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THE

# LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

# MUNGO PARK;

WITH THE

ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH FROM THE JOURNAL OF ISAACO
THE SUBSTANCE OF LATER DISCOVERIES RELATIVE TO HIS LAMENTED FATE,
AND
THE TERMINATION OF THE NIGER.

NEW-YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, CLIFF-ST.

1851.

# ADVERTISEMENT



Few subjects have excited a more lively interest among the curious and the learned, than the geographical problem with regard to the termination of the Niger. This question was at length put at rest by the successful expedition of the Landers,* but not until after more than half a century of fruitless effort and speculation, during which many valuable lives had been sacrificed in attempting to trace to its outlet the course of this mysterious river. Among those who had generously devoted themselves to this perilous enterprise, none was more distinguished than Mungo Park; whose untimely fate, after having triumphed over the most appalling difficulties, excited the deepest commiseration and regret. Besides a minute and copious narration of the two expeditions of this celebrated traveller, the volume here offered to the public contains a succinct and interesting account of the labours of subsequent adventurers in the same field, bringing down the subject of African discovery to the most recent period. H. & B.

*New-York, May*, 1840.

* See Landers' Expedition to the Niger, Nos xxxv. and xvxvi. of Harpers' Family Library.

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THE

# LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

# MUNGO PARK

## CHAPTER I.

Birth and Education of Mungo Park.—His apprenticeship to a Surgeon.—His Arrival in London.—His Appointment of Assistant-surgeon in an East India Ship.—His Voyage to India and back.—The African Association.—Park's Services accepted by them.—His Motives for offering them.—His Instructions.

[1771—1795.]

THE honour of having given birth to Mungo Park belongs to Scotland. He was born on the 10th of September, 1771, at Fowlshiels, a farm lying on the banks of the Yarrow, in the vicinity of the county town of Selkirk. His father, whose name likewise was Mungo, occupied this farm under the Duke of Buccleugh, and is described as a respectable yeoman of Ettrick Forest; his mother was the daughter of a neighbouring farmer, Mr. John Hislop, of Tennis. They were the parents of a numerous offspring; Mungo, the subject of our narrative, being the seventh child, and the third

son of a family of thirteen, of whom eight reached maturity.

Mungo Park received the rudiments of his education in the house of his father, who with, a laudable care for the instruction of his children, had engaged a private teacher to reside in his family. When he became of fitting age, he attended the Grammar-school at Selkirk, though he still continued to reside at home. From his childhood he had shown a great love of reading; at school he was indefatigable in his application, and is said to have been much distinguished, and always at the head of his class. We are told by his biographer, that "even at that early age he was remarkable for being silent, studious, and thoughtful; but some sparks of latent ambition occasionally broke forth; and indications might even then be discovered of that ardent and adventurous turn of mind which distinguished him in after life, and which often lies concealed under a cold and reserved exterior."* Statements, however, of this kind are not of much value; as but little reliance, generally speaking, can be placed upon alleged indications of a particular disposition, which are not discovered until that disposition has fully developed itself.

By his father, Mungo Park was originally destined for the Scottish Church; but the medical profession being that of his own choice, he was apprenticed, at the age of fifteen, to Mr. Thomas Anderson, a respectable surgeon in Selkirk. With this gentleman (whose daughter he afterward married), he resided for three years, during which he

* Account of his Life prefixed to the Journal of his second Mission.

was not so entirely absorbed in his professional pursuits, as not to find time for continuing his general studies, and for attending occasionally at the Grammar-school. In 1789, when he quitted Mr. Anderson, Park repaired to the University of Edinburgh, where he was engaged for three years in the usual course of medical study. Of his academical life nothing particular is recorded, save the predilection which he manifested for botany. This predilection he had a fortunate opportunity of gratifying in a tour which he made through the Highlands with his brother-in-law, Mr. James Dickson, a botanist of considerable celebrity; and he continued to retain it in after life.

When he had completed his studies at Edinburgh, Park went to London, in search of some medical employment; in taking this step, he was doubtless much influenced by the hope of deriving assistance from his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, who was intimate with the leading men of science of that day. His expectation was realized; Mr. Dickson introduced him to Sir Joseph Banks, whose influence obtained for him the appointment of assistant-surgeon to the *Worcetser*, East Indiaman. The connexion which thus commenced between Park and Sir Joseph Banks ripened into a friendship, which subsisted throughout life.

The *Worcester* sailed for the East Indies in the month of February, 1792, and after a voyage to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, returned to England in the following year. The interval supplies us with nothing of importance in Park's career; he availed himself of every opportunity of obtaining information in his favourite scientific pur-

suits, and collected many specimens in Botany and Natural History. In the third volume of the Transactions of the Linnæan Society is a paper by Park, describing eight new fishes from Sumatra; he represents it as the fruit of his leisure hours during his stay on that coast.

After Park's return from the East Indies, he seems to have remained for some time in a state of uncertainty concerning his future pursuits. The medical profession, which was that of his choice, appears to have lost all its attractions as soon as he embraced it; and although it is not known that he came to any final resolution with regard to continuing in the service of the East India Company, it is probable that he was desirous of engaging in some more congenial employment. It happened fortunately at this moment, that an opportunity presented itself to him of entering upon the wide field of African discovery.

In 1788, or about five years before Park returned from India, there had been formed in London a society entitled the African Association, for promoting discoveries in the interior of Africa. One of their great objects was to obtain some authentic account of that great inland river of Africa, which had been for so many centuries vaguely spoken of by geographers under the name of the Niger. Mr. Ledyard, Mr. Lucas, and Major Houghton, had been sent out by them for this purpose. The first of these gentlemen had sunk under the climate; the second had been obliged to return; and intelligence had just been received of the death of the third. The Association became desirous of engaging some other person to prosecute their plans;

and Mungo Park offered himself for the service. After due inquiry, the Association accepted his offer.

The motives which induced Park voluntarily to engage in a service which had hitherto proved so fatal, and which most persons regarded with horror, are thus stated by himself: "I had a passionate desire to examine into the productions of a country so little known, and to become experimentally acquainted with the modes of life and character of the natives. I knew that I was able to bear fatigue, and I relied on my youth and the strength of my constitution to preserve me from the effects of the climate. The salary which the committee allowed was sufficiently large, and I made no stipulation for future reward. If I should perish in my journey, I was willing that my hopes and expectations should perish with me; and if I should succeed in rendering the geography of Africa more familiar to my countrymen, and in opening to their ambition and industry new sources of wealth and new channels of commerce, I knew that I was in the hands of men of honour, who would not fail to bestow that remuneration which my successful services should appear to them to merit."

The instructions which Park received were "very plain and concise." He was directed, on his arrival in Africa, to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as would be found most convenient, to ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river; and to use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Hous-

sa. He was then to be at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as, under all the then existing circumstances of his situation and prospects, should appear to him to be most desirable.

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## CHAPTER II.

Park's Voyage to Africa.—His Stay at Pisania.—His Illness and Occupations.—Preparations for his Journey to the Interior.—The Negro Nations near the Gambia—The Feloops—The Jaloofs, or Yaloofs—The Foulahs—The Mandingoes—Illustration of their System of Judicature.

[1795.]

On the 22d of May, 1795, Park sailed from Portsmouth in the brig *Endeavour*, a small vessel trading to the Gambia for beeswax and ivory. He carried with him a recommendation to Dr. John Laidley, a resident for many years at the English factory of Pisania, on the banks of the Gambia, together with a letter of credit on that gentleman for £200. On the 21st of June, after a pleasant voyage, the brig anchored at Jillifree, a town near the mouth of that river, on its northern bank; and, proceeding up the stream, reached, on the 2d of July, Jonkakonda, a place of considerable trade, where the vessel was to take in part of her lading. Here Park was visited by Dr. Laidley, and invited to reside at his house in Pisania until an opportunity should offer of prosecuting the journey into

the interior. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 5th, he quitted Jonkakonda on horseback, and at eleven o'clock arrived at Pisania, which stands sixteen miles higher up the river.

Park remained at Pisania nearly five months. At the time of his arrival the white residents consisted only of Dr. Laidley, and two gentlemen who were brothers, of the name of Ainsley; but their domestics were numerous. They enjoyed perfect security under the protection of the native king, and had the greatest part of the trade in their hands. Park's first employment was to learn the Mandingo tongue, which is the language in general use throughout this part of Africa; and to collect information respecting the countries which he intended to visit.

In researches of this kind, and in observing the manners and customs of the natives, in a country so little known to the nations of Europe, and furnished with so many striking objects of nature, his time passed, he says, not unpleasantly; and he began to flatter himself that he had escaped the fever, or seasoning, to which Europeans, on their first arrival in hot climates, a e generally subject. "But, on the 31st of July," to use his own words, "I imprudently exposed myself to the night dew, in observing an eclipse of the moon, with a view to determine the longitude of the place; the next day I found myself attacked with a smart fever and delirium: and such an illness followed as confined me to the house during the greatest part of August My recovery was very slow, but I embraced every short interval of convalescence to walk out, and make myself acquainted with the produc-

tions of the country. In one of those excursions, having rambled farther than usual in a hot day, I brought on a return of my fever, and on the 10th of September I was again confined to my bed. The fever, however, was not so violent as before; and in the course of three weeks I was able, when the weather would permit, to renew my botanical excursions; and when it rained, I amused myself drawing plants, &c., in my chamber. The care and attention of Dr. Laidley contributed greatly to alleviate my sufferings; his company and conversation beguiled my tedious hours during that gloomy season when the rain falls in torrents; when suffocating heats oppress by day, and when the night is spent by the terrified traveller listening to the croaking of frogs (of which the numbers are beyond imagination), the shrill cry of the jackal, and the deep howling of the hyæna; a dismal concert, interrupted only by the roar of such tremendous thunder as no person can form a conception of but those who have heard it.

So long as the rainy season did continue, any advance into the interior of the country was impracticable; its termination must therefore have been naturally looked forward to by Park with anxiety. On the 6th of October, the waters of the river Gambia, which had risen with the rains, were at the greatest height, being fifteen feet above the high-water mark of the tide; they then began to subside, at first slowly, but afterward so very rapidly as sometimes to sink more than a foot in twenty-four hours. By the beginning of November the river had sunk to its former level, and the tide ebbed and flowed as usual. The atmosphere now grew

dry, and Park, recovering from the effects of his illness, began to think of his departure, this being reckoned the most proper season for travelling; the natives had completed their harvest, and provisions were everywhere cheap and plentiful. He accordingly endeavoured to ascertain, through Dr. Laidley, when the first *coffle** would leave the Gambia for the Interior, in order that he might avail himself of the company and protection which it afforded; but learning that the time of its departure was very uncertain, and understanding that the *Slatees* (or native merchants), and others who would compose it, were rather averse to his purpose of joining them, he resolved to proceed without them, and not lose the advantage of the dry season. Preparations were therefore immediately commenced for the journey.

During his stay at Pisania, Park collected some interesting information concerning the several negro nations occupying the countries bordering on the Gambia, and, indeed, very widely spread over this part of Africa. He mentions four great classes: the Feloops, the Jaloofs or Yaloofs, the Foulahs, and the Mandingoes, among all of which, he says, the Mohammedan religion had made, and continued to make, considerable progress, though the most of them, the body of the people, both free and enslaved, persevered in maintaining the superstitions of their ancestors, and were called by the Mohammedans, *Kafirs*, or infidels.

The Feloops he describes as a wild and unsoci-

* *Coffle*, or *Caffila*, is the term used in North Africa to denote a company of travelling merchants, such as in Asia is called a *caravan*.

able race, of a gloomy disposition, and having the reputation of never forgiving an injury. They are even said to transmit their quarrels, as deadly feuds, to posterity; insomuch that a son considers it as incumbent upon him, from a just sense of filial obligation, to become the avenger of his deceased father's wrongs. If a man loses his life in one of those sudden quarrels which perpetually occur at their feasts, when the whole party is intoxicated with mead, his son, or the eldest of his sons (if he has more than one), endeavours to procure his father's sandals, which he wears *once a year*, on the anniversary of his father's death, until a fit opportunity offers of revenging his fate; when the object of his resentment seldom escapes his pursuit This fierce and unrelenting disposition is, however, counterbalanced by many good qualities: they display the utmost gratitude and affection towards their benefactors; and the fidelity with which they preserve whatever is intrusted to them is remarkable. "During the present war" (says Park, writing in 1799) "they have more than once taken up arms to defend our merchant vessels from French privateers; and English property, of considerable value, has frequently been left at Vintain for a long time, entirely under the care of the Feloops, who have uniformly manifested on such occasions the strictest honesty and punctuality. How greatly it is to be wished that the minds of a people, so determined and faithful, could be softened and civilized by the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity!"

The Jaloofs, or Yaloofs, are described by Park as an active, powerful and warlike race, differing

from the generality of Africans in having their noses less depressed, and their lips less protuberant. They are divided into several independent states, or kingdoms, which are frequently at war with their neighbours and with each other. In their manners, superstitions, and government, they have a greater resemblance to the Mandingoes than to any other nation; they excel, however, the Mandingoes in the manufacture of cotton cloth, spinning the wool to a finer thread, weaving it in a broader loom, and dying it of a better colour.

The Foulahs, who, next to the Mandingoes, form the most considerable tribe of Africa, are described as possessing a tawny complexion, small, pleasing features, and soft. silky hair; in the districts adjacent to the Moorish territories, their complexion is more yellow than in the countries farther south. Their disposition is naturally mild and gentle; but where the Mohammedan religion has been introduced, as in the Northern districts, the uncharitable maxims of the Koran are said to have rendered the Foulahs less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes. "They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors; and, when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people."

In the Foulah states in which Mohammedanism prevails, the laws of the Koran are the only rule of government. Yet the Mohammedan portion of the people are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. "Religious persecution," says Park, "is not known among them, nor is it neces-

sary; for the system of Mohammed is made to extend itself by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the pagan as well as Mohammedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the prophet, the Mohammedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterward remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructers and a purer religion."

The Foulahs are principally occupied in the cultivation of the soil and in the rearing of cattle. Their industry in these pursuits is very remarkable, and they have introduced themselves into many neighbouring states as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereign of the country for the lands which they hold. Even in the territories of the Feloops and the Jaloofs, on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them; and in their own country of Bondou, which lies near the Senegal and the Moorish districts, they are opulent in a high degree, enjoying all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. Their cattle are managed with great skill, and rendered extremely gentle by kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night they are collected from the woods, and secured in folds called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each korree is erected a small hut, wherein one or two of the herds-

men keep watch during the night, to prevent the cattle from being stolen, and to keep up the fires which are kindled round the korree, to frighten away the wild beasts.

The Mandingoes are the most considerable of the four nations here described; they constituted, indeed, the bulk of the inhabitants in all those districts of Africa which Park visited on his first expedition.* They are described by him as being, generally speaking, of a mild, sociable, and obliging disposition. The men are commonly above the middle size, well-shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour; the women are good-natured, sprightly, and agreeable. The dress of both sexes is composed of cotton cloth of their own manufacture; the men have a loose frock, not unlike a surplice, with drawers which reach half-way down the legs; and they wear sandals on their feet and white cotton caps on their heads. The women's dress consists of two pieces of cloth, each of which is about six feet long and three broad; one of these they wrap round the waist, which, hanging down to the ankles, answers the purpose of a petticoat; the other is thrown negligently over the bosom and shoulders. This account of their dress is, indeed, nearly applicable to the natives of all the different countries in this part of Africa; a peculiar national mode being observable only in the headdresses of the women.

In all the Mandingo states near the Gambia the government is monarchical; the king being assisted in affairs of importance by a council of the prin-

* In which he advanced into the interior upward of one thousand miles in a direct line.

cipal men, or elders, without whose advice he cannot make peace or war. In every considerable town there is a chief magistrate, called the *alkaid*, whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction and the administration of justice. The courts are composed of the elders of the town (of free condition), and are termed *palavers;* their proceedings are conducted in the open air, on a large stage called the *bentang*, which answers the purpose of a public hall or town-house. As the negroes have no written language of their own, the general rule of decision is an appeal to *ancient custom;* but where the Mohammedan religion prevails, the laws founded upon it have been introduced; and if the Koran is not sufficiently explicit, recourse is had to a copious commentary called *Al Sharra*.

"This frequency of appeal," says Park, "to written laws, with which the pagan nations are necessarily unacquainted, has given rise in their palavers to (what I little expected to find in Africa) professional advocates or expounders of the law, who are allowed to appear and to plead for plaintiff or defendant, much in the same manner as counsel in the law-courts of Great Britain. They are Mohammedan negroes, who have made, or affect to have made, the laws of the prophet their peculiar study; and, if I may judge from the harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe that in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are not always surpassed by the ablest plead-

ers in Europe. While I was in Pisania, a cause was heard which furnished the Mohammedan lawyers with an admirable opportunity of displaying their professional dexterity. The case was this: an ass, belonging to a Serawoolli negro (a native of an interior country, near the river Senegal), had broke into a field of corn belonging to one of the Mandingo inhabitants, and destroyed great part of it. The Mandingo, having caught the animal in his field, immediately drew his knife and cut its throat. The Serawoolli thereupon called a *palaver* (or, in European terms, *brought an action*), to recover damages for the loss of his beast, on which he set a high value. The defendant confessed he had killed the ass, but pleaded a *set-off*, insisting that the loss he had sustained by the ravage in his corn was equal to the sum demanded for the animal. To ascertain this fact was the point at issue; and the learned advocates contrived to puzzle the cause in such a manner, that, after a hearing of three days, the cause broke up without coming to any determination upon it; and a second palaver was, I suppose, thought necessary."

## CHAPTER III.

Departure of Park from Pisania.—His Equipment and Party.—His Arrival at Jindey.—Mandingo Story-teller.—Park's involuntary Present to the King of Walli.—His Arrival at Medina, the Capital of Woolli.—His Interviews with the King.—*Saphies*, or Charms of the Negroes.—Description of *Mumbo Jumbo*.—Park's Departure from the Territory of Woolli.

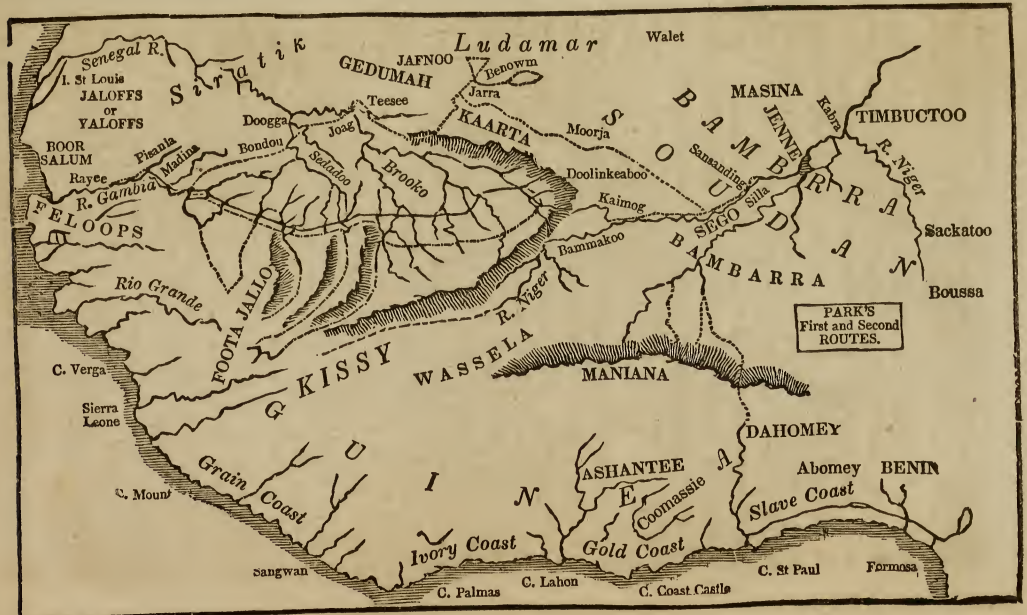
[1795.]

On the 2d of December, 1795, Park quitted Pisania on his journey into the interior. He had engaged as an interpreter a negro named Johnson, who, born in this part of Africa, had been conveyed in his youth as a slave to Jamaica, there made free, and then taken by his master to England, whence, after a residence of many years, he had at length found his way back to his native country. Dr. Laidley provided him also with a negro boy, named Demba; a sprightly youth, to whom was held out by the doctor, as an encouragement, the promise of freedom on his return, in the event of a favourable report of his fidelity and services. For his own conveyance Park had purchased a small but very hardy and spirited horse, which cost him "to the value of 7*l.* 10*s.*;" his attendants were each furnished with an ass, which is the usual beast of burden in all the negro territories. His baggage was light, consisting chiefly of two days' provisions, some beads, amber, and tobacco, for the purchase of a fresh supply, as he proceeded; of a few changes of linen and other necessary apparel,

an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, two fowling-pieces, and two pairs of pistols. His party was increased by the addition of four individuals who were journeying into the interior, and who offered their services as far as they should respectively proceed; these were a man named Madiboo, who was travelling to the kingdom of Bambarra, two *Slatees*, or native merchants, who were going to Bondou, and a negro named Tami, who had been employed for some years by Dr. Laidley as a blacksmith, and who was returning to his native country, Kasson, with the savings of his labours. These four men travelled on foot, driving their asses before them; they were all Mohammedans, and they had all been taught to regard Park with great respect. The three white residents of Pisania—Dr. Laidley, and the Messrs. Ainsley—with a number of their domestics, determined to accompany the travellers for a short distance, "and I believe," says Park, "they secretly thought they should never see me afterward."*

The first day's journey ended at Jindey. In the evening Park and his friends walked out to see an adjoining village, belonging to a Slatee named Jemafoo Mamadoo, the richest of all the Gambia traders; who thought so highly of the honour of the visit as to present them with a fine bullock. The animal was immediately killed, and a part of it dressed for supper; and while this repast was being prepared, a Mandingo related some diverting stories, "in listening to which and smoking tobac-

* The reader will find a general map of Africa in Discovery and Adventures in Africa No. 16, Harpers' Family and School District Libraries.


Senegal R.
I. St Louis
JALOFFS or YALOFFS
BOOR SALUM
Rayee
R. Gambia
FELOOPS
Pisania
Madina
Bondou
Doogga
Joag
Teesee
Sedadoo
Brooko
Sirratik
GEDUMAH
JAFNOO
Ludamar
Benowm
Jarra
Walet
KAARTA
Moorja
Doolinkeaboo
Kaimog
Bammakoo
SOUDAN
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MASINA
JENNE
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TIMBUCTOO
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Sansanding
Silla
SEGO
Sackatoo
Boussa
PARK'S First and Second ROUTES.
Rio Grande
FOOTA JALLO
GKISSY
WASSELA
R. Niger
MANIANA
C. Verga
Sierra Leone
DAHOMEY
GUINEA
Grain Coast
C. Mount
ASHANTEE
Coomassie
Abomey
BENIN
Slave Coast
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Sangwan
C. Palmas
C. Lahon
C. Coast Castle
C. St Paul
Formosa

co," says Park, "we spent three hours." He describes these stories as bearing some resemblance to those in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, but as being, in general, of a more ludicrous cast; an abridgment of one given by him is amusing.

"Many years ago," said the relator, "the people of Doomasansa" (a town on the Gambia) "were much annoyed by a lion, that came every night, and took away some of their cattle. By continuing his depredations, the people were at length so much enraged, that a party of them resolved to go and hunt the monster. They accordingly proceeded in search for the common enemy, whom they found concealed in a thicket, and immediately firing at him, were lucky enough to wound him in such a manner that, in springing from the thicket towards the people, he fell down among the grass, and was unable to rise. The animal, however, manifested such appearance of vigour, that nobody cared to approach him singly, and a consultation was held concerning the properest means of taking him alive; a circumstance, it was said, which, while it furnished undeniable proof of their prowess, would turn out to great advantage, it being resolved to convey him to the coast, and sell him to the Europeans. While some person proposed one plan, and some another, an old man offered a scheme; this was, to strip the roof of a house of its thatch, and to carry the bamboo frame" (the pieces of which are well secured together by thongs) "and throw it over the lion. If, in approaching him, he should attempt to spring upon them, they had nothing to do but to let down this roof upon themselves, and fire at the lion through the rafters.

"This proposition was approved and adopted. The thatch was taken from the roof of a hut, and the lion-hunters, supporting the fabric, marched courageously to the field of battle; each person carrying a gun in one hand, and bearing his share of the roof on the opposite shoulder; in this manner they approached the enemy; but the beast had by this time recovered his strength, and such was the fierceness of his countenance, that the hunters, instead of proceeding any farther, thought it prudent to provide for their own safety by covering themselves with the roof. Unfortunately, the lion was too nimble for them; for, making a spring while the house was letting down, both the beast and his pursuers were caught in the same cage, and the lion devoured them at his leisure, to the astonishment and mortification of the people of Doomasansa, at which place it is dangerous, even at this day, to tell the story, for it is become the subject of laughter and derision in the neighbouring countries, and nothing will enrage an inhabitant of that town so much as desiring him to catch a lion alive."

On the following day, Park separated from the kind friends and countrymen whose society had cheered him for the last five months. About one o'clock in the afternoon he took his leave of Dr. Laidley and the Messrs. Ainsley, and rode slowly into the woods. "I had now," he says, "before me a boundless forest, and a country, the inhabitants of which were strangers to civilized life, and to most of whom a white man was the object of curiosity or plunder. I reflected that I had parted from the last European I might probably behold, and

perhaps quitted for ever the comforts of Christian society. Thoughts like these would necessarily cast a gloom over the mind, and I rode musing along for about three miles, when I was awakened from my revery by a body of people, who came running up and stopped the asses, giving me to understand that I must go with them to Peckaba, to present myself to the King of Walli, or pay customs to them." Park endeavoured to make them comprehend, that as the object of his journey was not traffic, he ought not to be subjected to a tax, as were the Slatees, and other merchants travelling for gain; but he reasoned to no purpose. He was told that it was usual for travellers of all descriptions to make a present to the King of Walli, and that, without doing so, he could not be permitted to proceed. As numbers were against him, Park thought it prudent to comply with their demands; and having presented them with four bars* of tobacco for the king's use, he was permitted to continue his journey.

* This standard of value is thus explained by Park, in speaking of the trade carried on by the Africans with the natives of Christendom. "In their early intercourse with Europeans, the article that attracted most notice was iron. Its utility in forming the instruments of war and husbandry made it preferable to all others; and iron soon became the measure by which the value of all other commodities was ascertained. Thus a certain quantity of goods, of whatever denomination, appearing to be equal in value to a bar of iron, constituted, in the trader's phraseology, a bar of that particular merchandise. Twenty leaves of tobacco, for instance, were considered as a *bar* of tobacco; and a gallon of spirits (or, rather, half spirits and half water) as a *bar* of rum; a bar of one commodity being reckoned equal in value to the bar of another commodity." To prevent, however, continual fluctuations, "greater precision has been found necessary; and at this time the current value of a single bar of any kind is fixed hy the whites at two shillings sterling."

On the morning of the 4th of December Park quitted the territory of Walli, and entering the dominions of the King of Woolli, paid a custom's duty to one of his majesty's officers. At noon on the 5th he reached Medina, the capital of this Mandingo state; he describes it as a place of considerable extent, containing from eight hundred to one thousand houses, and fortified in the common African manner, by a high wall of clay and an outward fence of pointed stakes and prickly bushes. Here he paid his respects to the king, Jatta; a venerable old man, of whom a favourable account had been given by Major Houghton; and requested permission to pass through the territory of Woolli to Bondou. In answer to this request, his majesty, who was seated upon a mat before the door of his hut, very graciously replied, that he not only granted the permission, but would offer up prayers for his visiter's safety; and, moreover, he promised to furnish a guide for the travellers on the morrow. In the evening Park sent the king an order on Dr. Laidley for three gallons of rum, and received in return a great store of provisions.

Early on the following morning Park paid a second visit to the king, to learn if the guide was ready. "I found his majesty," he says, "sitting upon a bullock's hide, warming himself before a large fire; for the Africans are sensible of the smallest variation in the temperature of the air, and frequently complain of cold when a European is oppressed with heat. He received me with a benevolent countenance, and tenderly entreated me to desist from my purpose of travelling into the interior; telling me that Major Houghton had been

killed in his route, and that, if I followed his footsteps, I should probably meet with his fate. He said that I must not judge of the people of the eastern country by those of Woolli; that the latter were acquainted with the white men, and respected them; whereas the people of the East had never seen a white man, and would certainly destroy me. I thanked the king for his affectionate solicitude, but told him that I had considered the matter, and was determined, notwithstanding all dangers, to proceed. The king shook his head, but desisted from farther persuasion, and told me the guide should be ready in the afternoon."

About two o'clock the guide appearing, Park took his last farewell of the "good old king," and set forward. He passed the night at the small village of Konjour, where he purchased a fine sheep for some beads, and had part of it dressed for supper. After the repast a curious dispute arose between one of the Serawoollis, who had acted the part of butcher, and the interpreter Johnson, concerning their respective claims to the horns as a perquisite; Park settled the matter by giving a horn to each of them, and ascertained, upon inquiry, that the eagerness of the competitors for the prize arose from the high value which are attached to these horns, as being easily convertible into portable sheaths or cases, for containing and keeping secure certain charms or amulets, called *saphies*, which the negroes constantly wear about them. "These saphies are prayers, or, rather, sentences from the Koran, which the Mohammedan priests write on scraps of paper, and sell to the simple natives, who consider them to possess very extraordinary virtues.

Some of the negroes wear them to guard themselves against the bite of certain snakes or alligators; and on this occasion the saphie is commonly enclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin, and tied round the ankle. Others have recourse to them in time of war, to protect their persons against hostile weapons; but the common use to which these amulets are applied, is to prevent or cure bodily diseases; to preserve them from hunger and thirst, and generally to conciliate the favour of superior powers, under all the circumstances and occurrences of life."

"In this case," adds Park, "it is impossible not to admire the wonderful contagion of superstition; for, notwithstanding that the majority of the negroes are pagans, and absolutely reject the doctrines of Mohammed, I did not meet with a man, whether a bushreen or kafir,* who was not fully persuaded of the powerful efficacy of these amulets. The truth is, that all the natives of this part of Africa consider the art of writing as bordering on magic; and it is not in the doctrines of the prophet, but in the arts of the magician that their confidence is placed."

On the 7th Park quitted Konjour, and on the 8th, about noon, reached the town of Kolor, near the entrance into which he observed hanging upon a tree a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, which he learned belonged to MUMBO JUMBO. This is a strange bugbear, common to all the Mandingo towns, and much employed by the pagan natives in keeping their women in subjection; for,

* The Mohammedan negroes are called *bushreens*, and the pagans *kafirs*, infidels, or unbelievers.

as the kafirs are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can conveniently maintain; and as it frequently happens that the ladies disagree among themselves, family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height, that the authority of the husband can no longer preserve peace in his household. In such cases the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is called in, and is always decisive.

"This strange minister of justice (who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some person instructed by him), disguised in the dress that has been mentioned, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming (whenever his services are required) by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins his pantomime at the approach of night; and as soon as it is dark he enters the town and proceeds to the bentang, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble.

"It may be easily supposed that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for, as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amid the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their excla-

mations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Daylight puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel."*

On the 11th, about midday, the party reached Koojar, the frontier town of Woolli, towards the state of Bondou, from which it is separated by an intervening wilderness of two days' journey. Here Park engaged three negro elephant-hunters to serve him as guides and water-carriers across that desolate tract, paying them each three bars in advance. In the evening the inhabitants of Koojar invited him to see a *neobering*, or wrestling match at the bentang, an exhibition very common in all the Mandingo countries; and they afterward gratified him with a dance, in which many performers were engaged, their motions being regulated by the sound of a drum. In the course of the evening, our traveller was presented, by way of refreshment, with a liquor which tasted so much like the beer of his native country—"and very good beer too"—as to induce him to inquire into its composition; when he learned, with some degree of surprise, that it was actually made from corn which had been previously malted, much in the same manner as barley is in England, the substitute for hops being a root which yields a grateful bitter.

As the sun rose on the 12th, Park entered the

* It is among the worst features of barbarism, that, in such a state of society, the condition of woman is uniformly degraded and miserable. It is only as civilization advances that she begins to receive that deference and consideration which are so justly her due. But it is, above all, to the pure and ennobling influences of Christianity that she is indebted for her elevation from a state of servitude and debasement, to the station which properly belongs to her, as the friend, the companion, and the equal of man.—*Am. Ed.*

wilderness; only two of his water-bearers accompanied him, the third having absconded with the money which he had received in advance. He remarks in his narrative, in taking leave of Woolli, that he was well received by the natives; the fatigues of the day were generally alleviated by a hearty welcome at night; and although the African mode of living was at first unpleasant to him, yet he found, at length, that custom surmounted trifling inconveniences, and made everything palatable and easy.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Park's Journey across the Wilderness into Bondou.—Negro Method of treating refractory Asses.—Fishery on the River Falemé.—Park's Arrival at the Capital of Bondou.—His Interviews with the King.—The Royal Dwelling.—The King's Admiration of Park's new blue Coat, and the Consequences.—Park's Interview with the King's Wives.—His Departure from Bondou, and Journey into Kajaaga.—The Serawoollis.—Park's Ill-treatment at Joag.—His Distresses.—Humanity of a Female Slave.—Park's Journey from Kajaaga into Kasson.

[1795-1796.]

PARK's first day's journey across the wilderness between Woolli and Bondou was a very long and fatiguing one. His attendants were so extremely apprehensive of banditti, that, instead of resting for the night at the first watering-place, he pushed on for another; this he reached at eight o'clock

when a large fire was kindled, and the party laid down, surrounded by their cattle, on the bare ground, more than a gunshot from any bush, the negroes agreeing to keep watch by turns, to prevent surprise. At daylight on the following morning the journey was resumed; and about eleven o'clock they reached Tallika, the first town of the Foulah kingdom of Bondou.

On the morrow, being the 14th of December, Park left Tallika, in company with the officer who resided there to watch the arrival of caravans, and whom he had engaged for five bars to conduct him to the capital, Fatteconda. This journey occupied seven days, in the course of which few incidents occurred worthy of notice. At daybreak on the 15th, the two Serawoolli slave-merchants, who had accompanied Park from Pisania, took leave of him, with many prayers for his safety; in the evening he reached a town where one of his remaining companions, the blacksmith, had some relations, and there he rested two days.

In the course of the journey to Fatteconda Park noticed a curious method adopted by the negroes for making a refractory ass tractable. They cut a forked stick, and, putting the forked part into the ass's mouth like the bit of a bridle, tied the two smaller parts together above his head, leaving the lower part of the stick of sufficient length to strike against the ground if the ass should attempt to put his head down. After this the ass walked quietly along, and gravely enough, taking care, after some practice, to hold his head sufficiently high to prevent the stones or roots of trees from striking against the end of the stick, which, experience

had taught him, would give a severe shock to his teeth. This contrivance had a ludicrous appearance, but was said to be constantly adopted by the Slatees, and always to prove effectual.

On the banks of the Falemé, one of the principal affluents of the river Senegal, our traveller had an opportunity of noticing the modes of fishing practised by the natives. The large fish were taken in long baskets made of split cane, and placed in a strong current, which was created by walls of stone built across the stream; certain open places being left, through which the water rushed with great force. Some of these baskets were more than twenty feet long, and, when once the fish had entered one of them, the force of the stream prevented it from returning. The small fish were taken in great numbers in hand-nets, which the natives weave of cotton, and use with great dexterity. The fish last mentioned are about the size of sprats, and are prepared for sale in different ways; the most common is by pounding them entire, as they come from the stream, in a wooden mortar, and exposing them to dry in the sun, in large lumps, like sugar-loaves. "It may be supposed," says Park, "that the smell is not very agreeable; but in the Moorish countries to the north of Senegal, where fish is scarcely known, this preparation is esteemed as a luxury, and sold to considerable advantage. The manner of using it by the natives is by dissolving a piece of this black loaf in boiling water, and mixing it with their *kouskous*."*

* This is a sort of pudding or preparation of flour. It is made by first moistening the flour with water, and then stirring or shaking it about in a large calabash or gourd, till it adheres

On the 21st of December, about noon, Park entered Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou. As there are no houses of public entertainment in Africa, it is customary for strangers arriving at a town to stand at the *bentang*, or some other place of public resort, till they are invited to a lodging by some of the inhabitants. Our travellers followed the usual course, and in a short time received an invitation to the house of a respectable Slatee. An hour had scarcely elapsed before a messenger came to Park from the king, desiring to see him immediately if he were not too much fatigued.

"I took my interpreter with me," says Park, "and followed the messenger till we got quite out of the town, and crossed some cornfields; when, suspecting some trick, I stopped, and asked the guide whither he was going; upon which he pointed to a man sitting under a tree at some little distance, and told me that the king frequently gave audience in that retired manner, in order to avoid a crowd of people; and that nobody but myself and my interpreter must approach him. When I advanced, the king desired me to come and sit by him on the mat; and, after hearing my story, on which he made no observations, he asked if I wished to purchase any slaves or gold; being answer-

together in small granules resembling sago. It is then put into an earthen pot, whose bottom is perforated with small holes; and this pot being placed upon another, the two vessels are luted together and placed upon the fire. In the lower vessel is commonly some animal food and water, the steam or vapour of which ascends through the perforations in the bottom of the upper vessel, and softens and prepares the *kouskous*, which is very much esteemed.

ed in the negative, he seemed rather surprised; but desired me to come to him in the evening, and he would give me some provisions."

The behaviour of King Almami, as the monarch of Bondou was called, was civil; but Park had heard that his majesty had been instrumental in the robbery of Major Houghton, and therefore felt some distrust. As, however, he was now entirely in the king's power, he thought it prudent, on paying his evening visit, to smooth the way by a present; and he accordingly took with him a canister of gunpowder, some amber, some tobacco, and his umbrella. Deeming it certain that his bundles would be searched, he concealed a few articles in the roof of the hut in which he lodged, and, by an unfortunate impulse of precaution, put on his new blue coat "in order to preserve it." He then repaired to the king's dwelling.

"All the houses," he says, "belonging to the king and his family are surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converts the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is subdivided into different courts. At the first place of entrance I observed a man standing with a musket on his shoulder; and I found the way to the presence very intricate, leading through many passages, with sentinels placed at the different doors. When we came to the entrance of the court in which the king resides, both my guide and interpreter, according to custom, took off their sandals; and the former pronounced the king's name aloud, repeating it till he was answered from within. We found the monarch sitting on a mat, and two attendants with him. I repeated what I had before told him concerning

the object of my journey, and my reasons for passing through his country. He seemed, however, but half satisfied. The notion of travelling for curiosity was quite new to him. He thought it impossible, he said, that any man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey, merely to look at the country and its inhabitants; however, when I offered to show him the contents of my portmanteau, and everything belonging to me, he was convinced; and it was evident that his suspicion had arisen from a belief that every white man must of necessity be a trader. When I had delivered my presents, he seemed well pleased, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himself and his two attendants, who could not for some time comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. After this I was about to take my leave, when the king, desiring me to stop a while, began a long preamble in favour of the whites; extolling their immense wealth and good dispositions. He next proceeded to a eulogium on my blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed particularly to catch his fancy; and he concluded by entreating me to present him with it, assuring me, for my consolation under the loss of it, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one who saw it of my great liberality towards him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, particularly when made to a stranger, comes little short of a command. It is only a way of obtaining by gentle means what he can, if he pleases, obtain by force; and as it was against my interest to offend him by a refusal, I

very quietly took off my coat, the only good one in my possession, and laid it at his feet."

On the following day Park paid another visit to the king, and was then requested to visit the king's wives. who were very anxious to see him. As soon as our traveller entered the court appropriated to the ladies, the whole body surrounded him, some begging for physic, some for amber, and all of them desirous of trying that great African specific *blood-letting*. There were ten or twelve in number, most of them young and handsome, and wearing on their heads ornaments of gold and beads of amber. "They rallied me," says Park, "with a good deal of gayety on different subjects, particularly upon the whiteness of my skin, and the prominency of my nose. They insisted that both were artificial. The first, they said, was produced when I was an infant, by dipping me in milk; and they insisted that my nose had been pinched every day till it had acquired its present unsightly and unnatural conformation. On my part, without disputing my own deformity, I paid them many compliments on African beauty. I praised the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses; but they said that flattery (or, as they emphatically termed it, *honey-mouth*) was not esteemed in Bondou. In return, however, for my company or compliments (to which, by-the-way, they seemed not so insensible as they affected to be), they presented me with a jar of honey and some fish, which were sent to my lodging; and I was desired to come again to the king a little before sunset."

On paying this last visit to the king, Park received from his majesty five drachms of gold, and

the welcome intelligence that he was at liberty to depart; a polite intimation was added, that, though it was customary to examine the baggage of travellers, the ceremony would be dispensed with in the present case. Accordingly, on the morning of the 23d, he left Fatteconda; and, approaching the boundary between Bondou and the kingdom of Kajaaga, through which his route lay next, he found that it would be necessary to continue his journey during the night, as this border district was a dangerous resting-place for travellers. Hiring two guides, therefore, at a small village where he rested, he set out with his party as soon as the people of the place were gone to sleep, the moon shining bright. "The stillness of the air," says Park, "the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest, made the scene solemn and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any of us but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity, by pointing out to me the wolves and hyænas as they glided like shadows from one thicket to another." Towards morning they rested at a small village, and on the afternoon of the 24th arrived at Joag, the frontier town of the kingdom of Kajaaga.

The inhabitants of Kajaaga are Serawoollies; a race whose characteristic is an indefatigable activity in acquiring wealth by the pursuit of trade; they formerly carried on a great commerce with the French, by whom Kajaaga was called Gallam. When a Serawoolli merchant returns home from a trading expedition, the neighbours immediately assemble to congratulate him upon his arrival. On these occasions the traveller displays his wealth

and liberality by making a few presents to his friends; but if he has been unsuccessful, his levee is soon over; and every one looks upon him as a man of no understanding, who could perform a long journey, and (as they express it) *bring back nothing but the hair upon his head.*

At Joag Park took up his residence at the house of the Dooty,* who was a rigid Mohammedan, but distinguished for his hospitality. In the evening his two companions—the blacksmith and the bush-reen Madiboo, who had journeyed with him from Gambia—went to visit a neighbouring town; and our traveller himself, after having witnessed the sports of the inhabitants by their invitation, betook himself to rest. In the middle of the night, or, rather, about two o'clock in the morning, a number of horsemen came into the town, and, having awakened the Dooty, talked to him for some time in the Serawoolli tongue; after which they dismounted and went to the bentang, on which Park had made his bed. One of them, thinking that Park was asleep, attempted to steal the musket that lay by him on the mat; but, finding that he could not effect his purpose undiscovered, he desisted. The whole party then sat down till daylight.

"I could now easily perceive," says Park, "by the countenance of my interpreter, Johnson, that something very unpleasant was in agitation. I was likewise surprised to see Madiboo and the blacksmith so soon returned. On inquiring the reason, Madiboo informed me, that, as they were dancing at Dramanet, ten horsemen belonging to

* The name for the chief magistrate; it is equivalent to *Alkaid*, but is used only in the interior countries.

Batcheri, king of the country, with his second son at their head, had arrived there, inquiring if the white man had passed; and, on being told that I was at Joag, they rode off without stopping. Madiboo added, that, on hearing this, he and the blacksmith hastened back to give me notice of their coming. While I was listening to this narrative, the ten horsemen mentioned by Madiboo arrived, and, coming to the bentang, dismounted, and seated themselves with those who had come before; the whole, being about twenty in number, forming a circle round me, and each man holding his musket in his hand. I took this opportunity to observe to my landlord, that, as I did not understand the Serawoolli tongue, I hoped, whatever the men had to say, they would speak in Mandingo. To this they agreed; and a short man, loaded with a remarkable number of saphies, opened the business in a very long harangue, informing me that I had entered the king's town without first having paid the duties, or giving any present to the king, and that, according to the laws of the country, my people, cattle, and baggage were forfeited. He added, that he had received orders from the king to conduct me to Maana, the place of his residence, and if I refused to come with them, their orders were to bring me by force; upon his saying which, all of them rose up and asked me if I was ready. It would have been equally vain and imprudent in me to have resisted or irritated such a body of men I therefore affected to comply with their commands, and begged them only to stop a little until I had given my horse a feed of corn, and settled matters with my landlord."

His landlord, on being consulted, was decidedly of opinion that Park ought not to go to the king, as he would run considerable risk of being plundered by his majesty. Park, therefore, thought it best to conciliate his unwelcome visiters; so, pleading the excuse of ignorance for his violation of the laws, he offered, as a present for their sovereign, the five drachms of gold which the King of Bondou had given him. The men accepted this, but insisted on examining his baggage; and, after wrangling over the bundles with their unfortunate owner till sunset, they departed, having robbed him of half his goods.

Park was now in a condition of great perplexity. His attendants were much dispirited; Madiboo begged him to turn back; Johnson laughed at the thought of proceeding without money, and the poor blacksmith, who had learned that a war was upon the point of breaking out between Kasson and Kajaaga, was afraid to be seen, or even to speak, lest he should be recognised for a native of the former state, detained, and perhaps sold as a slave. The party passed the night by the side of a dim fire, after having partaken of a very indifferent supper.

On the following day they resolved to "combat hunger;" for Park knew that if he produced any beads or amber to purchase provisions with, the king would immediately hear of it, and probably strip him of the few effects which he had been able to conceal. In this forlorn state his wants were unexpectedly relieved in a manner which afforded him peculiar satisfaction.

"Towards evening," he says, "as I was sitting

upon the bentang, chewing straws, an old female slave, passing by with a basket upon her head, asked me if I had got my dinner. As I thought she only laughed, I gave her no answer; but my boy, who was sitting close by, answered for me, and told her that the king's people had robbed me of all my money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look of unaffected benevolence, immediately took the basket from her head, and showing me that it contained ground-nuts, asked me if I could eat them; being answered in the affirmative, she presented me with a few handfuls, and walked away before I had time to thank her for this seasonable supply. This trifling circumstance gave me peculiar satisfaction. I reflected with pleasure on the conduct of this poor untutored slave, who, without examining into my character or circumstances, listened implicitly to the dictates of her own heart. Experience had taught her that hunger was painful, and her own distresses made her commiserate those of others."

Shortly after the good old woman had left him, he received a visit from Demba Sego, a nephew of the King of Kasson, who was returning to his uncle's dominions from an ineffectual embassy to settle the disputes which had arisen with the King of Kajaaga. On learning from Park his situation and distresses, this young man frankly offered to guide and protect him to Kasson, provided he would set out the next morning. The offer was gratefully accepted, and at daylight on the morrow, being the 27th of December, the whole party set out.

On the following day they crossed the river Senegal and entered the territory of Kasson. The

task of transporting the baggage, and swimming the horses and asses over the stream, was a source of much delay; Park himself met with an accident which might have been attended with serious consequences. He and his protector, Demba Sego, had embarked in the passage-boat, a frail canoe, which the least motion was likely to overset. The king's nephew thought this a proper time to have a peep into a tin box of Park's, which stood on the forepart of the canoe, and, in stretching out his hand for it, he unfortunately destroyed the equilibrium, and upset the boat. As they had not advanced far from the shore, they got back without much difficulty; and then, wringing the water from their clothes, started afresh, and were soon safely landed in Kasson.

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## CHAPTER V.

Park's Arrival in Kasson.—His Detention at Teesee.—Conversion of all the inhabitants to Mohammedanism.—Rapacity of the Governor.—Park's Arrival at Jumbo.—Reception of a Native who accompanied him by the Townspeople.—Park's Journey to Kooniakary.—His Audience of the King of Kasson.—Obstacles to his Progress.—His Journey into Kaarta.—An amusing Adventure.—Park's Arrival at Kemmoo, the Capital of Kaarta.—His Resolution to proceed through the Moorish Kingdom of Ludamar.

[1796.]

Scarcely had Mungo Park set foot upon the territory of Kasson, when his youthful protector, Demba Sego, expressed a hope that his services would

be duly considered, and rewarded by a handsome present. To a man in distress, just escaped from the hands of plunderers, this was rather an unexpected proposition; and Park very naturally began to think that he had not much improved his condition by crossing the water. But as it was useless to complain, he gave the king's nephew seven bars of amber and some tobacco out of his scanty stock.

On the evening of December the 29th they reached Teesee, a large unwalled town, of which Demba Sego's father, Tiggity Sego, brother to the King of Kasson, was governor. On the following morning Park was introduced to the old man, from whom he learned that it would be necessary for him to go to Kooniakary, and pay his respects to the sovereign. He was, however, detained at Teesee some time, through the bad faith of Demba Sego, who borrowed his horse for three days and kept it eight. During his detention occurred a curious incident, which will remind the reader of the measures adopted for the propagation of the Mohammedan religion in earlier years.

"On the 5th of January, an embassy of ten people belonging to Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota Torra, a country to the west of Bondou, arrived at Teesee, and desiring Tiggity Sego to call an assembly of the inhabitants, announced publicly their king's determination to this effect: 'That, unless the people of Kasson would embrace the Mohammedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, he' (the King of Foota Torra) 'could not possibly stand neuter in the present contest, but would certainly join his arms

to those of Kajaaga.' A message of this nature, from so powerful a prince, could not fail to create great alarm; and the inhabitants of Teesee, after a long consultation, agreed to conform to his good pleasure, humiliating as it was to them. Accordingly, one and all publicly offered up eleven prayers, which were considered a sufficient testimony of their having renounced paganism and embraced the doctrines of the Prophet."

On the 8th of January (1796), Demba Sego came back with the horse which he had borrowed. Park immediately went to his father, and announced his intention of setting out for Kooniakary early on the next day. The old man made many frivolous objections, and at length gave him plainly to understand that he must not think of departing until he had paid the duties usually required from travellers by the governor; coolly adding, that he expected some acknowledgment for the kindness which he had displayed towards his visiter.

On the following morning Demba Sego came with a number of people to receive the present for his father. Park quietly offered him seven bars of amber and five of tobacco. Demba surveyed them for some time very coolly, and then laid them down, with the remark that such a present was not a fitting one for a man of Tiggity Sego's consequence, who had it in his power to take whatever he pleased. A repetition of the plundering scene at Joag now followed; Demba's attendants opened the bundles, spread the contents upon the floor, and took everything that pleased them, while their master, among other things, seized the tin box which had so much caught his fancy in crossing the Senegal.

"Upon collecting the scattered remains of my little fortune," says Park, "after these people had left me, I found that, as at Joag, I had been plundered of half, so here, without even the shadow of accusation, I was deprived of half the remainder."

Early on the next morning, January the 10th, Park quitted Teesee; and on the afternoon of the following day arrived at Jumbo, the native town of his companion, the blacksmith, who had been absent from it four years. Here he experienced a most friendly and joyous reception. As the party approached the town, the blacksmith's brother, who had by some means been apprized of his coming, issued forth to meet him, accompanied by a singing man; he brought with him also a horse, that the blacksmith might enter his native town in a dignified manner; and, to increase the solemnity of the ceremony, desired the travellers to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing man now led the way, followed by the two brothers; and the party was quickly joined by a number of the townspeople, all of whom demonstrated their great joy at the return of their old acquaintance by the most extravagant jumping and singing. As the procession entered the town, the singing man began an extempore song in praise of the blacksmith, extolling his courage in having overcome so many difficulties, and strictly enjoining his friends to dress him plenty of victuals.

"When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence," says Park, "we dismounted and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emo-

tions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amid these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her; and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face with great care; and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview, I was fully convinced that, whatever difference there is between the negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of their skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature."

During the tumult of these congratulations, Park seated himself apart by the side of one of the huts, and the attention of the company was so entirely taken up with the blacksmith, that none of them had observed him. When all the people had seated themselves, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give them some account of his adventures; and silence being commanded, he began; and, after repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, related every material occurrence that had happened to him from his leaving Kasson to his arrival at Gambia; his employment and success in those parts; and the dangers he had escaped in returning to his native country. "In the latter part of his narration," says Park, "he had frequently occasion to mention me; and, after many strong expressions concerning my kindness to him, he pointed to the place where I sat, and exclaimed, '*Offille ibi siring*' (see him sitting there). In a moment all eyes were turned upon

me: I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprised that they had not observed me before; and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of such an uncommon appearance. By degrees, however, their apprehension subsided; and when the blacksmith assured them that I was perfectly inoffensive, and would hurt nobody, some of them ventured so far as to examine the texture of my clothes; but many of them were still very suspicious; and when, by accident, I happened to move myself or look at the young children, their mothers would scamper off with them with the greatest precipitation. In a few hours, however, they all became reconciled to me."

Early on the 14th of January Park set out for Kooniakary, where the King of Kasson resided. On approaching it, however, he deviated a little to the village of Soolo on the south, in order to visit a Gambia trader of great note, upon whom Dr. Laidley had given him an order for an outstanding debt. Salim Daucari, as this trader was called, received his visiters with great kindness and attention; but Park had been with him only a few hours before Sambo Sego, the king's second son, came to inquire why he had not proceeded direct to Kooniakary, where his majesty was waiting impatiently to see him. Salim Daucari made an apology for his guest, and promised to accompany him to Kooniakary that evening. Park notices it as remarkable that the king should have been so soon apprized of his motions.

On arriving with Salim Daucari at Kooniakary about an hour after sunset, he found that the king

had gone to sleep; and, accordingly, deferred the interview till the next day. About eight o'clock in the morning he proceeded to the audience, and had great difficulty in gaining admittance through the crowd of people assembled to see him. He found King Demba Sego Jalla, as the monarch was called, sitting upon a mat in a large hut, and experienced a very kind reception; the "good old king," to use his own expression, promised him all the assistance in his power. "He informed me," says Park, "that he had seen Major Houghton, and presented him with a white horse; but that, after crossing the kingdom of Kaarta, he had lost his life among the Moors; in what manner he could not inform me. When this audience was ended, we returned to our lodging, and I made up a small present for the king out of the few effects that were left me; for I had not yet received anything from Salim Daucari. This present, though inconsiderable in itself, was well received by the king, who sent me in return a large white bullock. The sight of this animal quite delighted my attendants; not so much on account of its bulk, as from its being a white colour; which is considered as a particular mark of favour."

But here obstacles arose to Park's progress, more serious than any he had yet encountered. The country through which his route would lie on quitting Kasson was the kingdom of Kaarta; and he now learned that the kingdom was not only involved in the issue of the war which had been for some time on the point of breaking out between Kasson and Kajaaga, but was likewise threatened with hostilities on the part of Bambarra. By the

advice of King Demba Sego Jalla, he resolved to wait a few days, until messengers could be sent to ascertain the actual state of affairs in Kaarta. During his stay he received from Salim Daucari a part of the debt due to Dr. Laidley, principally in gold-dust; the fact reached the ears of Sambo Sego, the king's second son, who forthwith came with a party of horsemen, and was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept sixteen bars of European merchandise, with some powder and ball, in satisfaction of all demands.

On the first of February the messengers arrived from Kaarta with intelligence that the Bambarra army had not yet invaded that country; and on the 3d Park set off in the hope of yet having time to pass through it before the war began. He was conducted to the frontiers of Kaarta by two guides on horseback, whom King Demba Sego Jalla had sent with him; and as he advanced, he met hundreds of people flying from Kaarta with their families and effects. On the 9th, having passed the ridge of hills separating the two kingdoms, he entered upon the level and sandy plains of Kaarta.

At Feesurah, the first village of Kaarta, Park found it necessary, in consequence of the fears of his attendants, to induce his landlord, by the present of a blanket, to accompany the party to the capital Kemmoo, for their protection upon the road. This man was one of those negroes who, together with the ceremonial part of the Mohammedan religion, retain all their ancient superstitions, and even drink strong liquors; they were called Johars or Jowers, and in the kingdom of Kaarta formed a very numerous and powerful body.

"We had no sooner," says Park, "got into a dark and lonely part of the first wood, than he made a sign for us to stop, and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo, that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. I confess I was somewhat startled, thinking it was a signal for some of his companions to come and attack us; but he assured me that it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success we were likely to meet with on our present journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said a number of short passages, concluded with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told us we might proceed without fear, as there was no danger."

As the party advanced, they found many large villages deserted, the inhabitants having fled to Kasson, to avoid the horrors of the approaching war. As they drew near to Kemmoo, an amusing incident occurred. "I had wandered a little from my people," says Park, "and being uncertain whether they were before or behind me, I hastened to a rising ground to look about me. As I was proceeding towards this eminence, two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from among the bushes; on seeing them I made a full stop, and the horsemen did the same, and all of us seemed equally surprised and confounded at this interview. As I approached them their fears increased, and one of them, after casting upon me a look of horror, rode off at full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers, until his horse, seemingly

without the rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. About a mile to the westward they fell in with my attendants, to whom they related a frightful story. It seems their fears had dressed me in the flowing robes of a tremendous spirit; and one of them affirmed, that when I made my appearance, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky like so much cold water."

On the 12th they entered Kemmoo, the capital of Kaarta, where the curiosity of the people to see the white man was so great, that the large hut assigned to him by the king was successively filled and emptied thirteen times. In the evening Park had an audience of the king, Daisy Koorabarri by name, who was seated on a leopard's skin, spread over a bank of earth about two feet high. He was received with great kindness by the monarch, who endeavoured to dissuade him from prosecuting his journey, and recommended him to return into Kasson for three or four months, when the war probably would be ended. "This advice," says Park, "was certainly well meant on the part of the king, and perhaps I was to blame in not following it; but I reflected that the hot months were approaching, and I dreaded the thoughts of spending the rainy season in the interior of Africa."

Finding that Park was determined to proceed, the king told him that there still remained one route into Bambarra—circuitous, and by no means free from danger—that was, through the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, to the frontier town of which, Jarra, he would furnish guides. At this juncture intelligence was brought that the Bambarra army

was on its march towards Kaarta; and Park at once resolved to take the route suggested, through Ludamar. It was an unfortunate determination; to use his own expression, "the immediate cause of all the misfortunes and calamities which afterward befell him."

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## CHAPTER VI.

Journey into the Moorish Kingdom of Ludamar.—A Youth murdered by the Moors.—Scene at his Death.—Particulars of Major Houghton's Fate.—Park's Arrival at Jarra.—Refusal of his Attendants to Proceed.—Fidelity of his Boy.—His Ill-treatment by the Moors at Deena.—His Journey to Dalli, and kind Reception there.—His Seizure by the Moors at Salee.—His Conveyance to Benown.—His Treatment by Ali.—Insulting Behaviour of the Moors towards him.

[1796.]

In quitting Kemmoo on the 13th of February, Park abandoned the westerly course which, generally speaking, he had hitherto followed in his journey from the Gambia, and struck out direct to the north, towards Jarra, the frontier town of the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar. He was conducted by eight horsemen, whom King Daisy had kindly sent to serve him as guides; and was accompanied for a short distance by three of his majesty's sons, with about two hundred horsemen. On the 15th he reached the town of Funingkedy, where he witnessed a specimen of the behaviour of the Moors, not at all calculated to assure him of a pleasing re-

ception among them. As he was lying asleep in the afternoon upon a bullock's hide, behind the door of his hut, he was awakened by the screams of women, and a general clamour and confusion among the inhabitants. At first he suspected that the Bambarrans had actually entered the town; but, observing his boy upon the top of one of the huts, he called to him to know what was the matter. The boy informed him that the Moors were come to steal the cattle, and that they were now close to the town. Park mounted the roof of the hut, and observed a large herd of bullocks coming towards the town, followed by five Moors on horseback, who drove the cattle forward with their muskets. When they had reached the wells, close to the town, the Moors selected from the herd sixteen of the finest beasts, and drove them off at full gallop. During this transaction, the townspeople, to the number of five hundred, stood collected close to the walls of the town; and, though the Moors passed within pistol-shot, they scarcely made a show of resistance. Park saw only four muskets fired, and these, being loaded with gunpowder of the negroes' own manufacture, did no execution. Shortly afterward, he observed a number of people supporting a young man upon horseback, and conducting him slowly towards the town. This was one of the herdsmen, who, in attempting to throw his spear, had been wounded by a shot from one of the Moors. "His mother," says Park, "walked on before, quite frantic with grief, clapping her hands, and enumerating the good qualities of her son. '*Ee maffo fonio*' (he never told a lie), said the disconsolate mother, as her wounded son was

carried in at the gate. '*Ee maffo fonio abada*' (he never told a lie; no, never.) When they had conveyed him to his hut, and laid him upon a mat, all the spectators joined in lamenting his fate, by screaming and howling in the most piteous manner."

On examining the wound, Park saw there was little hope for the boy's recovery; and told the relatives that the only chance of saving his life was in cutting off the leg above the knee. They all started with horror at the proposal, and evidently considered Park as a sort of cannibal for making it. The poor boy was abandoned to his fate; and his death-bed afforded a melancholy example of the superstition prevailing in these benighted regions. "The patient was committed," says Park, "to the care of some old Bushreens, who endeavoured to secure him a passage into Paradise by whispering in his ear some Arabic sentences, and desiring him to repeat them. After many unsuccessful attempts, the poor heathen at last pronounced, *La illah el allah, Mohammed rasowl allahi*,* and the disciples of the Prophet assured his mother that her son had given sufficient evidence of his faith, and would be happy in a future state." He died the same evening.

Proceeding with caution, from fear of the Moorish banditti, Park reached on the 18th the village of Simbing, on the frontier of Ludamar. It was from this place that the ill-fated Major Houghton, when deserted by his negro servants, who refused to follow him into the Moorish country, wrote his last

* "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet,' the Mussulman creed.

letter, with a pencil, to Dr. Laidley. From the information which Park afterward gathered, it appears that the adventurous traveller, on his arrival at Jarra, became acquainted with certain Moorish merchants, who were travelling to Tisheet (a place near the salt-pits, in the Great Desert, ten days' journey to the northward) to purchase salt; and the major, at the expense of a musket and some tobacco, engaged them to convey him thither. Park thinks it impossible to form any other opinion on this determination than that the Moors intentionally deceived him, either with regard to the route that he wished to pursue, or the state of the intermediate country between Jarra and Tombuctoo; and that they probably designed to rob him, and leave him in the desert. At the end of two days he suspected their treachery, and insisted on returning to Jarra. Finding him persist in this determination, the Moors robbed him of everything he possessed, and went off with their camels; the poor major, being thus deserted, returned on foot to a watering-place in possession of the Moors, called Tarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling Moors refusing to give him any, he sunk at last under his distresses. "Whether," says Park, "he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered outright by the savage Mohammedans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods, and I was shown from a distance the spot where his remains were left to perish."*

About noon on the 18th Park arrived at Jarra.

* For some farther account of this unfortunate traveller, see Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa, p. 80. Harpers' Family Library, No. xvi.

a large town situated at the bottom of some rocky hills. He obtained a lodging at the house of Daman Jumma, a Gambia Slatee, upon whom Dr. Laidley had given him an order for the value of six slaves. The debt was one of five years' standing; but the Slatee readily acknowledged it, though he feared his inability to pay more than one third of it at that time. Our traveller received from him, however, material assistance in exchanging his beads and amber for gold, an article more portable and more easily concealed from the Moors.

Park's attendants now refused to proceed one step farther with him, on account of their fear of the Moors. He says that he could not condemn their apprehensions, as the danger they incurred of being seized by those savages and sold in slavery, became every day more apparent. He resolved, nevertheless, to continue his journey into Bambarra, and for that purpose hired one of Daman's slaves to accompany him. It was necessary, however, to obtain permission from Ali, the chief or sovereign of Ludamar, to pass through his territory; and a message was accordingly despatched with a present to the monarch, who then lay encamped near Benown. On the evening of the 26th of February, one of Ali's slaves arrived at Jarra, with directions, as he said, to conduct Park on his way as far as Goomba. On the following day Park delivered most of his papers to his attendant, Johnson, to be conveyed as soon as possible to the Gambia. His faithful boy, Demba, no longer talked of refusing to proceed; telling him that he had never entertained any serious thoughts of deserting him,

but had been advised to it by Johnson, with the view of inducing him to turn back.

On the 1st of March, the third day after leaving Jarra, Park arrived at the large town of Deena, where the Moors, being in greater proportion to the negroes than at Jarra, were more bold in ill-treating him. They assembled round the hut of the negro in which he lodged, and treated him with the greatest insolence: they hissed, shouted, and abused him; they even spat in his face, with a view to irritate him, and afford them a pretext for seizing his baggage. But, finding that such insults had not the desired effect, they had recourse to the final and decisive argument that he was a Christian, and that, of course, his property was lawful plunder to the followers of Mohammed. They accordingly opened his bundles, and robbed him of everything which they fancied. His attendants, finding that everybody could plunder him with impunity, insisted on returning to Jarra.

On the following day he found his attendants obstinate in their refusal to proceed. Therefore, on the following morning, about two o'clock, he departed alone from Deena. "It was moonlight, but the roaring of the wild beasts made it necessary to proceed with caution." When he had reached a rising ground, about half a mile from the town, he heard somebody halloo, and, looking back, saw his faithful boy, Demba, running after him. The lad told him that, if he would stop a little, Daman's negro might be persuaded to accompany them. Park waited accordingly; and in about an hour the boy returned with the negro.

On the 4th he reached Sampaka, and lodged in

the house of a negro who practised the art of making gunpowder.* On the road thither he observed immense quantities of locusts, the trees being quite black with them. These insects, he says, devour every vegetable that comes in their way, and in a short time completely strip a tree of its leaves. "When a tree is shaken or struck, it is astonishing to see what a cloud of them will fly off. In their flight they yield to the current of the wind, which at this season of the year is always from the N.E. Should the wind shift, it is difficult to conceive where they could collect food, as the whole of their course was marked with desolation."

On the 5th Park reached the town of Dalli. It was a feast-day there, and the people were dancing before the dooty's house; but when they heard that a white man had arrived, they left off and repaired to his lodging, walking in regular order, two and two, with the music before them. The dancing and singing continued till midnight, Park sitting still all the while, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the crowd that surrounded him. He proceeded the next evening to the village of Samee, where he was most hospitably received by the dooty, who, not content with killing two sheep in honour of the white man's visit, insisted upon his staying the following day until the cool of the evening. As he was now within two days' journey of Goomba, Park had no apprehensions concerning the Moors, and he readily accepted the invitation. He spent

* Speaking of the gunpowder made by the natives, Park says, "The grains are very unequal, and the sound of its explosion is by no means so sharp as that produced by European gunpowder."

the forenoon of the 7th very pleasantly, he says, with these poor negroes, whose company was the more acceptable, as the gentleness of their manners presented a striking contrast to the rudeness and barbarity of the Moors.

"In the midst of this harmless festivity, I flattered myself," says Park, "that all danger from the Moors was over. Fancy had already placed me on the banks of the Niger, and presented to my imagination a thousand delightful scenes in my future progress, when a party of Moors unexpectedly entered the hut and dispelled the golden dream. They came, they said, by Ali's orders, to convey me to his camp at Benown. If I went peaceably, they told me, I had nothing to fear; but if I refused, they had orders to bring me by force. I was struck dumb by surprise and terror, which the Moors observing, endeavoured to calm my apprehensions, by repeating the assurance that I had nothing to fear. Their visit, they added, was occasioned by the curiosity of Ali's wife, Fatima, who had heard so much about Christians that she was very desirous to see one; as soon as her curiosity should be satisfied, they had no doubt, they said, that Ali would give me a handsome present, and send a person to conduct me to Bambarra. Finding entreaty and resistance equally fruitless, I prepared to follow the messengers, and took leave of my landlord and his company with great reluctance. Accompanied by my faithful boy (for Daman's slave had made his escape on seeing the Moors), we reached Dalli in the evening, where we were strictly watched by the Moors during the night."

As he journeyed back with his captors, he had

The Tent of Ali, at Benown.

several opportunities of observing the infamous character of the Moors. At Deena, where he had been so badly treated by them a few days before, he went to pay his respects to one of Ali's sons; as soon as he was seated, the royal youth handed him a double-barrelled gun, telling him to dye the stock blue, and mend one of the locks. Park had great difficulty in persuading him that he knew nothing about the matter. "If you cannot repair the gun," then said the prince, "you shall give me some knives and scissors immediately;" and when the boy Demba, who acted as Park's interpreter, declared that his master had no such articles, the barbarian hastily snatched up a musket that stood by him, cocked it, and putting the muzzle close to the boy's ear, would certainly have shot him dead on the spot, had not the Moors wrested the weapon from him, and made signs for the strangers to retire. The boy was so terrified that he tried to make his escape in the night; but the vigilance of the Moors was too strict.

A little before sunset on the 12th, the party reached Benown, as the residence of Ali was called; a collection of dirty-looking tents, scattered, without order, over a large space of ground, and intermixed with herds of camels, cattle, and goats. "My arrival," says Park, "was no sooner observed, than the people who drew water at the wells threw down their buckets; those in the tents mounted their horses, and men, women, and children came running or galloping towards me. I soon found myself surrounded by such a crowd that I could scarcely move; one pulled my clothes, another took off my hat, a third stopped me to ex-

amine my waistcoat-buttons, and a fourth called out, *La illah el allah, Mohammed rasowl allahi*,* and signified in a threatening manner that I must repeat those words. We reached at length the king's tent, where we found a number of people, men and women, assembled. Ali was sitting upon a black leather cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip, a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man, of the Arab cast, with a long white beard; and he had a sullen and indignant aspect. He surveyed me with attention, and inquired of the Moors if I could speak Arabic; being answered in the negative, he appeared much surprised, and continued silent. The surrounding attendants, and especially the ladies, were abundantly more inquisitive: they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of my apparal, searched my pockets, and obliged me to unbutton my waistcoat and display the whiteness of my skin; they even counted my toes and fingers, as if they doubted whether in truth I was a human being. In a little time the priest announced evening prayers; but, before the people separated, the Moor who acted as interpreter informed me that Ali was about to present me with something to eat; and, looking round, I observed some boys bringing a wild hog, which they tied to one of the tent-strings, and Ali made signs to me to kill and dress it for supper. Though I was very hungry, I did not think it prudent to eat any part of an animal so much detested by the Moors, and therefore told him that I never ate such food. They then untied the hog, in hopes that it

* See page 63.

would run immediately at me ; for they believe that a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians. But in this they were disappointed ; for the animal no sooner regained his liberty, than he began to attack, indiscriminately, every person that came in his way, and at last took shelter under the couch upon which the king was sitting. The assembly being thus dissolved, I was conducted to the tent of Ali's chief slave, but was not permitted to enter, nor touch anything belonging to it. I requested something to eat, and a little boiled corn, with salt and water, was at length sent me in a wooden bowl ; and a mat was spread upon the sand before the tent, on which I passed the night, surrounded by the curious multitude."

In the morning Ali assigned him a tent ; and when he entered it, he found the wild hog tied to one of its supports. The boys came and amused themselves by beating the animal with sticks until it became so irritated as to run and bite at every person within its reach. The men and women then came in crowds to see the white man, and kept him from noon to night dressing and undressing, buttoning and unbuttoning.

During the night the Moors kept a regular watch, and frequently looked into the hut to see if he was asleep, lighting a wisp of grass when it was quite dark. "About two in the morning," he says, "a Moor entered the hut, probably with a view to steal something, or, perhaps, to murder me ; and, groping about, laid his hand upon my shoulder. As night visiters were at best but suspicious characters, I sprang up the moment he laid his hand upon me · and the Moor, in his haste to get off, stumbled

over my boy, and fell with his face upon the wild hog, which returned the attack by biting the Moor's arm. The screams of this man alarmed the people in the king's tent, who immediately conjectured that I had made my escape, and a number of them mounted their horses and prepared to pursue me. I observed upon this occasion that Ali did not sleep in his own tent, but came galloping upon a white horse from a small tent at a considerable distance; indeed, the tyrannical and cruel behaviour of this man made him so jealous of every person around him, that even his own slaves and domestics knew not where he slept. When the Moors had explained to him the cause of this outcry, they all went away, and I was permitted to sleep quietly until morning."

The following day witnessed the same round of insult and irritation. The boys assembled to beat the hog; the men and women to plague the Christian. "It is impossible for me," says Park, "to describe the behaviour of a people who study mischief as a science, and exult in the miseries and misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. It is sufficient to observe, that the rudeness, ferocity, and fanaticism which distinguish the Moor from the rest of mankind, found here a proper subject whereon to exercise their propensities. I was a *stranger* I was *unprotected*, and I was a *Christian;* each of these circumstances is sufficient to drive away every spark of humanity from the heart of a Moor, but when all of them, as in my case, were combined in the same person; and a suspicion prevailed, withal, that I had come as a *spy* into the country, the reader will easily imagine that, in such a

situation, I had everything to fear. Anxious, however, to conciliate favour, and, if possible, to afford the Moors no pretence for ill-treating me, I readily complied with every command, and patiently bore every insult; but never did any period of my life pass away so heavily: from sunrise to sunset was I obliged to suffer, with unruffled countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth."

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## HAPTER VII.

Park's Debut as a Barber, and the Result.—Rapacity of King Ali towards him.—The Monarch's Perplexity at a Pocket Compass.—His Refusal to allow Park's Departure.—The Traveller's distressing Condition.—A Sand-wind.—Sultriness of the Weather.—Continued Ill-treatment of Park.—His Sufferings from Hunger.—Removal of the Moorish Camp.—Park's Introduction to Queen Fatima.—Excessive Heat and Scarcity of Water.—Park's Sufferings from Thirst.—Fortunate Change in his favour.

[1796.]

THOUGH the Moors themselves are very indolent, they seldom allow others to remain idle. The boy, Demba, was sent to the woods to collect withered grass for Ali's horses; and his master was ordered to fill the office of *barber*. He was to make his first exhibition in this capacity in the royal presence, and to be honoured with the task of shaving the head of the young prince of Ludamar. "I accordingly seated myself upon the sand," he says, "and the boy with some hesitation sat down beside me. A small razor about three inches long

was put into my hand, and I was ordered to proceed; but whether from my own want of skill or the improper shape of the instrument, I unfortunately made a slight incision in the boy's head at the very commencement of the operation; and the king, observing the awkward manner in which I held the razor, concluded that his son's head was in very improper hands, and ordered me to resign the razor and walk out of the tent. This I considered as a very fortunate circumstance, for I had laid it down as a rule to make myself as useless and insignificant as possible, as the only means of recovering my liberty."

On the 18th of March, his interpreter, Johnson, who refused to accompany him beyond Jarra, was brought from that town by the Moors; as was also a bundle of clothes which Park had left at the house of the Slatee, Daman Jumma. Fortunately, Johnson had committed his papers to the charge of one of Daman's wives. In the evening our traveller received a significant intimation from Ali, that, as there were thieves in the neighbourhood, it was necessary that the rest of his things should be conveyed into the royal tent; and they were taken accordingly. Being disappointed, however, in their value, the king sent the next morning to search his person, and Park was then stripped of all his gold and amber, his watch, and one of his pocket compasses. He had fortunately, in the night, buried the other compass in the sand; and "this," he says, "with the clothes I had on, was all that the tyranny of Ali had now left me."

His majesty was much perplexed by the compass, and became very desirous of learning why

"that small piece of iron" always pointed to the Great Desert.* Our traveller, in his turn, was perplexed to answer the question. To have pleaded his ignorance would have raised a suspicion of his wishing to conceal the truth; and he therefore told the king that his mother resided far beyond the sands of Sahara; that, while she was alive, the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct him to her; and that, when she was dead, it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with double amazement; turned it round and round repeatedly; but observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution and returned it to Park, manifesting that he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an instrument in his possession.

On the following day, being the 20th, a council of chief men was held in Ali's tent, concerning their Christian captive. This decision was variously reported to Park; some told him that he was to be put to death, and others that he was only to lose his right hand. "But the most probable account," he says, "was that which I received from Ali's own son, a boy about nine years of age, who came to me in the evening, and with much concern informed me that his uncle had persuaded his father to put out my eyes, which, they said, resembled those of a cat, and that all the bushreens had approved of this measure. His father, however, he said, would not put the sentence into execution un-

* The Sahara, or Great Desert, is the northern boundary of Ludamar.

til Fatima, the queen, who was then in the North, had seen me."

Early the next morning Park went to the king and begged permission to return to Jarra; it was flatly refused, but a promise was given that he should be at liberty to depart when Queen Fatima had seen him. "Unsatisfactory as this answer was," he says, "I was forced to appear pleased; and as there was little hopes of my making any escape at this season of the year, on account of the excessive heat, and the total want of water in the woods, I resolved to wait patiently until the rains had set in, or until some more favourable opportunity should present itself; but hope deferred maketh the heart sick. This tedious procrastination from day to day, and the thoughts of travelling through the negro kingdoms in the rainy season, which was now fast approaching, made me very melancholy; and, having passed a restless night, I found myself attacked in the morning by a smart fever. I had wrapped myself close up in my cloak, with a view to induce perspiration, and was asleep when a party of Moors entered the tent, and with their usual rudeness pulled the cloak from me. I made signs to them that I was sick, and wished much to sleep; but I solicited in vain; my distress was matter of sport to them, and they endeavoured to heighten it by every means in their power. This studied and degrading insolence, to which I was constantly exposed, was one of the bitterest ingredients in the cup of captivity, and often made life itself a burden to me. In those distressing moments I have frequently envied the situation of the slave, who, amid all his calamities, could

still possess the enjoyments of his own thoughts, a happiness to which I had for some time been a stranger. Wearied out with such continual insults, and, perhaps, a little peevish from the fever, I trembled lest my passions might unawares overleap the bounds of prudence, and spur me to some sudden act of resentment, when death must be the inevitable consequence. In this perplexity I left my tent, and walked to some shady trees at a little distance from the camp, where I lay down. But even here persecution followed me, and solitude was thought too great an indulgence for a distressed Christian. Ali's son, with a number of horsemen, came galloping to the place, and ordered me to rise and follow them." He had been suspected, it appeared, of intending to make his escape ; he was therefore taken to Ali's tent, and informed that, in future, if he were seen without the skirts of the camp, he would be shot by the first person who observed him.

On the afternoon of the 28th he was permitted to ride out with Ali, on a visit to some of the royal ladies. He was conducted to four tents, at every one of which he was presented with a bowl of milk and water. The ladies, who were all remarkably corpulent,* surveyed him with great attention, but they affected to consider him as a sort of inferior being, knitting their dusky brows, and seeming to shudder when they looked at the whiteness of his skin.

* With the Moors "corpulence and beauty appear to be nearly synonymous terms. A woman of even moderate pretensions must be one who cannot walk without a slave under each arm to support her : and a perfect beauty is a load for a camel."

The weather had now become extremely sultry, and Park suffered much from the heat and dust, and felt acutely the loss of the linen of which Ali had robbed him. Towards the close of March, a sand-wind prevailed for two days, with slight intermissions, the air being at times so filled that it was difficult to discern the neighbouring tents. The sand fell in great plenty among the *kouskous*;* it readily adhered to the skin when moistened by perspiration, and formed "a cheap and universal hair-powder." On the 7th of April, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a whirlwind passed through the camp, with such violence that it overturned three tents, and blew down one side of Park's. "These whirlwinds," says Park, "come from the Great Desert, and at this season of the year are so common, that I have seen five or six of them at a time. They carry up quantities of sand to an amazing height, which resemble, at a distance, so many moving pillars of smoke. The scorching heat of the sun upon a dry and sandy country makes the air insufferably hot. Ali having robbed me of my thermometer, I had no means of forming a comparative judgment; but in the middle of the day, when the beams of the vertical sun are seconded by the scorching wind from the Desert, the ground is frequently heated to such a degree as not to be borne by the naked foot; even the negro slaves will not run from one tent to another without their sandals. At this time of the day the Moors lie stretched at length in their tents, either asleep or unwilling to move; and I have often felt the wind so hot, that I could not hold my hand in

* See page 41.

the current of air which came through the crevices of my tent without feeling sensible pain."

One whole month of captivity had Park now endured; and during that space, each succeeding day brought him fresh distresses. "I watched," he says, "the lingering course of the sun with anxiety, and blessed his evening beams as they shed a yellow lustre along the sandy floor of my tent; for it was then that my oppressors left me, and allowed me to pass the sultry night in solitude and reflection." About this time the *Ramadan*, or period of the Mohammedan Lent, happened to fall; and as the Moors, like most Mussulmans, kept the severe fast with a religious strictness, they thought proper to make their Christian captive do likewise. Time, however, had somewhat reconciled him to his sufferings; and he found, he says, that he could bear hunger and thirst better than he expected. To beguile the tedious hours, he learned to write Arabic from the people who came to see him; and when he observed any one whose countenance indicated malice towards him, he made it a rule to ask that person either to write some characters in the sand, or to decipher what he himself had already written. "The pride of showing his superior attainments," says Park, "generally induced him to comply with my request."

On the 14th of April, as Queen Fatima had not arrived, Ali resolved to go to the North and fetch her; he accordingly left Benown about midnight on the 16th. Park's treatment was now worse than before; the dressing of his victuals was left entirely to the care of Ali's slaves, over whom he had not the slightest control, and he found him-

self not even so well supplied as he had been during the fast month. "For two successive nights," he says, "they neglected to send us our accustomed meal; and though my boy went to a small negro town near the camp, and begged with great diligence from hut to hut, he could only procure a few handfuls of ground-nuts, which he readily shared with me. Hunger, at first, is certainly a very painful sensation; but when it has continued for some time, this pain is succeeded by languor and debility, in which case a draught of water, by keeping the stomach distended, will greatly exhilarate the spirits, and remove for a short time every sort of uneasiness. Johnson and Demba were very much dejected; they lay streched upon the sand in a sort of torpid slumber: and even when the kouskous arrived, I found some difficulty in awaking them. I felt no inclination to sleep, but was affected with a deep, convulsive respiration, like constant sighing; and, what alarmed me still more, a dimness of sight, and a tendency to faint when I attempted to sit up. These symptoms did not go off until some time after I had received nourishment."

Such was the condition of Park, when, on the 29th of April, intelligence reached Benown that Mansong, the king of Bambarra, was marching with his army towards Ludamar, to chastise Ali for having refused to furnish certain promised succours, and for having treated with contempt the messengers sent to demand it. In the afternoon the tents were struck, and on the following morning the whole camp was in motion to the northward. Four days elapsed before they reached

Ali's new encampment, which was in the middle of a thick wood, about two miles from a negro town called Bubaker. In the hurry and confusion of this removal, the wants of our unfortunate traveller were little heeded by his barbarous oppressors.

As soon as he arrived at the new camp on the afternoon of the 3d of May, Park waited upon Ali to pay his respects to Queen Fatima. The king seemed much pleased at his coming, shook hands with him, and informed his wife that "he was the Christian." This royal lady, whose curiosity had been so disastrous to Park, was a woman of the Arab cast, with long black hair; and, in accordance with the Moorish taste, she was remarkably corpulent. At first she appeared rather shocked at having a Christian so near her; but when Park had answered a great many questions respecting the country of the Christians, she seemed more at ease, and presented him with a bowl of milk, which he considered as a very favourable omen.

The heat had now become almost insufferable; "all nature seemed sinking under it." The distant country presented to the eye a dreary expanse of sand, with a few stunted trees and prickly bushes, in the shade of which the hungry cattle licked up the withered grass, while the camels and goats picked off the scanty foliage. Water became extremely scarce. "Day and night the wells were crowded with cattle, lowing and fighting with each other to come at the trough; excessive thirst made many of them furious; others being too weak to contend for the water, endeavoured to quench their thirst by devouring the black mud from the gutters near the wells, which they did with great avidity though it was commonly fatal to them."

Park suffered severely from this scarcity of water; Ali allowed him a skin, but whenever his boy went to fill it, the Moors at the wells gave the lad a sound drubbing for his presumption. "Every one was astonished," says Park, "that the slave of a Christian should attempt to draw water from wells which were dug by the followers of the Prophet. This treatment, at length, so frightened the boy, that I believe he would sooner have perished with thirst than attempt again to fill the skin; he therefore contented himself with begging water from the negro slaves that attended the camp, and I followed his example, but with very indifferent success; for though I let no opportunity slip, and was very urgent in my solicitations, both to Moors and negroes, I was but ill supplied, and frequently passed the night in the situation of Tantalus. No sooner had I shut my eyes, than fancy would convey me to the streams and rivers of my native land; there, as I wandered along the verdant brink, I surveyed the clear stream with transport, and hastened to swallow a delightful draught; but alas! disappointment awakened me, and I found myself a lonely captive, perishing of thirst amid the wilds of Africa!"

One night, being quite feverish, he walked out himself to the wells, and requested permission to drink, but was driven away with outrageous abuse. At last he came to one of them at which there was only an old man with two boys. The man drew him up a bucket of water; "but, as I was about to take hold of it," says Park, "he recollected that I was a Christian, and fearing that his bucket might be polluted by my lips, he dashed the water into

the trough, and told me to drink from thence. Though this trough was none of the largest, and three cows were already drinking in it, I resolved to come in for my share ; and kneeling, thrust my head between two of the cows, and drank with great pleasure until the water was nearly exhausted, and the cows began to contend with each other for the last mouthful."

As the wet season was now approaching, when the Moors annually evacuate the country of the negroes and return to the skirts of the Great Desert, Park felt that his fate was drawing to a crisis ; and at this juncture circumstances occurred which produced an unexpected change in his favour. When the war between Kaarta and Bambarra had broken out, many of the subjects of the former state had deserted their sovereign and retired into Ludamar ; in the language of King Daisy's proclamation, "they had broken the key of their huts, and could never after enter the door." Dreading his resentment, as the Moors were about to retire to the North, they offered to treat with Ali for two hundred horsemen, to assist them in humbling their sovereign ; and Ali, thinking that the treaty would afford a good opportunity of extorting money, sent his son to them at Jarra, and prepared to follow in person.

To be permitted to accompany Ali was the object of Park, who had little doubt of escaping from Jarra if he could once get there. He preferred his request to Queen Fatima, and fortunately moving her compassion, was told that in a few days he should be at liberty to depart. This time the promise was not broken.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure of Park from Bubaker.—Ali's Detention of his Boy, Demba.—His Grief and Indignation.—His Flight from Jarra with the Townspeople.—His Escape from a Party of Moors at Queira.—His Treatment by another Party.—His Joy at his Deliverance.—His Sufferings from Thirst in the Wilderness.—His Fainting upon the Sand.—Relief afforded him by a fall of Rain.—A narrow Escape.—Charity of an old Woman towards him.—His continued Risks.—His Arrival at Waiora beyond the reach of the Moors.—His Journey to Sego, and Discovery of the Niger.

[1796.]

EARLY on the morning of the 26th of May, Park set out from the camp of Bubaker, accompanied by his two attendants, Johnson and Demba, and a number of Moorish horsemen. His horse, with the saddle and bridle, had been sent to him by Ali's order the preceding evening; and a part of his apparel had been returned to him by Queen Fatima, "with much grace and civility," when he went to take leave of her. His prospects, though still clouded, were beginning to brighten; but in the course of this journey to Jarra he was made bitterly to feel that he was yet within the tyrant's power. The party had passed the night of the 26th and the whole of the 27th at a watering-place in the woods. On the morning of the 28th, the Moors saddled their horses, and Ali's chief slave ordered Park to get in readiness. In a little time the same messenger returned, and, taking the boy,

Demba, by the shoulder, told him in the Mandingo language, that "Ali was to be his master in future;" and then, turning to Park, said, "The business is settled at last; the boy, and everything but your horse, goes back to Bubaker, but you may take the old fool (meaning Johnson, the interpreter) with you to Jarra."

"I made him no answer," says Park; "but being shocked beyond description at the idea of losing the poor boy, I hastened to Ali, who was at breakfast before his tent, surrounded by many of his courtiers. I told him (perhaps in rather too passionate a strain) that, whatever imprudence I had been guilty of in coming into his country, I thought I had been sufficiently punished for it, by being so long detained, and then plundered of all my little property; which, however, gave me no uneasiness when compared with what he had just now done to me. I observed that the boy, whom he had just now seized upon, was not a slave, and had been accused of no offence: he was, indeed one of my attendants, and his faithful services in that station had procured him his freedom. His fidelity and attachment had made him follow me into my present situation; and, as he looked up to me for protection, I could not see him deprived of his liberty without remonstrating against such an act as the height of cruelty and injustice. Ali made no reply, but, with a haughty air and malignant smile, told his interpreter that, if I did not mount my horse immediately, he would send me back likewise. There is something in the frown of a tyrant which rouses the most secret emotions of the heart. I could not suppress my feelings,

and, for once, entertained an indignant wish to rid the world of such a monster."

On reaching Jarra, Park endeavoured, through the agency of his old acquaintance, Daman Jumma, to recover the boy, offering a bill upon Dr. Laidley for the value of two slaves. Ali refused the offer, as he considered the boy to be Park's principal interpreter; but he told Daman that he himself might have the lad thereafter at the common price of a slave, which Daman agreed to pay for him whenever Ali should send him to Jarra.

On the 8th of June Ali returned to the camp of Bubaker, leaving permission for Park to remain at Jarra till he came back. This was "joyful news" to our unfortunate traveller, who now conceived serious hopes of effecting his escape; and the course of events favoured his design. Intelligence was brought to Jarra that King Daisy, the sovereign of Kaarta, having heard of the schemes of his rebellious subjects, was about to march upon that town. The fugitive Kaartans therefore applied to Ali for the 200 horsemen which he had agreed to lend them: but Ali, having received payment beforehand, very coolly told them that his cavalry were otherwise employed. The Kaartans then, alone, advanced against their sovereign; but, finding him too strong, returned to Jarra after a little plundering. Shortly afterward, on the 26th of June, news was brought that King Daisy would be in that town on the ensuing day; and the inhabitants immediately prepared for quitting it as soon as posssible.

In the forenoon of the 26th, the sentinels stationed in advance announced King Daisy's approach.

"The terror of the townspeople on this occasion," says Park, "is not easily to be described. Indeed, the screams of the women and children, and the great hurry and confusion that everywhere prevailed, made one suspect that the Kaartans had already entered the town; and although I had every reason to be pleased with Daisy's behaviour to me when I was at Kemmoo, I had no wish to expose myself to the mercy of his army, who might, in the general confusion, mistake me for a Moor. I therefore mounted my horse, and, taking a large bag of corn before me, rode slowly along with the townspeople until we reached the foot of a rocky hill, where I dismounted, and drove my horse up before me. When I had reached the summit I sat down, and, having a full view of the town and the neighbouring country, could not help lamenting the situation of the poor inhabitants, who were thronging after me, driving their sheep, cows, goats, &c., and carrying a scanty portion of provisions and clothes. There was a great noise and crying everywhere upon the road, for many aged people and children were unable to walk; and these, with the sick, were obliged to be carried, otherwise they must have been left to certain destruction."

The route which Park followed, with the inhabitants of Jarra in their flight, was to the east, or towards Bambarra, in continuation of his journey to the Niger. On the 1st July, as he was resting at Queira to recruit his horse, Ali's chief slave and four Moors arrived, and took up their lodging at the dooty's house. Through the agency of his interpreter, Johnson (whom he had overtaken, flying from Jarra with Daman Jumma), he learned from

their conversation that they had been sent to take him back to Bubaker. In the evening, two of the Moors went privately to look at his horse; one of them proposed to take it to the dooty's hut, but the other observed that the precaution was unnecessary, as the owner never could escape on such an animal. They then inquired where he slept, and returned.

"All this," says Park, "was like a stroke of thunder to me, for I dreaded nothing so much as confinement again among the Moors." He resolved to set off at once, and tried, but without success, to persuade Johnson to accompany him. In the night he got ready his clothes, which consisted of two shirts, two pairs of trousers, two pocket-handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, and a pair of half boots. At daybreak, Johnson, who had been listening to the Moors all night, came and whispered to him that they were asleep. "The awful crisis," he says, "was now arrived, when I was again either to taste the blessing of freedom, or languish out my days in captivity. A cold sweat moistened my forehead as I thought on the dreadful alternative, and reflected that, one way or the other, my fate must be decided in the course of the ensuing day. But to deliberate was to lose the only chance of escaping. So, taking up my bundle, I stepped gently over the negroes, who were sleeping in the open air, and, having mounted my horse, I bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of the papers I had intrusted him with, and inform my friends in Gambia that he had left me in good health on my way to Bambarra."

At a short distance from the town he heard somebody halloo behind him, and, looking back, he saw three Moors coming after him at full speed. Knowing escape to be impracticable, he turned to meet them, and received the dreaded intimation that he must go back to Ali. Despair had almost benumbed his faculties, and he followed his captors with apparent unconcern. After riding some distance, he was ordered to untie his bundle and show the contents; there was nothing worth taking but his cloak, which one of the marauders wrapped about himself. This cloak, however, was greatly needed by our unfortunate traveller, to shelter him from the rains by day and the moschetoes by night; and he earnestly begged to have it returned. But the Moors then rode off, telling him that he must proceed no farther with them; a pleasing injunction, even in such distress.

Congratulating himself upon having escaped with his life, Park turned his horse's head once more towards the east, and, soon regaining the path from which he had been taken, entered upon the desolate wilderness which separates the kingdoms of Kaarta and Ludamar. "It is impossible," he says, "to describe the joy that arose in my mind when I looked around and concluded that I was out of danger. I felt like one recovered from sickness; I breathed freer; I found unusual lightness in my limbs; even the desert looked pleasant; and I dreaded nothing so much as falling in with some wandering parties of Moors, who might convey me back to the land of thieves and murderers from which I had just escaped."

But he soon became sensible that his situation

was, in reality, deplorable ; not a single bead, nor any other article of value, wherewith he might purchase food, remained in his possession, and he was crossing a sandy wilderness without water, under an African sun in July. A little after noon he became faint with thirst, and climbed a tree in the hope of descrying some sign of a human habitation ; but all around him were hillocks of white sand and thick underwood. In the afternoon he came upon a large herd of goats, tended by two Moorish boys, who showed him their empty skins, and told him they could find no water. His thirst now became insufferable ; his mouth and throat were parched and inflamed ; to relieve the burning pain he chewed the leaves of different shrubs, but found them all bitter, and of no service to him. A little before sunset he climbed a high tree, and cast a melancholy look over the barren wilderness ; the same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand everywhere presented itself, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

"Descending from the tree," he says, "I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity ; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself, in doing which, I was suddenly affected with sickness and giddiness, and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. 'Here then,' thought I, 'after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation. Here must my

short span of life come to an end.' I cast (as I believed) a last look on the surrounding scene, and while I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions; and on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence."

The evening was cool; and in about an hour he perceived lightning in the northeast; "a delightful sign, for it promised rain." In less than another hour he heard the wind roaring among the bushes, and had already opened his mouth to receive the refreshing drops which he expected, when a cloud of sand was driven forcibly against him, and he was obliged to mount his horse and stop under a bush to avoid being suffocated. Resuming his journey, he beheld, about ten o'clock, some very vivid flashes of lightning, which were followed by a few heavy drops of rain; in a little time the sand ceased to fly, and alighting, he spread out all his clean clothes. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, "and I quenched my thirst," he says, "by wringing and sucking my clothes."

The night was very dark; but, till past midnight, the flashes of lightning enabled him to direct his course by the compass. He was then under the necessity of groping along, "to the no small danger of his hands and eyes." About two o'clock his horse started, and, looking round, he saw a light

at a short distance among the trees. Advancing cautiously, he heard, by the lowing of the cattle and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, belonging most likely to the Moors. "Delightful," he says, "as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing of hunger than trust myself again in their hands; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit, I inadvertently approached so near to one of the tents, as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. Two people came running to her assistance from some of the neighbouring tents, and passed so very near to me that I thought I was discovered, and hastened again into the woods."

A mile farther on, he heard a loud and confused noise on his right; it proved to be the croaking of frogs; "heavenly music," as he styles it, to his ears. Following the sound, he reached at daybreak some shallow muddy pools, so full of frogs that it was difficult to discern the water; to keep the reptiles quiet till his horse had drunk, he was obliged to beat the water with a branch. When he had quenched his thirst he climbed a tree, and saw a pillar of smoke about twelve or fourteen miles distant, in the direction of his journey. Proceeding towards it, he reached about eleven o'clock a Foulah village, called Sherillah, belonging to his dreaded oppressor, Ali. He rode up to the dooty's house, and was refused both shelter and food.

"Knowing that in Africa, as well as in Europe, hospitality does not always prefer the highest dwellings," he went towards some low, scattered huts without the walls. At the door of one of these humble dwellings sat an old, motherly-looking woman, spinning cotton. "I made signs to her," says Park, "that I was hungry, and inquired if she had any victuals with her in the hut. She immediately laid down her distaff, and desired me, in Arabic, to come in. When I had seated myself upon the floor, she set before me a dish of kouskous, that had been left the preceding night, of which I made a tolerable meal; and, in return for this kindness, I gave her one of my pocket handkerchiefs, begging, at the same time, a little corn for my horse, which she readily brought me. Overcome with joy at this unexpected deliverance, I lifted my eyes to heaven, and while my heart swelled with gratitude, I returned thanks to that gracious and bountiful Being, whose power had supported me through so many dangers, and had now spread for me a table in the wilderness."

While his horse was feeding he discovered that some of the men of the place wished to seize him and take him back to Ali, probably in the hope of getting a reward; so he departed without delay. On the following day he came to a watering-place, where a shepherd entertained him on a dish of boiled dates; and where some children cried, and their mother sprang off with them "like a greyhound" as soon as the *Nazarani** was announced. As he was continuing his journey in the evening, he

* Nazarene, or Christian.

heard some people coming from the southward, and thought it prudent to hide himself among some thick bushes. "As these thickets," he says, "are generally full of wild beasts, I found my situation rather unpleasant: sitting in the dark, holding my horse by the nose with both hands to prevent him from neighing, and equally afraid of the natives without and the wild beasts within. My fears, however, were soon dissipated, for the people, after looking round the thicket and perceiving nothing, went away; and I hastened to the more open parts of the wood, where I pursued my journey E.S.E. until past midnight, when the joyful cry of frogs induced me once more to deviate a little from my route in order to quench my thirst."

About ten o'clock on the following day, being the 5th of July, he reached the negro town of Waiora, which was then tributary to Mansong, the king of Bambarra, though properly belonging to Kaarta. As he was now in security from the Moors, he resolved to rest at this place, and recover, in some degree, from the excessive fatigue which he had suffered during his three days' journey across the wilderness.

Leaving Waiora at daylight on the 6th of July, Park reached the town of Dingyee about noon, where an old Foulah gave him shelter, and the dooty sent him food. On the following morning, as he was about to depart, his landlord begged for a lock of his hair; having been told that white men's hair made a saphie,* which would impart to the possessor all the knowledge of white men. "I

* See page 35.

had never before heard," says Park, "of so simple a mode of education, but instantly complied with the request; and my landlord's thirst for knowledge was such, that, with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of my head closely, and would have done the same with the other had I not signified my disapprobation by putting on my hat, and assuring him that I wished to preserve some of this precious merchandise for a future occasion."

About noon on the 7th he reached the small town of Wassiboo, where he was obliged to stop till an opportunity should offer of procuring a guide to the next town, Salilé, which was distant a very long days' journey, through woods without any beaten path. His stay lasted four days, during which he amused himself with going to the fields with the dooty's family to plant corn.

On the morning of the 12th he departed from Wassiboo, with eight of the fugitive Kaartans whose rebellion against their sovereign had been the indirect cause of his escape from Jarra. These men had arrived the evening before, having found it impossible to live under the tyrannical government of the Moors, and were now going to transfer their allegiance to the King of Bambarra. Park travelled in company with them till the middle of the 19th, when his horse was too fatigued to enable him to keep up with them. On the following day, however, he fell in with two negroes, whose company was acceptable to him.

He had now arrived within a short distance of Sego, the capital of Bambarra; and as he passed through several large villages in his approach to it, he became the subject of much merriment to

the inhabitants, who laughed heartily at his appearance, and especially at his driving his horse before him. "He has been at Mecca," said one; "you may see that by his clothes;" another asked him if his horse was sick; while a third expressed a wish to purchase it; "so that, I believe," to use his own words, "the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company." But he was now amply rewarded for his sufferings in receiving the gratifying intelligence that, early on the next day, he would see the long-sought Niger, which the negroes called Joliba, or *the Great Water*. At eight o'clock he saw the smoke over Sego.

"As we approached the town," he says, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king; and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I was anxiously looking round for the river, one of them called out, '*Geo affili*' (see the water); and looking forward, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission, the long-sought and majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success."

## CHAPTER IX.

The City of Sego.—Conduct of the King of Bambarra towards Park.—The Traveller's Distress, and the Kindness of a Negro Woman towards him.—The King's Present to him.—His Progress Eastward.—His narrow Escape from a Lion.—His Arrival at Silla.—His Resolution not to proceed farther.

[1796.]

Park had accomplished one of the great objects of his expedition, in penetrating to the Niger, and it now became his design to follow the course of that river until he should reach the far-famed city of Timbuctoo. For this purpose he was desirous of an interview with the King of Bambarra, and as the royal residence at Sego was upon the southern side of the river, it was necessary for him to cross it.

He waited two hours at the ferry in vain. There were three different places of embarcation, and the ferrymen were very diligent and expeditious; but there was a crowd of people passing over, and he sat down upon the bank of the river till an opportunity should offer. He describes the city of Sego as consisting, properly speaking, of four towns, two on the north bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro and Sego Boo; and two on the southern bank, called Sego Soo Korro and Sego See Korro. The houses were built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs; and some of them had two stories, and many were whitewashed. The num-

ber of inhabitants he estimates at 30,000. "The view of this extensive city," he says, "the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

While Park was waiting to cross the river, the people who had crossed carried information to the king that a white man was waiting for a passage, and coming to see him. One of the chief men was directly sent over to tell our traveller that he must not presume to cross till he received the royal permission; and the messenger therefore advised him to lodge for the night at a neighbouring village. When Park reached this village, he found that no one would give him shelter. "I was regarded," he says, "with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree and resting among the branches." But from this forlorn expedient he was happily saved by the humanity of a poor woman, whose kindness and benevolence towards him he has recorded in touching language.

"About sunset," he says, "as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me; and, perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation,

which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Finding that I was very hungry, she said that she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me some supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing at me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore; for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these: 'The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk; no wife to grind his corn.' Chorus, 'Let us pity the white man; no mother has he,' &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed with such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her."

After Park had been two days at this village, a messenger arrived from King Mansong, announcing the monarch's pleasure that he should depart forthwith from the vicinity of Sego, and presenting him with a bag of five thousand kowries,* as "Mansong wished to relieve a white man in distress;" the messenger added, that he had orders, if Park's intentions were really to proceed to Jenné, to guide him as far as Sansanding. Our traveller was at first puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king; he had afterward, however, reason to believe that Mansong would have admitted him to an interview at Sego, but was apprehensive of not being able to protect him against the blind and inveterate malice of the Moorish inhabitants.

His new guide spoke strongly to him of the dangers which he would incur in advancing farther to the eastward; telling him that Jenné, though nominally a part of the Bambarran dominions, was in fact a city of the Moors; that the places beyond it were in a still greater degree under their influence; and that Timbuctoo, "the great object of his search," was altogether in the possession of that savage and merciless people, who allowed no Christian to live there.† But Park's enterprise was of

* These are small shells, which pass current as money in the interior of Africa. Park reckoned two hundred and fifty of them as equal to one shilling sterling: where provisions were cheap, one hundred would purchase a day's food for himself and corn for his horse.

† Park was afterward told by a venerable old negro, that when he first visited Timbuctoo, he took up lodgings at a sort of public inn, the landlord of which, when he conducted him into his hut, spread a mat upon the floor and laid a rope upon it, saying, "If you are a Mussulman, you are my friend, sit down; but if you are a Kafir, you are my slave, and with this rope I will lead you to market."

a remarkably enduring character; "I had now advanced," he says, "too far to think of returning to the westward on such vague and uncertain information, and determined to proceed."

On the evening of the 24th he reached Sansanding, having passed on the way a large town, called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated country, "having a greater resemblance to the centre of England than to what he should have supposed had been the middle of Africa." The people were everywhere employed in collecting the fruit of the *shea* trees, from the kernels of which they prepare a vegetable butter, "whiter, finer, and, to my taste," says Park, "of a richer flavour than the best butter I ever tasted made from cow's milk." At Sansanding the Moors insisted upon his repeating the Mohammedan prayers, and would have forcibly carried him to the mosque for that purpose if his landlord had not interposed in his behalf, declaring that he was the king's stranger, and must not be ill-treated. About midnight, when the Moors had left him, his landlord paid him a visit, and with much earnestness begged for a saphie. "If a Moor's saphie is good," said the hospitable old man, "a white man's must needs be better." Park readily furnished one; "possessed," to use his own expression, "of all the virtues he could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's prayer." The pen with which it was written was made of a reed, a little charcoal and gum-water made a very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper.

From Sansanding he continued his course along the northern side of the river at some little distance

from its banks. On the 28th of July, as he was riding with his guide towards Modiboo, he had to pass through a district very much infested with lions. Here he saw a large animal of the camelopard kind. Shortly afterward, in crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, his guide, who was a little way before him, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language. "I inquired, in Mandingo," says Park, "what he meant: '*Wara billi billi*' (a very large lion), said he, and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too fatigued, so we rode slowly past the bush, from which the animal had given us alarm. Not seeing anything myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, '*Soubah an Allahi!*' (God preserve us!) and, to my great surprise, I then perceived a great red lion at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore-paws. I expected he would instantly spring at me, and I instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so riveted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them, until we were at a considerable distance."

In the evening he arrived at Modiboo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and to the west. "The small green islands (the

peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle are here secure from the depredations of wild beasts), and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world." On the following morning, as he journeyed towards Kea, his horse fell; and not all the exertions of himself and his guide could place the poor animal on his legs again. "I sat down for some time," says Park, "beside this wayworn associate of my adventures, but, finding him still unable to rise, I took off the saddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of grass before him. I surveyed the poor animal as he lay panting on the ground with sympathetic emotion; for I could not suppress the sad apprehension that I should myself, in a short time, lie down and perish in the same manner, of fatigue and hunger. With this foreboding I left my poor horse, and with great reluctance followed my guide on foot along the banks of the river until about noon, when we reached Kea, which I found to be nothing more than a small fishing village."

From Kea he was conveyed down the river in a fishing canoe as far as Moorzan, on the northern bank, whence he crossed over to the large town of Silla on the opposite side. Here he remained under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people, till dark, when he was permitted, after much entreaty, to enter the dooty's *baloon*.* His lodging, however, was very damp, and during the night he had a smart paroxysm of fever. In this distressing situation he came to the resolution of not proceeding farther eastward.

* A room in which strangers are commonly lodged.

" Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, half naked, and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodgings, I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced, by painful experience, that the obstacles to my farther progress were insurmountable; the tropical rains were already set in with all their violence; the rice-grounds and swamps were everywhere overflowed, and, in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity in a country where the Moors have such influence. But, above all, I perceived that I was advancing more and more within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence among them, which I had no means of obtaining), I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative, for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent which pru-

dence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do; and, whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct."

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## CHAPTER X.

Park's Departure from Silla on his Return.—Difficulties of his Situation.—His Resolution to trace the Niger to the Westward.—Dangers and Hardships of his Journey.—His Escape from a Lion.—His *Saphies*, or written Charms.—His Arrival at Bammakoo, and Departure from the Niger.—His Ill-treatment by Banditti.—His Consolation in Affliction.—Scarcity of Provisions, and its dreadful Effects.—A Night Adventure.—His arrival at Kamalia, and Determination to stop there.

[1796.]

PARK began to return westward on the 30th of July, retracing his steps along the northern bank of the river towards Sego. At Modiboo he recovered his horse. He was conversing with the dooty there, when he heard a horse neigh in one of the huts; the facetious magistrate asked him, with a smile, if he knew who was speaking to him, and then informed him that his horse was still alive, and somewhat recovered. The progress of our travel

ler was much impeded by the heavy rains ; at one town he was detained three days, as it rained with such violence that no person could venture out of doors. The country adjacent to the river was so deluged, that he was frequently in danger of losing the road : he had to wade "across the savannahs for miles together, knee-deep in water," and even breast-deep across some swamps. As he advanced, a fresh source of apprehension disclosed itself; reports prevailed that he had come to Bambarra as a spy. Every one seemed to shun him, and he was informed that King Mansong had sent out people to apprehend him.

This intelligence made him resolve to avoid Sego, but it also perplexed him much as to his future course. He says that he sometimes had thoughts of swimming his horse across the Niger, and going to the southward for Cape Coast ;* but reflecting that he had ten days to travel before he reached Kong, and afterward an extensive country to traverse, inhabited by various nations, with whose language and manners he was totally unacquainted, he relinquished that scheme, and judged that he should better answer the purpose of his mission by proceeding to the westward along the Niger, endeavouring to ascertain how far the river was navigable in that direction.

On the 13th of August he passed Sego, having made a detour to avoid it ; and instead of here quitting the Niger, and striking off into the route by which he had advanced to it, he continued his course up the river along its northern bank. In his progress he encountered dangers and hardships

* The chief English station on the Gold Coast.

similar to those which he had already experienced in such abundance, from the natural difficulties of the country in this wet season, and from the inhospitality of the people. The Niger had risen to such a height as to overflow great part of the flat land on both sides, and assume the appearance of an extensive lake; and from the muddiness of the water it was difficult to discern its depth. In crossing one swamp, his horse, being up to the belly in water, slipped suddenly into a deep pit, and was almost drowned before his feet could be disengaged from the stiff clay at the bottom. Three several times, in the short space of ten days, he had to swim over deep creeks of the river with his horse's bridle between his teeth; and so full of mud was the road, that he speaks of the washing which his clothes got from the rain, and the heavy dew in the high grass, as "sometimes pleasant, and oftentimes necessary." His notes and memoranda were secured from injury in the crown of his hat.

The *kowries* with which the generosity of King Mansong had supplied him, sometimes procured him slender accommodation; yet for three successive days he subsisted entirely on raw corn. At one time he was forced to sit alone under the bentang tree, exposed to the wind and rain of a violent tornado till midnight; and then he was permitted to sleep upon some wet grass in the corner of a court. On another occasion, the surly inhabitants of a small village refused to admit him; but as lions were very numerous in the neighbourhood, and he had frequently, in the course of the day, observed the impression of their feet on the road, he resolved not to proceed farther that night. Ac-

cordingly, having collected some grass for his horse, he lay down under a tree by the gate.

"About ten o'clock," he says, "I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me that no person must attempt to open the gate without the dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so very near me that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. About midnight, the dooty, with some of his people, opened the gate and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, that I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village without cursing the inhabitants."

At the town of Koolikorro, he lodged at the house of a merchant who had travelled to many places in the Great Desert, but whose knowledge of the world had not lessened that superstitious confidence in saphies and charms which he had imbibed in his earlier years. "When he heard," says Park, "that I was a Christian, he immediately thought of procuring a saphie; and for this purpose brought out his walha, or writing-board, assuring me that he would dress me a supper of rice if I would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men. The proposal was of too great consequence to me to be refused; I therefore wrote the board full, from top to bottom, on both sides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole

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

The limit of Park's progress along the Niger, towards the westward, or *up* the river, was the town of Bammakoo, near which he passed some rapids, of such strength that "it would," he thinks, "have been a matter of great difficulty for any European boat to have crossed the stream." He reached that town on the 23d of August, and there became aware of such serious obstructions to his farther progress along the Niger that he struck off into a new route, which still conveyed him westward, but at some distance from the river. He passed the night of the 24th at the "romantic village" of Koomi, and on the following morning departed for Sibidooloo, in company with two shep-

herds. But before he reached his destination, an adventure befell him which reduced him to a still lower stage of misery than he had yet reached.

"It was about eleven o'clock," he says, "as I stopped to drink a little water at a rivulet (my companions being about a quarter of a mile before me), that I heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the shepherds, and mounted my horse to have a better view of what had happened. The noise, however, ceased, and I rode slowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out, but without receiving any answer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road; and though I could perceive no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came close to him, he whispered me to stop, telling me that a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself as he was making his escape. I stopped to consider what route to take, and, looking round, saw at a little distance a man sitting upon the stump of a tree: I distinguished, also, the heads of six or seven more sitting among the grass, with muskets in their hands. I had no hopes of escaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant-hunters, and, by way of opening the conversation, inquired if they had shot anything; but, without returning an answer, one of them ordered me to dismount; and then, as if recollecting himself, waved with his hand for me to

proceed. I accordingly rode past, and had with some difficulty crossed a deep rivulet, when I heard somebody 'holloa!' and, looking behind, saw those I had taken for elephant-hunters running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I stopped until they were all come up, when they informed me that the King of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring me, my horse, and everything that belonged to me, to Fooladoo; and that therefore I must turn back, and go along with them. Without hesitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together near a quarter of a mile without exchanging a word; when, coming to a dark place in the wood, one of them said, in the Mandingo language, 'This place will do;' and immediately snatched my hat from my head. Though I was by no means free from apprehension, yet I resolved to show as few signs of fear as possible, and therefore told them that, unless my hat was returned to me, I should proceed no farther. But, before I had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and, seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off and put it in his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of everything, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, they stripped me quite naked. Even my half-boots (though the sole of one of them was tied on to

my foot with a broken bridle-rein) were minutely inspected. While they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earnestness, to return my pocket compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore that he would lay me dead upon the spot if I presumed to put a hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed: they returned me the worst of the two shirts and a pair of trousers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason he did not wish to keep it.

"After they were gone," continues Park, "I sat for some time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness, in the depth of the rainy season, naked and alone, surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection, and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a

strange land, yet I still was under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula without admiration. Can that Being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? Surely not! Reflections like these would not allow me to despair. I started up, and, disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forward, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed."

In a short time he overtook the two shepherds with whom he had left Koomi; and at sunset he entered the town of Sibidooloo, where he met with a very kind reception from the *mansa*,* or chief man. "Sit down," said the magistrate, taking his pipe from his mouth, after having listened to the account of the robbery, and tossing up the sleeve of his cloak with an indignant air; "sit down; you

* *Mansa* usually signifies king; but in the republican, or, rather, oligarchical state of Mandingo, in which Sibidooloo is situated, the chief governor of each town is called mansa. Park supposes the Mandingoes, already mentioned, to have originally emigrated from this state.

shall have everything restored to you; I have sworn it." And then, turning to an attendant, he added, "Give the white man a draught of water; and, with the first light of morning, go over the hills and inform the dooty of Bammakoo that a poor white man, the King of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the King of Fooladoo's people."

At Sibidooloo Park remained two days; he then proceeded to Wonda, the mansa requesting him to remain there a few days, until he heard some account of his horse and clothes. Our traveller was very anxious to receive his clothes, as the little raiment which he had upon him did not protect him from the sun by day or from the dews and moschetoes by night. He suffered, too, at this period very seriously from sickness; for his health had been greatly declining ever since the commencement of the rainy season. As he was sitting naked in the shade, while his only shirt, "worn thin like a piece of muslin," was drying on a bush, the fever attacked him with alarming violence; and, during each of the nine days that he remained at Wonda, it regularly returned.

A great scarcity of provisions prevailed at this time in the country through which Park was travelling; and of the severity with which it pressed upon the poor people, he records a melancholy illustration during his stay at Wonda. Every evening he observed five or six women come to the mansa's house, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. "As I knew," says Park, "how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the mansa whether he maintained those poor women

from pure bounty, or whether he expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in. 'Observe that boy,' said he, pointing to a fine child, about five years of age; 'his mother has sold him to me for forty days' provision for herself and the rest of her family; I have bought another boy in the same manner.' Good God! thought I, what must a mother suffer before she sells her own child! I could not get this melancholy subject out of my mind; and the next night, when the women came for their allowance, I desired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and, when she had received her corn, she came and talked to her son with as much cheerfulness as if he had been still under her care."

On the 6th of September our traveller recovered his horse and clothes. As the poor animal, being reduced to a mere skeleton, would have been useless to him on such roads as he had to journey over, Park made a present of him to his landlord, who gave him in return a spear, and a leather bag for his clothes; the saddle and bridle he sent to the mansa of Sibidooloo. He quitted Wonda on the 8th, and travelled with more ease than before, "having converted his half boots into sandals." On the 11th he hurt his ankle very much; and on the 17th he was forced to lie down three times, "being very faint and sickly," as he ascended a high, rocky hill, over which the road led to Mansia. "The mansa of this town," says Park, "had the character of being very inhospitable; he, however, sent me a little corn for my supper, but demanded something in return; and when I assu-

red him that I had nothing of value in my possession, he told me (as if in jest) that my white skin would not defend me if I told him lies. He then showed me the hut wherein I was to sleep, but took away my spear, saying that it should be returned to me in the morning. This trifling circumstance, when joined to the character I had heard of the man, made me rather suspicious of him; and I privately desired one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep in the same hut with me. About midnight I heard somebody approach the door, and, observing the moonlight strike suddenly into the hut, I started up, and saw a man stepping cautiously over the threshold. I immediately snatched up the negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw; and my companion, looking out, assured me that it was the mansa himself, and advised me to keep awake until the morning. I closed the door, and placed a large piece of wood behind it, and was wondering at this unexpected visit, when somebody pressed so hard against the door that the negro could scarcely keep it shut. But when I called to him to open the door, the intruder ran off as before."

Starting at daylight on the 19th, before this inhospitable mansa was awake, Park arrived in the afternoon at the small town of Kamalia, and was conducted to the house of a bushreen, named Karfa Taura, who was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia as soon as the rains should be over. Karfa was sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several Slatees, who proposed to join the coffle. He was

reading to them from an Arabic book; and he inquired, with a smile, if our traveller understood it. Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the Slatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the West country. "On opening this small volume," says Park, "I was surprised and delighted to find it our *Book of Common Prayer*, and Karfa expressed great joy to hear that I could read it; for some of the Slatees, who had seen the Europeans upon the coast, observing the colour of my skin (which had now become very yellow from sickness), my long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty, were unwilling to admit that I was a white man, and told Karfa that they suspected that I was some Arabian in disguise. Karfa, however, perceiving that I could read this book, had no doubt concerning me; and kindly promised me every assistance in his power."

This benevolent man soon made Park aware of the insuperable obstacles to his farther progress, alone, at such a season of the year, and recommended him to stay and accompany the coffle. Our traveller pointed out his inability to support himself in the mean while. Karfa then looked at him with great earnestness, and inquired if he could eat the common victuals of the country; if so, he should have plenty of them, and a hut to sleep in until the rains were over; and, on reaching the Gambia, he might make what return he thought proper. Park asked if the value of one prime slave would be a sufficient repayment; Karfa answered in the affirmative, and at once ordered a hut to be got ready.

"Thus," says our traveller, "was I delivered by

the friendly care of this benevolent negro from a situation truly deplorable. Distress and famine pressed hard upon me; I had before me the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller sees no habitation for five successive days. I had observed at a distance the rapid course of the river Kokoro I had almost marked out the place where I was doomed, I thought, to perish, when this friendly negro stretched out his hospitable hand for my relief."

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## CHAPTER XI.

Park's Residence at Kamalia.—Description of that Town.—Park's Occupation during his Stay there.—Climate and Seasons of the Countries visited by him.—The Inhabitants, and their Religious Opinions.—Their Ignorance and Superstition.—Manufactures of Leather and Iron.—The Process of smelting Iron.

[1796–1797.]

PARK'S stay at Kamalia lasted seven months, throughout which he was treated with great kindness. But in the early part of this period his sufferings were very severe; so long as the rains continued and the country remained wet, his fever never left him; and even afterward he was for some time in so debilitated a condition that he could scarcely stand upright. At length, however, he found himself in a state of convalescence, "towards which," he says, "the benevolent and simple manners of the negroes, and the perusal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed."

The Town of Kamalia.

The small town of Kamalia, in which Park thus became domesticated for so many months, is situated at the foot of some rocky hills, from which the inhabitants collect gold in considerable quantities: we have given a view of it in the accompanying engraving. Park found the Bushreens, or Mohammedan part of the population, living apart from the Kafirs, or pagan negroes; the former having built their huts in a scattered manner at a short distance from the town. There was a place set apart for the Mohammedans to perform their devotions in; they gave to it the name of *missura*, or mosque; but it was, in fact, nothing more than a square piece of ground, made level, and surrounded with the trunks of trees, and having a small projection towards the east, where the marraboo, or priest, stood when he called the people to prayers. Mosques of this construction are very common among the Mohammedan negroes; but, as they have neither a roof nor walls, they can be used only in fine weather. When it rains, the ceremonies of devotion are performed in the huts. The general arrangement of the town will be easily understood from an inspection of the engraving. The reader will perceive in the view, on the left hand, a furnace in active operation; it represents one which, during Park's stay at Kamalia, was constantly used for the smelting of iron ore. Of this branch of African industry we shall speak hereafter.

In the middle of December Karfa left Kamalia for a month on business; and during his absence our traveller was intrusted to the care of a "good old bushreen," named Fankooma, who acted as schoolmaster to the young people of Kamalia. In

this interval Park employed himself in collecting much valuable information concerning the climate and productions of this part of Africa; the habits and pursuits of the natives, and the most important branches of African commerce.

Throughout the whole of his journey, Park found the climate, in general, extremely hot; a circumstance not at all surprising, when we consider that his route lay between the twelfth and sixteenth degrees of latitude, and that no part of the country which he traversed was, properly speaking, mountainous. Ali's camp at Benown was the place at which he found the heat most intense and oppressive; how severely it was there felt we have already mentioned. In the hilly districts the atmosphere was at all times comparatively cool. About the middle of June begin the *tornadoes*, which are violent gusts of wind, accompanied by thunder and rain. These usher in what is called *the rainy season*, which continues until the month of December, and is marked at its termination, as at its commencement, by violent tornadoes. During the period of the rainy season the prevailing winds are from the southwest; after its close, they blow from the northeast during the remainder of the year.

The northeast wind, blowing constantly after the rainy season, soon produces a wonderful change in the face of the country. The grass becomes dry and withered, the rivers subside very rapidly, and many of the trees shed their leaves. It is from the northeast that the *harmattan* blows; this is a dry and parching wind, accompanied by a thick, smoky haze, through which the sun appears of a

dull red colour. This wind, in its progress towards the countries which Park visited, passes over the Sahara or Great Desert, and is said thus to acquire so strong an attraction to humidity, that it parches up everything exposed to its current. Yet it is reckoned very salutary, particularly to Europeans, who generally recover their health during its continuance. "I experienced," says Park, "immediate relief from sickness, both at Dr. Laidley's and at Kamalia, during the harmattan. Indeed, the air during the rainy season is so loaded with moisture, that clothes, shoes, trunks, and everything that is not close to the fire, become damp and mouldy; and the inhabitants may be said to live in a sort of vapour-bath. But this dry wind braces up the solids which were before relaxed, gives a cheerful flow of spirits, and is even pleasant to respiration. Its ill effects are, that it produces chaps in the lips, and afflicts many of the natives with sore eyes."

The negroes have a practice of setting the grass on fire when it is sufficiently dry; but in the Moorish countries this is not allowed, as it is upon the withered stubble that the Moors feed their cattle until the return of the rains. Park describes the burning of the grass in Manding as exhibiting a scene of terrific grandeur. "In the middle of the night," he says, "I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire; and the light reflected on the sky made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the daytime pillars of smoke were seen in every direction; while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down

upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant."*

* In the region of the "Far West," in North America, a vast extent of prairie ground is annually overrun by fire, the result sometimes of accident, but generally of design. "The Indian," says the American traveller, Mr. Keating, "frequently sets the prairies on fire, in order to distract the pursuit of his enemies by the smoke, or to destroy all trace of his passage; to keep the country open, and thus invite the buffalo to it; to be able to see and chase his game with more facility; as a means of communicating intelligence to a distance; with a view to give notice to his friends of his approach, or to warn them of the presence of an enemy. The traders often burn the prairies with the same view." Park represents the burning of the grass in Manding as beneficial; on the other hand, the burning of the American prairies is considered by Mr. Keating as "destroying all the vegetable matter, and tending to keep the ground in an impoverished state." The season of prairie burning is termed the "Indian Summer," the practice having originated with the Indians. As a parallel to Park's account of the burning of the grass in Manding, we quote the following description of an "Indian Summer" from a writer upon America. "The season called the Indian Summer, and which here commences in October by a dark, thick, hazy atmosphere, is caused by millions of acres, for thousands of miles round, being in a wide-spreading, flaming, blazing, smoking fire, rising up through wood and prairie, hill and dale, to the tops of low shrubs and high trees, which are kindled by a coarse, thick, long prairie grass and dying leaves, at every point of the compass, and far beyond the foot of civilization, darkening the air, heavens, and earth, over the whole extent of the northern part to the Southern Continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and, in the neighbourhoods contiguous to the all-devouring conflagration, filling the whole horizon with yellow, palpable, tangible smoke, ashes, and vapour, which affect the eyes of man and beast, and obscure the sun, moon, and stars for many days; or until the winter rains descend to quench the fire, and purge the thick, ropy air, which is seen, tasted, handled, and felt."*

* The American reader cannot fail of being amused with this very *fanciful* account of the "Indian Summer;" scarcely less fanciful than the Indian belief, that they are indebted for this genial season to soft and

Of the population of the countries through which he passed, Park says, that, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, it cannot be reckoned very great. Many extensive and beautiful districts were entirely destitute of inhabitants, and, in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either thinly peopled or quite deserted. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, being unhealthy, are unfavourable to the increase of population. It is, perhaps, on account of their superior salubrity that the countries of the interior are more thickly peopled than the maritime district; for all the negro nations that fell under Park's observation, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition.

Concerning the character of the African nations which Park visited, an opinion may be formed from the account of his travels. The most prominent defect which he observed in it was an insurmountable propensity to stealing, at least from *him;* and the reader will hereafter find, that this propensity was more fully developed in Park's second journey than in his first. As some counterbalance to this defect, our traveller notices in high terms the disinterested charity and tender solicitude with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign of Sego to the poor women who received him at

balmy winds, sent forth, for this especial object, from the court of their beneficent god Cantantowwit, whose residence is in the southwest, who bestows on them every blessing, and to whom the souls of the brave and good go after death.—*Am. Ed.*

different times into their cottages when he was perishing of hunger) sympathized with him in his sufferings, relieved his distresses, and contributed to his safety. To the female part of the population this acknowledgment is more especially rendered. Among the men, "the hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect," continues Park, "a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness I found them uniformly kind and compassionate."*

In the information which Park communicates with regard to the religious opinions of the negroes, there is little to excite our interest. He tells us that, having conversed with all ranks and conditions upon the subject of their faith, he can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. The painful fact is, however, but too well established, that this benighted people are the victims of credulity and superstition. The bushreens, of course, practise the observances of the Mohammedan faith: the only occasion upon which the kafirs or pagan natives offer up a prayer to the Supreme Being is the first appearance of the new moon. They then say a short prayer, which is pronounced in a whisper, and the purport of which is to give thanks to God for his kindness through-

* How beautifully does this exemplify what has been said by an American writer, that "The sensibilities and affections are the strength of woman's nature;" that "Feeling is the favourite element of her soul;" that "She has an instinctive sympathy with the tender, the generous, and the pure."—*Am. Ed.*

out the existence of the past moon, and to seek a continuance of his favour during that of the new one. The kafirs look upon the Deity as the creator and preserver of all things; but, in general, they consider him as a Being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine that the feeble supplication of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom. If they are asked, then, why it is that they do offer up a prayer on the appearance of a new moon, their answer is, that custom has made it necessary; that they do it because their fathers did it before them. "Such," exclaims Park, "is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl suspended to the branch of a particular tree; a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present to deprecate the wrath or to conciliate the favour of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation: when interrogated, in particular, concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing, '*Mo o mo inta allo*' (no man knows anything about it). They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or of comfort, they seem to look with anxiety to-

wards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures, but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures."*

The proficiency of the negroes in the mechanical arts is very limited in the eyes of a European. The only manufactures which constitute distinct and peculiar trades, are those of leather and iron. The leather manufacturers, who bear the name of *karrankea*, are to be found in almost every town; and they frequently travel about the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition; first steeping the hide in a mixture of wood-ashes and water, until it parts with the hair, and afterward using the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo* as an astringent. They strive to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks, being used chiefly for sandals, are not dressed with so much care as the skins of sheep and goats, which furnish covers for quivers and saphies, sheaths for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornamental articles. These skins are commonly dyed red or yellow, the colouring matter being obtained from certain plants.

The manufacture of iron is carried on to a considerable extent in the countries of the interior. The negroes of the coast, being chiefly supplied

* How strongly and universally implanted is the *religious principle* in man. How true is it, that the human soul everywhere "breathes hopes immortal, and affects the skies." But, alas! how blind and erring is this principle, without the enlightening and guiding influence of Christianity.—*Am. Ed.*

with iron by the European traders, do not attempt to manufacture it for themselves; but in the inland parts, the natives smelt this useful metal in such quantities, as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. During Park's stay at Kamalia there was a smelting furnace at a short distance from his hut. The owner and his workmen made no secret about the manner of conducting the operation, and readily allowed our traveller to examine the furnace, and assist them in breaking the iron-stone. The furnace, which is represented in our engraving in page 122, was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high and three feet in diameter, surrounded in two places with withes, to prevent the clay from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower part, on a level with the ground (but not so low as the bottom of the furnace, which was somewhat concave), were made seven apertures, into every one of which were inserted three tubes of clay, the apertures being then plastered up in such a manner that no air could enter the furnace but through the tubes, by the opening and shutting of which the fire was regulated. These tubes were formed by plastering a mixture of clay and grass round a smoth roller of wood: as soon as the clay began to harden, this roller was withdrawn, and the tube was left to dry in the sun. The iron-stone used for smelting was very heavy, and of a dull red colour, with grayish specks: it was broken into pieces about the size of a hen's egg. A bundle of dry wood was first put into the furnace, and cov-

ered with a considerable quantity of charcoal, which was brought, ready burned, from the woods. Over this was laid a stratum of iron-stone, and then another of charcoal, and so on, until the furnace was quite full. The fire was applied through one of the tubes, and blown for some time with bellows made of goats' skins. "The operation," says Park, "went on very slowly at first, and it was some hours before the flames appeared above the furnace; but after this it burned with great violence all the first night; and the people who attended put in at times more charcoal. On the day following the fire was not so fierce, and on the second night some of the tubes were withdrawn, and the air allowed to have freer access to the furnace; but the heat was still very great, and a bluish flame rose some feet above the top of the furnace. On the third day from the commencement of the operation all the tubes were taken out, the ends of many of them being vitrefied with the heat; but the metal was not removed until some days afterward, when the whole was perfectly cool. Part of the furnace was then taken down, and the iron appeared in the form of a large irregular mass, with pieces of charcoal adhering to it. It was sonorous; and when any portion was broken off, the fracture exhibited a granulated appearance like broken steel. The owner informed me that many parts of this cake were useless, but still there was good iron enough to repay him for his trouble. This iron, or, rather, steel, is formed into various instruments by being repeatedly heated in a forge, the heat of which is urged by a pair of double bellows, of a very simple construction, being made of two goats' skins, the

tubes from which unite before they enter the forge, and supply a constant and very regular blast. The hammer, forceps, and anvil are all very simple, and the workmanship (particularly in the formation of knives and spears) is not destitute of merit. The iron, indeed, is hard and brittle,* and requires much labour before it can be made to answer the purpose."

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## CHAPTER XII.

Slavery in Africa.—Different Kinds of Slaves.—Sources of Slavery.—Modes of African Warfare.—Famine, and other Causes of Slavery.—Mode of collecting Gold-dust.—Process of washing it.—Great Value of Salt in Manding.—Mode of procuring Ivory.—Manner of hunting the Elephant.

[1797-1798.]

A LARGE numoer of the inhabitants of the countries which were visited by Park existed in a state of slavery. He himself supposes that "the slaves in Africa are nearly in the proportion of three to one to the freemen." Two classes of slaves are distinguished; namely, first, the domestic slaves, or such as are born in a man's own house, of enslaved mothers; and, secondly, such as are acquired by purchase, or other means. All these slaves re-

* This is doubtless owing to its being kept so long in a state of fusion in the furnace, whereby it becomes highly oxygenated. In countries where the arts are better understood, the liquid metal is drawn off at short intervals by means of an aperture near the bottom of the furnace.—*Am. Ed.*

ceive only food and clothing for their services, and are treated with kindness or severity, according to the good or bad disposition of their masters. Custom, however, has established, in favour of domestic slaves, certain rules which do not apply to the others. Except in certain emergencies, the domestic slave cannot be sold, unless some misconduct or demerit of his own be proved at a public trial before the chief men of the place. The emergencies are these: the existence of a famine, when a master is permitted to sell one or more of his domestic slaves, to purchase provisions for his family; and the insolvency of the master, in which case the domestic slaves are sometimes seized by his creditors, and, if he cannot redeem them, are liable to be sold for the payment of his debts.

Slaves of the second description are wholly at the disposal of their masters, who may sell them at his pleasure. There are, indeed, regular markets for slaves of this description; and we are told that the value of a slave, in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom. The reason is this; that when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape; but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account, a slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hope of returning to his native country.

Slaves of the second class may be regarded as of two kinds: first, there are those who were once domestic slaves, but who have passed out of the hands

of their original owners; and, secondly, those who were born free, but who have since, by whatever means, become slaves. It has been already stated, that in certain cases domestic slaves may be sold; and, of course, their position, in regard to their purchaser, becomes different from that in which they stood with regard to their original owner, in whose house they were born. But it is the fortune of war which most frequently changes the condition of a domestic slave by rendering him a captive. From the relative numbers of the free and enslaved population, it is natural that slaves should constitute a large proportion of the prisoners taken in battle; and this proportion is farther increased by the inequality in the means of escape which the free man and the slave respectively possess, the former being in general mounted, and better armed. Of 900 prisoners taken upon one occasion, only 70 were free men. Moreover, the friends of a captive free man will sometimes ransom him by giving two slaves in exchange; but the slave has no such hopes of redemption.

The causes by which a free man may become a slave are distinguished by Park into four: 1st. Captivity; 2d. Famine; 3d. Insolvency; 4th. Crimes. The first operates to by far the greatest extent. Prisoners of war are the slaves of the conquerors; "and when the weak and unsuccessful warrior begs for mercy beneath the uplifted spear of his opponent, he gives up, at the same time, his claim to liberty, and purchases his life at the expense of his freedom." The wars of Africa, which frequently originate in very frivolous disputes, are of two kinds; that species which bears

the greatest resemblance to our European contests is denominated *killi*, a word signifying "to call out," because such wars are openly avowed and previously declared. Wars of this discription commonly terminate in the course of a single campaign. A battle is fought, the vanquished seldom think of rallying again; the whole inhabitants become panic-striken; and the conquerors have only to bind the slaves, and carry off their plunder and their victims. Such of the prisoners as, through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for sale, are considered useless; "and I have no doubt," says Park, "are frequently put to death. The same fate commonly awaits a chief, or any other person who has taken a very distinguished part in the war. And here it may be observed, that, notwithstanding this exterminating system, it is surprising to behold how soon an African town is rebuilt and repeopled. The circumstance arises probably from this; their pitched battles are few; the weakest know their own situation, and seek safety in flight. When their country has been desolated, and their ruined towns and villages deserted by the enemy, such of the inhabitants as have escaped the *sword* and the *chain* generally return, though with cautious steps, to the place of their nativity; for it seems to be the universal wish of mankind to spend the evening of their days where they passed their infancy. The poor negro feels this desire in its full force. To him no water is sweet but what is drawn from his own well; and no tree has so cool or pleasant a shade as the *tabba*-tree* of his native village.

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

When war compels him to abandon the delightful spot in which he first drew his breath, and seek for safety in some other kingdom, his time is spent in talking about the country of his ancestors ; and no sooner is peace restored, than he turns his back upon the land of strangers, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village."

The other species of African warfare is distinguished by the appellation of *tegria*, "plundering or stealing." It arises from a sort of hereditary feud which the inhabitants of one nation or district bear towards another. No immediate cause of hostility is assigned ; each party watches every opportunity to plunder and distress the other by predatory excursions. These are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry season, when the labour of the harvest is over, and provisions are plentiful. Schemes of vengeance are then meditated. "The chief man surveys the number and activity of his vassals, as they brandish their spears at festivals ; and, elated with his own importance, turns his whole thoughts towards revenging some depredation or insult, which either he or his ancestors may have received from a neighbouring state."

Wars of this description are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some persons of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects before their neighbours can come to their assistance. Sometimes a single individual takes his bow and quiver, and pro-

ceeds in like manner; he conceals himself among the bushes until some young or unarmed person passes by, then, tiger-like, springs upon his prey, drags his victim into the thicket, and in the night carries him off as a slave.

The second cause of slavery is *famine*. "Perhaps," says Park, "by a philosophic and reflecting mind, death itself would scarcely be considered as a greater calamity than slavery; but the poor negro, when fainting with hunger, thinks, like Esau of old, '*Behold, I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birthright do to me?*' There are many instances of free men voluntarily surrendering up their liberty to save their lives. During a great scarcity, which lasted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. Dr. Laidley assured me that, at that time, many free men came and begged with great earnestness *to be put upon his slave chain*, to save them from perishing of hunger. Large families are often exposed to absolute want; and as the parents have almost unlimited authority over their children, it often happens, in all parts of Africa, that some of the latter are sold to purchase provisions for the rest of the family." An example of this practice, which fell under Park's observation at Womba, has been already noticed.*

The third cause by which a free man becomes a slave is *insolvency*. Not only the effects of an insolvent, but even the insolvent himself, is sold to satisfy the claims of his creditors. The fourth cause is the commission of certain *crimes*, such as murder, &c., to which the laws of the country attach the punishment of being sold into slavery.

* See page 112.

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

During his stay at Kamalia, Park gathered some interesting information concerning the mode of obtaining two of the most valuable commodities found in Africa, gold and ivory. In every part of Manding gold exists in large quantities; it is found, not in any matrix or vein, but in small grains nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea, scattered through a large body of sand or clay. The manner of collecting it is described with some particularity. About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over, and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the mansa, or chief of the town, appoints a day to begin *sanoo koo*, "gold-washing;" and the

women are sure to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. A paddle or spade for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose. On the morning of their departure a bullock is killed for the first day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are used to ensure success; for a failure on that day is thought a bad omen. Park tells us that the mansa of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were so much disappointed in their first day's washing, that very few of them had resolution to persevere; and the few that did had but very indifferent success. This, indeed, was not much to be wondered at; for, instead of opening some untried place, they continued to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years; and where, of course, but few large grains could be left.

To wash the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold-dust; but in most places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that, unless the stream takes some new course, the gold is found but in small quantities. While some of the party are busied in washing the sands, others employ themselves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the stream has carried away all the clay, sand, &c., and left nothing but small pebbles. The search among these is a very troublesome task; and, occasionally, the women have the skin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold which they call *sanoo birro*, "gold stones," that amply repay them for

their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms and the other three drachms weight. But the most certain and profitable mode of washing is that of digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which has previously been ascertained to contain gold. This pit is dug with small spades or corn paddles, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the negroes dig through different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed until they come to a stratum containing gold, or until they are obstructed by rocks or inundated by water. "In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand for the women to wash; for, though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women, who are accustomed from their infancy to a similar operation, in separating the husks of corn from the meal." In his second journey Park had a better opportunity of observing the simple process of washing this sand and extracting the particles of gold therefrom; we have inserted in its place his account of the operation, which is further illustrated by the engraving in the title-page.

By far the greater portion of the gold collected in Manding is annually carried away by the Moors, in exchange principally for the salt which they bring from the Great Desert. From the earliest ages this exchange of salt for gold has been the basis of

the trade between northern and central Africa. The interior countries, fertile though they be, and abounding in gold, are yet destitute of salt; and thus in those countries, that necessary of life becomes "the greatest of all luxuries," to use Park's expression. "It would appear strange to a European," he says, "to see a child suck a piece of rock salt as if it were sugar. This, however, I have frequently seen, although in the inland parts the poorer class of inhabitants are so rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say *a man eats salt to his victuals* is the same as saying *he is a rich man.* I have myself suffered great inconvenience from the scarcity of this article. The long use of vegetable food creates so painful a longing for salt, that no words can sufficiently describe it."

During Park's stay at Kamalia, the quantity of gold which was collected, even at that small town, to be exchanged for salt, was nearly equivalent to one hundred and ninety-eight pounds sterling.* Of the value of salt in that part of Africa, some notion may be formed from the fact that one slab, about two feet and a half in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about two pounds ten shillings sterling,† and that its common price varies from one pound fifteen shillings to two pounds.

Ivory is another staple product of the interior countries of Africa. Park tells us that nothing creates a greater surprise among the negroes on the seacoast than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephant's teeth; it being exceeding difficult to make them comprehend

* About $950. † About $12.

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

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

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the

woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country where the soil is shallow. He easily overturns these bushes and feeds on the roots, which are, in general, more tender and juicy than the hard, woody branches or the foliage; and when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal in this practice frequently cause them to break short. At Kamalia Park saw two teeth, one a very large one, which were found in the woods, and which had been evidently broken off in this manner. Indeed, he says, it is difficul otherwise to account for such a large proportion of broken ivory as is daily offered for sale at the different factories; for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unless he dashes himself over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

At certain seasons of the year the elephants assemble in large herds, and traverse the country in quest of food and water. In this search they are compelled to approach the banks of the Niger, where they continue until the commencement of the rainy season, in the month of June or July; and during their stay they are actively hunted by such of the natives as have gunpowder to spare. The elephant-hunters generally go out in parties of four to five; each man having furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leathern bag, sufficient for the consumption of five or six days, they enter the retired parts of the woods, and examine carefully every-

thing that can lead to the discovery of the elephants. In this pursuit great nicety of observation is required ; the broken branches, the foot-marks, and other indications are carefully inspected. Many of the hunters, as soon as they observe the footmarks of an elephant, will tell almost with certainty at what time the animal passed, and at what distance it will be found.

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

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

in the woods for months if they are successful, and support themselves upon the flesh of such elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

Park's Departure from Kamalia with a Coffle of Slaves for the Gambia.—Difficulties of the Journey.—Crossing the Jallonka Wilderness.—Melancholy Fate of a Female Slave.—Arrival of the Coffle at Jindey.—Park's Arrival at Pisania.—His Voyage Home.—His Arrival in London.

[1797.]

The departure of the coffle was repeatedly delayed on various grounds, with the characteristic procrastination of the negroes, in whose eyes, Park remarks, time is of no importance. The delay was a source of great annoyance to our traveller. Habit had indeed reconciled him to the African mode of life, and a smoky hut and a scanty supper, to use his own expressions, gave him no great uneasiness; but he became at last wearied out with a constant state of alarm and anxiety, and felt "a painful longing for the manifold blessings of civilized society."

At length, on the 19th of April, 1797, the long-wished-for departure took place. The coffle, on leaving Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but was soon afterward joined by five at Marboo, and three at Bala, making, in all, thirty-five

slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives and some domestic slaves; and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars; so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the free men were six jillakeas (singing men), whose musical talents were frequently exerted either to divert the fatigue of the party, or to obtain them a welcome from strangers. "When we departed from Kamalia," says Park, "we were followed, for about half a mile, by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground, from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the townspeople were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster, with two of the principal Slatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer; after which they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression on the ground with the end of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle sprang up, and, without taking a formal farewell of their friends, set forward."

The journey from Kamalia occupied more than six weeks; it was one of great labour and difficul-

ty, and it afforded our traveller the most painful opportunities of witnessing the miseries endured by a caravan of slaves in their transportation from the interior to the coast. On the 23d of April, the coffle entered the Jallonka Wilderness, and in five days travelled upward of one hundred miles without seeing a human habitation. In this toilsome and rapid march, Park himself was "sadly apprehensive" that he should be unable to keep up with the coffle; many of the slaves, who had loads on their heads, were very much fatigued, and some of them *snapped their fingers*, "which among the negroes is a sure sign of desperation." On the morning of the 24th, one of Karfa's female slaves was "very sulky," and, when some gruel was offered to her, she refused to drink it; she soon began to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken from her and given to another slave, and she was ordered to keep in the front of the coffle.

About eleven o'clock, as they were resting by a small rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when a remarkably large swarm flew out, and, attacking the people of the coffle, made them fly in all directions. Park first took the alarm, and was the only person who escaped with impunity. When the bees thought fit to desist from pursuing them, and every person was employed in picking out the stings he had received, it was discovered that the female slave above mentioned, whose name was Nealee, had not come up; and as many of the slaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it be-

came necessary for some persons to return and bring them. In order to do this with safety, fire was set to the grass a considerable way eastward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke and recovered the bundles; they likewise brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet very much exhausted. She had crept to the stream, in the hope of defending herself from the bees by throwing water over her body; but this proved ineffectual, for she was stung in the most dreadful manner.

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

ended; they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark; this litter was carried upon the heads of two slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark."

At daybreak on the 25th, "poor Nealee was awakened, but her limbs were now become so stiff and painful that she could neither walk nor stand; she was therefore lifted, like a corpse, upon the back of the ass, and the Slatees endeavoured to secure her in that situation by fastening her hands together under the ass's neck, and her feet under the belly, with long slips of bark; but the ass was so very unruly that no sort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load; and, as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herself from falling, she was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruised. Every attempt to carry her being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was, '*kang-tegi, kang-tegi*' (cut her throat, cut her throat), an operation I did not wish to see performed, and therefore marched onward with the foremost of the coffle. I had not walked above a mile, when one of Karfa's domestic slaves came up to me, with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed, '*Nealee affilita*' (Nealee is lost). I asked him whether the Slatees had given him the garment as a reward for cutting her throat; he replied that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not consent to that measure, but had left her on the road, where undoubtedly she soon perished, and was probably devoured by wild beasts The sad

fate of this wretched woman, notwithstanding the outcry before mentioned, made a strong impression on the minds of the whole coffle, and the schoolmaster fasted the whole of the ensuing day in consequence of it."

On the 28th the coffle passed the Bafing, or Black River, a principal branch of the Senegal, on a floating bridge of trees and bamboos,* of singular construction, which is every year carried away by the swelling of the stream in the rainy season, and rebuilt by the people of the neighbouring town. On the 3d of May they reached the town of Malacotta, on approaching which Park was witness to a very affecting interview between his kind friend the schoolmaster, Fankooma, and his elder brother, who had not seen each other for nine years.

Of the remainder of the route it is unnecessary now to speak, as it was nearly that which Park followed in advancing on his second expedition. On the 5th of June the coffle reached Jindey, where, eighteen months before, our traveller had parted from his friend Dr. Laidley, an interval during which, to use his own pathetic expression, he had not beheld the face of a Christian, nor once heard the delightful sound of his native language. On the morning of the 9th he set out with Karfa for Pisania. "Although," he says, "I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of

* See Engraving in the frontispiece.

captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion.

"During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amid their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told that they were sensible I had no more to give."

On the morning of the 10th, Mr. Robert Ainsley came to meet him, and in a few hours the party reached Pisania, where Karfa Taura was kept "in deep meditation" the greater part of the day by a schooner which was lying at anchor before the place. About noon on the 12th, Dr. Laidley, who had been temporarily absent, arrived and received our traveller with great joy, "as one risen from the dead." Park was not forgetful of his benevolent protector, Karfa Taura. The recompense which had been agreed upon was the value of one prime slave. "But this good creature," he says, "had continued to manifest towards me so much kindness, that I thought I made him an inadequate recompense when I told him that he was now to receive double the sum I had originally promised; and Dr. Laidley assured him that he was ready to deliver the goods to that amount whenever he thought proper to send for them. Karfa was overpowered by this unexpected token of my gratitude,

and still more so when he heard that I intended to send a handsome present to the good old schoolmaster, Fankooma, at Malacotta. He promised to carry up the goods along with his own, and Dr. Laidley assured him, that he would exert himself in assisting him to dispose of his slaves to the best advantage the moment a slave-vessel should arrive. These, and other instances of attention and kindness shown him by Dr. Laidley, were not lost upon Karfa; he would often say to me, 'My journey has indeed been prosperous!' But, observing the improved state of our manufactures, and our manifest superiority in the arts of civilized life, he would sometimes appear pensive, and exclaim with an involuntary sigh, '*Fato fing, inta feng*' (black men are nothing). At other times he would ask me with great seriousness, what could possibly have induced me, who was no trader, to think of exploring so miserable a country as Africa? He meant by this to signify that, after what I must have witnessed in my own country, nothing in Africa could, in his opinion, deserve a moment's attention. I have preserved these little traits of character in this worthy negro, not only from regard to the man, but also because they appear to me to demonstrate that he possessed a mind *above his condition;* and to such of my readers as love to contemplate human nature in all its varieties, and to trace its progress from rudeness to refinement, I hope the account I have given of this poor African will not be unacceptable."

On the 17th of June Park embarked in an American slave-ship which was bound to South Carolina, but which was driven by stress of weath-

er to the West Indian island of Antigua, where she was condemned as unfit for sea. From Antigua he sailed in the packet on the 24th of November, and after a short but tempestuous passage, arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of December, having been absent from England two years and seven months.

Immediately on his landing he hastened to London, anxious in the greatest degree about his family and friends, of whom he had heard nothing for two years. He arrived in London before daylight on the morning of Christmas-day, 1797; and the hour being too early for him to go to his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, he wandered for some time about the streets in the neighbouring quarter of the town. Finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British Museum accidentally open, he went in and walked about there for some time. It happened that Mr. Dickson, who had the care of those gardens, went there early that morning upon some trifling business. "What must have been his emotions on beholding, at that extraordinary time and place, the vision, as it must at first have appeared, of his long-lost friend, the object of so many reflections, and whom he had long numbered with the dead!"

## CHAPTER XIV.

Interest excited by Park's Return.—Publication of his Narrative.—Importance of his Discoveries, particularly concerning the Niger.—His Marriage.—His Anxiety to be again sent Out.—His Settlement at Peebles as a Surgeon.—His Dissatisfaction with his Occupation.—Application of the Government to him.—His Acceptance of their Offer.—Delays in the setting out of the Expedition.—Park's Instructions.

[1797–1805.]

The unexpected return of Park, after so long an absence, excited considerable interest in the public, and especially among his friends and patrons of the African Association, who very naturally regarded his success, though partial, as a great triumph, after their previous disappointments. He remained for some months in London, arranging the materials of his journal, and enabling Mr. Bryan Edwards, the secretary of the Association, to draw up an abstract for publication, in order to gratify, in a certain degree, the curiosity which prevailed on the subject. In the spring of 1798, the government, desiring to procure a complete survey of New Holland, made some application to Park for that purpose; but the proposal was declined. It was afterward repeated, and again declined, in the following year.

In June, 1798, Park visited his relations in Scotland, and remained with them throughout the summer and autumn. During the whole of this period

he was assiduously employed in compiling the Narrative of his travels; a task of which the labour was increased by the unavoidable imperfections of his notes and memoranda. Towards the close of the year he returned to London, and superintended the printing of his journal, which was at length published in the spring of 1799.

The information communicated to the world in this work has been described as "the greatest accession to the general stock of geographical knowledge which was ever yet made by any single traveller." One of the most distinguished geographers of modern times* has said, that Park's discoveries "gave a new face to the physical geography of Western Africa." His most brilliant achievement undoubtedly, and the one with which his name is more particularly identified, was the settlement of the long-pending dispute concerning the course of the Niger. For the space of 2200 years geographers had been publishing to the world vague notices of a large river in the interior of Africa, to the south of the Great Desert; and yet, after the lapse of so many ages, the world was still in doubt upon so simple a matter of fact as the general direction of its course. For several centuries the geographers had all asserted that it ran *from west to east;* then, for another long period, they all asserted that it ran *from east to west;* till at length, in modern times, they became divided, and the two di-

* Major Rennell, by whom also it was said that Park's Journey into the Interior of Western Africa had "brought to our knowledge more important facts respecting its geography (both *moral* and *physical*) than had been collected by any former traveller."

ametrically opposite opinions found their respective supporters. Park decided the controversy, by supplying that very important ingredient—which for two-and-twenty hundred years had been wanting—the unexceptionable testimony of a competent eye-witness. The importance of this testimony is the more strongly shown by the curious circumstance that, almost at the moment in which Park was ascertaining the course of the Niger to be from west to east, a learned French writer was ingeniously proving, to his own satisfaction, that it must be the contrary way.*

In the summer of 1799 Park returned to Scotland, and, on the 2d of August, was married to the eldest daughter of Mr. Anderson, of Selkirk, with whom he had served his apprenticeship. For more than two years after his marriage he resided with his mother and one of his brothers at Fowlshiels, apparently in a state of uncertainty concerning his future plan of life. During part of the year 1799 he was engaged in a negotiation with the government relative to some appointment in the colony of New South Wales. At one time he thought of taking a farm; and at last he came, reluctantly, to the determination of resuming the practice of his profession. But he still constantly entertained the hope of being sent out on another expedition, either by the African Association or by the government.

* And still the speculations of this French writer, as to the general course of the Niger, were substantially more correct than the opinion of Park himself, it being now ascertained that this river has its outlet on the western coast. See Landers' Expedition to the Niger (Harpers' Family Library, Nos. xxxv. and xxxvi)—*Am. Ed.*

In April, 1800, the French settlement of Goree was captured by the British, and on the 31st of July, in the same year, Park wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, pointing out the advantages which that station afforded for opening a communication with the interior of Africa. After entering into some details, he says, "If such are the views of government, I hope that my exertions, in some shape or other, may be of use to my country. I have not, as yet, found any situation in which I could practise to advantage as a surgeon, and, unless some of my friends interest themselves in my behalf, I must wait patiently until the cloud which hangs over my future prospects is dispelled."

At length, in the month of October, 1801, Park availed himself of an opportunity which offered, and took up his residence in the town of Peebles as a surgeon. He soon obtained a good share of the limited practice of the place; but, as his profits were at no time considerable, his distaste to the occupation was in nowise abated. Indeed, as his biographer observes, the situation of a country practitioner in Scotland, attended with great anxiety and bodily fatigue, and leading to no distinction or much personal advantage, was little calculated to gratify a man whose mind was full of ambitious views, and of adventurous and romantic undertakings. Sir Walter Scott says that there is no creature in Scotland that works harder and is more poorly requited than the country doctor, unless, perhaps, it may be his horse. "Such a rural man of medicine is usually the inhabitant of some petty borough or village, which forms the central point of his practice. But, besides attending to such

cases as the village may afford, he is day and night at the service of any one who may command his assistance within a circle of forty miles in diameter, untraversed by roads in many directions, and including moors, mountains, rivers, and lakes. For late and dangerous journeys through an inaccessible country; for services of the most essential kind, rendered at the expense, or risk at least, of his own health and life, the Scottish village doctor receives at best a very moderate recompense, often one which is totally inadequate, and very frequently none whatsoever. He mounts at midnight, and traverses in darkness paths which, to those less accustomed to them, seem formidable in daylight; through straits where the slightest aberration would plunge him into a morass or throw him over a precipice; on to cabins which his horse might ride over without knowing they lay in his way, unless he happened to fall through the roofs. When he arrives at such a stately termination of his journey, where his services are required either to bring a wretch into the world or to prevent one from leaving it, the scene of misery is often such, that, far from touching the hard-saved shillings which are gratefully offered to him, he bestows his medicines, as well as his attendance, for charity.

"I have heard," continues Sir Walter, "the celebrated traveller, Mungo Park, who had experienced both courses of life, rather give the preference to travelling as a discoverer in Africa, than to wandering by night and day the wilds of his native land in the capacity of a country medical practitioner. He mentioned having, once upon a time, rode forty miles, sat up all night, and suc-

cessfully assisted a woman under the influence of the primitive curse; for which his only remuneration was a roasted potato and a draught of buttermilk. But his was not the heart which grudged the labour that relieved human misery."

In the autumn of 1803, a letter was addressed to Park from the office of the colonial secretary of state, desiring his attendance in town without delay; and, on reaching London, he had an interview with that minister, who informed him of an intended expedition to Africa, of which it was proposed that he should bear a principal part. Park returned to Scotland, and formally consulted a few of his friends; but in his own mind the point was already decided; the object of his ambition was now within his grasp. He hastily announced to Lord Hobart, the colonial secretary, his acceptance of the proposal, employed a short time in settling his affairs and taking leave of his friends, and left Scotland in December, 1803, with the confident expectation of embarking very soon for the coast of Africa.

After some delays, the period of departure was fixed for the end of February, 1804; but, when everything was in readiness at Portsmouth, and part of the troops were actually on board, the expedition was suddenly countermanded. A new colonial secretary, Earl Camden, was appointed; and Park was informed that the expedition could not possibly sail before September. At the same time, it was suggested to him by some person in authority that he might advantageously employ the interval in the practice of taking astronomical observations, and in acquiring some knowledge of

the Arabic language, and that the expense thereby incurred would be defrayed by the government. Park accordingly returned to Scotland, and resided at Peebles and Fowlshiels until the month of September, when, in obedience to a summons from the colonial office, he again repaired to town.

Some time, however, elapsed before the details of the expedition were finally determined. It was at length arranged, that it should consist of Park himself, his brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Anderson, a surgeon of experience, who was to be next in authority to Park, and Mr. George Scott, an artist of talent, who was to act as draughtsman, together with a few boat-builders and artificers. Instead of being accompanied by any troops from England, they were to be joined at Goree by a certain number of soldiers of the African corps stationed in that garrison, who might be disposed to volunteer for the service. The nature of the expedition will be best explained by the following instructions, addressed to Park by the colonial secretary:

"*Downing-street, 2d January*, 1805.

"SIR,

"It being judged expedient that a small expedition should be sent into the interior of Africa, with a view to discover and ascertain whether any, and what, commercial intercourse can be opened therein, for the mutual benefit of the natives and of his majesty's subjects, I am commanded by the king to acquaint you that, on account of the knowledge you have acquired of the nations of Africa, and from the indefatigable exertions and perseverance you

displayed in your travels among them, his majesty has selected you for conducting this undertaking.

"For better enabling you to execute this service, his majesty has granted you the brevet commission of a captain in Africa, and has also granted a similar commission of lieutenant to Mr. Alexander Anderson, whom you have recommended as a proper person to accompany you. Mr. Scott has also been selected to attend you as a draughtsman. You are hereby empowered to enlist with you in this expedition any number you think proper of the garrison at Goree, not exceeding forty-five, which the commandant of that island will be ordered to place under your command, giving them bounties or encouragement, as may be necessary to induce them cheerfully to join with you on the expedition.

"And you are hereby authorized to engage, by purchase or otherwise, such a number of black artificers at Goree as you shall judge necessary for the objects you have in view.

"You are to be conveyed to Goree in a transport, convoyed by his majesty's sloop Eugenie, which will be directed to proceed with you, in the first instance, to St. Jago, in order that you may there purchase fifty asses for carrying your baggage.

"When you shall have prepared whatever may be necessary for securing the objects of your expedition at Goree, you are to proceed up the river Gambia; and thence, crossing over to the Senegal, to march by such route as you shall find most eligible, to the banks of the Niger.

"The great object of your journey will be to pursue the course of this river to the utmost possible distance to which it can be traced; to establish communications and intercourse with the different nations on the banks; to obtain all the local knowledge in your power respecting them; and to ascertain the various points stated in the memoir which you delivered to me on the 4th of October last.

"And you will be then at liberty to pursue your route homeward by any line you shall think most secure, either by taking a new direction through the interior towards the Atlantic, or by marching upon Cairo by taking the route leading to Tripoli.

"You are hereby empowered to draw for any sum that you may be in want of, not exceeding £5000, upon the lords of his majesty's treasury, or upon such mercantile banking-house in London as you may fix upon.

"I am, &c.,

"CAMDEN.

"*To Mungo Park, Esq., &c.*"

Park did not receive these instructions until two months had elapsed after the plan of the expedition had been finally arranged; and, after receiving them, nearly another month passed before he was enabled to depart. These repeated delays were a source of great uneasiness to him, as he foresaw the danger of postponing the journey into the interior to the period of the rainy season; and they were ultimately productive of very unfortunate results.

## CHAPTER XV.

Departure of Park on his Second Expedition.—His Proceedings at Goree.—His Confidence of Success.—High Spirits of the Troops.—Park's Letters from Kayee.—Real Difficulties of his Situation.—Dangers from the approach of the Rainy Season.—Park's Resolution to proceed.

[1805.]

On the 30th of January, 1805, Park sailed from Portsmouth in the *Crescent* transport; and, after a very tedious passage, reached Porto Praya Bay, in St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, on the 8th of March. In a few days he succeeded in embarking forty-four asses, with supplies of corn and hay; and on the morning of the 28th, anchored in Goree roads. After he had consulted with Major Lloyd, the commandant, a garrison order was issued to the effect that, to such of the troops as chose to engage in the expedition, double pay during the journey would be allowed, and their discharge given them on their return; in the course of a few days every soldier had volunteered. Lieutenant Martyn, of the Royal Artillery Corps, having likewise offered his services, Park accepted them, thinking it would be of consequence to have an officer who was acquainted with the men, and who could aid him in choosing such as were best able to stand fatigue. Two of the best sailors of the *Squirrel* frigate were also selected, in order to assist in rigging and navigating the *Nigritian men*

*of war*, as Park styles the diminutive vessels in which he contemplated sailing down the Niger.

In a letter which Park wrote to his wife on the 4th of April, from Goree, he expresses the most decided confidence of his future success.

"We have as yet," he says, "been extremely fortunate, and have got our business, both at St. Jago and this place, finished with great success; and I have hopes, almost to certainty, that Providence will so dispose the tempers and passions of the inhabitants of this quarter of the world, that we shall be enabled to *slide through* much more smoothly than you expect.

"I need not tell you how often I think about you; your own feelings will enable you to judge of that. The hopes of spending the remainder of my life with my wife and children will make everything seem easy; and you may be sure I will not rashly risk my life, when I know that your happiness, and the welfare of my young ones, depend so much upon it. I hope my mother does not torment herself with unnecessary fears about me. I sometimes fancy how you and she will be meeting misfortune half way, and placing me in many distressing situations. I have as yet experienced nothing but success, and I hope that six months more will end the whole as I wish."

On the morning of the 6th of April Park left Goree for the Gambia. The soldiers, thirty-five in number, jumped into the boats in the highest spirits, and bade adieu to Goree with repeated huzzas. So lightly, indeed, were the dangers of the expedition there thought of, that Park was obliged to refuse the services of several military and naval

officers who volunteered to accompany him. "I believe," he says, "that every man in the garrison would have embarked with great cheerfulness." No inducement, however, would prevail on a single negro at Goree to go with him; and therefore he had to "trust to the Gambia for interpreters."

Proceeding up the river Gambia, the party landed at Kayee, a small place on the northern bank, a little below that factory at Pisania from which Park had set out on his first expedition nearly ten years before. At Kayee he remained some days, making preparations for the journey; and he there engaged a Mandingo priest named Isaaco, who, in his secular capacity of a travelling merchant, had been much accustomed to long inland journeys, to serve as the guide to his caravan. From this place he wrote several letters to England, all expressing the highest confidence of success. In a letter to his wife, dated the 26th, from Kayee, he gives an interesting account of his feelings and situation.

"We set off for the interior," he says, "to-morrow morning; and I assure you that, whatever the issue of the present journey may be, everything looks favourable. We have been successful thus far beyond my highest expectations.

"The natives, instead of being frightened at us, look on us as their best friends; and the kings have not only granted us protection, but sent people to go before us. The soldiers are in the best spirits; and as many of them (like me) have left a wife and family in England, they are happy to embrace this opportunity of returning. They never think of difficulties; and I am confident, if there was occa

sion for it, that they would defeat any number of negroes that might come against us; but of this we have not the most distant expectation. The King of Kataba (the most powerful king in Gambia) visited us on board the *Crescent* on the 20th and 21st; he has furnished us with a messenger to conduct us safely to the King of Woolli.

"I expect to have an opportunity of writing to you from Konkodoo or Bammakoo by some of the slave traders; but, as they travel very slowly, I may probably have returned to the coast before any of my letters have reached Goree; at any rate, you need not be surprised if you should not hear from me for some months; nay, so uncertain is the communication between Africa and England, that perhaps the next news you hear may be my arrival in the latter, which I still think will be in the month of December. If we have to go round by the West Indies it will take us two months more; but as government has given me an unlimited credit, if a vessel is coming direct, I shall, of course, take a passage in her. I have enjoyed excellent health, and have great hopes to bring this expedition to a happy conclusion. In five weeks from the date of this letter the worst part of the journey will be over. Kiss all my dear children for me, and let them know that their father loves them."

His other letters of the same date breathe the same spirit of confidence. In writing to Sir Joseph Banks, he promises to "measure Africa by feet and inches;" and to his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, he thus depicts his feelings:

"Everything at present looks as favourable as

I could wish; and if all things go well, this day six weeks I expect to drink all your healths in the water of the Niger. The soldiers are in good health and spirits. They are the most dashing set of men I ever saw; and if they preserve their health, we may keep ourselves perfectly secure from any hostile attempt on the part of the natives. I have little doubt but that I shall be able, with presents and fair words, to pass through the country to the Niger; and if once we are fairly afloat, the day is won. Give my kind regards to Sir Joseph and Mr. Greville; and if they should think that I have paid too little attention to natural objects, you may mention that I have forty men and forty-two asses to look after, besides the constant trouble of packing and weighing bundles, palavering with the negroes, and laying plans for our future success. I never was so busy in my life."

But, notwithstanding the satisfaction here expressed by Park with his position, and his high confidence of carrying his enterprise to a favourable termination, "nothing," to use the language of the editor of his Journal, "could be less promising than his actual situation and prospects." Although the soldiers whom he had selected from the Royal African Corps were the best that the garrison of Goree could supply, there is said to be "too much reason to believe" that they were inferior in quality even to the ordinary troops attached to a tropical station; and that they were extremely deficient, both in constitutional strength and vigour, and in those habits of sobriety, steadiness, and discipline which the peculiar service required.

A more serious cause of alarm was to be found

in the unfavourable period at which, owing to the repeated delays, Park found himself obliged to enter upon the journey. The rainy season, so fatal to Europeans, had not, indeed, actually commenced; but there was a great probability that it would overtake him before he could reach the Niger, and there was a positive certainty that he would encounter not only the great tropical heats, but also the *tornadoes* or hurricanes which always precede the rainy season, increasing in frequency and violence the nearer it approaches. But his situation was critical, and he had only a choice of difficulties. He might either attempt (what he might, perhaps, consider as being just possible) to reach the Niger before the rainy season should be completely set in, or he might postpone his journey till the return of the proper season for travelling, which would be in November or December following. The event has shown that he would have acted more wisely in deferring the expedition. But the motives which might lead him to a contrary determination were obvious and powerful, and will be found, on the whole, sufficient for the justification of his conduct. He must naturally have considered that the postponement of the expedition for seven months, besides being in the greatest degree irksome both to himself and the companions of his journey, would occasion a great additional expense, and disappoint the expectations of government; and he might, perhaps, entertain doubts, since the case was not provided for by his official instructions, whether he should altogether escape censure if he should postpone his journey for so

long a period, under any circumstances, much short of a positive and undoubted necessity.

In this difficult situation he adopted that alternative which was most congenial to his character and feelings; and having once formed this resolution, he adhered to it with tranquillity and firmness; dismissing from his own mind all doubts and apprehensions, or, at least, effectually concealing them from the companions of his journey, and from his friends and correspondents in England.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Departure from Kayee and Commencement of the Journey into the Interior.—Difficulties of the first Day's March.—Order of Proceeding.—Arrival at Madina.—Rapacity of the King of Woolli.—Stratagem of the Soldiers to procure Water at Kanipe.— Fruit of the Nitta-trees.— Arrival at the Gambia.— Death of one of the Soldiers.—Hostile Conduct of the Chief at Bady, and the Results.—Attack made upon the Caravan by a Swarm of Bees.—Park's Letters from Badoo.

[1805.]

On the 27th of April, 1805, this memorable journey began. The first day's march, which exposed some of its practical difficulties, is thus recorded in Park's *Journal*.

"At ten o'clock in the morning we took our departure from Kayee. The *Crescent*, the *Washington*, and Mr. Ainsley's vessel, did us the honour to fire a salute at our departure. The day proved remarkably hot; and some of the asses, unaccus

tomed to carry loads, made our march very fatiguing and troublesome. Three of them stuck fast in a muddy rice-field, about two miles east of Kayee; and while we were employed in getting them out, our guide and the people in front had gone on so far that we lost sight of them. In a short time we overtook about a dozen soldiers and their asses, who had likewise fallen behind, and being afraid of losing their way, had halted till we came up. We, in the rear, took the road to Jonkakonda, which place we reached one o'clock; but, not finding Lieutenant Martyn, nor any of the men who were in front, concluded they had gone by New Jermy, &c.; therefore hired a guide and continued our march. Halted a few minutes under a large tree at the village of Lamain-Cotto, to allow the soldiers to cool themselves; and then proceeded towards Lamain, at which place we arrived at four o'clock. The people were extremely fatigued, having travelled all day under a vertical sun, and without a breath of wind. Lieutenant Martyn and the rest of our party arrived at half past five, having taken the road by New Jermy."

On the following day, at sunset, they reached Pisania, where a delay of six days was found necessary, for the purpose of procuring additional beasts of burden and distributing the loads. On the 4th of May they left Pisania, the mode of marching being adjusted as follows. The asses and loads being all marked and numbered with red paint, a certain number of each was allotted to each of the six messes, into which the soldiers were divided; and the asses were farther subdivided among the individuals of each mess, so that

every man could tell at first sight the ass and load which belonged to him. The asses were also numbered with large figures, to prevent the natives from stealing them, as they could neither wash nor clip off the mark without being discovered. Mr. George Scott and one of Isaaco's people generally went in front, Lieutenant Martyn in the centre, and Mr. Anderson and Park himself in the rear. This day's march is described as most fatiguing. Many of the asses lay down on the road, and others kicked off their bundles. The whole distance accomplished, after the utmost exertions, was eight miles.

On the 8th of May the effects of the climate first became apparent; two of the soldiers were then attacked with dysentery. On the 10th the party reached Tatticonda, where Park had an interview with the son of the former king of Woolli, who had received him so kindly on his first journey, and promised to offer up prayers for his safety. He learned from this individual that his present journey was viewed with great jealousy by the neighbouring native traders.

On the 11th, about noon, they arrived at Madina, the capital of the kingdom of Woolli, where the system of extortion, so characteristic of African monarchs, began to develop itself. The asses were unloaded under a tree without the gates of the town, and Park waited till five o'clock before he could have an audience of his majesty. He took to the king a pair of silver mounted pistols, ten dollars, ten bars of amber, and ten of coral. His majesty looked at the present with great indifference for some time, and then declared that he could not ac-

cept it; alleging, as an excuse for his avarice, that a much handsomer one had been given to the King of Kataba. "It was in vain," says Park, "that I assured him to the contrary; he positively refused to accept it, and I was under the necessity of adding fifteen dollars, ten bars of coral, and ten of amber, before his majesty would accept it. After all, he begged me to give him a blanket to wrap himself in during the rains, which I readily sent him."

As far as Madina Park followed the route by which he had formerly *advanced* from the Gambia into the interior, but on leaving that town he struck out of it, and took the route by which he had *returned* from the interior to the Gambia. On the 13th the party reached the village of Kanipe, where some manœuvring was found necessary to procure water. The people of the village had heard that they had been obliged to purchase water at Madina, and, to make sure of a similar market, the women had drawn up all the water collected in the wells, and were still standing in crowds drawing it up as fast as it collected afresh. It was in vain that the soldiers attempted to come in for their share; the camp-kettles were by no means so well adapted for drawing water as the women's calabashes. The soldiers therefore returned without water, having the laugh very much against them.

Park received information that there was a pool of water about two miles to the south of the town; and, in order to make the women desist, he mounted a man on each of the horses, and sent them away to the pool, to bring as much water as would boil the rice, and in the afternoon sent all the asses to be watered at the same place. In the evening

some of the soldiers made another attempt to procure water from a large well near the town, and succeeded by the following stratagem. One of them having dropped his canteen into the well, as if by accident, his companions fastened a rope round him, and lowered him down to the bottom of the well, where he stood and filled all the camp-kettles, to the great mortification of the women, who had been labouring and carrying water for the last twenty-four hours, "in hopes of having their necks and heads decked with small amber and beads by the sale of it."

On the following day they advanced as far as Kussai, a village about four miles to the east of Kanipe. Here one of the soldiers, having collected some of the fruit of the nitta-trees, was eating them, when the chief man of the village came out in a great rage, and attempted to take them from him; but, finding that impracticable, he drew his knife, and told the travellers to put on their loads and get away from the village. "Finding," says Park, "that we only laughed at him, he became more quiet, and I told him that we were unacquainted with so strange a restriction, but should be careful not to eat any of them in future; he said that the thing itself was of no great importance, if it had not been done in sight of the women. For, says he, this place has been frequently visited with famine from want of rain, and in these distressing times the fruit of the nitta is all we have to trust to, and it may then be opened without harm; but, in order to prevent the women and children from wasting this supply, a *toong* is put upon the nittas until famine makes its appearance.

The word toong is used to express anything sealed up by magic."

On the 15th, at Teelee Corra, they came again upon the river Gambia, which, in its course from Pisania to this point, bends in a curve to the southward, so as always to lie at some distance from the straight line of route. The name Teelee Corra is that of a large tree under which the party halted during the heat of the day. Park was surprised to find that the river had a regular tide, rising four inches by the shore. He says that it swarmed with crocodiles, and that he counted at one time thirteen of them ranged along the shore, besides three hippopotami. A mile farther on the party ascended a hill, from which they enjoyed a "most enchanting prospect" of the country to the westward; Park styles it, in point of distance, the richest he ever saw. At sunset they came to a watering-place called Faraba, where the first of their calamities befell them.

While the asses were yet unloading, John Walters, one of the soldiers, fell down in an epileptic fit, and about an hour afterward he expired. He was buried at about three o'clock on the following morning; and a wish is expressed in the *Journal*, that, in remembrance of him, the place may be called *Walters's Well.*

On the 18th of May they reached Jallacotta, the first town in the territory of Tenda; and on the 20th stopped at Tendico or Tambico, about half a mile to the northward of which lay a pretty large town, called Bady, the chief of which took the title of Faranba, and, being in a manner independent, was in the habit of exacting very high duties from

the coffles. To Bady, accordingly, a messenger was sent, announcing the arrival of the party, and in the evening the faranba sent his son, with twenty-six men armed with muskets and a great crowd of people, to receive what they had to give him. Park sent him ten bars of amber by the guide; but, as the chief refused to take it, our traveller himself went with five bars of coral: this was likewise refused. "Indeed," says Park, "I could easily perceive, from the number of armed men and the haughty manner in which they conducted themselves, that there was little prospect of settling matters in an amicable manner. I therefore tore a leaf from my pocket-book, and had written a note to Lieutenant Martyn to have the soldiers in readiness, when Mr. Anderson, hearing such a hubbub in the village, came to see what was the matter. I explained my doubts to him, and desired that the soldiers might have on their pouches and bayonets, and be ready for action at a moment's notice. I desired Isaaco to inform him that we had as yet found no difficulty in our journey; we had readily obtained the permission of the kings of Kataba and Woolli to pass through their kingdoms, and that, if he would not allow us to pass, we had only to return to Jallacotta, and endeavour to find another road; and with this (after a good many angry words had passed between the faranba's people and our guide) the palaver ended."

On the following morning preparations were being made for the return to Jallacotta, when some of the faranba's people seized the guide's horse as the boy was watering it at the well, and carried it off. Isaaco went over to Bady to inquire the rea-

son of this conduct; but, instead of obtaining satisfaction on this point, he was seized, deprived of his double-barrelled gun and sword, tied to a tree, and flogged; his boy was put in irons, and some people were sent back to Tambico for another horse belonging to an old man that was travelling with the party to Dentila. Park then told two of Isaaco's negroes, that if they would go with him into the village and point out the faranba's people (it being quite dark) who had come to take the old man's horse, he would make the soldiers seize them, and retain them as hostages for Isaaco. The negroes went and told this to the two chief men in the village, who declared that they would not permit it. They were able, they said, to defend their own rights, and would not allow the horse to be taken so, "after an immense hubbub and wrangling, the business at last came to blows, and the faranba's people were fairly kicked out of the village."

"I was now," says Park, "a little puzzled how to act; Isaaco's wife and child sat crying with us under the tree; his negroes were very much dejected, and seemed to consider the matter as quite hopeless. We could have gone in the night and burned the town. By this we should have killed a great many innocent people, and most probably should not have recovered our guide. I therefore thought it most advisable (having consulted with Mr. Anderson and Lieutenant Martyn) to wait till morning, and then, if they persisted in detaining our guide, to attack them in open day, a measure which would be more decisive, and more likely to be attended with success than any night skirmishes. We accordingly placed double sentries during the night,

and made every man sleep with his loaded musket at hand. We likewise sent two people back to Jallacotta, to inform the dooty of the treatment we had received from the faranba, though at one of the towns belonging to the King of Woolli." Early, however, on the following morning, Isaaco was liberated, and in the course of the day his horse was recovered, and the tribute was paid to the faranba.

A few days afterward a singular accident befell them. The coffle had halted at a creek, and the asses had just been unloaded, when some of Isaaco's people, being in search of honey, unfortunately disturbed a large swarm of bees near their resting-place. The bees came out in immense numbers, and attacked men and beasts at the same time. Luckily, most of the asses were loose, and galloped up the valley; but the horses and people were very much stung, and obliged to scamper in all directions. The fire which had been kindled for cooking, being deserted, spread, and set fire to the bamboos, and the baggage had like to have been burned. In fact, for half an hour the bees seemed to have completely put an end to the journey. In the evening, when they became less troublesome, and the cattle could be collected, it was found that many of them were very much stung, and swollen about the head. Three asses were missing; one died in the course of the evening, and one next morning, and they were forced to leave one behind the next day. Altogether six were lost, besides which, the guide lost his horse, and many of the people were very much stung about the face and hands.*

* The occurrence of accidents of this nature seems to be not at all uncommon. Park mentions a similar attack by bees in his

On the 28th of May the party reached Badoo, whence, on the following day, Park had an opportunity of sending two letters to England by a Slatee who was going to the Gambia. In these he spoke confidently of success, and announced his expectation of reaching the Niger by the 27th of June; "and when," he adds, writing to his wife, "we have once got afloat on the river, we shall conclude that we are embarking for England." In the same letter he says, "I am in great hopes of finishing this journey with great credit in a few months; and then with what joy shall I turn my face towards home!"

first journey (see page 148); and his guide Isaaco, in a journey made in 1810, 11, thus records another, as happening to his people. "When on the very top of the hill, they were surrounded and attacked by such a quantity of bees, that my people and beasts of burden were scattered; when they were a little appeased, we went after our beasts, who had thrown away everything they had on their backs. I found one of my asses dead, being stifled by the bees getting into its nostrils, and one of my men almost dead by their stings. I had to give him something to bring him to life, and that with a great deal of pains."

## CHAPTER XVII.

Commencement of the Rainy Season.—Alarming Sickness.—Gold Mines at Shrondo.—Arrival at Fankia.—Difficult Mountain Pass.—Increase of the Sick.—Hostility of the Natives at Gimbia.—Face of the Country.—Its romantic Character.—Sickness of the Men.—Park's personal Exertions.—Dangers from young Lions.—The Guide seized by a Crocodile.—His Expedient to Escape.—Arrival at Keminoom.—Depredations of the Natives.—Continued Sickness.—Five Men left behind.—Illness of Mr. Anderson.—Park's Escape from three Lions.—His View of the Niger.

[1805.]

It was on the 29th of May that Park wrote his cheerful letters from Badoo; within a fortnight afterward he "trembled at his situation." The cause of this fearful change was the rapid approach of the rainy season. On the 30th of May "some drops of rain" fell. On the night of the 5th of June, at Baniserile, there was "a squall, with thunder and rain;" the loads having been put into the tent, were not wetted; but one of the carpenters, who was recovering from an attack of dysentery, became "greatly worse." On the following morning this man was so very weak that two soldiers were appointed to attend him and drive his ass. On the next day he became unable to sit upright, and frequently threw himself from the ass, "wishing to be left to die;" so that two of the soldiers held him by force upon the beast. In the afternoon he was "still more weak, and ap-

parently dying;" Park therefore thought it best to leave him at a village on the route until the following morning, under the care of one of the soldiers. At eight o'clock, however, on the same evening, the poor man died, and, with the assistance of the negroes, was buried in the native place of sepulture.

On the same night (that of the 8th), the party were overtaken by a heavy tornado, with thunder and lightning; and on the next day five of the soldiers, who had stood under a tree instead of going into the tent, complained much of headache and pains in the stomach. On the 10th they halted at Shrondo, under a tree, and, before they could pitch one of the tents, they were overtaken by a very heavy tornado, which wetted them all completely. Park's hat was blown away and lost, as he attempted to fasten one of the tents to a branch of the tree; and the ground all round was covered with water three inches deep. Another tornado visited them in the night.

"The tornado which took place on our arrival," says Park, "had an instant effect on the health of the soldiers, and proved to us to be the *beginning of sorrow*. I had proudly flattered myself that we should reach the Niger with a very moderate loss; we had had two men sick of the dysentery; one of them recovered completely on the march, and the other would doubtless have recovered, had he not been wet by the rain at Baniserile. But now the rain had set in, and I trembled to think that we were only half way through our journey. The rain had not commenced three minutes before many of the soldiers were affected with vomiting;

others fell asleep, and seemed as if half intoxicated. I felt a strong inclination to sleep during the storm, and, as soon as it was over, I fell asleep on the wet ground, although I used every exertion to keep myself awake. The soldiers likewise fell asleep on the wet bundles." On the following day twelve of them were sick.

While the caravan was at Shrondo, Park visited the gold mines in its vicinity. These he found to consist of about thirty pits, resembling wells, dug to the depth of ten or twelve feet, in a meadow-spot of about four or five acres in extent; close to these *mine-pits* were other shallow *wash-pits*, and between them were several heaps of sandy gravel. The dooty's permission to inspect the mines had been previously obtained; and our traveller was accompanied by a woman, to whom he had promised to pay a bar of amber if she showed him a grain of gold.

The woman took about half a pound of the gravel from a heap which apparently belonged to her, and, having put it into a large calabash, threw a little water on it with a small calabash, these two calabashes comprising all the apparatus necessary for washing gold. The quantity of water was only sufficient to cover the sand about one inch. The woman then crumbled the sand to pieces and mixed it with water; this she did, not in a rotatory manner, but by pulling her hands towards herself, as shown in the vignette in our title-page. She then threw out all the large pebbles, looking on the ground where they fell to see if she had thrown out a piece of gold. The next step was to give the mixture a rotatory motion, so as to make a

part of the sand and water fly over the brim of the calabash ; and while she accomplished this with her *right* hand, with her *left* she threw out of the centre of the vortex a portion of sand and water at every revolution. She then put in a little fresh water, and as the quantity of sand was now greatly diminished, she held the calabash in an oblique direction, and made the sand move slowly round, while she constantly agitated it with a quick motion to and from herself. "I now observed," says Park, "a quantity of black matter resembling gunpowder, which she told me was *gold-rust;* and, before she had moved the sand one quarter round the calabash, she pointed to a yellow speck and said, '*sanoo affili*' (see the gold). On looking attentively, I saw a portion of pure gold, and took it out. It would have weighed about *one grain*. The whole of the washing, from the first putting in of the sand till she showed me the gold, did not exceed the space of *two minutes*. I now desired her to take a larger portion. She put in, as nearly as I could guess, about two pounds, and having washed it in the same manner and nearly the same time, found no fewer than *twenty three* particles; some of them were very small. In both cases I observed that the quantity of sanoo mira, or *gold-rust*, was at least forty times greater than the quantity of gold. She assured me that they sometimes found pieces of gold as large as her fist." Park was unable to ascertain the quantity of gold washed at this place in one year, but he believed it to be considerable ; though the natives wash only during the beginning and end of the rains.

On leaving Shrondo upon the 12th of June, the

sick were unable to walk; and at noon a tornado came on so suddenly, that it was necessary to carry the bundles into the huts of the natives: in the evening Lieutenant Martyn fell ill of the fever. On the following day Park became "very uneasy" at his situation, one half of the people being either sick of the fever, or unable to use great exertion, and fatigued in driving the asses. "I did not reach Fankia," he says, "till seven o'clock, having to walk slow in order to coax on three sick soldiers who had fallen behind, and were for lying down under every tree they passed."

The next day was spent at Fankia, in order to give the sick a little rest: Park found himself very ill, having been feverish all night. Upon leaving this place on the 15th, some of the men were slightly delirious; and about a mile beyond it the party came to a mountain pass, the steep and rocky ascent of which severely tried their diminished strength. "The asses being heavily loaded, in order to spare as many as possible for the sick," says Park, "we had much difficulty in getting our loads up this steep. The number of asses exceeding the drivers, presented a dreadful scene of confusion in this rocky staircase; loaded asses tumbling over the rocks, sick soldiers unable to walk, black fellows stealing; in fact, it certainly was *up-hill-work* with us at this place." When the ascent was at last accomplished, it was found that the natives had stolen seven pistols, two great coats, and one knapsack, besides several smaller articles.

On the morrow, after recovering some of the stolen articles, the party set forward, Park follow-

ing behind. When he had advanced about a mile, he found Hinton, one of the sick, who rode Mr. Anderson's horse, lying under a tree, and the horse grazing at a little distance. "Some of the natives," he says in his *Journal*, "had stolen the pistols from the holsters, and robbed my coat-case, which was fastened behind the saddle, of a string of coral, all the amber and beads it contained, and one barraloolo [fowling-piece]. Luckily, they did not fancy my pocket sextant and artificial horizon, which were in the same place. I put the sick man on the horse and drove it before me; and after holding him on, and using every exertion to keep him on the saddle, I found that I was unable to carry him on; and, having fatigued myself very much with carrying him forward about six miles, I was forced to leave him."

About a mile farther on Park came to two other men lying in the shade of a tree; he mounted one on Mr. Anderson's horse, and the other on his own, and drove them before him. In the cool of the evening he sent back a horse for Hinton, who was brought to the village, tied upon the animal. On the following day, Hinton and another of the sick men were left behind, to the care of the dooty of the village at which the party had halted for the night: amber and beads were given to him sufficient to purchase victuals for them if they lived, and to bury them if they died. Three days afterward another of the soldiers was left behind in a similar manner; and so again, in two days more, was one of the carpenters.

One very unpleasant result of the sickness which enfeebled the party was this, that it encouraged

the natives to greater boldness in the practice of extortion, and even open pilfering. A remarkable instance occurred on the 23d of June, at the village of Gimbia or Kimbia. Park chanced to be in the rear, bringing on some asses which had thrown off their loads; and when he came up, he found all about the village wearing a hostile appearance, the men running from the corn-grounds, and putting on their quivers, &c. "The cause of this tumult," he says, "was, as usual, *the love of money*. The villagers had heard that the white men were to pass; that they were very sickly, and unable to make any resistance, or to defend the immense wealth in their possession. Accordingly, when part of the coffle had passed the village, the people sallied out, and, under pretence that the coffle should not pass till the dooty pleased, insisted on turning back the asses. One of them seized the sergeant's horse by the bridle to lead it into the village; but, when the sergeant cocked his pistol and presented it, he dropped the bridle; others drove away the asses with their loads, and everything seemed going into confusion. The soldiers, with great coolness, loaded their pieces with ball and fixed their bayonets: on seeing this, the villagers hesitated, and the soldiers drove the asses across the bed of a torrent, and then returned, leaving a sufficient number to guard the asses.

"The natives collected themselves together under a tree by the gate of the village, where I found the dooty and Isaaco at very high words. On inquiring the cause of the tumult, Isaaco informed me that the villagers had attempted to take the loads from the asses. I turned to the dooty, and

asked him who were the persons that had dared to make such an attempt. He pointed to about thirty people, armed with bows; on which I fell a laughing, and asked him if he really thought that such people could fight; adding, if he had a mind to make the experiment, they need only go up and attempt to take off one of the loads. They seemed by this time to be fully satisfied that they had made a vain attempt; and the dooty desired me to tell the men to go forward with the asses. As I did not know but perhaps some of the sick might be under the necessity of returning this way, I thought it advisable to part on friendly terms, and therefore gave the dooty four bars of amber, and told him that we did not come to make war; but if any person made war on us, we would defend ourselves to the last."

The country through which the party were now travelling was very rocky; rugged and grand, to use Park's expression, beyond anything he had seen. On leaving Fankia upon the 15th of June, he had deviated from the route by which he had returned to the Gambia on his former journey, and followed one not so much inclined to the southward; his object was probably to avoid the Jallonka Wilderness, the horrors of which he had then experienced. On the 24th of June he describes the country as beautiful beyond imagination, with all the possible diversities of rock, sometimes towering up like ruined castles, spires, pyramids, &c. "We passed one place," he says, "so like a ruined Gothic abbey, that we halted a little before we could satisfy ourselves that the niches, windows, ruined staircase, &c., were all natural rock. A

faithful description of this place would certainly be deemed a fiction." He mentions several villages romantically situated in the crescents formed by rocky precipices, whose perpendicular height varied from one to five or six hundred feet.

On the 27th, in crossing the *Ba fing*, a principal branch of the Senegal, one of the men was drowned from the upsetting of a canoe. The river was crowded with hippopotami, whose snorting and blowing during the night kept the party awake. The natives here are emphatically described as *all thieves;* they attempted to steal several of the loads, and one of them was detected in the act of carrying away the bundle which contained all the medicines. On the following day another of the sick men died. He had become so much exhausted that he could not sit upon his ass; he was then fastened upon it, but he became more and more faint, and shortly after died. "He was brought forward," says Park, "to a place where the front of the coffle had halted to allow the rear to come up. Here, when the coffle had set forward, two of the soldiers with their bayonets, and myself with my sword, dug his grave in the wild desert; and a few branches were the only laurels which covered the tomb of the brave."

In the midst of these disheartening circumstances Park was indefatigable in his attention to those under his care; when any became faint and weary and wished to lay down and die, he used every inducement to coax them onward; and when they had lagged behind or wandered from the track, he spared no exertions to recover them. The hardships which he personally encountered were very

great. In the course of the journey of the 29th, one of the soldiers, named Bloore, sat down under the shade of a tree, and when Park desired him to proceed, he said that he was rather fatigued, and that he would follow when he had cooled himself Some time after the coffle had halted, he had not come up, and the sergeant was sent on a horse to bring him forward, but returned without having seen him.

"I suspected," says Park, "that the sergeant might have rode past him under the tree; I therefore got three volunteers to go with me and look for him. It was quite dark. We collected a large bundle of dry grass, and, taking out a handful at a time, kept up a constant light, in order to frighten the lions, which are very numerous in these woods. When we reached the tree under which he lay down, we made a fire; saw the place where he had pressed down the grass, and the marks of his feet; went to the west along the pathway, and examined for the marks of his feet, thinking he might possibly have mistaken the direction; found none; fired several muskets, hallooed, and set fire to the grass; returned to the tree, and examined all around; saw no blood, nor the footmarks of any wild beasts; fired six muskets more. As any farther search was likely to be fruitless (for we did not dare to walk far from the track for fear of losing ourselves), we returned to the tents."

On the 2d of July, another of the soldiers, who had become very delirious, was left behind; and in the afternoon, Park himself felt very sickly, having lifted up and reloaded a great many asses on the road. In the night, as the party were resting at

the village of Koeena, they were much incommoded by the wild beasts. A severe tornado, at seven o'clock, had put out the watch-fire, and made them all crowd into the tents. When the violence of the squall was over, they heard a particular sort of roaring or growling, not unlike the noise of a wild boar; there seemed to be several animals making a circuit round the cattle. Two muskets were fired to make them keep at a distance; but, as they still kept prowling about, our travellers collected a bunch of withered grass and went in search of them, suspecting them to be wild boars. "We got near one of them," says Park, "and fired several shots into the bush, and one at him as he went off among the long grass. When we returned to the tents, I learned, by inquiring of the natives, that the animals we had been in search of were not boars, but young lions; and they assured me that, unless we kept a very good look-out, they would probably kill some of our cattle during the night. About midnight these young lions attempted to seize one of the asses, which so much alarmed the rest that they broke their ropes and came at full gallop in among the tent-ropes. Two of the lions followed them, and came so close to us that the sentry cut at one of them with his sword, but did not dare to fire for fear of killing the asses."

On the afternoon of the following day, Park's brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Scott, the draughtsman of the expedition, were so sick that they wished to remain for the night where they were. "With much entreating," they were persuaded to mount their horses and go on. Three miles farther, one of the seaman who had been received from

his majesty's ship Squirrel became so faint that he fell from his ass, and allowed the animal to run away. Park placed him on his own horse, but found that he could not sit without being supported. The poor man was then replaced on the ass, but he still tumbled off; he was then again put on the horse, and, while one man kept him upright, Park led the horse. But, as he made no exertion to keep himself erect, it was impossible to hold him on the horse, and, after repeated tumbles, he begged to be left in the woods till morning. Park left a loaded pistol with him, and put some cartridges into the crown of his hat. The next day the man made his way after the party, and presented himself quite naked, having been stripped of his clothes by three of the natives during the night: his fever was much abated.

On the following day, likewise, a serious accident occurred to the guide, Isaaco, at the crossing of the Wonda, one of the affluents of the Senegal. As there was but one canoe for the service, it was near noon before all the bundles were carried over. The transporting of the asses was very difficult. The river was shallow and rocky, and whenever their feet touched the bottom they generally stood still. Isaaco was very active in pushing the asses into the water and shoving along the canoe; but, as he was afraid that they would not be all carried over in the course of the day, he attempted to drive six of them across the river, farther down, where the water was shallower. When he had reached the middle of the river, a crocodile rose close to him, and, instantly seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence

of mind, he felt for the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eye; on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco attempted to reach the farther shore, calling out for a knife. But the crocodile returned and seized him by the other thigh, and again pulled him under water; he had recourse to the same expedient, and thrust his fingers into its eyes with such violence that it again quitted him, and when it rose, flounced about on the surface of the water as if stupid, and then swam down the middle of the river.* Isaaco proceeded to the other side, bleeding very much. As soon as the canoe returned, Park went over, and found him very much lacerated. The wound on the left thigh was four inches in length; that on the right not quite so

* Humboldt mentions a similar incident which he learned at San Fernando, on the river Apure, in South America. "They related to us," he says, "the history of a young girl of Uritucu, who, by singular intrepidity and presence of mind, saved herself from the jaws of a crocodile. When she felt herself seized, she sought the eyes of the animal, and plunged her fingers into them with such violence that the pain forced the crocodile to let her loose, after having bitten off the lower part of her arm. The girl, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of blood she had lost, happily reached the shore, swimming with the hand she had still left. In those desert countries, where man is ever wrestling with nature, discourse daily turns on the means that may be employed to escape from a tiger, a boa or *traga venado*, or a crocodile; every one prepares himself, in some sort, for the dangers that await him. 'I knew,' said the young girl of Uritucu, 'that the cayman lets go his hold if you push your fingers into his eyes.' Long after my return to Europe, I learned that, in the interior of Africa, the negroes know and practise the same means. Who does not recollect, with a lively interest, Isaaco, the guide of the unfortunate Mungo Park, seized twice, near Boolinkoomboo, by a crocodile, and twice escaping from the jaws of the monster, having succeeded in placing his fingers, under water, in both his eyes? The African Isaaco and the young American owed their safety to the same presence of mind, and the same combination of ideas."

large, but very deep; and there were, besides, several single teeth-wounds on his back. Park dressed the wounds as well as the circumstances would permit, and sent the man on to the next village, Boolinkoomboo, whither the whole party followed the next day.

"I now found my situation," says Park, "very perplexing. To go forward without Isaaco to Keminoom, I knew would involve us in difficulties, as Keminoom's sons are reckoned the greatest thieves and blackguards on the whole route. To stop till Isaaco recovered (an event which seemed very doubtful) would throw us into the violence of the rains. There was no other person that I could trust; and, what was worst of all, we had only *two days' rice*, and a great scarcity prevailed in the country. I determined to wait three days to see how Isaaco's wounds looked, and in the mean time sent two of his people away to Serracorra, with an ass and three strings of No. 5 amber, to purchase rice." On the following day all the people were either sick or in a state of great debility, one only excepted.

On the 10th, the guide having partially recovered, and a supply of rice having been obtained, the party set forward; and on the following day they reached Keminoom or Maniakorro, a walled town, "fortified in the strongest manner," says Park, "I have yet seen in Africa." After staying a day to give Mansa Numma, the chief, his present, Park became very desirous to depart, as he found the people "thieves to a man; in fact," he says, "we have never yet been in a place where so much theft and impudence prevail."

Accordingly, at dawn on the 14th, the tents were struck and the asses loaded. The townspeople had stolen, during the stay of the party, four great-coats, a large bundle of beads, a musket, a pair of pistols, and several other things. Before the coffle advanced a musket-shot from the town (though one of the king's sons attended on horseback as a protector), one of the townspeople carried away a bag from one of the asses. The king's son, Lieutenant Martyn, and Park rode after him and recovered the bag; but, before they could rejoin the coffle, another thief had run off with a musket that was fastened on one of the loads.

"We proceeded in this manner," says Park, "in a constant state of alarm; and I had great reason to fear that the impudence of the people would provoke some of the soldiers to run them through with their bayonets. About two miles from Maniakorro, as we were ascending a rocky part of the road, several of the asses fell with their loads. I rode a little from the path, to see if a more easy ascent could not be found; and as I was holding my musket carelessly in my hand, and looking round, two of Numma's sons came up to me; one of them requested me to give him some snuff. Suspecting no ill-treatment from two people whom I had often seen with the king and at our tents, I turned round to assure him that I never took snuff; at this instant, the other (called Woosaba), coming up behind me, snatched the musket from my hand and ran off with it. I instantly sprang from my saddle and followed him with my sword, calling to Mr. Anderson to ride back and tell some of my people to look after my horse. Mr. Anderson got

within musket-shot of him, but, seeing it was Numma's son, had some doubts about shooting him, and called to me if he should fire. Luckily I did not hear him, or I might possibly have recovered my musket at the risk of a long palaver, and perhaps the loss of half our baggage. The thief accordingly made his escape among the rocks, and, when I returned to my horse, I found the other of the royal descendants had stolen my greatcoat."

Park informed the king's son, whom he had hired as a guide, of what had happened; and requested to know how he should act if any of the people should steal articles from the baggage. He was assured that, after what had happened, he would be justified in shooting the first that attempted to steal; and he then made such of the soldiers as were near him load their muskets and be ready. The sky became cloudy, and, by the time that they had advanced about five miles from the town, they experienced a very heavy tornado. During the rain, another of Numma's sons snatched up and ran off with one of the soldiers' muskets and a pair of pistols, which the owner had laid down while reloading his ass.

The depredations of the natives were continued with the same boldness until the coffle reached the Ba Woolima river on the 19th of July. The daring of the thieves was extraordinary; some would be very busy assisting the party to load their asses, while their comrades were peeping over the rocks and making signs to them. On one occasion, a negro slave came out of the bushes against a single soldier, and endeavoured forcibly to wrest his musket and knapsack from him. On the 18th,

the party had not travelled much above a mile from their resting-place when two suspicious people came up. One of them walked slowly in the rear, and the other passed on, seemingly in great haste. "I desired Mr. Anderson," says Park, "to watch the one in the rear, while I rode on at such a distance as just to keep sight of the other. The road making a turn, he was concealed from me by the bushes, and took advantage of this opportunity to carry away a greatcoat from a load which was driven by one of the sick men. I fortunately got a view of him as he was running off among the bushes, and, galloping in a direction so as to get before him, quickly came so near him that he leaped into some very thick bushes. When I rode round he went out at the side opposite to me; and in this manner I hunted him among the bushes for some time, but never losing sight of him. At last he ran past a spreading tree, and, jumping back, stood close to the trunk of it. I thought I should certainly lose him if I did not avail myself of the present opportunity. I accordingly fired, and dropping my musket on the pummel of my saddle, drew out one of the pistols, and told him if he offered to move I would instantly shoot him dead. 'Do not kill me, white man,' he exclaimed; 'I cannot run from you, you have broke my leg.' I now observed the blood streaming down his leg; and when he pulled up his cloth, I saw that the ball had passed through his leg, about two inches below the knee-joint. He climbed a little way up the tree, which was of easy ascent, always exclaiming in a pitiable tone of voice, 'Do not kill me.' Several of the people belonging to the coffle, on hearing

the shot fired, came running; and, among others, the guide appointed us by Keminoom, who insisted that I should instantly shoot the thief dead; otherwise, he said, I did not fulfil the orders of his master, who had directed me to shoot every person that stole from me. I had great difficulty in preventing him from killing him, and was happy to recover the greatcoat, and leave the thief bleeding among the branches of the tree."

On the afternoon of the same day, during a tornado, one of the sick fell a little behind, and four people seizing him, stripped him of his jacket. He followed them at a distance; and when he came up to Mr. Anderson and Park, he called out to shoot one of them, as they had taken his jacket. Park had his pocket handkerchief on the lock of his gun to keep the priming dry, and when the thieves observed him remove it, one of them pulled out the jacket from under his cloak, and laid it on one of the asses. Mr. Anderson followed them on horseback, and Park kept as near them as he could on foot, his horse being loaded. After they had been followed for about three miles, they struck into the woods; and Park, suspecting that they had a mind to return and steal some of the loads from the fatigued asses in the rear, returned with Mr. Scott, when he found that another party had robbed one of the soldiers of his knapsack, and another of his jacket.

On the 20th of July the party crossed the Ba Woolima, on a temporary bridge constructed in a few hours by the negroes. Here one of the soldiers was left in a dying state, and on the following day, Lieutenant Martyn and Mr. Scott both lay

down on the road, unable to proceed. They were afterward brought forward on asses. At Bangassi, on the 26th, the corporal died; and there one of the soldiers was left very ill. On the following day, after marching a short distance, three of the soldiers lay down and refused to proceed; one of the carpenters brought from Portsmouth did likewise. It was on the 27th also that Park came to an eminence, from which he had a view of some very distant mountains to the southeast. "The certainty that the Niger washed the base of those mountains made him forget his fever, and he thought of nothing all the way but how to climb over their blue summits."

In the afternoon they reached Nummasoolo, where, before they had time to pitch their tent properly, the rain came down and wetted completely both men and bundles. This was "a very serious affair," many of the articles of merchandise being perishable. The party slept very uncomfortably in wet clothes on the wet ground, and were troubled in the night with a lion, who came so near that the sentry fired at him, but it was so dark that it was impossible to take a good aim. All the asses pulled up the pins to which they were fastened, and ran together as near the men as they could. As the sick soldiers who had refused to proceed did not come up before sunset, Park concluded they had all returned to Bangassi; and the dooty's son arriving upon horseback, informed him that they had really returned to his father's house, and wished to know what it was meant to do respecting them. Park said that he wished his people to be taken proper care of, and gave the man

ten bars of amber for informing him of them; and likewise put into his possession three strings of amber of forty bars each, to be disposed of for the use of the sick. Park also promised him a present if he would send a proper person forward with any of them who recovered to Bambakoo; and, at the same time, sent the following note to the men:

"Dear Soldiers,

"I am sorry to learn that you have returned to Bangassi. I have sent in charge of the bearer of this three complete strings of amber, one of which will procure rice for forty days; the second will purchase milk or fowls for the same time; and the third will buy provisions for you on the road till you arrive at the Niger. Yours,

"M. PARK."

As Park advanced, his losses from sickness increased. On the 10th of August, as he came to a stream, he found Mr. Anderson lying under a bush apparently dying, and was obliged to carry him across the stream. On the following day Mr. Anderson continued in a very dangerous way, and on the 12th Park led his horse by the bridle, that he might have no trouble but that of sitting on the saddle. At half past twelve o'clock Mr. Anderson declared he could ride no farther; Park laid him in the shade of a bush, and sat down beside him. At half past two he made another attempt to proceed, but had not rode above a hundred yards before Park had to take him down from the saddle and lay him again in the shade. "I now," he says,

"gave up all thoughts of being able to carry him forward till the cool of the evening; and, having turned the horses and asses to feed, sat down to watch the pulsations of my dying friend."

At half past five o'clock, there being a fine breeze from the southwest, Mr. Anderson agreed to make another attempt, and Park having again placed him on the saddle, led the horse on pretty smartly, in hopes of reaching Koomikoomi before dark. They had not proceeded above a mile, before they heard on their left a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but ending in a hiss. Park thought that it must be a large monkey; and was observing to Mr. Anderson, "What a bouncing fellow that must be," when they heard another bark nearer to them, and presently a third still nearer, accompanied with a growl. "I now suspected," he says, "that some wild animal meant to attack us, but could not conjecture of what species it was likely to be. We had not proceeded a hundred yards farther, when, coming to an opening in the bushes, I was not a little surprised to see three lions coming towards us. They were not so red as the lion I formerly saw in Bambarra, but of a dusky colour, like the colour of an ass. They were very large, and came bounding over the long grass, not one after another, but all abreast of each other. I was afraid, if I allowed them to come too near us, and my piece should miss fire, that we should be all devoured by them. I therefore let go the bridle, and walked forward to meet them. As soon as they were within a long shot of me, I fired at the centre one. I do not think I hit him, but they all stopped, looked at each other, and then

bounded away a few paces, when one of them stopped and looked back at me. I was too busy in loading my piece to observe their motions as they went away, and was very happy to see the last of them march slowly off among the bushes. We had not proceeded above half a mile farther, when we heard another bark and growl close to us among the bushes. This was doubtless one of the lions before seen, and I was afraid they would follow us till dark, when they would have too many opportunities of springing on us unawares. I therefore got Mr. Anderson's call, and made as loud a whistling and noise as possible. We heard no more of them."

On the 13th Park reached Koomikoomi, where he again joined the route by which he returned in 1797. At Doombila, which he entered on the 15th, he met with Karfa Taura, his kind friend who had entertained him at Kamalia on his former journey for so many months, and then conveyed him to the Gambia. On the 19th, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, Park gained the summit of the ridge which separates the Niger from the remote branches of the Senegal; and, advancing to the brow of the hill, *once more saw the Niger* rolling its immense streams along the plain!

"After the fatiguing march," he says, "which we had experienced, the sight of this river was no doubt pleasant, as it promised an end to, or at least an alleviation of, our toils. But when I reflected that three fourths of the soldiers had died on their march; and that, in addition to our weakly state, we had no carpenters to build the boats, in which we promised to prosecute our discoveries, the pros-

pect appeared somewhat gloomy. It, however, afforded me peculiar pleasure, when I reflected that, in conducting a party of *Europeans*, with immense baggage, through an extent of more than five hundred miles, I had always been able to preserve the most friendly terms with the natives. In fact, this journey plainly demonstrates: first, that, with common prudence, any quantity of merchandise may be transported from the Gambia to the Niger, without danger of being robbed by the natives; secondly, that if this journey be performed in the dry season, one may calculate on losing not more than three, or, at most, four men out of fifty."

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## CHAPTER XVII.

Distressing Situation of Park.—His Embarcation on the Niger.—His Arrival at Marraboo.—At Samee.—His Speech to Mansong's Prime Minister.—Mansong's Reply.—Park's Arrival at Sansanding.—His Description of that Town.—His successful Trading there.—Death of his Brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson.—Completion of the Schooner Joliba.—Last Letters received from Park.

[1805.]

PARK'S situation, on arriving at length upon the banks of the Niger, was very distressing. Of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters who left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter reached that river. Mr. Anderson, Lieutenant Martyn, and Mr. Scott were seriously affected by illness; the last, indeed, had been obliged to remain behind,

and he died soon afterward, without seeing the Niger.

On the 22d, Park and Anderson embarked on the Niger, with all the baggage, in two canoes, leaving Lieutenant Martyn and the surviving men to proceed by land, and join them at Marraboo, beyond the rapids. "We passed two of the principal rapids," says Park, "and three smaller ones in the course of the afternoon. We saw on one of the islands in the middle of the river a large elephant; it was of a red clay colour, with black legs. I was very unwell of the dysentery, otherwise I would have had a shot at him, for he was quite near us. We saw three hippopotami close to another of these islands. The canoe-men were afraid they might follow us and overset the canoe. The report of a musket will in all cases frighten them away. They blow up the water exactly like a whale. As we were gliding along shore one of the canoe-men speared a fine turtle, of the same species as the one I formerly saw, and made a drawing of in Gimbia. At sunset we rowed to the shore, and landed on some flat rocks, and set about cooking the turtle and rice for our supper; but, before this aldermanic repast was half dressed, the rain came on us, and continued with great violence all night."

From Marraboo Park despatched his guide, Isaaco, to Sego, the capital of Bambarra, to negotiate with King Mansong for a free passage through his dominions, and for such other facilities as might enable him to prosecute his journey. On the 8th of September, Mansong's "singing man" arrived, with orders to convey them to Sego, and on the 16th left them at Samee, to announce their approach.

On the evening of the 22d of September, Modibinne, the prime minister of King Mansong, with four of his friends, arrived at Samee in a canoe, to hear from Park's own mouth the cause of his visit to Bambarra. On the following morning, as soon as our travellers had breakfasted, Modibinne and the four grandees came to visit them. When they had seated themselves, and the usual compliments had passed, Modibinne desired Park to acquaint them with the motives which had induced him to come into their country. Park then spoke to them in the Bambarra language as follows:

"I am the white man who, nine years ago, came into Bambarra. I then came to Sego, and requested Mansong's permission to pass to the eastward; he not only permitted me to pass, but presented me with 5000 cowries, to purchase provisions on the road; for you all know that the Moors had robbed me of my goods. This generous conduct of Mansong towards me has made his name much respected in the land of the white people. The king of that country has sent me again into Bambarra; and if Mansong is inclined to protect me, and you who are here sitting wish to befriend me, I will inform you of the real object of my coming into your country." [Here Modibinne desired him to speak on, as they were all his friends.] "You all know," continued Park, "that the white people are a trading people; and that all the articles of value, which the Moors and the people of Jinnie bring to Sego, are made by us. If you speak of a *good gun*, who made it? the *white people*. If you speak of a good pistol or sword, or piece of scarlet, or baft, or beads, or gunpowder—who made them? the *white people*

We sell them to the Moors; the Moors bring them to Timbuctoo, where they sell them at a *higher rate*. The people of Timbuctoo sell them to the people of Jinnie at a still higher price; and the people of Jinnie sell them to you. Now the king of the white people wishes to find out a way by which we may bring our merchandise to you, and sell everything at a much cheaper rate than you now have them. For this purpose, if Mansong will permit me to pass, I propose sailing down the Joliba to the place where it mixes with the salt water; and if I find no rocks or danger in the way, the white men's small vessels will come up and trade at Sego, if Mansong wishes it. What I have now spoken, I hope and trust you will not mention to any person except Mansong and his son; for if the Moors should hear of it, I should certainly be murdered before I reach the salt water."

Modibinne then answered, "We have heard what you have spoken. Your journey is a good one, and may God prosper you in it. Mansong will protect you. We will carry your words to Mansong this afternoon, and to-morrow will bring you his answer." Park made Isaaco show them the different presents which had been allotted to Mansong and his son. They were delighted with a silver-plated tureen, two double-barrelled guns; in fact, every article was far superior to anything of the kind they had ever before seen.

When Park had laid out everything for Mansong and his son, he then made each of the grandees, and Modibinne, a present of scarlet cloth. Modibinne said that the present was great, and worthy of Mansong. "but," added he, "Mansong has

heard so many reports concerning your baggage that he wishes us to examine it. Such of the bundles as are covered with skin we will not open ; you will tell us what is in them, and that will be sufficient." Park told them that he had nothing but what was necessary for purchasing provisions ; and that it would please him much if they could dispense with opening the bundles. They, however, persisted ; and he then ordered the bundles to be brought out, taking care, with the assistance of the soldiers, to secrete all the good amber and coral.

When all the loads were inspected, Park asked Modibinne what he thought of the baggage, and whether he had seen any more silver tureens or double-barrelled guns. Modibinne answered, that he had seen nothing that was *bad*, and nothing but what was necessary for purchasing provisions ; and that he would report the same to Mansong. He accordingly went away with his companions to Sego, but without taking Mansong's present till they had heard his answer.

On the 24th of September two of the soldiers died. On the 25th, Modibinne and the four grandees returned with Mansong's answer, a literal translation of which is as follows : " Mansong says he will protect you ; that a road is open for you everywhere, as far as his hand (power) extends. If you wish to go to the east, no man shall harm you from Sego till you pass Tombuctoo. If you wish to go to the west, you may travel through Fooladoo and Manding, through Kasson and Bondou ; the name of Mansong's stranger will be a sufficient protection for you. If you wish to build your boats at Samee or Sego, at Sansanding or Jinnie,

name the towns, and Mansong will convey you thither." Modibinne concluded by observing, that Mansong wished Park to sell him four of the blunderbusses, three swords, a fiddle (violin) which belonged to Mr. Scott, and some Birmingham bead-necklaces, which pleased above everything; that he had sent them a bullock, and his son another, with a sheep. Park replied, that Mansong's friendship was of more value to him than the articles which he had mentioned, and that he would be happy if Mansong would accept them from him as a further proof of his esteem.

On the 26th the party departed from Samee, and proceeded down the river towards Sansanding. There was no wind, and the air was excessively sultry. "I never felt so hot a day," says Park; "there was *sensible heat* sufficient to have roasted a *sirloin;* but the thermometer was in a bundle in the other canoe, so that I could not ascertain the *actual* heat." On the 27th they reached Sansanding, which Park thus describes.

"Sansanding contains 11,000 inhabitants. It has no public buildings, except the mosques, two of which, though built of mud, are by no means inelegant. The market-place is a large square, and the different articles of merchandise are exposed for sale on stalls covered with mats to shade them from the sun. The market is crowded with people from morning to night; some of the stalls contain nothing but beads; others indigo, in balls; others wood-ashes, in balls; others Houssa and Jinnie cloth. I observed one stall with nothing but antimony in small bits; another with sulphur; and a third with copper and silver rings and bracelets.

In the houses fronting the square is sold scarlet, amber, silks from Morocco, and tobacco, which looks like Levant tobacco, and comes by way of Tombuctoo. Adjoining this is the salt-market, part of which occupies one corner of the square. A slab of salt is sold commonly for 8000 cowries. A large butcher's stall or shade is in the centre of the square, and as good and fat meat sold every day as any in England. The beer-market is at a little distance, under two large trees: there are often exposed for sale from eighty to one hundred calabashes of beer, each containing about two gallons. Near the beer-market is the place where red and yellow leather is sold. Besides these market-places, there is a very large space which is appropriated for the great market every Tuesday. On this day astonishing crowds of people come from the country to purchase articles in wholesale, and retail them in the different villages."

On the 8th of October, as Mansong had delayed sending the canoes he promised much longer than had been expected, Park thought it best to be provided with a sufficient quantity of shells to purchase them; particularly when he reflected that the river would subside in the course of a few days, it having sunk that morning about four inches by the shore. "I therefore opened shop," he says, "in great style, and exhibited a choice assortment of European articles, to be sold in wholesale or retail. I had, of course, a *great run*, which, I suppose, drew on me the envy of my brother merchants; for the Jinnie people, the Moors, and the merchants here, joined with those of the same descrip-

tion at Sego, and (in presence of Modibinne, from whose mouth I had it) offered to give Mansong a quantity of merchandise, of greater value than all the presents I had made him, if he would seize our baggage, and either kill us or send us back again out of Bambarra. They alleged that my object was to kill Mansong and his son by means of charms, that the white people might come and seize on the country. Mansong, much to his honour, rejected the proposal, though it was seconded by two thirds of the people of Sego, and almost all Sansanding.

"From the 8th to the 16th nothing of consequence occurred; I found my shop every day more and more crowded with customers; and, such was my run of business, that I was sometimes forced to employ *three tellers at once* to count my cash. I turned one market-day 25,756 pieces of money (cowries)."

On the 16th, a canoe was brought from Mansong; but Park objected to one half of it as being quite rotten. Another half was then brought down from Sego, but would not match that already sent. On the 20th, Park succeeded in obtaining a very large canoe, one half of which was very much decayed and patched; and he immediately set to work, with the assistance of one of the soldiers, to join the better half of it to that which he had formerly obtained.

On the 28th of October, while engaged in this task, Park suffered a misfortune which he felt more keenly than any which he had yet encountered. "At a quarter past five o'clock in the morning," he says, "my dear friend Mr. Alexander Ander-

son, died after a sickness of four months. I feel much inclined to speak of his merits; but as his worth was known only to a few friends, I will rather cherish his memory in silence, and imitate his cool and steady conduct, than weary my friends with a panegyric in which they cannot be supposed to join. I shall only observe, that no event which took place during the journey ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind till I laid Mr. Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left a second time lonely and friendless amid the wilds of Africa."

After eighteen days' hard labour, Park succeeded in changing the Bambarra canoe into *His Majesty's schooner Joliba*, having a length of forty feet, and a breadth of six feet. On the 16th of November, at which day his *Journal* ends, he says that all was ready, and that he should sail on the morrow. On the 17th he wrote the following letter to Earl Camden, the colonial secretary, to whom he was about to transmit his Journal, to be conveyed by Isaaco as far as the Gambia.

*"On board of H. M. schooner Joliba,*
*At anchor off Sansanding, Nov. 17, 1805.*

"My Lord—I have herewith sent you an account of each day's proceedings since we left Kayee. Many of the incidents related are in themselves extremely trifling; but are intended to recall to my recollection (if it pleases God to restore me again to my native land) other particulars illustrative of the manners and customs of the natives, which would have swelled this bulky communication to a most unreasonable size.

"Your lordship will recollect that I always

spoke of the rainy season with horror, as being extremely fatal to Europeans; and our journey from the Gambia to the Niger will furnish a melancholy proof of it.

"We had no contest whatever with the natives, nor was any one of us killed by wild animals, or any other accident; and yet I am sorry to say, that of forty-four Europeans who left the Gambia in perfect health, five only are at present alive, namely, three soldiers (one deranged in his mind), Lieutenant Martyn, and myself.

"From this account I am afraid that your lordship will be apt to consider matters in a very hopeless state; but I assure you I am far from despondingly. With the assistance of one of the soldiers I have changed a large canoe into a tolerably good schooner, on board of which I this day hoisted the British flag, and shall set sail to the east with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger or perish in the attempt. I have heard nothing that I can depend on respecting the remote course of this mighty stream; but I am more and more inclined to think that it can end nowhere but in the sea.

"My dear friend Mr. Anderson, and likewise Mr. Scott, are both dead; but, though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I myself were half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last die on the Niger.

"If I succeed in the object of my journey, I expect to be in England in the month of May or June, by way of the West Indies.

"I request that your lordship will have the

goodness to permit my friend, Sir Joseph Banks, to peruse the abridged accounts of my proceedings, and that it may be preserved, in case I should lose my papers. I have the honour to be, &c.

"MUNGO PARK."

Park remained at Sansanding to the 19th of November, when, just before starting, he wrote the following letter to his wife.

"*Sansanding, 19th November*, 1805.

"It grieves me to the heart to write anything that may give you uneasiness, but such is the will of Him who *doeth all things well!* Your brother Alexander, my dear friend, is no more! He died of the fever at Sansanding, on the morning of the 28th of October; for particulars I must refer you to your father.

"I am afraid that, impressed with a woman's fears and the anxieties of a wife, you may be led to consider my situation as a great deal worse than it really is. It is true, my dear friends Mr. Anderson and George Scott have both bid adieu to the things of this world; and the greater part of the soldiers have died on the march during the rainy season; but you may believe me I am in good health. The rains are completely over, and the healthy season has commenced, so that there is no danger of sickness; and I have still a sufficient force to protect me from any insult in sailing down the river to the sea.

"We have already embarked all our things, and shall sail the moment I have finished this letter. I do not intend to stop or land anywhere till we reach

the coast, which I suppose will be some time in the end of January. We shall then embark in the first vessel for England. If we have to go round by the West Indies, the voyage will occupy three months longer: so that we expect to be in England on the first of May. The reason of our delay since we left the coast was the rainy season, which came on us during the journey, and almost all the soldiers became affected with the fever.

"I think it not unlikely but I shall be in England before you receive this. You may be sure that I feel happy at turning my face towards home. We this morning have done with all intercourse with the natives; and the sails are now hoisting for our departure for the coast.*

"*To Mrs. Park.*"

These two letters from Park, together with others to his father-in-law and Sir Joseph Banks, and his *Journal* up to the date already mentioned, were brought by his guide, Isaaco, from Sansanding to the Gimbia, and thence transmitted to England. They were the last communications received from Park.

* It is impossible to read these letters without feeling the truth of the remark made upon them by the editor of Park's *Journal*, that "they bear strong traces of that deliberate courage, without effort or ostentation, which distinguished his whole conduct;" and that his letter to Lord Camden, in particular, 'breathes a generous spirit of self-devotion highly expressive of the character and feelings of the writer."

## CHAPTER XIX.

Rumours of Park's Death.—Isaaco's Mission to inquire into their Truth.—Account of Park's Fate obtained from his Guide.—Its Confirmation by subsequent Travellers.—Clapperton's Account.—Exertions by the Brothers Lander to procure Park's Papers.—Memorials of him obtained by them.

[1805-1830.]

For some time after the date of the letters written by Park from Sansanding, nothing was heard of the expedition. In the course of the year 1806, vague reports were brought to the British settlements on the coast by the native traders from the interior of Africa, to the effect that Park and his companions had been killed. Years passed on and the rumours increased, though no distinct accounts upon the subject could be obtained; till at length Colonel Maxwell, the governor of Senegal, obtained permission from the British government to send a proper person to procure some more precise information. For this service he was fortunately able to engage Isaaco, who had been Park's guide from the Gimbia, and who had brought back his letters and *Journal* from Sansanding.

Isaaco left Senegal in January, 1810, and on the 1st of September, 1811, returned thither, with a full confirmation of the reports concerning Park's death. At Fadina, near Sansanding, he met with Amadi Fatouma, the very guide whom he had recommended to Park to accompany him on his voyage from Sansanding down the Niger. "I sent for him," says Isaaco, "he came immediately. I de-

manded of him a faithful account of what had happened to Mr. Park. On seeing me, and hearing me mention Mr. Park, he began to weep, and his first words were, 'They are all dead.' I said, 'I am come to see after you, and intended to look every way for you, to know the truth from your own mouth, how they died.' He said that they were lost for ever, and that it was useless to make any farther inquiry after them; for to look after what was irrecoverably lost was losing time to no purpose."

According to the account of Amadi Fatouma, Park left Sansanding in the canoe with Lieutenant Martyn, three other white men, three slaves, and himself as guide and interpreter. He describes the voyage of the party down the river, past Jinnie, through Lake Dibbie, and past Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo, into the kingdom of Haoussa. On entering this country Amadi Fatouma's engagement was at an end; but, at Park's request, he remained two days longer with the party, and accompanied them down the river as far as Yaour or Yaoorie. Throughout the voyage they were constantly exposed to the hostility of the natives. "We lost one white man by sickness," says the guide; "we were reduced to eight hands, having each of us fifteen muskets, always in order and ready for action." The natives repeatedly attacked them in canoes, and were repeatedly repulsed with great loss of life. Referring to one encounter, the guide says, "Seeing so many men killed, and our superiority over them, I took hold of Martyn's hand, saying, 'Martyn, let us cease firing, for we have killed

too many already;' on which Martyn wanted to kill me, had not Mr. Park interfered."

At Yaoorie, Amadi Fatouma was sent on shore with a musket and sabre for the chief, to whom also he took several presents for the king. The chief asked him if the white men intended to come back; and Park being informed of this inquiry, replied that he could not return any more. It is supposed that this reply induced the chief to withhold the presents from the king, and that the anger thereby excited in the king's mind against the white men led to the last and fatal attack upon them. The catastrophe is thus recorded by Amadi Fatouma.

"Next day (Saturday) Mr. Park departed, and I slept in the village (Yaour). Next morning I went to the king to pay my respects to him; on entering the house I found two men who came on horseback; they were sent by the chief of Yaour. They said to the king, 'We are sent by the chief of Yaour to let you know that the white men went away without giving you or him (the chief) anything; they have a great many things with them, and we have received nothing from them; and this Amadi Fatouma, now before you, is a bad man, and has likewise made a fool of you both.' The king immediately ordered me to be put in irons, which was accordingly done, and everything I had taken from me; some were for killing me, and some for preserving my life. The next morning, early, the king sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river side. There is before this village a rock across the full breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high; there is a large opening in

that rock in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through; the tide-current is here very strong, The army went and took possession of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself; he nevertheless attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time; two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed; they threw everything they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing; but, being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men and jumped into the water; Martyn did the same, and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat seeing the natives throwing weapons at the canoe without ceasing, stood up, and said to them, 'Stop throwing now; you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself, therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don't kill me.' They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

"I was kept in irons three months; the king released me and gave me a slave (woman). I immediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr. Park had died, and what I have related above. I asked him if he was sure nothing had been found in the canoe after its capture; he said that nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt. I asked him where the sword-belt was; he said the king took it, and made a girth for his horse with it." This

sword-belt Isaaco afterward procured, and brought with him to Senegal.

Such was the account which, after the lapse of so many years, was conveyed to England concerning the termination of this expedition. Its credibility was impugned by many persons; and even so late as 1815, when Park's *Journal* was first published, the publisher thought it necessary to combat the opinion entertained by some persons, that Park might still be alive in some remote part of the interior of Africa. But of late years the account, in all its material features, has been amply confirmed; and the researches of our countrymen on the spot have satisfactorily established the fact, that Park sailed down the Niger from Sansanding to Boussa; that he was there attacked by the natives; and that, overpowered by numbers, he there perished in the Niger, so strangely verifying his own declaration in his last letter to Lord Camden, "that if he could not succeed in the object of his journey, he would at last die on the Niger."

In the year 1826, Captain Clapperton visited Boussa, and saw the rock described by Amadi Fatouma as the place near which Park and his companions were killed. "We had all along," he says, "been buoyed up with the hope of being able to obtain the Journal and papers of the late Mungo Park at Boussa; but, to our great mortification and disappointment, we discovered that they had been either destroyed, or conveyed no one could tell whither, many years before. The inhabitants were exceedingly reserved on the subject of the fatal catastrophe, and usually gave equivocating or evasive answers to our inquiries as to the manner

in which it occurred. They seemed, indeed, overwhelmed with shame at the part they or their fathers had taken in the dreadful tragedy, and did all in their power to shift the blame from the shoulders of themselves and their countrymen."

The same traveller succeeded in obtaining, during his stay in that part of the country, some particulars of the death of Park and the other members of the expedition; the following is given by him as the most accurate and best authenticated version which he could procure of the "dismal story," as he styles it.

"The voyagers had reached Youri in safety, and were on intimate and familiar terms with the sultan, father to the reigning prince, who entreated them to finish their journey through the country by land, instead of proceeding down the Quorra to the salt water; observing that the people inhabiting the islands and borders of the river were ferocious in their manners, and would not suffer their canoe to proceed without first having rifled it of its contents, and exposed them to every species of indignity and insult; and that, if their lives were spared, they would infallibly be detained as domestic slaves. This evil report was considered as the effect of jealousy and prejudice; and, disregarding the prudent counsel of the sultan of Youri, the ill-fated adventurers proceeded down the Quorra as far as the island of Boussa, from whence their strange-looking canoe was observed by one or two of the inhabitants, whose shouts brought numbers of their companions, armed with bows and arrows, to the spot. At that time the usurpations of the Falatahs had begun to be the general talk of the black pop-

ulation of the country, that the people of Boussa, who had only heard of that warlike nation, fancied Mr. Park and his associates to be some of them, coming with the intention of taking their town and subjugating its inhabitants. Under this impression, they saluted the unfortunate Englishmen from the beach with showers of missiles and poisoned arrows, which were returned by the latter with a discharge of musketry. A small white flag had been previously waved by our countrymen in token of their peaceable intentions; but this symbol not being understood by the people of Boussa, they continued firing arrows till they were joined by the whole male population of the island, when the unequal contest was renewed with greater violence than ever. In the mean time the Englishmen, with the blacks they had with them, kept firing unceasingly among the multitude on shore, killing many, and wounding a still greater number; till, their ammunition being expended, and seeing every hope of life cut off, they threw their goods overboard, and desiring their sable assistants to swim towards the beach, locked themselves firmly in each others' arms, and, springing into the water, instantly sank, and were never seen again.

"The bodies of the two slaves who attempted to save their lives by swimming were pierced with a grove of arrows, but they subsequently recovered from the effects of their wounds, and were certainly alive when we were at Boussa; but, as I understood afterward, they were carefully concealed, in order to prevent our making any inquiries of them relative to the affair.

"Resistance being thus at an end, the floating

property had been eagerly laid hold of by the people of Boussa, and carried in triumph to their city. In the evening they formed a circle round it, and for several days and nights nothing was to be seen or heard but feasting and rejoicing; but it happened, before their revelries were well over, an infectious disease, whereof they had not previously had the most distant idea, raged in the island, and swept off the sultan, with numbers of his subjects; and it was remarked that those who had been most active in the destruction of the strangers were cut off to a man, expiring in great agony. The people endeavoured to appease the wrath of the white man's God (by whose instrumentality they were firmly persuaded the destroying plague had reached them) by the offering of sacrifices, and afterward by setting fire to all the articles found on the surface of the water; shortly after which, it is asserted, the pestilence left the island. Meantime the news of the occurrence and its fatal results spread like wildfire through the neighbouring states, and the people of Boussa were stigmatized with a reproachful epithet for having been guilty of so heinous a crime. Hence the studied reserve of the reigning sultan and his subjects, which no considerations could tempt them to break through, so as to enter into the details of the tragedy; and hence, also, the expression, so beneficial to us in those regions, and so prevalent among all ranks and conditions: 'Do not hurt the white men; for if you do, you will perish like the people of Boussa.'"

While at Saccatoo he had some conversation with Sultan Bello, the chief or king of the country, upon the subject.

"We then spoke," says Clapperton, "of Mungo Park, and said that, had he come in the rainy season, he would have passed the rocks; but that the river fell so low in the dry season, boats could only pass at a certain point. He told me that some timbers of the boat, fastened together with nails, remained a long time on the rocks; and that a double-barrelled gun, taken in the boat, was once in his possession, but it had lately burst. His cousin, Abderachman, however, had a small printed book taken out of the boat, but he was now absent on an expedition to Nyffe. The other books were in the hands of the Sultan of Youri, who was tributary to him. I told the sultan, if he could procure these articles for the King of England, they would prove a most acceptable present, and he promised to make every exertion in his power."

The following document was obtained by the same traveller:

"Hence be it known, that some Christian came to the town of Youri, in the kingdom of Yaoor, and landed and purchased provisions, as onions and other things; and they sent a present to the King of Yaoor. The said king desired them to wait until he should send them a messenger; but they were frightened, and went away by the sea (river). They arrived at the town Bousa, or Boossa, and their ship then rubbed (struck) upon a rock, and all of them perished in the river. This fact is within our knowledge, and peace be to the end.

"It is genuine from Mohammed ben Dehmann."

(In addition to the above, there is a kind of post-

script appended to the document by a different hand, which, being both ungrammatical and scarcely legible, there was some difficulty in translating, and giving a proper meaning to. The words, however, are thought to be as follow, though most of them have been made out by conjecture.)

"And they agreed, or arranged among themselves, and swam in the sea (river), while the men who were with (pursuing) them appeared on the coast of the sea (bank of the river), and fell upon them and went down (sunk) in it."

In the year 1830, when the brothers Lander went out to Africa for the purpose of following the course of the Niger below Boossa to the sea, hopes were still entertained that they might be able to recover some of Park's papers; possibly the continuation of his Journal from Sansanding, whence the previous portion of it, recording his journey to that place, had been despatched, together with the last letters that were received from him or his associates. These hopes rested principally on the statement made by the Sultan of Yaoorie in his letter to Captain Clapperton, to the effect that he had in his possession certain books and papers which had belonged to Park; and to procure these memorials of the unfortunate traveller was one of the secondary objects of the expedition. "Should you be of opinion," say the instructions of the colonial secretary, Sir George Murray, to Richard Lander, "that the sultan of Yaoorie can safely be communicated with, you are at liberty to send your brother with a present to that chief, to ask, in the king's name, for certain books or papers which he is supposed to have, that belonged to the late Mr. Park."

The Landers reached Boossa on the 17th of June, and on the following day beheld the scene of Park's disastrous fate. "We visited," they say in their Journal, "the far-famed *Niger*, or *Quorra*, which flows by the city, about a mile from our residence, and were greatly disappointed at the appearance of this celebrated river. Black rugged rocks rose abruptly from the centre of the stream, causing strong ripples and eddies on its surface. It is said that, a few miles above Boossa, the river is divided into three branches by two small fertile islands, and that it flows from hence in one continued stream to Funda. The Niger here, in its widest part, is not more than a stone's throw across at present. The rock on which we sat overlooks the spot where Mr. Park and his associates met their unhappy fate; we could not help meditating on that circumstance, and on the number of valuable lives which had been sacrificed in attempting to explore this river, and secretly implored the Almighty that we might be the humble means of setting at rest for ever the great question of its course and termination."*

On the following day, being June the 19th, the King of Boossa, accompanied by his consort, repaired to the hut of the travellers. "Our visiters," says their Journal, "remained with us a considerable time, and in the course of conversation one of them observed that they had in their possession a tobe which belonged to a white man who came from the north many years ago, and from whom it had been purchased by the king's father. We expressed great curiosity to see this tobe, and it was

* See Landers' Expedition to the Niger. Harpers' Family Library, Nos. xxxv. and xxxvi

sent us as a present a short time after their departure. Contrary to our expectation, we found it to be made of rich crimson damask, and very heavy from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time when the late king is said to have purchased this tobe corresponds very nearly to the supposed period of Mr. Park's death, and as we never heard of any other white man having come from the north so far south as Boossa, we are inclined to believe it to be part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveller. Whether Mr. Park wore the tobe himself, which is scarcely probable on account of its weight, or whether he intended it as a present to a native chief, we are at a loss to determine. At all events, the article is a curiosity in itself; and if we should live to return to England, we shall easily learn whether it was made there or not.* The chief himself has never worn the tobe, nor his predecessor, from a superstitious feeling; 'besides,' observed the king, 'it might excite the cupidity of the neighbouring powers.'"

On the following day the brothers endeavoured to obtain some farther information on the subject.

"*Sunday, June 20th.*—The king sent a messenger this morning to inform us that he was a tailor, and that he would thank us for some thread and a few needles for his own private use. By

* The travellers happily lived to return to England, but they did not bring the tobe with them, being obliged, as they descended the Niger, to send it as a present to the King of Rabba, in order to propitiate that monarch, and induce him to allow them to proceed on their way. "Of course," they say, "we deeply lamented the necessity to which we were reduced on parting with this curiosity, but it was inevitable."

this man he likewise sent a musket for us to repair, but, as it is Sunday, we have declined doing it till to-morrow. Eager as we are to obtain even the slightest information relative to the unhappy fate of Mr. Park and his companions, as well as to ascertain if any of their books or papers are now in existence at this place, we had almost made up our minds to refrain from asking any questions on the subject, because we were apprehensive that it might be displeasing to the king, and involve us in many perplexities. Familiarity, however, having in some measure worn off this impression, and the king being an affable, obliging, and good-natured person, we were imboldened to send Paskoe to him this morning with a message expressive of the interest we felt on the subject, in common with all our countrymen; and saying that, if any books or papers which belonged to Mr. Park were yet in his possession, he would do us great service by delivering them into our hands, or, at least, by granting us permission to see them. To this the king returned for answer, that, when Mr. Park was lost in the Niger, he was a very little boy, and that he knew not what had become of his effects; that the deplorable event had occurred in the reign of the late king's predecessor, who died shortly after, and that all traces of the white man's effects had been lost with him. This answer disappointed our hopes, for to us it appeared final and decisive. But in the evening they were again raised by a hint from our host, who is the king's drummer, and one of the principal men in the country. He assured us that there was at least one book saved from Mr. Park's canoe, which is now in the possession of a very poor man

in the service of his master, to whom it had been intrusted by the late king during his last illness. He said, moreover, that if but one application were made to the king on any subject whatever, very little was thought of it; but if a second were made, the matter would be considered of sufficient importance to demand his whole attention, such being the custom of the country. The drummer, therefore, recommended us to persevere in our inquiries, for he had no doubt that something to our satisfaction would be elicited. At his own request, we sent him to the king immediately, desiring him to repeat our former statement, and to assure the king that, should he be successful in recovering the book we wanted, our monarch would reward him handsomely. He desired the drummer to inform us that he would use every exertion, and examine the man who was reported to have the white man's book in his possession at an early hour to-morrow. Here the matter at present rests."

The king kept his promise. On the afternoon of the following day the king went to see the travellers; he was followed by a man who had under his arm a book which was said to have been picked up in the Niger after the loss of Park. "It was enveloped," they say, "in a large cotton cloth, and our hearts beat high with expectation as the man was slowly unfolding it, for by its size we guessed it to be Mr. Park's Journal; but our disappointment and chagrin were great, when, on opening the book, we discovered it to be an old nautical publication of the last century. The title-page was missing; but its contents were chiefly tables of logarithms. It was a thick royal quarto, which led us to conjec-

ture that it was a journal; between the leaves we found a few loose papers, of very little consequence indeed; one of them contained two or three observations on the height of the water in the Gambia, one was a tailor's bill on Mr. Anderson, and another was addressed to Mr. Mungo Park, and contained an invitation to dinner. The following is a copy of it.

"'Mr. and Mrs. Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr. Park's company to dinner on Tuesday next, at half past five o'clock. An answer is requested.

"'*Strand, 9th November*, 1804.'

"The king, as well as the owner of the book, looked as greatly mortified as ourselves when they were told the one produced was not that of which we were in quest, because the reward promised would not, of course, be obtained. As soon as our curiosity had been fully satisfied, the papers were carefully collected and placed again between the leaves, and the book as carefully folded in its envelope as before, and taken away by its owner, who values it as much as a household god. Thus all our hopes of obtaining Mr. Park's Journal or papers in this city are entirely defeated. The inquiry, on our part, has not been prosecuted without much trouble and anxiety, and some little personal sacrifices likewise, which, had they been ten times as great, we would gladly have made, while a single hope remained of their being effectual."

At Yaoorie, where the chances of success were thought to be greater, on account of the sultan's affirmation in his letter to Captain Clapperton, the

attempt was renewed; but, though in the end it proved fruitless, the travellers gathered some interesting information concerning Park. They reached Yaoorie on Sunday, the 27th of June, and their proceedings on the following day are thus related in their Journal.

"*Monday, June 28th.*—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, and a singular tuft of hair, which was directly under the lower lip, did not look much unlike the tail of a white mouse. Though toothless, 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 Yaoorie, 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, and, by his description of Mr. Park's dress, he must have worn the laced tobe that we received of the King of Boossa, and which may account for the facility with which we obtained it, as well as the reluctance of the king to enter into an explanation of the manner in which his ancestor got possession of it. Mr. Park is stated to have been drowned in the same dress. The Arab informed us that he had in his possession a cutlass and a double-barrelled gun, which was part of Mr. Park's present to the sultan. We expressed a wish to look at these weapons, and

they were immediately sent for. The gun was very excellent, and handsomely mounted; and we offered our own fowling-piece in exchange for it, which was cheerfully agreed to, but not till after the sultan's consent had in the first place been obtained."

On the afternoon of the following day, the travellers went to pay their respects to the sultan. "The conversation," they say, "commenced in the usual complimentary way; and then our object in visiting Yaoorie was briefly and indirectly hinted at. When we asked him whether he did not send a letter to the late Captain Clapperton, while that officer was at Koolfu, in which he affirmed that he had certain books and papers in his possession which belonged to Mr. Park, he appeared very much confused. After thinking and hesitating a good while, he answered with an affected laugh, 'How could you think that I could have the books of a person who was lost at Boossa?' and this was all that he said on the subject."

On Sunday, July the 4th, Richard Lander visited the sultan to make a last application for Park's papers. "He would give no decisive answer, but in the course of the day he said he would tell the chief of the Arabs everything relative to them, and would send him to us with the information. Accordingly, in the afternoon, the old man came as commanded; but, instead of delivering the expected communication, he said that we should certainly inspect the books to-morrow; and, in the mean time, the sultan would thank us to sell him some gunpowder, and whatever red cloth we might have left. This refinement in begging, or, in other words, this mean

rapaciousness on the part of the sultan, was never more apparent than in this instance."

The rain preventing a communication with the sultan on the following day, the promised inspection was not afforded. On the morrow, however, the indefatigable travellers sent their attendant Paskoe with a message to the sultan, stating that they earnestly wished to receive a final and decisive answer with regard to the restoration of Mr. Park's papers, to obtain which they declared to have been their sole object in visiting him, adding, that it was their desire to quit Yaoorie immediately. "This bold and, to us, unusual language, seemed to have surprised and startled the sultan, and he instantly despatched the old Arab to inform us, that he declared to God, in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen any books or papers of the white travellers that perished at Boossa. The Arab likewise assured us that we were at liberty to proceed on our journey whenever we should think proper. Thus, notwithstanding all the false hopes that the sultan artfully held out to us, that Mr. Park's papers were actually in his possession; the letter to Captain Clapperton, which expressly stated this to be the case; and the pitiful shuffling which he had displayed to keep us so long in suspense with respect to any true information, it appears then, without doubt, that he has not, and never has had, a single book or paper in the English language. His only motive for the dastardly conduct he had displayed could have been neither more nor less than the hope of getting us into his power by misrepresentation and falsehood, in order to obtain some of the European articles which

we had in our possession. That the sultan has succeeded so well with us has not been our fault entirely, but even now he is by no means satisfied, nor is it likely that he will be while we remain with him. It is a satisfaction, at least, for us to know that the long-sought papers are at present nowhere in existence."

At a subsequent period, the hope of recovering them was again aroused. The travellers returned from Yaoorie to Boossa, and then visited the city of Wowow; Richard Lander, however, being taken ill after a few days' stay, went back to Boossa, where the medicine-chest had been left. His brother John remained at Wowow a short time longer; and in the journal which he kept during that period, he writes thus:

"*Wednesday, August* 18*th.*—My curiosity has again been highly, and, perhaps, painfully excited, by hearing to-day that a certain man in the town was known to have had in his possession several books which he had picked up from the Niger at the period of Mr. Park's dissolution. As soon as I had learned this, I instantly sent to the man's house to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the rumour; but he happened to be from home, and it was not till night, after his return from the bush, that I heard, with disappointment and sorrow, that the report was indeed well founded, but that the books had all been recently destroyed. The man said he had shown them to the Arabs who were in the habit of visiting the town, but they could not understand the language in which they were written, and merely conjectured that their contents related to money matters, and were therefore of no

kind of use to any one. Yet, nothwithstanding their uselessness, the man is reported to have kept the books carefully concealed in his house till the arrival of Captain Clapperton at Wowow; but when he found that this officer made no inquiries for such books, he neglected to pay any farther attention to them, and they were destroyed shortly after, or, to use his own words, 'they dropped or fell to pieces.' By the description which has been given of one of the books alluded to, I am inclined to believe that it must have been either Mr. Park's Journal, or a book of manuscripts of some sort. Thus have all our inquiries for the recovery of the lost papers of this traveller ended in disappointment, even when we had made almost sure of them, and our feelings excited to their highest pitch on more than one occasion, we have felt all the bitterness of hope suddenly extinguished."

Mr. John Lander afterward succeeded in procuring a stuffed pillow, which had probably been used by Mr. Park for a seat, and within which was enclosed a small Arabic manuscript, supposed to be a native charm. The recovery of it is thus related in the journal.

"*Friday, August 20th.*—The widow Zuma has left a son at Wowow, who is about thirty years of age, and is suffered to reside here only because he is at variance with his captious mother, and disapproves and condemns all her measures. This young man has been a constant daily visiter to me, and brings me occasionally a dish of pounded yam and palm oil, a few goora-nuts, or some such trifle. At our request he has busied himself surprisingly in endeavouring to procure information

respecting the papers of Mr. Park. Though nearly blind, Abba (for that is his name) is a handsome and intelligent young man, of an equable temper, and of a mild, modest, and amiable disposition, which has rendered him a great favourite with us. From the information with which he has supplied us, we learn that the late King of Wowow, who was father to the present ruler, became possessed of much of Mr. Park's property, among which was a great quantity of guns and ammunition, particularly musket-balls, which we have seen. Before this monarch's dissolution, he left them to be divided among his sons. Abba ascertained yesterday that a large fat woman belonging to the king had a great pillow, which her deceased husband had snatched, among other things, from the Niger, near Boossa, and with which he had fled to Wowow, where he continued to reside till his death. This pillow, as it is called, had perhaps been used for a seat, for it was covered with bullock's hide, and strengthened by ribs of iron; but the covering having been worn into holes with age and use, it was yesterday pulled to pieces by the owner, who found it to be stuffed with rags and cloth, cut into small bits. In the centre of the pillow, however, to the woman's surprise, she discovered a little bag of striped satin, and feeling something like a book, as she says, within it, she was afraid to open it herself, but presently sent word to Abba of the circumstance, who forthwith came and imparted it to me, bringing the little bag along with him. On opening it, I found a little iron frame, round which had been wound, with much ingenuity and care, a great quantity of cotton

thread, which encompassed it, perhaps, not less than ten thousand times; and, in consequence of its entangled state, it was provokingly troublesome to take off. Affixed to the little iron instrument, which is said to be a child's handcuff of foreign manufacture, and underneath the cotton, was an old manuscript, which, according to Abba's opinion, is a native charm. But as I mistrusted his knowledge of the Arabic language, and doubted his ability to give a proper interpretation to the contents of the paper, in my own judgment I was induced to believe it to be neither more nor less than a charm of some kind. Therefore I purchased the manuscript, because it might be of greater consequence than I imagined, and because the bag in which it had been enveloped was of European satin, and the ink with which it had been written very different from that which is used by the Arabs, resembling our own so closely that the difference in the colour of both cannot be distinguished. We were advised by no means to intimate to the king the nature of Abba's inquiries, for the people are afraid of him, and declare that if he knew of any individual that had secreted ever so trifling a part of Mr. Park's property, he would be beheaded without mercy."

Such were the results of the Landers' exertions to recover the papers of Park. At a subsequent period of the journey, during a visit paid to the King of Wowow, Richard Lander discovered, among that monarch's collection of charms, a small edition of Watt's Hymns, on one of the blank covers of which was written, "*Alexander Anderson, Royal Artillery Hospital, Gosport,* 1804." He also mentions that

he saw a note from Lady Dalkeith to Park, of the same date as that from Mr. and Mrs. Watson, and acknowledging the receipt of some drawings from him.

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## CHAPTER XX.

Historical Sketch of later Discoveries.—Four Hypotheses concerning the Termination of the Niger.—Hypothesis of its Identity with the Congo.—Park's Reasons in support thereof.—Reichard's Hypothesis of its Termination in the Gulf of Guinea.—Tuckey's Expedition to the Congo.—Clapperton's two Journeys.—Expedition of the Brothers Lander.—Their Success.

[1805-1830.]

An account of the life of Mungo Park may be appropriately concluded by a brief sketch of the subsequent history of the question concerning the termination of the Niger, and a statement of the successive steps by which its solution was effected five-and-twenty years after his death. His first expedition made us acquainted with the course of the Niger from Bammakoo to Silla, a distance of about 350 miles, throughout the whole of which the river was found to flow, roughly speaking, from west to east. The grand object of his second expedition was to trace the rest of its course from Silla, and to ascertain where this large river ended; an achievement, of which it was said by Park himself, that, "considered in a commercial point of view, it was second only to the discovery

of the Cape of Good Hope, and in a geographical point of view, it was certainly the greatest discovery that remained to be made in this world."

The failure of Park's second expedition left us still in ignorance concerning the course of the Niger below Silla; and for several years no farther attempt to dispel that ignorance was made. In the mean while, the subject, exciting much attention, was freely discussed; and the information concerning it being vague and scanty, the conjectures were bold and numerous in proportion. The question which Park had failed to settle was looked upon as one of the grand geographical problems of the age; and men reasoned and speculated about the termination of the Niger, just as they reasoned and speculated about a northwest passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific. The different hypotheses which prevailed about thirty years ago were four in number. Three of them existed, and were stoutly maintained by their respective supporters, during Park's lifetime; the fourth was started three years after his death, and, singularly enough, has proved to be the correct one. The four hypotheses are the following:

1. That the Niger, after leaving Silla, continued to flow towards the east, across the heart of Africa, until it joined the Nile; or, in other words, that the Niger was identical with that great western branch of the Niger called the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, or White River, of which the sources then were, as indeed they still are, undiscovered.

2. That the Niger, after leaving Silla, continued to flow towards the east until, somewhere in the interior of Africa, it emptied itself into lakes, dis-

charging its surplus waters, in the rainy season, over a wide extent of level country.

3. That the Niger, after continuing its easterly course for some distance beyond Silla, turned towards the south, and, flowing many hundred miles in that direction, at last issued into the Atlantic Ocean, in about 6° south latitude, through that great outlet of fresh water called the river Congo or Zaire.

4. That the Niger, after continuing its easterly course for some distance beyond Silla, turned towards the south, and entered the Atlantic Ocean in about 4° north latitude, at the head of the Gulf of Guinea, through the numerous little channels which were known to intersect that part of the African coast, and which were supposed to form an enormous delta or alluvial tract, bounded on the east by the river called the *Rio del Rey*, and on the west by the *Rio Formoso*, or Benin River.*

The first of these hypotheses, or that identifying the Niger with the western branch of the Nile, was maintained by Horneman, Mr. Grey Jackson, and other travellers; but, even as early as 1815, it was justly pronounced by the editor of Park's *Journal* to be, of all the hypotheses, "the most unfounded, and the least consistent with acknowledged facts." It was, indeed, rather a loose popular conjecture than an opinion deduced from probable reasoning; nothing being alleged in its support except the bare fact that the course of the river, so far as known, was in a direction towards the Nile; and a few vague notions of some of the African natives,†

* See map of the course of the Quorra, vol. i., Landers' Expedition to the Niger, No. xxxv. Harpers' Family Library.

† The facility of establishing almost any position in Africar

unworthy of the smallest attention. But, besides wanting evidence in its favour, this hypothesis was liable to a strong objection, arising out of this consideration, that the Niger, after flowing across the vast space which separated it from the Nile, must have descended to a level, much lower than the known level of the Nile, at the only point at which the junction could take place ; in other words, the hypothesis involved the absurdity of supposing the Niger to flow up-hill.

The second hypothesis, or that of an inland termination of the Niger, boasted the support of two of the most eminent among modern geographers, D'Anville and Major Rennell.* The grounds on which it rested were, first, a sort of general opinion to the same effect among the ancients ; and, secondly, the physical character assigned, upon the strength of various accounts, to a part of Africa towards which the Niger flowed, and which was represented to be a tract of low alluvial country, having several permanent lakes, and being annually overflowed for three months during the rainy sea-

geography upon the testimony of the natives, is strikingly illustrated by the reasoning advanced in favour of this hypothesis. Mr. Grey Jackson, who resided many years in Morocco, stated it to be a fact universally known among the rich African traders, that the Niger and the Nile were one and the same river, by means of which there existed a practicable water communication between Timbuctoo and Grand Cairo; and, moreover, he actually gave, on the authority of "a very intelligent man who had an establishment at Timbuctoo," the particulars of a voyage said to have been performed in the year 1780, by a party of seventeen negroes, down the Niger to Cairo. Yet in no part of its course does the Niger approach within 1800 miles of Cairo.

* "On the whole," was Major Rennell's conclusion, "it can scarcely be doubted that the Joliba, or Niger, terminates in lakes in the eastern quarter of Africa."

son. The principal objection to it was the difficulty of supposing that so large a stream could be discharged into lakes and evaporated, even under an African sun.

The third hypothesis, or that identifying the Niger with the Congo or Zaire, was adopted by Park in consequence of the information and suggestions of Mr. Maxwell, an experienced African trader. The principal arguments in support of it are shortly and clearly given in the Memoir addressed by Park to the colonial secretary, Earl Camden, in October, 1804.

"The following considerations," says the traveller, "have induced Mr. Park to think that the Congo will be found to be the termination of the Niger:

1. "The total ignorance of all the inhabitants of North Africa respecting the termination of that river. If the Niger ended anywhere in North Africa, it is difficult to conceive how the inhabitants should be so totally ignorant of it; and why they should so generally describe it as running to the Nile, to the end of the world, and, in fact, to a country with which they are unacquainted.

2. "In Mr. Horneman's Journal, the Niger is described as flowing eastward into Bornou, where it takes the name of *Zad*. The breadth of the Zad was given him for one mile, and he was told that it flowed towards the Egyptian Nile, through the land of the *Heathens*. The course here given is directly towards the Congo. *Zad* is the name of the Congo at its mouth, and it is the name of the Congo for at least 650 miles inland.

3. "The river of *Dar Kulla*, mentioned by Mr

Browne, is generally supposed to be the Niger, or, at least, to have a communication with that river. Now this is exactly the course the Niger ought to take in order to join the Congo.

4. "The quantity of water discharged into the Atlantic by the Congo cannot be accounted for on any other known principle but that it is the termination of the Niger. If the Congo derived its waters entirely from the south side of the mountains, which are supposed to form the Belt of Africa, one would naturally suppose that, when the rains were confined to the north side of the mountains, the Congo, like the other rivers of Africa, would be greatly diminished in size, and that its waters would become *pure*. On the contrary, the waters of the Congo are at all seasons thick and muddy. The breadth of the river, when at its *lowest*, is *one mile;* its depth is *fifty fathoms*, and its velocity *six miles per hour*.

5. "The annual flood of the Congo commences before any rains have fallen south of the equator, and agrees correctly with the floods of the Niger, calculating the water to have flowed from Bam barra at the rate of three miles per hour."

The principal objections to this hypothesis were, first, that it made the river to flow across a great chain of mountains, or rather across a tract, generally supposed by geographers to be occupied by the vast chain of the *Kong* mountains, "the great central Belt of Africa," as they used to call it: secondly, that it assigned to the Niger a length which surpassed that of every other known river, and which, therefore, ought not to be admitted upon anything much short of distinct and positive proof.

The fourth hypothesis, or that which supposed the Niger to enter the Atlantic through the numerous channels which were known to exist in the low alluvial tract at the head of the Gulf of Guinea, was started by a German geographer named Reichard, and first published in the year 1808, nearly three years after Park's death. The principal argument in its favour was afforded by the physical character of that part of the African coast, which bore a considerable resemblance to the deltas at the mouth of several large rivers, as the Nile, the Ganges, the Indus, &c. The principal objection to it was, that, like the third hypothesis, it supposed the Niger, in its passage to the southward, to flow through the barrier of the Kong Mountains, which were generally admitted to stretch uninterruptedly across the middle of the African continent. Nevertheless, this fourth hypothesis has been found to be correct in its material features.

Such, then, are the various opinions which, for several years after Park's death, afforded to the learned and the speculative an ample fund of controversy concerning the termination of the Niger. The first renewal of the attempt to solve that great problem was made in 1816; when the British government, seeking to test the correctness of Park's hypothesis, sent out an expedition under Captain Tuckey to ascend the Zaire or Congo, and determine whether it really were the outlet of the Niger. This expedition was conducted with great ability, yet the issue of it was eminently disastrous, "adding largely to the catalogue of martyrs to the spirit of African discovery."* The enter-

* Of sixty-six persons who embarked, twenty-one were doom

prising commander, having succeeded in tracing the river upward to the distance of 280 miles, returned to its mouth, and died shortly afterward.

The failure of this expedition left the question of the identity of the Niger and the Congo still undecided. After the lapse of six years, another attempt to ascertain the lower course and termination of the Niger was made by the British government, who for this purpose engaged Lieutenant Clapperton, in conjunction with Major Denham and Dr. Oudney, to penetrate to Timbuctoo. Starting from Tripoli, on the Mediterranean, with a caravan of merchants, Denham and Clapperton proceeded to the southward, and, crossing the Great Desert, reached the vast lake bearing the name of Tchad; and, while the former occupied himself in examining that remarkable inland sea, Clapperton penetrated to the westward as far as Sackatoo, a town standing on a river which probably runs into the Niger. Beyond Sackatoo Clapperton was unable to proceed; but he there learned that the Niger ran to the southward, and that it entered the sea at Funda. This latter piece of intelligence was however of little use, inasmuch as nobody knew where Funda was.

Returning to England with the information which he had gathered, Clapperton was raised to the rank of commander, and almost immediately afterward engaged to proceed on a second expedition, in company with Captain Pearce, Mr. Dickson, and Dr. Morrison. Upon this occasion he

ed never to return. The captain himself, the lieutenant, the purser, the botanist, the collector of objects of natural history, and the comparative anatomist, were among the sufferers.

was attended by his "faithful servant," Richard Lander, who was destined within a few years to acquire celebrity in the field of African discovery; and then, within a few years more, to add his name to the list of those who had fallen in that fatal field.

In this second expedition, Clapperton entered Africa upon the west from the Atlantic, instead of as in the former one, entering it upon the north from the Mediterranean. Starting early in December, 1825, from Badagry, which is situated a little to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, and journeying towards the northeast, he reached, about the middle of January, the town of Katunga, which is the capital of the kingdom of Yarriba, and which lies at a short distance to the west of the Niger. Continuing his journey hence to the northward, he reached the Niger at Boossa, the scene of Park's death; crossing the river below that place, he proceeded to the northeast, until he arrived at the great commercial city of Kano, the capital of Houssa, which he had reached in his former journey from a different direction. From Kano he turned westward, and visited Sackatoo, which had been the limit of his progress to the westward on his former journey. At Sackatoo he was detained by Sultan Bello, the king or chief of the country thereabout; and on the 13th of April, 1827, he died of dysentery at a village in the vicinity of that town. His attendant, Richard Lander, "the only surviving member of the expedition," after performing his last duties to his master, returned to Kano; and thence he proceeded to the southward, with the laudable design of embarking on some branch

of the Niger, and accomplishing the great object of the expedition, by tracing the river to its termination. He succeeded in reaching a place called Dunrora, which he understood to lie to the west of Funda, and to be at no great distance from the sea; but his farther progress was there stopped by the natives, and he was compelled to return to the northward and regain the coast at Badagry.

Shortly after Richard Lander's return to England, the British government determined to employ him in another attempt to discover the termination of the Niger. On the 31st of December, 1829, instructions were issued to him from Sir George Murray, the colonial secretary of state, to embark on board a vessel for the western coast of Africa, to proceed inland from Badagry until he reached the banks of the Niger, or the *Quorra*, as it had been found to be called in its lower course; and, "after having once gained the banks of the Quorra, to follow its course, if possible, to its termination, whereever that might be."

On the 9th of January, 1830, Richard Lander embarked at Portsmouth, together with his brother John, who had "eagerly volunteered to accompany him;" and, on the 31st of March, started from Badagry on his journey inland. On the 17th of June the travellers reached Boossa, the scene of Park's death; and, during the few days which they remained at that place, they were indefatigable (as we have related in the preceding chapter) in endeavouring to recover some of the papers and other effects of their ill-fated predecessor. On the 23d of June they quitted Boossa, and, tracing the river *upward*, reached Yaoorie on the 27th; at this place, also

(as we have likewise related), they renewed their efforts to obtain some of Park's papers. The account which they give of the navigation between Boossa and Yaoorie exposes some of the obstacles which Park had to contend with.

"The enterprising Mr. Park," they say, "must have had a thousand difficulties to overcome in his voyage down the Niger. It was about this time of the year that he arrived at Yaoorie, and the river it is said, was then about the same height as it is at present. The canoe-men, who in all probability were his slaves, were said to be chained to the canoe, in order to prevent their running away. His pilot was unacquainted with the river any farther and therefore he received his wages here in Yaoorie, and returned to his own country; and Mr. Park, with a companion and three white boys, continued their journey down the Niger, without any person whatever to point out the safest channel or warn them of their danger."

Returning to Boossa on the 5th of August, the travellers, after some delay, embarked on the Niger on the 20th of September, in the hope of accomplishing the grand object of their enterprise, and tracing the river to its termination. In descending the river they met with various adventures, and were at times exposed to the risk of being prevented from proceeding on their way. Surmounting, however, with prudence and energy, all obstacles, they had the satisfaction, on the 14th of November, of finding themselves "influenced by the tide;" and on the following day they entered Brass Town, where they saw, "with emotions of joy," a white man, who informed them that he was mas-

ter of a Spanish schooner then lying in the Firs Brass River. This "First Brass River" the understood to be identical with that called by Europeans the *Nun*, one of those numerous streams which empty themselves into the Atlantic at the head of the Gulf of Guinea, and which, according to the hypothesis of Reichard, as above stated, were the outlets of the Niger. On the evening of the 17th of November, Richard Lander, who had preceded his brother, arrived in the "Second Brass River," which is a large branch of the Quorra; and, half an hour afterward, heard "the welcome sound of the surf on the beach." At seven o'clock on the following morning he arrived in the "First Brass River" (or the main branch of the Quorra), which proved to be the stream already known to Europeans by the name of the Nun; and, about a quarter of an hour afterward, descried at a distance two vessels lying at anchor within its mouth, a sight which, to use his own expression, occasioned emotions of delight "quite beyond his powers of description." A few days afterward he was rejoined by his brother; and the two travellers quitting the coast of Africa, after various delays, arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of June, 1831.*

Thus, at last, the efforts of the British govern-

* They left England again in 1832, with two small steam-vessels, on a trading expedition, fitted out by some merchants of Liverpool, with the view of ascending the Niger as far as Sackatoo or Timbuctoo. Richard Lander was wounded in this enterprise, and died in consequence at Fernando Po, on the 6th of February, 1834. As a commercial speculation, the expedition is stated to have wholly failed; in a geographical point of view, it has been productive of a considerable accession to our stock of information concerning the lower part of the course of the Niger.

ment to ascertain the termination of the Niger were crowned with success ; and through the steady perseverance of two individuals, under the favour of Divine Providence, a question which had strongly agitated the world, and occasioned the sacrifice of many lives, was happily set at rest. The researches of their predecessors had indeed diminished the uncertainty which attached to that question in the days of Park ; and, before they left England, it was generally thought that the Niger would be found to enter the Gulf of Guinea. To the Landers belongs the merit of establishing the correctness of this opinion, and at the same time dispelling a cloud of conjectures concerning the course which the river took before reaching that termination. Of the prudence, energy, and fortitude which marked their conduct, the interesting *Journal* which records their labours affords abundant evidence ; and it is high, but not unmerited, praise to say, that they were worthy to finish a work in which the first successful step had been taken by Park

THE END