 11, 12, 22-5, 30, 35-6, 38, 57-9, 72, 74-5, 79, 88-9, 101-3, 121, 128, 132, 149, 153-4, 162, 207, 213, 230, 351-4, 357-9, 372, 374, 377, 382, 394, 405-6, 422-3, 434, 436-8
 Bida 46, 61, 226, 469, 477, 502
 Bight of Benin 1, 11-2, 22-5, 30, 35-6, 38, 57, 59, 74-5, 79, 88, 101, 103, 351, 353-4, 359, 374, 406
 Bight of Biafra 11-2
 Bila 57, 60, 180, 475
 Bilma 318
 birds 52, 70, 189, 314, 315, 334, 401, 493, 515
 Birni Gazargamu 55
 Birnin Gwari 47, 48, 247, 251, 308, 467, 477, 494, 499
 Bisa Kogie 264
 blacksmiths 96, 208, 232, 250, 349, 476
 boats 82, 88, 191, 193, 234, 248, 418, 421
 Bobani 97
 Bolo Bolo (Bulla bula) 237, 477
 Bonaga 176, 475
 Bong-bong – see Gbongbon
 Bonny 12, 438
 Booduor Boodi 345
 Boogho 344
 Boojuju 344
 Borgu (Bargho, Barghoo, Borgoo, Borgou, Burgo, Burgoo) 1, 35-6, 39, 42, 45-6, 67, 128, 32-3, 137-9, 152, 162, 169-70, 172, 174, 182-3, 189-90, 196-7, 199, 208, 212, 227-30, 252, 271, 294, 339, 344, 397, 469, 473, 487
 Borokoomada 341
 Borno (Bornou, Bornow) 1, 3, 5-7, 10-1, 16-28, 30, 37, 40, 47, 50-6, 59, 60-1, 63-6, 68, 79, 98, 106, 120, 147, 149, 152, 158, 165, 170-6, 178, 182, 189, 192-6, 211, 213, 220, 222-3, 227-31, 234-4, 248, 250, 252, 254, 260, 263, 267-9, 271-2, 274, 277, 282, 289, 293-5, 298, 302, 323, 325, 327-9, 331-2, 336-7, 339-41, 347-51, 353-6, 371-2, 397, 401-3, 411, 414, 440-1, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455, 459, 461, 470, 481, 485-7, 489, 493, 499, 504, 506, 508, 520

- Borno Mission 1, 5-6, 10-1, 16-7, 19, 21-2, 24-5, 27-8, 52, 64-6, 68, 152, 230, 349, 351, 353, 371, 411, 440, 461, 470, 481, 485-6, 489, 493, 504
- Boru 169, 474
- Bowda 264
- Bowdich, Thomas 11, 27, 35
- Boyd, Jean 49, 51
- Brazen*, H.M.S. 24, 26, 33, 63, 68, 80, 93, 120-1, 153, 320, 351-2, 358-9, 372-7, 382-3, 388-9, 392-5, 398, 408, 410, 415-7, 420-1, 423, 429
- Brazil 11, 12, 27, 30-1, 35, 57, 90-1, 98-9, 100, 118, 163, 174, 381, 429
- British West Africa Squadron – see African Station
- Brooks, George 31, 82, 83
- Bruce Lockhart, Jamie 1, 3, 6, 20-1, 27, 42, 52-5, 59, 64, 66, 98
- Boobukr, of Kaiama 173
- Bu Khulum – see Abubakar Bu Khulum
- Bugoo 119
- Bullen, Charles 24, 35, 359, 391, 431, 432, 433
- Bumbane 97
- Bungundu 249
- Bunsuru 277, 479, 482
- Burdon, J.A. 53
- Bure 13, 299
- Bussa (Boosa) 9, 37, 45, 63, 72, 74, 171, 187, 189, 196, 198, 199, 345, 475, 486
- Cairo 37, 344, 350, 443, 489, 493
- Cameroun 105
- Campbell, Thomas 13
- Canada 5, 9, 13
- Cape Coast 11, 24, 26, 30, 35, 79, 88-9, 106, 357, 372-4, 377, 380, 382, 391-2, 395, 406, 408, 410, 420, 431, 433-4, 436-9
- Cape Mesurado 30, 33, 83, 377
- Cape Palmas 22, 30, 33, 83, 87, 377, 417-20
- Cape Verdes 81
- caravans 30, 31, 39, 40, 47, 178, 202, 212, 226, 229, 231, 234, 243, 250, 255, 289, 299, 302, 482, 494-5, 506-7
- cattle 55, 133, 163, 212, 224, 232, 239, 242, 246, 253-4, 256-7, 261, 269, 275, 289, 296, 301, 307, 312-3, 320, 332, 336, 390, 512-4
- Cavalla River 83, 86
- Central Sudan 4, 10, 14, 19-21, 24, 39, 52, 57-8, 72, 165, 489, 506
- Cess 33, 83, 88, 417-8
- Cestos 88, 418
- Cha Cha (also see Francisco Felix de Souza) 92
- Chalawa River 264, 268, 478
- Chiado (Chaido) 119, 129-31, 390-1, 473
- Cho Cho (Chohchoh, Chow Chow) 119, 126, 473
- Christians 14, 15, 57-8, 60, 87, 218, 243, 248, 257, 293, 339, 342-3, 451, 453, 457, 493, 504, 511
- Clapperton, Hugh (personal and biographic) 3-7, (on geography of Africa) 12, (Borno Mission) 16-22, (journals and records) 28-30, 61-8, 73-8, (publications and contemporary assessment) 1-2, 63, 67-8, 73-8, (death) 53
- Clapperton, Samuel 31
- climate 70-1, 424, 435
- Colonial Office 18, 22, 53, 59, 62, 72, 74, 120, 124, 165, 348, 357, 360, 364, 388, 393, 397, 407-8, 410, 414, 469, 471
- Columbus 19, 27, 351, 355, 357, 376, 384, 389, 408-9, 412-3, 429
- Congo River 9
- Congreve 149
- Cooley, W.D. 485-6, 491, 494, 499, 502
- Cornwall 26, 70, 145, 485, 494
- Cowes 80
- cowries 10, 27, 62, 79, 97-8, 100, 112, 114, 117, 158, 161, 163, 165, 175, 180, 185-6, 214, 218, 222-3, 228, 230, 232, 234, 237, 239-43, 245-6, 267, 270, 274, 278-9, 289-90, 298, 311-2, 314, 317-9, 325, 334-5, 340-1, 385, 387, 504, 515
- Crowther, Samuel Ajayi 37, 41, 44
- Curtin, Philip D. 7, 11, 22, 29, 37, 40
- da Cunha Fide 80
- Dagmoo 109-10, 471
- Dahomey 9, 22, 27, 35, 41-4, 89-94, 97-9, 101-3, 105, 116, 121, 146-7, 149, 162, 181-3, 189-90, 212-3, 227, 229, 270, 339, 376, 382, 384, 389, 391-3, 395-6, 421, 423, 425, 431
- Dakakari 48
- Dalla 271
- Dalu (Dalou) 208, 476
- Dalziel, J. 93, 261, 417
- Damari River 478, 499
- Dambarta 274
- Dan Ayi 191, 226, 238
- Dan Gora 260, 309, 478, 499
- Dan Kamaye (Duncamie) 264, 276, 479
- Dan Kamu 289, 481
- Dan Kasawa 249
- Dan Tunku (Duntungwa) 50, 265, 274
- Dan Yakubu 49, 322
- Danchow (Dunchow) 260, 309, 487
- Dar Fur (Darfoor, Foor) 300, 324, 328, 342
- Dar Runga 324
- Daura 48, 50, 265
- Dawson, George 26, 121, 122, 388, 435, 472
- Dendo, Mallam 36, 46, 148, 210
- Denham, Dixon 1, 5-7, 18-22, 24-5, 27, 29, 57, 59, 61, 70, 261, 289, 341, 343, 347-50, 354, 358, 371, 384, 411, 414, 432-3,

- 440, 443, 457, 459, 461, 485, 487, 489,
494, 508
Deya 55, 332
Dickson, Thomas 25-7, 35, 62, 64, 80, 82, 94,
146, 268, 354-5, 363-4, 366, 368, 373,
375, 376, 378, 386, 389-93, 395-6, 398,
412-3, 415, 421, 423-5, 429-32, 520
diseases 5, 22, 27, 123, 258, 296, 408, 519
Doonfee 345
doura – see sorghum
Duffu (Duffo) 119, 128-9, 473
Dukawa 48
Dumfriesshire 28, 53
Duncan, John 9
Dutch 33, 88-9, 367, 377, 381-2, 398
dutse (Dushie, Guber in Dushie, Guber-n-
Dushi, Gubir in Dushee) 247, 259, 264,
271, 308, 332, 477, 487, 514
Dutsen Kufena 259
dyeing 309
- East Indies Station 3
Ebah 144, 167, 385
Ebn Senna 294
Echo 119
Edinburgh 5, 17-8, 23, 28, 72-3, 424, 429
Edinburgh Review 72-3
Ega (Egah, Eya) 55, 119, 121-2, 245, 249,
332, 352, 375, 383, 388, 393, 396, 417,
430, 472
Egba 37, 40
Egbado 39, 41-3, 97, 109, 114, 469, 471, 472
Eggu (Eggwa, Ekky, Ekwu, Epkwayah,
Epuayah) 44, 121-2, 472
Egypt 16-7, 23, 69, 328, 334, 341-4, 440, 451,
493
Ekale 115
Ekiti 162
Eko (also see Lagos) 11, 43, 51, 58, 101, 110,
128, 264, 478
Ekun Otun 132
El Mukni 271
El Sirkis 289
Elora 56, 302
English 7, 10-1, 18-20, 29, 37, 51, 73, 81-5,
87, 89-91, 98, 100, 101, 116, 140, 152-3,
155, 162, 165, 172, 184, 190, 203, 220,
233, 254, 256, 268, 277, 286, 292-3, 330,
334, 352-3, 356, 358, 381, 384, 389, 394,
404, 406, 412, 419, 421, 423, 430-1, 440,
443, 445, 447, 449, 451-3, 455, 458-9,
461, 467, 489, 502, 504, 508, 515
Engwa 122, 125, 133, 388, 390, 392-3, 472
enslavement 16, 27, 44, 56-7, 60-1, 324
Erawa 119, 131, 473, 479, 482
Erinmado (Emadoo) 122, 472
Eripa 122, 472
Et Wata 208
eunuchs 144, 151, 156, 217-9, 261, 283, 322
- Ewah 119
Eweiah 119, 129, 473
Ewon 122, 472
- Fanisau (Fanso) 48, 50, 265, 269
Farin Ruwa (Fareroa) 47, 264, 481, 495
Fatika (Fataka) 249, 252, 253, 478
Fatti-attu 294, 299, 345
Fawckner, James 35, 438
Fernando Po 5, 26, 72, 390
fetish 89, 93-7, 99, 100, 106, 110-4, 118, 134,
143, 156, 158, 160-2, 169, 199, 209, 244,
382, 387
Fez 24, 294, 299
Fezzan 6, 14-6, 18, 20, 23, 228, 267-8, 272,
286, 303, 338-9, 461, 508
fish 80, 83, 90, 189, 194, 199, 201, 214, 231-
2, 280, 289, 304, 307, 318, 367, 386, 513,
515
Fisher, Humphrey 56, 57, 61, 417-8, 515
Fitri Lake 324
Fofin Birni (Isa Sansan) 297, 326
Folayan, Kola 17, 37, 42, 97, 469
Fombina (also see Adamawa) 276, 295, 341,
508
food 51, 52, 64, 86, 124, 157, 165, 214, 231-
2, 241-2, 260, 270, 274, 276, 279, 290-1,
304, 307, 311, 329, 338, 504, 513
Fraser, J.P. 27, 35, 373-4, 382, 395, 437
Freetown 5, 31, 33, 85, 415, 418, 434
French 11, 14, 19, 22, 35-6, 58, 79, 91, 162,
256, 284, 287, 381, 416-7, 422, 451, 511
Fudaboo (Fodebu) 119, 127, 473
Fudba 336
Fulani 2, 13, 20, 24, 27, 31, 36-7, 40-2, 44,
46, 47, 49-50, 55, 57, 132, 134, 249, 256-
7, 265, 274, 332, 473, 494, 499, 507-8
Fundah (also see Opanda) 58, 72, 207, 213,
405, 493
funeral 52
Funga 209, 476
Futa Bundu (Foota Bonda) 52, 256, 301, 327
Futa Jallon (Foota Jello) 31, 33, 52, 256, 301,
415-6, 485-7
Futa Toro (Foota Tora, Foota Torra, Fouta
Tora) 52, 256, 294, 299, 301
Fyfe, Christopher 31, 85
- Gabiddon 30-1
Gagai 275, 479
Gagere 278, 297, 482
Galama (Gilma, Gillma) 245, 477
Galinas 33, 87
Gambia River 8, 301
Gana 366, 414, 506
Gankpe 91
Garko 264, 506
Garoua 10
Gazie creek 105, 111, 382, 471

- Gbako River 345
 Gbara 345
 Gbenleke (Bendeka, Bendek Kah) 44, 119, 127, 473
 Gbongbon (Bong bong) 119, 138, 474
 geography 1, 8, 10-3, 18, 25, 52-3, 70, 72, 269, 353-4, 485-6
 geology 70, 429
 George IV, King of England 58, 442, 444
 Gezo, of Dahomey 35, 91, 149
 Ghadamis 267, 272, 282, 285
 Ghamzu – see Muhammad b. hajj ‘Umar Ghamzu
 Gharb 299, 343, 513
 Ghat 19, 24
 Ghoodri 341
 Gibraltar 3, 18, 19, 33, 87
 Gidado (Gadado) (also see Uthman ben Abubakr dan Laima) 21, 28, 50-4, 59, 67, 273, 276-80, 282-5, 287-91, 293-6, 306-7, 320-2, 325-7, 328-33, 335-7, 366
 Gidie 295
 Girkwa 259-60, 264, 267
 Giyalande 321
 Gliji 88
 Gobir (Ghoober, Goobeer, Goobur) 27, 29, 48-9, 56, 71, 235, 249-50, 255, 267, 277, 280, 283, 289-90, 296-7, 302, 304, 321-2, 326, 345, 432
 Godeberi 227
 gold 89, 96-8, 107, 171, 176, 184, 194-5, 204, 206, 213, 229, 231, 243, 280, 292, 298-9, 303, 334, 338, 342-4, 357, 364, 368, 381, 385-6, 401, 408, 410, 416, 419, 451
 Gold Coast 23, 30, 35, 37, 89, 154, 356, 374, 420, 436
 Gombe 507
 Gonda 98, 276, 280, 296
 Gongodi (Gonggadi) 275
 Gonja (Ghoonja, Gongga, Gongar) 27, 162, 171-2, 174, 177, 189, 227, 229-32, 250, 280, 299, 344, 479, 487
 goro (also see kola nuts) 82, 107, 160, 165-6, 171-2, 174, 180, 184, 247, 271, 320, 455, 480
 Goron Dutse 247, 271
 Goronyo 320, 480
 government 1, 2, 12-3, 16-19, 21-4, 29, 35, 39-41, 48-51, 53-4, 56, 58-9, 83-4, 89, 92, 101-2, 118, 137, 163, 174, 255-6, 265, 274, 301, 303, 312, 327, 348-9, 351, 355-8, 370, 373, 377, 383, 394, 415, 421, 423-7, 429, 431, 433-5, 437, 469
 Grand Lahou 33, 83
 Great Cess 83
 Grimaldi 155
 Gubja 56
 Gubsum 295
 Gubus 295
 Guinea 1, 8, 16, 24, 57, 63, 68, 83, 92, 101, 134, 185, 189, 224, 228, 232, 236, 245, 250, 257, 259, 264, 314, 323, 333, 335-7, 382, 465, 469, 485
 Gundumi Bush (Gondami) 52, 98, 276, 280, 297, 482
 Gurin 341
 Gurma (Ghoorma, Goorma) 46, 174, 183, 215, 217, 285, 337, 344, 476, 495
 Gusau 249
 Gwandu 40, 46, 50, 294, 299
 Gwari (Guari, Guarri) 47-8, 65, 194, 207, 217-8, 234, 239, 244-5, 247-52, 254, 304, 308, 467, 477-8, 487, 494-5, 499, 502
 Gwoni Mukhtar 332
 Hadejia (Hadiga) 55, 227, 264, 332, 337
 Haiti 273
 Hale 295
 Hameda, Tripolitan merchant, 28, 267
 Hamada ben Medon (Medoon), Ghadamsi merchant 274, 285-6,
 Hamdullahi (also see Masina) 31, 52, 299, 415-6
 Hansen, George 35, 88
 Hat Salah (Byoot, Hadje) 51, 264, 267, 271, 455, 486, 499
 Hatita ben Agden 24
 Hausa (Haoussa, Hausa, Houssa) 1, 8, 10-2, 19, 29, 36, 39, 46, 47, 52, 56, 58, 64, 67, 73, 82, 94, 98, 101, 109, 112, 132, 134-6, 140, 147, 164-5, 168, 172, 175-8, 180, 182-3, 185-6, 189-90, 194-5, 202-3, 215, 223-4, 226, 228-32, 234-6, 238, 243-4, 248-52, 260-1, 268-9, 271, 276, 286, 295, 297, 302-3, 305, 307, 309-10, 313, 316, 318, 323, 327, 330-2, 334, 336, 339, 352, 354, 358, 394, 420-2, 440, 453, 469-70, 485-7, 491, 494-5, 499, 514-5
 Hausa merchants 11, 29, 47, 238
 Havana (Havanah) 33, 35, 87
 Hay, Robert 9, 98, 123, 356-8, 369, 370-4, 378, 382-3, 388, 391-3, 395, 397-400, 406, 409, 411, 414-5, 425, 430, 440, 457, 494
 health 14, 15, 18, 53, 80, 82, 94, 114, 118, 130, 144, 146, 151-2, 156, 160, 166, 171, 174, 221, 232, 274, 277, 281-2, 289, 291, 324, 337, 340, 350, 372, 377, 390-1, 396, 398-9, 401, 418, 425, 429, 432, 436-8, 447, 455, 459, 462, 469
 Hillman, William 18, 20
 Hoowara 342
 Hornemann, Frederick Konrad 37, 457, 486, 494, 502
 horses 20, 42, 81, 83, 91, 100, 113, 115-6, 119, 121, 130, 134-5, 137, 140, 143, 158, 163, 166, 169-71, 174-6, 180, 189, 192, 199, 202, 207-9, 215-9, 224, 228-9, 231,

- 238-40, 243-6, 248-9, 253, 255-7, 259-61,
269, 280, 282-5, 288, 311-2, 318, 321,
323, 326, 333-4, 339, 341-2, 344-5, 366,
389-90, 422, 430, 465, 512, 514
- Horton, R. Wilmot 24, 26, 58, 59, 299, 347,
359, 423, 520
- Houtson, John 9, 23, 25, 63-4, 66-8, 88, 93,
95, 97-8, 100-1, 103, 105, 108-9, 111-3,
116, 118-9, 121, 123-4, 132, 135, 137,
146, 150-1, 153-4, 167-8, 176, 352, 358,
372, 374-8, 382-5, 387-8, 390-3, 395-9,
413, 415, 422-3, 433-8
- Humba 43, 111, 471
- Humbori (Oonbori) 299
- hunting 299, 513
- Ibella 180
- Ibn Senna 292
- Ibrahim Dabo 21, 50, 264-5, 270, 450
- Ibrahim Zaki 55, 332
- Idah 58, 147, 344-5, 493, 504
- Idrisu (Edrees, Edrisi), of Nupe 214, 346
- Ife 17, 40, 42, 154
- Igbeji (Bachey, Bachy, Badagee, Badge,
Bidgee) 111-3, 119-21, 429, 472
- Igbira 345
- Igbo (Eybo) 2, 122, 473
- Ijanna (Genawah, Jannah, Janne, Jannie,
Jennah, Jenah) 26, 43, 97, 108-10, 112-
22, 124, 129-30, 156-8, 163, 189, 204,
208, 221, 382-4, 387-90, 392, 471-2, 476
- Ijebu (Jabbo, Jaboo) 43, 101-2, 128, 132, 147,
149, 153, 162, 228, 230
- Ikorodu 43
- ilari 143, 436
- Ilaro (Laloo) 43-4, 112-3, 115, 118, 157, 471
- Ilesa 43
- illness 6, 52, 63, 65, 76, 87, 155, 270, 276,
403-4, 447, 470
- Ilorin (Alaro, Lori, Lorin) 18, 20, 23, 36-7,
39-46, 134, 148, 157, 213, 270, 303, 312,
351, 373, 495, 499
- In Salah 391
- Infaq al-Maysur* 10, 37, 45, 52, 57, 60
- Ingaski – see Ngaski
- Injum 192, 475
- Insukusu (Ensockasu, Ensukussu,
Ensoukousu, Onisokiso) 119, 133-5, 473
- Ipokia (Puk, Puku) 105, 106, 109-12, 117,
120, 162, 164, 383, 471
- Irawo 131, 473
- iron 87, 95, 134, 136-7, 140, 172, 177-8, 199,
208, 215-6, 218, 220, 231, 236-9, 253-4,
259, 275, 288-9, 296, 313, 317, 335, 366,
418, 420, 518
- Irufa 83
- Isa Sansan 297
- Isacah 119
- Isako 109, 471
- Iseyin 43, 44
- Ishow 119
- Issiah 119
- Ito 111, 193, 199, 471
- Itsekiri (Etsakirrie) 134
- ivory 84, 88-9, 100, 148, 189, 220, 272, 381,
419, 437
- Jakara 271
- Jamaica 30
- James, Frederick 27, 376
- Jangebe 53, 481
- Jaza 276, 277, 479
- Jemma 345
- Jenne 299, 412, 510
- Jeri 299, 513
- jihad* 10, 21, 24, 36, 50, 52, 54-6, 60, 148,
210, 226, 256, 269, 274, 280, 299, 332,
341, 415-6, 440, 514
- Jima 46, 148, 345, 502
- Jimada 46, 148
- Jinjina Hill 199, 475
- Jirmi 216
- Johnson, Samuel 39, 40, 109
- Jones, Thomas 362-3
- Jos Plateau 508
- Junaidu, Waziri 21, 50-5, 293, 296
- Kaarta 31
- Kaduna River (Kadona) 48, 207, 245, 250,
345, 495, 502, 506
- Kafath 345-6
- Kaffins 324
- Kaghoom 344
- Kaiama (Kiama) 45, 72, 168, 170, 174, 176-
80, 183, 190, 192, 194-6, 212, 229, 397-8,
474-5
- Kamanda River 259, 478
- Kambari (Kanbari) 47-8, 345-6, 475-6, 495
- Kamuku 48, 494
- Kanem 5, 16-7, 19-22, 54-5, 60-1, 171, 178,
269, 272, 293, 296, 332, 336, 348-9, 356,
366, 443, 457, 461-2, 486, 494, 499, 506
- Kankan (Cankan) 346, 415
- Kano 2, 6, 14, 21, 35, 37, 48, 50, 51-6, 63,
65-8, 79, 98, 172-3, 178, 186, 194, 202-3,
207, 210, 213-4, 218-20, 222-4, 227-8,
234, 249, 250-2, 254-6, 259-61, 263-5,
267-74, 276-8, 280, 282, 284, 293-4, 298,
302, 308-9, 312, 318, 323-6, 328, 332-3,
337, 339-40, 402, 404-5, 409, 450-1, 455,
457, 467, 469-70, 474, 477-9, 481-3,
485-7, 494-5, 497, 499, 502, 504, 506,
515
- Kanuri 19, 37, 192
- Kariga 48
- Karindaye 48
- Karkena 345
- Kasoo 345

- Katagum (Kataghoon) 55, 59, 98, 259, 264, 267, 277, 284, 293, 312, 329, 333, 337, 341, 457, 485-6, 494, 499, 506
- Katha 345
- Katsina (Kasha, Kashna) 37, 48-9, 58, 243, 246, 249-50, 254, 263-4, 267, 276-7, 284, 295, 300, 304, 312, 314, 318, 323, 332, 345, 479, 481-2, 493-4, 499, 504
- Katunga (Katanga, Katungah, Katungwa) 27, 28, 35, 39, 62-3, 71, 79, 98, 105, 109, 119-20, 128, 134, 139, 141, 143-4, 147, 154, 163-4, 167-8, 173, 204, 227, 229, 282, 303, 384, 390-3, 395-8, 405, 438, 469, 470-1, 474, 487, 495
- Kawar 16, 20, 318
- Kazage (Cazigie) 252, 308, 478
- Kazaure 50, 265
- Kebbi (Cubbe, Cubbee, Cubbbie, Cubbie, Cubie, Kabi) 48, 213, 230, 284, 294, 302, 304, 340, 345, 513, 515
- Keffi (Coufee) 290, 339
- Kenabrou 209, 476
- Keta (Keeto, Ketou) 33, 88-9, 105, 312, 373
- Kettelli 119
- Kiawa 275, 479
- Kifath 345
- King William's Town 83
- Kitako 216, 221, 476
- Kitoro 193, 199
- Kiya 232, 345, 479
- Klemu 83
- Koelle, S.W. 37, 83, 87
- Koki 275, 276, 479
- kola nuts (goro, gora) 82, 107, 153, 157, 160, 165-6, 171, 174, 177-8, 180, 184, 202, 220, 225, 227, 229, 235, 237, 238, 240, 246, 252, 260, 268, 275, 276, 307, 309, 310, 334, 478
- Komadugu Yobe (Yo) 259, 506
- Komi (Comie) 186, 202, 205-6, 474, 475-6
- Kong Mountains 9, 105, 127, 185, 390, 392, 487
- Kontagora (Kantagoor) 47, 170, 191, 193, 236, 345, 477
- Konya (Coonia) 28, 48, 49, 71, 277, 280, 283, 285, 286, 295, 322, 400, 479
- Kordofan (Kordofal) 52, 324, 342
- Koronko 31
- Kory 345-6
- Kotokoli 174
- Koton Karfi 493
- Kotonkoro (Kotongkora, Kotonkora) 47-8, 236, 243, 245, 249-50, 494-5
- Kru (Krou bar, Kru Settra, Kru men) 30-1, 33, 82-7, 417, 418, 419
- Kukawa 5, 6, 10, 14, 16-7, 19-22, 25, 54-5, 59, 60, 66, 171, 230, 309, 332, 349, 366, 504, 506-8
- Kufu, 235-6, 477
- Kulfo (Kolfu, Kolfa, Kooffie, Koolfou, Koolfu, Kulfoo, Kulfu) 2, 27, 45-7, 52, 56, 63, 65, 68, 77, 186-7, 190-1, 193-4, 206, 209-10, 213-5, 218, 220, 222, 224-30, 233, 235, 250-2, 254, 277, 282, 308, 405, 467, 476-7, 495
- Kumasi 35
- Kuragi (Curigee) 246, 474
- Kusu (Kushu, Koosu, Kussu) 119, 134, 473
- Kwarin Zurmi 276, 278, 479, 482
- Kwiya 259
- Laboo 113-4
- Ladie 235
- Ladoli 135
- Lafia Beriberi 493, 508-9
- Lagos (Ako, Eka, Eko, Eku) 11, 12, 23, 25, 30, 39-40, 42-3, 51, 58, 61, 63, 68, 87, 93-4, 98-9, 101-2, 105, 109-10, 115-6, 118, 121, 125, 128, 132-3, 144, 147, 149, 154, 162, 171, 216, 221, 264, 270, 342-3, 345, 348, 352, 384, 394, 412, 415-6, 423, 457, 469, 471, 476, 478, 494, 506, 512-3
- Laing, Gordon 23-5, 62, 72, 168, 299, 332, 354, 391, 406, 408
- Laird, Macgregor 61
- Lake Chad 9-10, 16, 19-22, 25, 72-3, 165
- Lake Huron 5, 53
- 'Lakes of Nupe' 10
- Laloo – see Ilaro
- Lamara 332
- Lamoyn, Felix 33, 87, 380
- Lander, John 70, 72
- Lander, Richard 2, 6, 25-6, 53, 67, 113, 244, 340, 347, 389, 397, 400-1, 403-4, 406, 408-10
- Laranima 268
- Largdoo 136
- Last, Murray 48, 50, 269
- Law, Robin 9, 11-2, 35, 37, 39, 42, 45, 89, 93-4, 99, 101, 147, 423, 469
- Lawson, George 35, 89
- Laydoo 137
- Lekwa 129, 473
- Leo Galla (Liogallah) 119, 138, 474
- Leobada (Leabadah, Leobadda) 119, 138-139, 474
- Leokoro 257, 309, 478
- Leppah 119, 129, 473
- Liberia 31, 82
- Liptako 512
- Little Kru 83
- Liverpool 3, 12, 23, 433
- locust beans 36, 53, 254, 261, 313, 316
- Logon River (Loggun) 10, 341
- Loko 119
- Lokoja 61
- Loksa 136, 473

- London 1-2, 6-11, 14-20, 22-4, 26, 29, 31, 37, 48, 50, 54, 57, 60, 62, 67-70, 74, 83, 85, 92-3, 130, 155, 170, 196, 249, 255, 286, 342, 347, 350, 357, 371, 380-1, 400, 404, 406, 409, 417, 435, 438, 474, 486
London Literary Gazette 70
 Lovejoy, Paul E. 1, 9, 35, 39, 45, 48, 54, 57-9, 98-9, 165, 178, 269, 312, 324, 420, 493
 Lyon, George Francis 15-6, 24, 286
- MacCarthy, Charles 23
 Mack, Beverly 51
 Madagie – see Madobi
 Madeira 80-1
 Madobi (Maidobi, Madagie) 264, 478
 Magaria (Makariya) 48-9, 66, 289-91, 296-8, 321-3, 325, 328-335, 337, 400-1, 480, 481
 Mahi (Mahee, Mahu) 41, 44, 89, 92, 105, 149, 162, 183, 227
 Mahommah Gardo Baquagua 9
 Mai Dunama 20
 Maingyara River (Mai Yaro, Magyarro, My yarra, Maygarrow) 186, 208-9, 222, 230, 476
 maize 168, 209, 232, 236, 240, 314
 Majiya (El-Majia, Majea, Majiea), of Nupe 46, 65, 209-15, 217-23, 228, 304
 Majotu (also see *alaqfin*) 40-1, 129, 143-60, 163-7
 Maku 48, 156, 252, 308, 478, 499
 Makurdi 252, 308, 478, 499
 Malam Mohamed 10, 299, 324, 341, 457
 Malam Tirab 171
 Mallam Musa – see Musa
 malaria 53, 61, 65, 519
 Mali (Malee, Meli) 56, 57, 61, 76, 136, 170, 192, 301, 342-3, 345, 360, 451, 459, 487
 Malta 14, 15, 18, 24, 357
 Malte-Brun, C. 11
 Mandara 10, 20-1, 27, 47, 257, 414, 506, 508
 Manga 21, 55, 165, 332
 Mangari 165
 Manton, Gildon 68
 maps 2, 52, 62, 64, 98, 363, 371, 407, 457, 469-70, 485-7, 493-5, 499, 502
 Maradi (Muradiy) 48-9, 249, 283, 295, 432, 479
 Mariga 47-8, 245, 250, 477, 495, 502
 markets 25, 36, 40, 46, 52, 69, 90-1, 96, 100, 105, 109-10, 113, 117, 149, 152, 157-8, 160, 165, 174, 189, 214-5, 222, 227-8, 230-3, 238, 251, 254-5, 263, 267, 271, 275, 289, 299, 301, 307, 311-2, 314, 322, 326, 338-40, 342, 353, 373, 381, 465, 502, 508
 Marma 55, 332
 Maroua 508
 Martinique 33, 35, 87, 88, 381, 416, 417
 Maru 249
- Masina (Massenya, Massina) 13, 24, 31, 52, 72, 299, 324, 340, 416, 508, 515
 Mathias 33, 88
 Matomi (Matoomi) 119, 130, 473
 Mecca 60, 299, 324
 medical 18, 21, 64, 79, 292, 348, 393, 424, 436-7, 517-8
 Menai 192-3, 197, 199, 475
 Mesurata 272
 Micama 292
 Milad 211, 215, 461, 462
 millet 115, 129, 138, 163, 212, 214, 232, 235-9, 241, 243, 245-8, 250, 253-6, 260, 274, 275-6, 278, 282-3, 288-9, 298, 306-7, 310, 313-5, 318, 320, 323, 334-5, 338, 512
 Missau 54, 55, 332
 Modibbo Adama 276
 Mohamed Ali, Shuwa servant 182, 196, 203, 209-10
 Mohamed Allah Sirkie 27, 320, 322, 327, 331, 333
 Mohamed Bootable 296
 Mohamed Kalu 222, 234, 239, 252
 Mohamed Mungo 332
 Mohamed Nema 332
 Mohamed Sambo, son of Gidado 293
 Mohamed Fezzanie 226, 230
 Mohammed al-Mukni 15, 20, 228, 271-2
 Mokwa 217, 226, 495
 money 14, 33, 84, 86, 101-2, 154, 178, 186, 194, 202, 209-10, 222-3, 234, 267, 274, 298, 301, 319, 326, 348, 355, 373, 399, 404, 406, 409, 412, 414, 461-2, 465
 Monrovia 33, 83, 377, 419
 Monte Castello 81
 Morai 249, 309, 478
 Morison, Robert 25-7, 67, 108, 157, 355, 364, 373, 375-6, 384, 386, 388, 390, 419, 517
 Morocco (Morocca, Morroca) 8, 23, 36, 231, 299, 301, 372
 mortality 14, 22, 83, 105
 Morton-Williams, Peter 37, 41-4, 469, 472
 Moshi River (Moussa) 169, 211, 474
 mosques 51, 243, 256, 306, 495
 Mossi (Mooshee, Moshi, Mooshier) 138, 153, 169, 344, 474
 Moulee 345
 mountains 9, 10, 57, 72, 80, 105, 127, 129, 131-3, 241-2, 341-2, 344-5, 390, 392, 512-5
 ‘Mugba Mugba’ war 36
 Muhammad al-Fadl 342
 Muhammad Ali, of Egypt 17
 Muhammad al-Kanemi (el-Kanamie, Kanamie), of Borno 5, 16, 17, 227, 267, 271, 293-4, 299, 443
 Muhammad b. ‘Abdullah dan Fodio 215, 329
 Muhammad b. hajj ‘Umar Ghamzu (Ben Gumso, Ghamzu, Gumso) 51, 211, 51,

- 211, 290, 293, 324-5, 327, 330, 337, 455, 457, 462
- Muhammad Bello 5-7, 10, 12, 17, 21, 25, 37, 45-6, 49-51, 56-7, 60-1, 215, 249, 265, 285, 293, 301, 305, 364, 432, 441, 444, 452-3, 457, 486, 491, 493
- Muhammad dan Kauwa (dan Kauwa, Duncowar, Duncoroa) 55, 332, 337, 499
- Muhammad Joli, of Kano 270
- Muhammad Manga 55, 332
- Muhammad Mudi (Moode, Moodie) 49, 51, 293, 320-1, 329-30, 332-4, 337
- Muhammad Nema 55, 332
- Muhammad Sidi Sheikh 293, 295-6, 327
- Muhammad Wabi 55, 332
- Muniyo 165
- Murai 253, 478, 499
- Murray, John 1-2, 6-7, 11, 13, 16, 23, 48, 63, 67-70, 75, 286, 408, 411
- Murzuq (Morzuk) 15, 18-9, 211, 215, 230, 252, 272, 325, 449, 461, 487
- Musa (Moussa), Yoruba cleric 40
- Musa, of Zaria, 50
- Musa, secretary to Muhammad Bello 293
- Musa, Malam 486, 491
- Musa Dalik 230, 234-6, 239-40, 251-2, 467
- music 164, 175, 224
- Muslim merchants (also see Arabic and Hausa) 8, 31, 36, 41, 58
- Mustafa al-Ahmar 19
- Nafry 345
- Nama 20, 119, 138, 391, 474
- Namabini 119
- Nana Kru 83, 418
- Nantes 33, 56, 87
- Napoleonic Wars 12-3
- natron 79, 165, 185, 202, 211, 221-2, 226-9, 231, 249, 297, 318, 514
- Ngaski (Ingaski, Ingaskie) 171, 173, 199, 225, 229, 487, 494, 495
- Niger delta 2, 12
- Niger River (Koora, Quara, Quarra, Qarrie, Qorri, Qwara) 1, 7, 11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 53, 61, 134, 148, 152-3, 162, 179, 192, 199, 207, 208, 216, 228, 268, 274, 276, 278, 304, 345, 371, 394, 485-6, 491, 493-5, 499, 510
- Nigeria 1, 22, 37, 39, 42, 53-5, 60, 74, 94, 97-8, 105, 134, 144, 154, 193, 196, 226, 238, 261, 269, 312, 332, 423, 441, 443, 469, 474, 477, 485, 491, 494, 499, 502, 506, 508
- Nikki (Niki) 45, 139, 179, 182-3, 196, 212, 227, 229, 487
- Nile River 8-9, 13, 16, 18, 72, 248, 264, 324, 343-4, 493
- Nimbeo 83
- Nora 259, 261
- Nubia 69, 344
- Numan 507
- Nupe (Niffe, Noofee, Nyffy, Nyyfe) 1, 3, 10, 21, 29-31, 35-7, 39-40, 45-8, 52, 61, 65, 67-8, 147-9, 169, 210-1, 213-5, 220, 226, 232, 250, 277, 329, 344-6, 421, 445, 457, 469, 485-7, 494-5, 499, 502, 504
- obako* (title) 133
- Oblah 170, 474
- Ofiki 44, 391, 473
- Ogbomoso 43
- Oglu 209, 476
- Ogodo – see Saguda
- Ogulu (Oglu) 209, 476
- Okbat Ben Aamer 343
- Oli River 179-80.
- Ologun Kutere 101
- Omar Ben El-khattab 343
- Omar Sanda 278
- Omar Zurmi 215, 329
- Onim 60, 101
- Onisokiso – see Insukusu
- Onitsha 2
- Opanda (Fundah) 10, 58, 72, 207, 213, 405, 493, 506, 508-9
- Oratava 81
- orisa* 41, 125
- Osei Bonsu 171
- Osei Tutu Kwame 171
- Osinlokun 101
- ostrich feathers 96, 189, 204, 284, 443
- Osugun 41
- Ottoman 15
- Otun Iwefa 144
- Oudney, Walter 5, 6-7, 10, 17-21, 23-4, 57, 66, 70, 261, 343, 371, 375, 429, 440, 443, 451, 459, 461
- Ouidah (Whidah, Whyday) , 24, 27, 30, 33, 35, 41-2, 61, 90, 99, 101, 227, 339-40, 394, 429-30
- Owu 40, 41, 149
- Oyan River 44, 125, 206, 378, 472
- Oyo (Eyeo, Hio) 1, 2, 11, 22, 30-1, 35-7, 39-46, 57, 65-7, 89-90, 93, 97-100, 105-7, 109, 111, 114-6, 118-20, 122, 127, 132-6, 139-40, 143-4, 147, 149, 156, 159-60, 162, 164, 166-7, 184, 187, 204, 211, 227, 231, 243, 282, 303, 305-6, 309, 318, 374-6, 378, 384, 389, 393-4, 411, 425, 434, 445, 469, 470-4, 485, 487, 495, 499
- Pacific Ocean 13
- Park, Mungo 8-9, 37, 51, 68-9, 71-2, 74, 137, 167, 183, 187, 196, 226, 228, 293, 299, 456-7, 475, 486, 494
- Parliament (British) 13
- Pasco, William Abubakar 27, 29, 130, 150-2, 159, 170, 182, 184, 191, 203-4, 219, 221,

- 225, 230, 238, 244, 247, 257, 273, 324-6, 328, 330, 385, 388-9, 397, 409-10, 420
- Pasha of Tripoli (also see Yusuf Qaramanli) 14-19, 21-2, 27, 414, 441, 447, 449, 453
- pawnship 41, 420
- Pearce, Robert 25, 27, 31-4, 62, 64, 67, 80-3, 108, 113, 117, 122-3, 157, 354-6, 358, 363-6, 368, 370, 373, 376, 378, 384, 386, 388-93, 398-9, 406, 407, 409, 412-3, 415, 417-8, 423, 472
- Peddie, John 13
- Popo (Popoe) 30, 33, 88-90, 374, 377, 380-1, 389, 420-2, 437-8
- Porto Novo (Porto Nova) 30, 42-4, 63, 96, 98, 102, 147, 159, 162, 384, 422
- Porto Santo 80
- Portuguese 23, 27, 33, 40, 89, 91, 106, 190, 226, 316, 378, 381-2, 417, 421-2
- prices 52, 427
- Public Record Office 62
- Quadjo Trudo 99
- Quarterly Review* 1, 2, 5, 13, 14, 71, 72, 370
- Quitta 88, 380
- Quorra (also see Niger River) 58, 167, 197, 200, 207, 229, 231, 324, 326, 332, 340, 515
- Rabba 56, 148, 346, 445, 495, 502, 504
- Ragada 47, 237, 238, 239, 477, 485, 495, 504
- raids, raiding 15, 19, 20, 28, 42, 49, 55, 61, 70-1, 89, 94, 114, 134, 150, 152, 175, 182, 184, 214, 227, 236, 249, 253, 257, 270, 289, 311, 321-2, 330-1, 404, 487, 508
- Rais Abdullah (Clapperton's travelling name) 3, 349, 458-9
- Raka (Rakah) 24-5, 56, 61, 152-3, 166, 190, 229, 302, 445, 495
- Red Sea 342, 344
- Reichard, Christian Gottlieb 11
- religion 41, 86, 158, 174, 189, 212, 233, 291, 319, 335, 346, 401, 447, 451
- Rennell, James 8, 411, 412
- ribat 48, 50, 265, 297, 341, 479, 480
- Richardson, James 29, 420
- Rima River 48, 288-9, 321, 333, 479-81
- Ritchie, Joseph 15, 286
- Rooga 344
- Royal African Colonial Corps 9, 23-4, 80, 187
- Royal Navy 3, 18, 25, 27-8, 68
- Ruma (Roma), near Katsina 482
- Ruma (Roma), near Kano 481, 483
- Ruma (Roma), near Zaria 258-9, 309, 324, 326, 478
- Runza 324
- Rurum 261
- Saado (Seido, Siedo) 107, 109, 111-2, 471
- Sabo 246
- Sabongari (Sabongree) 245, 246, 477
- Sacka (Sacku) 170, 277, 474
- Saguda (Ogodo) 66
- Sahara Desert 1, 5-6, 10, 14-5, 17, 22, 24, 37, 59, 484
- Saifawa 16-7, 20
- Salahi 119
- Salame, A.V. 299, 349, 371-2, 411, 520
- Salih 40-1, 46
- salt 3, 20, 79-80, 87, 150, 165, 179, 183, 213, 227-8, 231-2, 274, 279, 299, 318, 323, 339-40, 342, 387, 508, 514, 519
- Sangia 332
- Sango 149
- Sansan (see Sansani, Zugurma, Fanisau, Makariya, Fofin Birni)
- Sansani (Sansanding) 9, 24, 187, 215
- Sansonto 215, 323-4, 326, 337, 410, 476, 482
- Santa Cruz 81, 372
- Sarwa 344
- Savi (Xavier) 93, 238, 377
- Scotland 3, 5, 26, 28, 53, 68, 261
- Scott, George 9, 187
- Seetis 33, 88
- Segu (Sego) 13, 31, 299, 415-6, 489, 510-1, 513
- Senegal River 8, 301
- Sennar (Sonnar) 324, 340, 342, 344, 515
- Setra Kru – see Kru
- Shagru 125, 472
- Shaki (Saki, Chaki) 44, 94, 119, 131-2, 139, 298, 391, 473
- Shari River 20, 25, 72-3, 324, 338, 340-1, 510
- Shereef Ali 274
- Shira 55, 332, 341, 506, 507
- Shuwa (Showa) 26, 98, 159, 182, 349
- Sierra Leone 1, 5, 23-5, 30-1, 34, 37, 40-1, 68, 82-3, 85, 105, 359, 376, 378, 381, 415-9, 423, 432, 436-8
- Silame 48-9
- silver 96, 98, 115, 154, 217, 219, 225, 280, 291, 293, 298, 303, 309, 363-4, 366, 368, 407, 461, 518
- Simkins, Adolphus – see Columbus
- Sira 61, 341, 344, 351, 354, 356, 422, 434
- slaves 11, 17, 19-22, 25, 27, 33, 35-7, 42, 46-7, 55-61, 69, 85-90, 92, 99-101, 114, 118, 132, 134-5, 143, 147, 149-50, 153, 155-6, 158, 163, 166, 171, 174-5, 177, 181, 184, 188-9, 193, 195, 201-2, 205-7, 212-4, 217, 220-1, 229-32, 234, 237, 244, 251-2, 261, 272-3, 284, 287, 289, 291, 297, 299, 302-4, 307, 310-4, 318, 322-4, 337, 339, 340, 344, 352, 353-4, 374, 377, 381, 384, 394, 416-7, 419-21, 435, 445
- slave trade 1, 11-12, 15, 23-5, 30, 33, 35, 39, 42-3, 45, 54, 56-60, 69, 71, 87, 89, 91-2, 99, 100, 103, 181, 195, 231, 269, 327,

- 372, 377-8, 384, 394, 416, 420, 423, 469, 471-2
- Smith, Abdullahi 37, 60
- Smyth, W.H. 14-15, 123, 485-6, 494, 506
- soil 70, 80, 83, 106, 110-1, 126, 128, 130-1, 135-9, 162, 164, 170, 176-7, 179, 192, 202, 207, 209, 215-6, 235-8, 242, 246-7, 252-4, 257, 259-60, 264, 275, 278, 280, 287-9, 316, 320, 333, 336, 401
- Sokoto (Sokatoo, Soccato) 1, 3, 5-7, 10, 12, 14, 16-7, 20-2, 24-6, 28, 30-1, 36-7, 40-1, 44-61, 63-8, 71, 77, 98, 148, 209, 211, 215, 230, 249, 250, 269-70, 273, 277-8, 280, 283-4, 287-91, 293, 296, 298-9, 301-4, 307, 312, 315, 318, 320-1, 329, 332, 348-9, 353-6, 364, 390, 392, 397, 400, 404-6, 410-1, 421, 424-5, 432, 440, 451, 455, 457, 461, 469-70, 478-82, 485-6, 491, 494, 499, 504, 506-8
- Sokoto Caliphate 461, 470, 485, 491, 506
- Songa (Songo) 201-2, 475
- Soolima (also see Susu) 23, 416, 432
- sorghum (doukn) 224, 233, 238, 243, 246, 250, 253-4, 258, 265, 320, 323, 334, 338
- Souza, Francisco Felix de 27, 35, 90, 99, 393, 428, 430
- Spanish 33, 35, 87-8, 165-6, 223, 225-6, 234, 252, 293, 309, 355, 374, 377, 381, 417, 419-22, 461, 518
- Spithead 68, 80, 370
- St Pierre 33
- St. Domingue 273
- Sudan (Soudan, also see Central Sudan) 4, 7, 10, 13-16, 19-24, 29, 39, 52, 57-61, 70, 72, 106, 140, 165, 170, 172, 220, 228, 294, 299, 342, 348, 352-5, 397, 423-5, 441, 445, 447, 451-3, 462, 485-6, 489, 506, 508, 513
- Sulayman 40, 441
- Suakin (Sawaken, Sookan) 342, 344-5
- Sulu (Sullu) 137, 487
- Susu 31, 416
- Tabria (Tabra) 46, 65, 209-10, 212, 214-5, 218-22, 226, 228, 230, 476
- Tadela 290, 291, 302, 312, 323
- Tagly 344
- Takra 345
- Talata Mafara 249
- Taloo 112
- Tamesgida 323
- Tassawa 48, 267
- tawiya* 47-8
- taxes 55, 58, 244, 312, 345, 445
- Temne 31, 415, 417
- Tenerife 81
- Termes 343
- Tezaght 291
- Timba 33, 417
- Timbuktu (Timbuctoo) 8, 14-16, 23-6, 31, 50, 256, 264, 291, 299, 325, 327, 332, 352-3, 372, 391, 406, 412, 432, 441, 489, 510, 513
- Timissao 299
- Toffa 274, 479, 481, 483
- Toole, Ernest 19
- trade 1, 8, 10-12, 15, 18, 20-1, 23-5, 27, 30, 33, 35, 39, 41-5, 47, 52, 54, 56-61, 69, 71, 73, 84, 87-93, 97-103, 105, 111, 137, 140, 149, 154, 165, 171, 174, 178, 181, 195, 207, 213, 228-32, 250, 263, 269, 271-2, 307, 318, 324, 327, 339, 350, 352-3, 358, 367, 372, 377-8, 383-5, 394, 412, 416-8, 420-3, 427, 461, 469, 471-3, 485-6, 493, 495, 504, 506, 508
- transport 17, 20, 63, 80, 234, 391, 393, 423
- Tripoli 5, 6, 14-25, 66, 98, 211, 213, 228-30, 252, 267-8, 271-3, 282, 289-90, 296, 299, 301, 303, 318, 329, 332, 338-340, 350, 354-5, 357, 391, 394, 397, 427, 443, 447, 449, 453, 455, 461, 467, 486, 508
- Truro 26, 67, 70
- Tsado 111
- Tshow (Chaw, Eschow, Eshrow, Eshaw, Tshaw) 119, 121, 123-4, 139, 168, 474
- Tswafu 216
- Tuareg 24, 299, 323
- Tuat 24, 293, 323, 325
- Tuckey, J.V. 14
- Tudan Wada 259
- Tudezeh 119
- Tudi (Tudeh) 126, 472
- Tunis 36, 211, 274, 301, 308
- Turner, Charles 25, 82, 434
- Tyrwhitt, John 18-19, 21-2, 62, 152, 350, 355, 440, 464-6
- Ulad Delim 24
- Umaisha 508, 509
- 'Umar Nagwamatse 47
- Umburn 338
- 'Uthman dan Fodio (Othman, Otman, Dum fodio, Dumfodio) 45-8, 50-1, 56, 61, 73, 215, 234, 249, 256, 273, 294, 301-4, 312, 329, 342, 440
- 'Uthman ben Abubakr dan Laima 21, 50-5, 59, 273, 285, 293, 296, 320, 455
- Volta River 52, 487
- Wadai (Waday) 263, 271, 342, 489
- Wagadugu 344
- Wakefield, Lt. 81, 417
- Walker, B.W. 31, 81, 391-2, 398-9, 421
- Wara (capital of Wadai) 342
- Warri 102
- Warrington, Hanmer 6, 14-20, 22-3, 58-9, 268, 355, 404, 408

- Wase 485, 506, 508, 509
 Washee 238, 239, 477
 Washu (Washoo) 119, 131, 473
 Watatu 474
 Wawa (Waw-waw) 45, 171, 173, 177, 180,
 186-9, 191-2, 195, 199, 201-3, 205-6,
 208, 212-3, 229, 339, 398, 475
waziri – see ‘Uthman ben Abubakr dan Laima
 Wazo 239, 240, 477, 480
 weapons 20, 54, 342, 365, 433
 weather 64, 80, 137, 162, 264, 317, 336, 377,
 401, 470
 weaving 232, 317
 Wella 295
 Weme 41-2
 West Africa 1-3, 7, 10, 12, 14, 23-5, 27, 29-
 32, 35, 39, 41-2, 52, 61, 63, 70, 93, 97,
 99, 154, 261, 299, 416, 438, 440, 486
 West Indies 11, 26
 Wiao 83
 Willes, George Wilkins 24, 80, 358, 372, 374-
 6, 378, 380, 388-9, 392-3, 398-9, 408-9,
 420, 423-4
 wives 72, 86, 90-1, 105, 108, 114, 129, 132-4,
 137, 143, 150, 153, 156, 159, 175, 195,
 204, 230, 237, 256, 258, 302-3, 311, 317,
 319-20, 323, 334, 418
 Womba 48, 242-3, 245, 269, 477, 487, 495
 women 51, 80, 107-8, 110-2, 114-7, 119-20,
 126, 129-31, 134-5, 137, 143-4, 153-6,
 158-9, 162, 164, 166, 169, 172-5, 177,
 183, 189, 201, 211-3, 219-21, 225, 228,
 230, 233, 236, 237, 240-1, 248, 261, 277,
 296, 301, 307, 309, 317-8, 322, 335, 338
 Wombai (Won bey) 269
 Wonjerque 202
 Worm (Wormzou, Wormzow) 48, 241-2, 315,
 477
 Wote 83
 Wright, Joseph 37, 40
 Wudil 264
 Wurno 48, 289, 480, 481
 Wuzo (Wuzawo) 239, 241

 Yagbo (Yaboo) 119, 134, 473
 Yagurma 285
 Yakubu, of Bauchi 49, 55, 230, 322
 Yamusa, of Zaria 50, 255-6

 Yanpere 216, 476
 Yargoorma 285, 337
 Yaro (Yarro) 152, 153, 160, 167-70, 172, 174-
 5, 178, 180, 183, 189, 194, 212, 222, 397,
 481
 Yauri (Yaouri, Yawri, Youri, Yourie) 21, 47-8,
 51, 56, 72, 143, 152-3, 156, 160, 167-8,
 171, 178, 181-3, 187, 190-1, 193-6, 199,
 201, 206, 213-4, 223, 225-6, 229-31, 236-
 9, 250, 270, 290, 302, 304, 345, 393-4,
 397-8, 425, 432, 455, 457, 475, 477, 486-
 7, 494-5, 504
 Yaw Akoto 171
 Yewa River 43, 105, 111, 471
 Yirme 216
 Yola 341, 507, 508
 Yoruba (Yariba, Yarriba, Yourriba, Yourribba,
 Yourribu) 1-3, 10-11, 29-30, 36-7, 39-43,
 45, 57, 72, 93-4, 98-9, 101, 105, 109-10,
 128-9, 132, 136, 139-40, 143-4, 146-7,
 149, 152, 156-60, 162-4, 168-73, 183,
 189-90, 195-6, 208, 212-3, 227-30, 232,
 250, 252-3, 273, 282, 302-3, 325, 327,
 330, 336, 391, 393, 395, 397-8, 425, 455,
 469, 471, 472, 494, 502
 Yusuf Qaramanli (Pasha, Bashaw, Bassaw)
 14-19, 21-2, 27, 268-9, 271-2, 289, 293,
 296, 329, 414, 427, 441, 447, 449, 453

 Zakara 271
 Zamfara (Zamfra) 46, 48, 230, 235, 250, 279,
 304, 312, 323
 Zaria (Zegzeg, Zigzig) 35, 37, 39, 50, 56, 63,
 65, 67-8, 178, 207, 217, 248-50, 252-7,
 259, 261, 264, 279, 284, 303-4, 308-9,
 312, 324, 326, 337, 339-41, 470, 478,
 487, 491, 494, 499, 506
 Zegzeg – see Zaria
 Zinder 250, 298, 300, 323
 Zongo (Zonga, Zunggow) 234, 251-3, 256,
 271, 506
 Zongon Katab 506
 Zugurma (*sansani* of Majiya) 46, 215, 217,
 220, 476, 495
 Zuma 52, 69, 183, 188, 193, 203
 Zurmi (Zurmie) 98, 215, 276, 278, 280, 287-
 8, 304, 329, 479, 482