

Report of Expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda,
between the 19th of July and the 4th of November,
1854.

Dr. W. Balfour Baikie to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

*African Mail Steamer "Bacchante,"
Sierra Leone, January 3, 1855.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour of laying before you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the following condensed account of the proceedings and results of the Government expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda during the past season. This I had intended doing before leaving Fernando Po, but was prevented, partly by indisposition, and partly from the remainder of my time being almost completely occupied in packing up and making arrangements for our voyage to England.

I have already, in my letters from Fernando Po in July last, alluded to the difficulties in which I found myself involved owing to the death of Mr. Consul Beecroft; and mentioned how, on numerous points, having no specific instructions for my guidance, I was obliged to act according to the best of my judgment.

On the arrival of the steamer "Pleiad" at Clarence at the end of June, preparations for the river voyage were actively carried on. These occupied ten days, and would not have been completed in that time, had it not been for the timely and active assistance afforded by Commander Miller, of Her Majesty's ship "Crane."

The gentleman on whose skill, knowledge of the country, and acquaintance with African travelling we had so much relied, being unfortunately no more, and there being no one on board who was at all familiar with African rivers, much precaution seemed absolutely necessary to insure our carrying out our designs.

To assist our endeavours I engaged Mr. Thomas Richards, who had accompanied Consul Beecroft on these occasions up the Kwòra, and on whom he placed much dependence. I looked forward also to Mr. Richards being useful as a pilot over the Nun Bar.

Another person whom I engaged was Mr. J. J. Scott, a coloured engineer; and, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Crowther, I took an Ibo ^{n/} interpreter from Fernando Po. This man, named Simon Jonas, a very intelligent native, was with Captain Trotter in 1841. On our way up the river I left him at Abò to collect information, and on our return after three months, again got him on board, he having been most kindly treated by the people.

Lastly, I engaged an Accra lad, who had been strongly recommended to me, for assisting in the collection and preservation of specimens, as, from my increased duties, I could not devote much time to natural history

pursuits, and I considered that the assistant who came with me from England would have more to do than he could well manage. I accordingly found this lad of very great service.

Under the circumstances, I trust that my conduct in entering these persons will meet with the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

At Fernando Po the second master of the "Crane," Mr. D. J. May, volunteered his services to assist in exploring the Tshádda; and Commander Miller consented to lend him for this purpose on my expressing my consent. This I at once did, and I have no doubt that the result will prove to their Lordships' satisfaction that the amount of success we met with was considerably owing to the labours of this enterprising and intelligent officer.

All the sails of the "Pleiad" were, by Captain Taylor's direction, left at Fernando Po, but we had frequent occasion to regret this act.

I have, in my letter of the 19th July, given an account of our passage from Fernando Po, and of our entry into the river; before, therefore, recounting the further progress, it may be better to give, in a few lines, the extent and results of the expedition.

We have explored about 250 miles of the River Tshádda beyond the furthest point attained by Allen and Oldfield in 1833, and reaching to about 50 miles of the meeting of the Fàro and Binke, have established the identity of the Tshádda with the Binke.

We have established the navigable nature of the river during the rainy season up to our furthest point; and, seemingly, as well as from the information of the natives, considerably beyond.

We have encountered several new tribes; have inquired into the resources, &c., of the various countries; and have ascertained the friendly disposition of the natives.

From numerous careful observations, ~~we can almost demonstrate the incorrectness of~~ Dr. Barth's astronomical positions, our furthest point east being $11^{\circ} 30'$, at which time we were considerably beyond Hamarùwa, and almost certainly, at the furthest, within 50 miles of the junction of the Fàro, which was placed by that gentleman in longitude 14° east.

We shall be able to lay before their Lordships a tolerably accurate chart of the entire rivers, with the observations on which our positions are based, and we have also collected materials for a much-improved map of the surrounding countries.

We shall be able, further, to present to their Lordships a considerable amount of information regarding the new districts, and also numerous additional facts concerning the countries previously known, especially Ibo.

We have ascertained more correctly the periods of rise and fall of the water, differing somewhat from previous accounts; we are therefore able more precisely to indicate the proper periods for the entry and the descent of the river.

With the assistance of Mr. Crowther, we have satisfied ourselves of the general desire of the natives to receive instruction and to admit teachers, and also of their wishes to carry on trade with us.

We have ascertained, as far as we could, the extent to which slavery, either domestic or otherwise, prevails.

We have, unfortunately, been unable to obtain any very recent or accurate tidings of Dr. Barth or Dr. Vogel, although every possible inquiry has been made.

We are enabled to report favourably on the climate, having encountered but little sickness, and, providentially, not lost a single life.

Having thus given a summary of the results, it will be requisite to allude to the causes which prevented our reaching further.

Though aware that wood would form a great part of our fuel in the river, instruments for cutting or splitting it were not provided, so that it was only by sheer struggling that we were enabled to continue the ascent, and from this cause alone we lost at least fourteen days.

Inability to cut fuel was the principal cause of our final stop; the Kroboys also were nearly exhausted by the immense labour consequent on the employment of miserably insufficient tools. Scurvy, likewise, made its appearance among the crew, apparently from an improper amount of

nourishment. The actual turning back of the vessel took place while Mr. May and I were absent in the gig, endeavouring to make a higher ascent.

Numerous other minor, though most palpable deficiencies, might here be mentioned, but these will be better noticed in the sequel.

To continue from the point where I left off in my letter of July 19th—that very afternoon the vessel was carelessly run aground, and remained so for twenty-four hours, so that we did not reach Abo until the afternoon of the 21st. Next morning I went ashore, and finding that Ajè, the second son of the late King Obi, and who was the most influential person, was absent, I called on his elder brother and representative, Tshúkuma, who received us kindly. I here left Simon Jonas, Tshúkuma pledging himself for his comfort and safety. I wished to proceed next morning, as time was valuable, but Captain Taylor declined to proceed on a Sunday. We left on Monday, and for the remainder of the week our progress was very unsatisfactory. It was not until the following Monday that we reached Iddà, when I had a very satisfactory interview with the Atta. We steamed from Iddà on Wednesday the 2nd August, and on Friday afternoon reached the confluence. From this we started on Monday the 7th, and for the four following days continued slowly ascending the Tshádda. On the 11th we again got aground, and part of the engine having given way and requiring a lengthened repair, I took the opportunity of getting fresh rates for the chronometers before entering the new parts of the river. We therefore remained here until the 14th, and were fortunate in getting likewise good sets of lunar distances.

For a fortnight previous to this time the river had been falling, and the after rains had not yet commenced; I was, therefore, doubly anxious to push on at once, so as to be able to avail ourselves of the expected subsequent rise in the upper part. Coal was now completely exhausted, and we had to procure supplies of wood.

For three or four days we had rather shallow water and very winding channels, but on the 23rd August we reached the town of Ojogo in Dòma, where I obtained the only information I could learn of Dr. Barth. A man, who had some five or six weeks previously arrived at this place from Keàna, told me that when he left, two white men, with one or two white attendants, had been residing for some time at that town, and that presents had been interchanged between them and the King. Not being able to get a good description of their persons, I showed this man the frontispiece of Petermann's Atlas, on which he at once selected Dr. Barth's portrait, saying that was the face, only it wanted a large beard. He said the other white man resembled the likeness of Dr. Vogel, as he had no beard and very slight whiskers. From this account, and not being aware of any other white travellers in this part of Africa, I concluded that the two might possibly be Drs. Barth and Vogel, and determined at once to try and communicate with them. I had on board four messengers, sent by the Chief of Igbègbe at the confluence to accompany us, and as these men expressed their willingness to proceed to this place, I immediately requested the King of Ojogo to give me a guide, and by persuasion and the help of presents I got them to start next morning. I gave them a present for the King of Keàna, and a letter for Drs. Barth and Vogel. Keàna was about four days' journey from Ojogo, but the men said they would try to reach it in three; I therefore remained for some time at Ojogo, but as after ten days they had not returned, I resolved to proceed, having previously obtained the promise of the King to look after either the white men or any messengers until our return. During our delay I secured a good supply of excellent wood, and the rains having commenced the river had risen about five feet.

From this time we experienced less difficulty in the river, owing to the increasing depth of the water, and we moved faster, having now only one of the trade canoes in tow. We spoke, as we passed, all the towns of any size on the bank of the river, and having passed Dòma on the north side, and a previously unknown tribe named Mitshi on the south, at length reached the kingdom of Koròrofa. Villages on the banks were here few, but on the 6th September we arrived at a large town on the left

Several weighty reasons rendered it my duty to supersede the sailing
to take on myself the charge of the vessel, which I did on August the 17th

bank, opposite to which I anchored, and immediately landed. The inhabitants seemed much alarmed, and came to watch us fully armed; but on my advancing and holding out my hand, they came towards us, and on finding our intentions to be peaceful uttered wild cries of delight. I then went and saw their King, who warmly welcomed us, telling us that this was the first time white men had ever visited this country.

The town was named Gândiko, and though in the kingdom of Koròrofa, was originally founded by Filàta slaves, and had become an independent Fùlo settlement. The country of Koròrofa is entirely situated on the south side of the Tshàdda, and the opposite bank is in the Fùlo kingdom of Bântshi.

On asking the road to Wukàri, I was referred for information to the large town of Zhibu, some miles further up the river. I proceeded thither on the 8th, and found it also to be a Filàta town, but, on inquiry for Wukàri, was told we should have stopped at Anyàshi, some forty or fifty miles down the river. I had therefore to abstain from attempting this journey till the return voyage. The people were extremely friendly, and kept up a brisk trade with us. From the information here received, I found that Wukàri was not nearly so far to the eastward as we had supposed.

After leaving Dàgbo, the river ran considerably to the southward, the course afterwards being about north-east and north-north-east.

I left Zhibu on the 10th, having got a fresh supply of firewood, and for the next two days made pretty fair work, but could discover no signs of towns or villages.

On the 12th we anchored and cut wood, and were obliged to remain all next day to split it up.

On the 14th again started, but at mid-day seeing a large dry tree, we anchored abreast of it, and got all hands on shore. Our instruments, always imperfect, were now so much the worse for wear, that though working incessantly from morning to night, we had not enough fuel to enable us to leave before Saturday morning. A canoe passing down, however, gave us the cheering intelligence, that we were now leaving the district of Koròrofa, and entering the country of Hamarùwa (the Hamarrùwa, Petermann).

The wood we had obtained did not burn well, so we could not keep the steam up for any length of time, rendering thereby our progress slow.

I became at this time very unwell, and although I kept on deck, could not attend to matters; but having a most able and willing substitute in Mr. May, things went on as before.

On the 18th we reached the village of Zhirà, where we learnt that the town of Hamarùwa was not far distant.

During the four following days we did not make more than twenty-five miles, the current running from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and the crew not being able to keep the furnaces supplied. Large branches frequently floated past us, which, whenever we could, we secured, but from the rapidity of the stream it was no easy matter.

Many of our Krooboyes were in the sick list from overworking, and from another cause which I shall now mention.

For the preceding twelve or fourteen days many had presented themselves with swelled limbs and other dropsical symptoms; and on Dr. Hutchinson's requesting my opinion, I came to the conclusion, after a careful examination, that the disease was primarily scurvy, and I therefore inquired into the quality of their food, which I found to consist of from a pint and three-quarters to two pints rice and cold water, a supply evidently inadequate for the wants of men so worked, but designated by Mr. Taylor as an ample allowance.

I at once ordered means to be taken for obtaining meat sufficient to give all hands a portion, and desired the sick to get a share of what was in the ship. No spirits were in the ship, which both myself and Dr. Hutchinson considered would have proved eminently beneficial, and the very small supply of wine, now almost entirely laid aside for medicinal purposes, only permitted a very small portion being daily devoted to the most feeble.

On the 19th Mr. May was laid up with fever; but I was now again fit for duty.

On the morning of the 22nd I reached Gùrowa, where I found persons from the Sultan of Hamarùsa, waiting to welcome us, and asking me to send him a messenger. The town was said to be some seven or eight miles from the river, so I desired Mr. Richards to go, and give him a small present for the King as a token. Mr. Crowther very kindly volunteered to accompany him; so, escorted by the Hamarùsa party, they at once proceeded. Heavy rains were frequently falling, and the river continuing to rise rapidly.

I here learnt that the province of Hamarùsa was one of considerable importance, little inferior to that of Adamàwa. It is chiefly situated on the north bank of the Tshàdda, but claims considerable territory on the south side. High hills, which we could see on the southern horizon, were in Adamàwa. The aborigines were a wild-looking people named Baibai, and speaking the Djaka language, but the country had been quite subjugated by the Filàtas. We were now completely in Fùlo territory, and with these people were invariably on the most friendly terms. They were by far the most intelligent and most civilized people we met during our wanderings.

Here, as in every other district above the Lower Tshàdda, yams were not cultivated, various kinds of corn forming the chief food of the people. Goats, fowls, and ducks were, however, to be got at most of the villages.

I anxiously waited for the return of Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards, but they did not make their appearance till the morning of the 24th, when they came on board tired and foot-sore, having had a long journey over a most miserable road. They had however met with a most hospitable reception, and brought me a letter from the Sultan, requesting me to visit him.

I made instant preparations, and at noon started, accompanied by two officers of the "Pleiad," leaving the vessel in charge of Mr. May, now convalescent.

We went by boat up a creek for about three miles, and then landing proceeded on foot along a narrow road, only wide enough for single file, and inclosed mostly on either side by thick bush or long grass. Walking was difficult, as great part was completely under water, and the remainder was soft adhesive mud.

Our route lay across a level swampy plain, on the further side of which was a fine rising ground, at the foot of a range of hills, and on this eminence the town was situated.

We reached the town at sunset, having walked, according to my pedometer, fourteen miles. We were conducted to the house of the Galadima, or Prime Minister, where a large hut and a surrounding yard were set apart for our use, and it being dark we lighted our lanterns and sat down on our mats. We first received a message of congratulations from the King, and then crowds of visitors poured in to welcome us. Half-an-hour of incessant shaking hands tired us, and being hungry after our walk, we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of various dishes sent us by the King. These consisted of messes of milk and of frite and palaver-sauce, two well-known country dishes.

Our supper over we arranged our benches, and slept in the open air in preference to the hut, as being free from mosquitoes.

The next morning we proceeded to examine the town. The houses, which are all circular, are capacious and well-constructed, and are always surrounded by considerable inclosures. The breadth of the town is upwards of a mile, and its length from one and a-half to two miles.

The people are a highly intelligent race, often of fine and prepossessing appearance, and almost entirely Filàta. The familiar language is the Filàta or Fùlo (properly Pulo), but most all understand Haùssa, by which we communicated with them. All were well-clothed, the dresses of many being very tasteful; brass and copper ornaments were abundant, which they readily parted with for trinkets, red cloths, and handkerchiefs.

At 11 o'clock we were conducted to the Sultan's residence, and were ushered into his presence; we were placed on Turkey rugs, but were

separated from the King by a coloured silk screen, which hung from side to side of the apartment, which rather surprised me, as nothing of the kind was employed when he received my message, but I was informed that such was the custom of the country. As soon as we were seated an attendant threw over me and each of my two companions fine Haussa robes, and I was presented with a bundle of spears and a basket of Gourra (Kola) nuts.

We then proceeded with our interview, the Sultan expressing his satisfaction and delight that white men should have visited the country during his reign, assuring us of his ardent wish to cultivate our friendship, and saying that he should send a special messenger to his master, the Sultan, at Sòkato to announce our visit.

I then told him of our country and our Queen, of the objects and intentions of our voyage, of our wish for friendship and for trade, and of our Sovereign's dislike to war, especially when aggressive and unprovoked. The Sultan replied that what I had said about war "was very good," and that he trusted that his people and white men would always be friends. I then offered him two velvet tobies, a sabre with a brass scabbard, a double-barrelled gun, and some pieces of white and coloured calicoes, which seemed to please him much. Dr. Hutchinson also gave him specimens of the various trading goods on board the steamer, and Mr. Guthrie presented him with a supply of writing materials, with which he appeared gratified. I then said that on my return I intended to visit his dependency of Wukàri, which he told me he hoped I would do, and that he would send a message by me. He added, that he had ordered two bullocks to be caught for us, for which I thanked him, and then begged to say farewell. He pressed us much to extend our visit, but excusing ourselves on account of the lateness of the season and pressing occupation on board, we departed.

It was now past 1 o'clock, so I hurried back to our hut, got our baggage packed up, and dispatched at once our Krossboys. A horse was brought, on which I got Mr. Guthrie mounted, as being the oldest of the party, and the most likely to be tired. Horses were also promised to Dr. Hutchinson and myself; but as they were delayed I walked on, leaving him to follow when mounted. I soon reached a very wet part of the road barefooted, but not having a guide, I wandered along a wrong track, and by sunset had completely lost my way, having nothing around me but thick brush; I therefore looked for a tall tree as the best quarters for the night, and was fortunate enough to find a large Baobab tree, up which I climbed, and seating myself on a branch, about fifteen feet from the ground, spent a not uncomfortable night, though the howling of leopards and hyenas surrounded me till daylight. In the morning I stumbled over some huts, and getting a guide, proceeded towards the river, meeting shortly a party searching for me, but who had already consigned me to the wild beasts, which abound in this district.

As the crew was much debilitated and weakened from the causes already mentioned, and as our cutting tools were nearly used up, I was most reluctantly obliged to give up the idea of proceeding farther in the ship. Mr. May and I however determined to make the attempt in the gig, and accordingly, the morning after my return, we started with a crew of six men. I left the vessel in charge of Mr. Marcus, the chief mate, with orders to remain except in the case of a sudden fall in the river, or any other emergency, in which case we should follow in the boat, and I also ordered every means to be employed for getting wood. From what I had already seen, and from the assurances of the King, I felt convinced that a stay of some days at this place would be profitable to the trading party, as ivory was abundant and cheap, and in these particulars Dr. Hutchinson coincided with me.

We left at daybreak on the 27th September, the river still rising. For some days there had been invariably a fine breeze blowing up the river, but to-day, to our great disappointment, it was nearly calm, and we made but little progress against the current. We visited two villages belonging to Hamarùwa, in both of which the aboriginal inhabitants, though friendly, were less civilized than any we had hitherto met. Next

day, having a slight breeze, we did rather better, and in the afternoon reached a town named Djit, up a creek, where, on our leaving, some attempt was made to detain us. On the third morning we had a fine wind, and went rapidly up; in the forenoon we arrived at a village named Dùfti, now, by the rise of the river, most completely inundated, and in which, except one spot round a large tree, there was not a single foot of dry ground. We landed here to take observations, but were soon surrounded by crowds of most savage, wild looking people, who, both male and female, were equally destitute of clothing. For a time their surprise kept them quiet, and we tried to get into conversation with them, and keep them in good humour, but they soon began to be troublesome, and in a body advanced to seize and pilfer our boat, when a little pet dog I had with me raised its head, on which, in astonishment, they held back. Not wishing to have a quarrel, and their numbers being from 300 to 400, all armed with swords, spears, and bows and arrows, being rather out of proportion. I judged it advisable to remove; so, giving one or two presents to the head men, we shoved off. While looking for another spot on which to land, their canoes followed and tried to entangle us among the bushes, so we had retreat speedily to the open river, where we were in safety, as there, if they had become troublesome, we could easily have managed them by upsetting their boats. On reaching the open water, the pursuing canoes, nine or ten in number, and each with eight or nine armed men, immediately turned back. We had previously fixed the afternoon of this day for our return, and so had, although very unwillingly, to steer down the river.

This, our farthest point eastwards, is, as nearly as we could determine, in about latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ north, and in longitude $11^{\circ} 30'$ east. We cannot be quite certain, as our observations, being interrupted by the natives, were hurried and incomplete. From the information we received, we believe that we were at that place not more than fifty miles from the Fàro, and it was a matter of deep regret to us that we could not reach that confluence. Had the wind blown as freshly for the first two days as it did on the morning of the third, we might without difficulty have attained this point.

During our return, which was infinitely more speedy than our ascent, we continued our survey, getting soundings and outlining the river sides. By dark we had gone about twenty-four miles, when being unable to continue our surveying, we anchored. About 1 A.M. on the 30th, one of the heaviest thunderstorms I ever witnessed, came on, but as the river ran between two chains of hills, the attending tornado split into two parts, leaving the centre of the river where we were comparatively free. About 9 A.M. we reached Gùrowa, but found to our disappointment that the "Pleiad" had left two days previously, though for what reason we could not divine, as the river was yet rising. We followed, and as the current ran strong, went rapidly along. Towards evening we entered a wrong creek, and soon found ourselves in submerged country, and it was not till 9 o'clock next morning that we regained the river, having pulled over fully twenty miles of flooded land. This forenoon we overtook the "Pleiad" aground on the weather-end of a bank, and in an awkward position. I now learnt that the very day we had left, some on board had made the discovery that the river was falling, and had so worked on the mate that he at last consented, though most unwillingly, to descend. On the second day they had got aground here, and had been in a very unpleasant state ever since. Mr. Crowther, Mr. Richards, and the chief mate told me they were very glad I had returned, as Captain Taylor, during my absence, had tried to get the vessel into his own hands, and matters were becoming very disagreeable. Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards had remonstrated against leaving Gùrowa as unnecessary, but were not heeded. Immediately on finding how the ship was placed, I commenced fresh efforts to float her, as if the river should fall, there would be no chance of moving her. The anchors were laid out afresh, and every preparation made for the next morning, when, as the crew were completely exhausted, we had to give up for the night. By considerable exertions we floated next day, and on the morning of October the 3rd, as we had no

fuel on board, nor could get any, dropped down the river about twenty miles to Zhibu.

Mr. May and I had been desirous of getting fresh chronometer rates before leaving Gùrowa, but being disappointed in that, I resolved on remaining at Zhibu for the purpose, employing the crew meanwhile in cutting wood. While here I wished to get to Wukàri, but was prevented by the selfish obstacles put in our way by the King of Zhibu, who, after promising us guides and horses, broke faith with us, and consequently I declined having any more intercourse with him, and did not permit any of the Europeans on board again to visit him. His behaviour towards us made him very unpopular with his subjects, who were extremely friendly. On the evening of October the 5th we first observed signs of falling water. During our stay here we had a good supply of pumpkins, which greatly recruited the men and improved the sick. On the 9th we resumed the descent, and on the afternoon of the 10th reached Ayashi, at which place, by the carelessness of the boatswain, we lost an anchor and cable. On making inquiries about Wukàri, we found that this place, though rather distant, was the best starting-point, but that the journey thither and back would occupy from eight to ten days, a period which at this advanced time could ill be spared. The Chief promised to send a messenger to tell his King of our wish, and of our endeavours to visit him, and our hopes of being more successful another season. Having dragged for our anchor and cable against a 5-knot current, until our fuel was all but exhausted, I had to proceed, and on the afternoon of the 12th anchored off the Igbira town of Rogan-Kòto.

At this town considerable trade was carried on, and I took the opportunity of laying in a good stock of wood, which was here very abundant and of excellent quality. On the 14th I touched at Ojogo, received our messengers on board, and recompensed the King for his kindness. From these I learnt that the white men had left Keàna forty-seven days previous to their arrival; had thence gone to Dòma, from which, after three days, they had gone, it was thought, towards a town near Panda (Fandah). This latter part of the story I knew I could ascertain farther down the river. That afternoon I reached Akpoko, where we were welcomed warmly, and next morning went to Dàgbo, where I anchored, and on Monday, after wooding, dropped down to Orùko, the port of Ekèreku, the capital of Bàssa.

On the morning of the 17th, Mr. May and Mr. Crowther went to Ekèreku, and visited the King. On their return we proceeded, and anchored in the afternoon off a recent town named Abtshò. Next day we visited two market-towns, named Amirra and Okètta, and in the afternoon anchored off Yimaha, now that Panda (Fandah) has been destroyed by the Filàtas, the capital of Igbira and the residence of the King. At this place I remained for a day and a-half, and had several very favourable interviews with the King. The people are a very industrious trading set, and one whose goodwill is evidently worth cultivating. They were all suffering from the recent attack of the Filàtas, who were now permitting them to ransom their captives. The King told me that many of their wives and children were still unredeemed, as their means were nearly expended, on which I gave to assist in their purchase four bags of cowries (80,000), which expenditure, I trust, my Lords Commissioners will, on examining into, be pleased to sanction.

After leaving Yimaha, the only other place I touched at in the Tshàdda was Ogba, and on the morning of the 20th anchored at the confluence off the important town of Igbègbe, where we had the satisfaction of finding our canoe-party in good health; at this, as a busy market-place, I determined to remain for five days, during which time the chronometers could once more be rated.

Two circumstances require here to be related. The King, who is our firm friend, is son of Aboko, who so befriended Messrs. Laird and Lander in 1833. He offered to send some messengers with us up the Tshàdda, to introduce us to such Chiefs as he knew, and to tell us the names of places; this offer it would have been very impolitic to have refused, and though he sent six persons I thought it better not to demur

about the number. They were well-conducted, often serviceable, and were the men whom I sent to Keàna; therefore on their return I gave them 65,000 cowries as a recompense. One of these men on our arrival at Ojogo, hearing that we were to leave again at once, refused to come, but on seeing us actually getting under steam, he hurried on board, and while I was forward got all his effects on board. He brought with him a boy, concerning whom he was strictly questioned, believing he might be a slave; he said, however, that he was a domestic slave, going to be a companion to one of his sons. A few days afterwards he confessed he was for sale, on which I told him that it could not for a moment be permitted to make an English vessel a slave-ship, but as he had probably erred in ignorance, I should ransom the boy. In this he quietly acquiesced, and on inquiry finding the value of such a boy at the confluence to be 50,000 cowries, promised him the amount. Next morning he came on board, and attempted to carry the boy away, so I turned him at once out of the ship, and going on shore to the King had him sent for and examined in his presence. I related the whole history of the transaction to the King, who replied that he completely agreed with me. I then spoke of the Slave Trade generally, and told him and those around, the views held on the subject in Britain. I brought the boy, who is a fine intelligent youth, down the river, wishing to take him for education to Sierra Leone, especially as he belongs to a new tribe. He is now on board of this packet, and having been fortunate enough to meet with the Bishop and Archdeacon of Sierra Leone as fellow-passengers, they were much pleased with him, and the former said he would be glad to take care of the boy, and since his lamented death the Archdeacon has undertaken the charge, and from the boy's quickness he is likely to do well in such excellent hands. He is about ten years of age, and his English name is William Carlin—his native name being Gàto. Before leaving Igbègbe I ascertained that my ransoming the boy, and taking him with me, had given much general satisfaction, while it proved to the people that although here no one was wronged, we are opposed to slave-dealing in act as well as in word. I respectfully hope that in this transaction my conduct may meet the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

After leaving Igbègbe we called among other places at Idda, Ada-mugu, and the Abò—market-towns of Asabà, Oyitsha, and Ossamare—and on the afternoon of the 31st anchored off Abò. Here I remained for two days, and would have delayed even longer, had the trading gentlemen desired it, but as they did nothing, I left again on the afternoon of the 2nd of November, having been on most amiable terms with the people, been assured of their earnest desire for trade and friendship, and received many proofs of their sincerity.

I was most anxious to push through the Delta as quickly as possible, to avoid any causes of sickness, and so did not touch at many of the towns in the Orà country; at those where we did call we found people quiet and friendly, and willing to barter for wood and provisions. To the chiefs of these towns I pointed out the great advantages to be derived from intercourse with white men, how their country would thrive if they turned their attention from war to trade, and the error they committed in trying to stop passage and traffic on the river. On the afternoon of the 4th, I anchored near the mouth of the river, within the full influence of the sea breeze, and which we at once found cool and invigorating.

Next day was spent in preparing for crossing the bar, and for the sea passage. Mr. May and Mr. Richards went by the creek to Brass river, to try and get some news, but found themselves quite disappointed in that respect. The river was in a very disturbed state, said to be owing to the misconduct of Captain C. J. Jackson, a white trader. The same evening two Accra men, British subjects, came asking for a passage. They had been in Captain Jackson's employ, and had left some months previously from bad treatment, and were in great distress. I accordingly took them and delivered them to the British Consul at Fernando Po, but the particulars of this I shall lay before you in a separate letter.

By selecting carefully a proper time for crossing the bar, we were enabled to do so under the most favourable circumstances, not a single

breaker being visible. Mr. Richards, who piloted us out, said he had never seen it so smooth before, though this was his tenth passage over the bar. This was fortunate, as we had still the two iron canoes in tow. On the 7th, at sunset, we reached Fernando Po, when I waited on the Consul, who is also Mr. Laird's agent, and he offered me his rooms till the arrival of the mail steamer.

During the voyage the amount of sickness was very little, and every case of fever yielded to the careful but free administration of quinine, which was also employed largely as a prophylactic, and as it seemed with great benefit. I shall allude to this more fully in my medical journal to the Director-General. Mr. May had a slight attack of fever, but I escaped it altogether.

After making Fernando Po, we both were laid up, and we have both had occasional attacks hitherto in this vessel. Mr. May's general health has, however, been much impaired by his previous stay of three years on the coast, so that Dr. Hutchinson and myself, after carefully examining him, felt it our duty to give him a medical certificate recommending his immediate return to Europe. I also wrote to Commander Miller stating that, in my opinion, Mr. May's presence in England would be absolutely necessary for proceeding with the chart of the river; he was, therefore, pleased to sanction his proceeding in this packet.

Though, from the increased nature of my duties, I could not devote so much time to Natural History as I could have wished, I have collected a number of specimens.

In accordance with my instructions. I have always followed the custom of giving presents to the chiefs and head men, though from the great number we met, the goods supplied to me were not sufficient. I had, therefore, from time to time to take up articles of merchandize from the ship's cargo for this purpose, and also for the purchase of specimens of native produce, and of these I have a strict account, and to meet the various expenses I have drawn bills on the Accountant-General of Her Majesty's Navy.

I have now to express my great satisfaction with the various persons composing the Government party. Mr. May's labours will, I doubt not, speak for themselves. His perseverance is most indefatigable, while his acquaintance with and love for the scientific branches of his profession render him exceedingly adapted for such service. Altogether he has been of very great service to the expedition. Of my Zoological assistant, who accompanied me from England, I can speak most favourably. I have employed him as my Secretary, and his zeal, diligence, and attention to all parts of his duty have been most praiseworthy. I have taken an after-cabin passage for him in this vessel, as his behaviour and general conduct have qualified him for such a position, but more especially as there are no fore-cabins in this line of steamers; and from what I observed, during my passage out, fore-cabin passengers had to encounter more inconveniences than any seamen on board, which at this season would seriously injure the health of any but the strongest.

Mr. Richards, whom I engaged at Clarence, I found faithful, willing, and intelligent. From his accurate knowledge of Nun Bar, and the intricate passages in the lower part of the river, I would strongly recommend him for any future expedition.

Of Mr. Scott, the assistant engineer, I received a favourable report from the chief engineer of the "Pleiad."

The man, Simon Jonas, whom I left at Abò, a very intelligent man, collected much valuable information for me, and ascertained accurately the feelings of the people towards white men.

Of the various officers of the "Pleiad," most were carefully selected, and well adapted for the work.

The surgeon was skilful and attentive. The chief engineer was fully master of his work, and ready for every emergency. The chief mate was a steady, well-conducted seaman, and well acquainted with the navigation of the river, and was likewise well up to his duties.

To one other person I would allude, namely, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, who, from his amiable character and unassuming manners, endeared

himself to all on board. To me personally he rendered great assistance, especially in philological and ethnological inquiries; while from his knowledge of African habits and customs, his advice was always valuable.

The trading part of the voyage has been a great failure, but from causes beyond my control.

My various collections I have, according to my instructions, shipped on board this vessel, though, from their bulky nature, I should have liked to have sent them by the "Pleiad."

According to verbal instructions, received at Somerset House before leaving England, as well as with my written instructions, I supplied, when necessary, medicines to the crew, as well as to the natives.

I have merely, in conclusion, to remark that, from all appearances, there is less war and turmoil, and greater feeling of security along the river, than formerly; as detached huts and patches of cultivated ground are now to be seen all along the banks, none of which, I am assured by Mr. Crowther, existed during his visit in 1841.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE, M.D.

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Report of Expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda,
between the 19th of July and the 4th of November,
1854.

Dr. W. Balfour Baikie to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

*African Mail Steamer "Bacchante,"
Sierra Leone, January 3, 1855.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour of laying before you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the following condensed account of the proceedings and results of the Government expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda during the past season. This I had intended doing before leaving Fernando Po, but was prevented, partly by indisposition, and partly from the remainder of my time being almost completely occupied in packing up and making arrangements for our voyage to England.

I have already, in my letters from Fernando Po in July last, alluded to the difficulties in which I found myself involved owing to the death of Mr. Consul Beecroft; and mentioned how, on numerous points, having no specific instructions for my guidance, I was obliged to act according to the best of my judgment.

On the arrival of the steamer "Pleiad" at Clarence at the end of June, preparations for the river voyage were actively carried on. These occupied ten days, and would not have been completed in that time, had it not been for the timely and active assistance afforded by Commander Miller, of Her Majesty's ship "Crane."

The gentleman on whose skill, knowledge of the country, and acquaintance with African travelling we had so much relied, being unfortunately no more, and there being no one on board who was at all familiar with African rivers, much precaution seemed absolutely necessary to insure our carrying out our designs.

To assist our endeavours I engaged Mr. Thomas Richards, who had accompanied Consul Beecroft on three occasions up the Kwòra, and on whom he placed much dependence. I looked forward also to Mr. Richards being useful as a pilot over the Nun Bar.

Another person whom I engaged was Mr. J. J. Scott, a coloured engineer; and, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Crowther, I took an Ibo interpreter from Fernando Po. This man, named Simon Jonas, a very intelligent native, was with Captain Trotter in 1841. On our way up the river I left him at Abò to collect information, and on our return after three months, again got him on board, he having been most kindly treated by the people.

Lastly, I engaged an Accra lad, who had been strongly recommended to me, for assisting in the collection and preservation of specimens, as, from my increased duties, I could not devote much time to natural history

pursuits, and I considered that the assistant who came with me from England would have more to do than he could well manage. I accordingly found this lad of very great service.

Under the circumstances, I trust that my conduct in entering these persons will meet with the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

At Fernando Po the second master of the "Crane," Mr. D. J. May, volunteered his services to assist in exploring the Tshàdda; and Commander Miller consented to lend him for this purpose on my expressing my consent. This I at once did, and I have no doubt that the result will prove to their Lordships' satisfaction that the amount of success we met with was considerably owing to the labours of this enterprising and intelligent officer.

All the sails of the "Pleiad" were, by Captain Taylor's direction, left at Fernando Po, but we had frequent occasion to regret this act.

I have, in my letter of the 19th July, given an account of our passage from Fernando Po, and of our entry into the river; before, therefore, recounting the further progress, it may be better to give, in a few lines, the extent and results of the expedition.

We have explored about 250 miles of the River Tshàdda beyond the furthest point attained by Allen and Oldfield in 1833, and reaching to about 50 miles of the meeting of the Fàro and Binue, have established the identity of the Tshàdda with the Binue.

We have established the navigable nature of the river during the rainy season up to our furthest point; and, seemingly, as well as from the information of the natives, considerably beyond.

We have encountered several new tribes; have inquired into the resources, &c., of the various countries; and have ascertained the friendly disposition of the natives.

From numerous careful observations, we have been induced to differ from Dr. Barth's astronomical positions, our furthest point east being $11^{\circ} 30'$, at which time we were considerably beyond Hamarùwa, and almost certainly, at the furthest, within 50 miles of the junction of the Fàro, which was placed by that gentleman in longitude 14° east.

We shall be able to lay before their Lordships a tolerably accurate chart of the entire rivers, with the observations on which our positions are based, and we have also collected materials for a much-improved map of the surrounding countries.

We shall be able, further, to present to their Lordships a considerable amount of information regarding the new districts, and also numerous additional facts concerning the countries previously known, especially Ibo.

We have ascertained more correctly the periods of rise and fall of the water, differing somewhat from previous accounts; we are therefore able more precisely to indicate the proper periods for the entry and the descent of the river.

With the assistance of Mr. Crowther, we have satisfied ourselves of the general desire of the natives to receive instruction and to admit teachers, and also of their wishes to carry on trade with us.

We have ascertained, as far as we could, the extent to which slavery, either domestic or otherwise, prevails.

We have, unfortunately, been unable to obtain any very recent or accurate tidings of Dr. Barth or Dr. Vogel, although every possible inquiry has been made.

We are enabled to report favourably on the climate, having encountered but little sickness, and, providentially, not lost a single life.

Having thus given a summary of the results, it will be requisite to allude to the causes which prevented our reaching further.

Though aware that wood would form a great part of our fuel in the river, instruments for cutting or splitting it were not provided, so that it was only by sheer struggling that we were enabled to continue the ascent, and from this cause alone we lost at least fourteen days.

Inability to cut fuel was the principal cause of our final stop; the Krubois also were nearly exhausted by the immense labour consequent on the employment of miserably insufficient tools. Scurvy, likewise, made its appearance among the crew, apparently from an improper amount of

nourishment. The actual turning back of the vessel took place while Mr. May and I were absent in the gig, endeavouring to make a higher ascent.

Numerous other minor, though most palpable deficiencies, might here be mentioned, but these will be better noticed in the sequel.

To continue from the point where I left off in my letter of July 19th—that very afternoon the vessel was carelessly run aground, and remained so for twenty-four hours, so that we did not reach Abo until the afternoon of the 21st. Next morning I went ashore, and finding that Ajè, the second son of the late King Obi, and who was the most influential person, was absent, I called on his elder brother and representative, Tshùkuma, who received us kindly. I here left Simon Jonas, Tshùkuma pledging himself for his comfort and safety. I wished to proceed next morning, as time was valuable, but Captain Taylor declined to proceed on a Sunday. We left on Monday, and for the remainder of the week our progress was very unsatisfactory. It was not until the following Monday that we reached Iddà, where I had a very satisfactory interview with the Atta. We steamed from Iddà on Wednesday the 2nd August, and on Friday afternoon reached the confluence. From this we started on Monday the 7th, and for the four following days continued slowly ascending the Tshàdda. On the 11th we again got aground, and part of the engine having given way and requiring a lengthened repair, I took the opportunity of getting fresh rates for the chronometers before entering the new parts of the river. We therefore remained here until the 14th, and were fortunate in getting likewise good sets of lunar distances.

For a fortnight previous to this time the river had been falling, and the after rains had not yet commenced; I was, therefore, doubly anxious to push on at once, so as to be able to avail ourselves of the expected subsequent rise in the upper part. Coal was now completely exhausted, and we had to procure supplies of wood. Several weighty reasons rendered it my duty to supersede the sailing-master, and to take on myself the entire charge of the vessel, which I did on August the 17th.

For three or four days we had rather shallow water and very winding channels, but on the 23rd August we reached the town of Ojogo in Dòma, where I obtained the only information I could learn bearing on Dr. Barth. A man, who had some five or six weeks previously arrived at this place from Keàna, told me that when he left, two white men, with one or two white attendants, had been residing for some time at that town, and that presents had been interchanged between them and the King. Not being able to get a good description of their persons, I showed this man the frontispiece of Petermann's Atlas, on which he at once selected Dr. Barth's portrait, saying that was the face, only it wanted a large beard. He said the other white man resembled the likeness of Dr. Vogel, as he had no beard and very slight whiskers. From this account, and not being aware of any other white travellers in this part of Africa, I conjectured that the two might possibly be Drs. Barth and Vogel, and determined at once to try and communicate with them. I had on board four messengers, sent by the Chief of Igbègbe at the Confluence to accompany us, and as these men expressed their willingness to proceed to this place, I immediately requested the King of Ojogo to give me a guide, and by persuasion and the help of presents I got them to start next morning. I gave them a present for the King of Keàna, and a letter for Drs. Barth and Vogel. Keàna was about four days' journey from Ojogo, but the men said they would try to reach it in three; I therefore remained for some time at Ojogo, but as after ten days they had not returned, I resolved to proceed, having previously obtained the promise of the King to look after either the white men or any messengers until our return. During our delay I secured a good supply of excellent wood, and the rains having commenced the river had risen about five feet.

From this time we experienced less difficulty in the river, owing to the increasing depth of the water, and we moved faster, having now only one of the trade canoes in tow. We spoke, as we passed, all the towns of any size on the bank of the river, and having passed Dòma on the north side, and a previously unknown tribe named Mitshi on the south, at

length reached the kingdom of Koròrofa. Villages on the banks were here few, but on the 6th September we arrived at a large town on the left bank, opposite to which I anchored, and immediately landed. The inhabitants seemed much alarmed, and came to watch us fully armed; but on my advancing and holding out my hand, they came towards us, and, on finding our intentions to be peaceful, uttered wild cries of delight. I then went and saw their King, who warmly welcomed us, telling us that this was the first time white men had ever visited this country.

The town was named Gándiko, and though in the kingdom of Koròrofa, was originally founded by Filàta slaves, and had become an independent Fùlo settlement. The country of Koròrofa is entirely situated on the south side of the Tshádda, and the opposite bank is in the Fùlo kingdom of Bàutshi.

On asking the road to Wukàri, I was referred for information to the large town of Zhibu, some miles further up the river. I proceeded thither on the 8th, and found it also to be a Filàta town, but, on inquiry for Wukàri, was told we should have stopped at Anyàshi, some forty or fifty miles down the river. I had therefore to abstain from attempting this journey till the return voyage. The people were extremely friendly, and kept up a brisk trade with us. From the information here received, I found that Wukàri was not nearly so far to the eastward as we had supposed.

After leaving Dàgbo, the river ran considerably to the southward, the course afterwards being about north-east and north-north-east.

I left Zhibu on the 10th, having got a fresh supply of firewood, and for the next two days made pretty fair work, but could discover no signs of towns or villages.

On the 12th we anchored and cut wood, and were obliged to remain all next day to split it up.

On the 14th again started, but at mid-day seeing a large dry tree, we anchored abreast of it, and got all hands on shore. Our instruments, always imperfect, were now so much the worse for wear, that though working incessantly from morning to night, we had not enough fuel to enable us to leave before Saturday morning. A canoe passing down, however, gave us the cheering intelligence, that we were now leaving the district of Koròrofa, and entering the country of Hamarùwa (the Hamarrùwa of Petermann).

The wood we had obtained did not burn well, so we could not keep the steam up for any length of time, rendering thereby our progress slow.

I became at this time very unwell, and although I kept on deck, could not attend to matters; but having a most able and willing substitute in Mr. May, things went on as before.

On the 18th we reached the village of Zhiru, where we learnt that the town of Hamarùwa was not far distant.

During the four following days we did not make more than twenty-five miles, the current running from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and the crew not being able to keep the furnaces supplied. Large branches frequently floated past us, which, whenever we could, we secured, but from the rapidity of the stream it was no easy matter.

Many of our Kruboyes were in the sick list from overworking, and from another cause which I shall now mention.

For the preceding twelve or fourteen days many had presented themselves with swelled limbs and other dropsical symptoms; and on Dr. Hutchinson's requesting my opinion, I came to the conclusion, after a careful examination, that the disease was primarily scurvy, and I therefore inquired into the quality of their food, which I found to consist of from a pint and three-quarters to two pints of rice and cold water, a supply evidently inadequate for the wants of men so worked, but designated by Mr. Taylor as an ample allowance.

I at once ordered means to be taken for obtaining meat sufficient to give all hands a portion, and desired the sick to get a share of what was in the ship. No spirits were in the ship, which both myself and Dr. Hutchinson considered would have proved eminently beneficial, and the very small supply of wine, now almost entirely laid aside for medicinal

purposes, only permitted a very small portion being daily devoted to the most feeble.

On the 19th Mr. May was laid up with fever; but I was now again fit for duty.

On the morning of the 22nd I reached Gùrowa, where I found persons from the Sultan of Hamaruwa, waiting to welcome us, and asking me to send him a messenger. The town was said to be some seven or eight miles from the river, so I desired Mr. Richards to go, and gave him a small present for the King as a token. Mr. Crowther very kindly volunteered to accompany him; so, escorted by the Hamaruwa party, they at once proceeded. Heavy rains were frequently falling, and the river continuing to rise rapidly.

I here learnt that the province of Hamaruwa was one of considerable importance, little inferior to that of Adamàwa. It is chiefly situated on the north bank of the Tshádda, but claims considerable territory on the south side. High hills, which we could see on the southern horizon, were in Adamàwa. The aborigines were a wild-looking people named Baibai, and speaking the Djuka language, but the country had been quite subjugated by the Filàtas. We were now completely in Fùlo territory, and with these people were invariably on the most friendly terms. They were by far the most intelligent and most civilized people we met during our wanderings.

Here, as in every other district above the Lower Tshádda, yams were not cultivated, various kinds of corn forming the chief food of the people. Goats, fowls, and ducks were, however, to be got at most of the villages.

I anxiously waited for the return of Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards, but they did not make their appearance till the morning of the 24th, when they came on board tired and foot-sore, having had a long journey over a most miserable road. They had however met with a most hospitable reception, and brought me a letter from the Sultan, requesting me to visit him.

I made instant preparations, and at noon started, accompanied by two officers of the "Pleiad," leaving the vessel in charge of Mr. May, now convalescent.

We went by boat along a creek for about three miles, and then landing proceeded on foot by a narrow road, only wide enough for single file, and inclosed mostly on either side by thick bush or long grass. Walking was difficult, as great part was completely under water, and the remainder was soft adhesive mud.

Our route lay across a level swampy plain, on the further side of which was a fine rising ground, at the foot of a range of hills, and on this eminence the town was situated.

We reached the town at sunset, having walked, according to my pedometer, fourteen miles. We were conducted to the house of the Galadima, or Prime Minister, where a large hut and a surrounding yard were set apart for our use, and it being dark we lighted our lanterns and sat down on our mats. We first received a message of congratulations from the King, and then crowds of visitors poured in to welcome us. Half-an-hour of incessant shaking-hands tired us, and being hungry after our walk, we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of various dishes sent us by the King. These consisted of messes of milk and of fufu and palaver-sauce, two well-known country dishes.

Our supper over we arranged our mats, and slept in the open air in preference to the hut, as being more free from mosquitoes.

The next morning we proceeded to examine the town. The houses, which are all circular, are capacious and well-constructed, and are always surrounded by considerable inclosures. The breadth of the town is upwards of a mile, and its length from one and a-half to two miles.

The people are a highly intelligent race, often of fine and prepossessing appearance, and almost entirely Filàta. The familiar language is the Filàta or Fùlo (properly Pulo), but most also understand Haùssa, by which we communicated with them. All were well-clothed, the dresses of many being very tasteful; brass and copper ornaments were abundant, which they readily parted with for trinkets, red cloths, and handkerchiefs.

At 11 o'clock we were conducted to the Sultan's residence, and were ushered into his presence; we were placed on Turkey rugs, but were separated from the King by a coloured silk screen, which hung from side to side of the apartment, which rather surprised me, as nothing of the kind was employed when he received my message, but I was informed that such was the custom of the country. As soon as we were seated an attendant threw over me and each of my two companions fine Haussa tobies, and I was presented with a bundle of spears and a basket of Gourra (Kola) nuts.

We then proceeded with our interview, the Sultan expressing his satisfaction and delight that white men should have visited the country during his reign, assuring us of his ardent wish to cultivate our friendship, and saying that he should send a special messenger to his master, the Sultan, at Sòkato to announce our visit.

I then told him of our country and our Queen, of the objects and intentions of our voyage, of our wish for friendship and for trade, and of our Sovereign's dislike to war, especially when aggressive and unprovoked. The Sultan replied that what I had said about war "was very good," and that he trusted that his people and white men would always be friends. I then offered him two velvet tobies, a sabre with a brass scabbard, a double-barrelled gun, and some pieces of white and coloured calicoes, which seemed to please him much. Dr. Hutchinson also gave him specimens of the various trading goods on board the steamer, and Mr. Guthrie presented him with a supply of writing materials, with which he appeared gratified. I then said that on my return I intended to visit his dependency of Wukàri, which he told me he hoped I would do, and that he would send a message by me. He added, that he had ordered two bullocks to be caught for us, for which I thanked him, and then begged to say farewell. He pressed us much to extend our visit, but excusing ourselves on account of the lateness of the season and pressing occupation on board, we departed.

It was now past 1 o'clock, so I hurried back to our hut, got our baggage packed up, and dispatched at once our Kruboy. A horse was brought, on which I got Mr. Guthrie mounted, as being the oldest of the party, and the most likely to be tired. Horses were also promised to Dr. Hutchinson and myself; but as they were delayed I walked on, leaving him to follow when mounted. I soon reached a very wet part of the road where I had to walk barefooted, but not having a guide, I wandered along a wrong track, and by sunset had completely lost my way, having nothing around me but thick bush; I therefore looked for a tall tree as the best quarters for the night, and was fortunate enough to find a large Baobab tree, up which I climbed, and seating myself on a branch, about fifteen feet from the ground, spent a not uncomfortable night, though the howling of leopards and hyenas surrounded me till daylight. In the morning I stumbled over some huts, and getting a guide, proceeded towards the river, meeting shortly a party searching for me, but who had already consigned me to the wild beasts, which abound in this district.

As the crew was much debilitated and weakened from the causes already mentioned, and as our cutting tools were nearly used up, I was most reluctantly obliged to give up the idea of proceeding farther in the ship. Mr. May and I however determined to make the attempt in the gig, and accordingly, the morning after my return, we started with a crew of six men. I left the vessel in charge of Mr. Hareus, the chief mate, with orders to remain except in the case of a sudden fall in the river, or any other emergency, in which case we should follow in the boat, and I also ordered every means to be employed for getting wood. From what I had already seen, and from the assurances of the King, I felt convinced that a stay of some days at this place would be profitable to the trading party, as ivory was abundant and cheap, and in these particulars Dr. Hutchinson coincided with me.

We left at daybreak on the 27th September, the river still rising. For some days there had been invariably a fine breeze blowing up the river, but to-day, to our great disappointment, it was nearly calm, and we made but little progress against the current. We visited two villages

belonging to Hamarùwa, in both of which the aboriginal inhabitants, though friendly, were less civilized than any we had hitherto met. Next day, having a slight breeze, we did rather better, and in the afternoon reached a town named Djin, up a creek, where, on our leaving, some attempt was made to detain us. On the third morning we had a fine wind, and went rapidly up; in the forenoon we arrived at a village named Dulti, now, by the rise of the river, most completely inundated, and in which, except one spot round a large tree, there was not a single foot of dry ground. We landed here to take observations, but were soon surrounded by crowds of most savage, wild looking people, who, both male and female, were equally destitute of clothing. For a time their surprise kept them quiet, and we tried to get into conversation with them, and keep them in good humour, but they soon began to be troublesome, and in a body advanced to seize and pilfer our boat, when a little pet dog I had with me raised its head, on which, in astonishment, they held back. Not wishing to have a quarrel, and their numbers, from 300 to 400, all armed with swords, spears, and bows and arrows, being rather out of proportion, I judged it advisable to remove; so, giving one or two presents to the head men, we suddenly shoved off. While looking for another spot on which to land, their canoes followed and tried to entangle us among the bushes, so we had to retreat speedily to the open river, where we were in safety, as there, if they had become troublesome, we could easily have managed them by upsetting their canoes. On reaching the open water, the pursuing canoes, nine or ten in number, and each with eight or nine armed men, immediately turned back. We had previously fixed the afternoon of this day for our return, and so had, although very unwillingly, to steer down the river.

This, our farthest point eastwards, is, as nearly as we could determine, in about latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ north, and in longitude $11^{\circ} 30'$ east. We cannot be quite certain, as our observations, being interrupted by the natives, were hurried and incomplete. From the information we received, we believe that we were at that place not more than fifty miles from the Fàro, and it was a matter of deep regret to us that we could not reach that confluence. Had the wind blown as freshly for the first two days as it did on the morning of the third, we might without difficulty have attained this point.

During our return, which was infinitely more speedy than our ascent, we continued our survey, getting soundings and outlining the river sides. By dark we had gone about twenty-four miles, when being unable to continue our surveying, we anchored. About 1 A.M. on the 30th, one of the heaviest thunderstorms I ever witnessed, came on, but as the river ran between two chains of hills, the attending tornado split into two parts, leaving the centre of the river where we were comparatively free. About 9 A.M. we reached Gùrowa, but found to our disappointment that the "Pleiad" had left two days previously, though for what reason we could not divine, as the river was yet rising. We followed, and as the current ran strong, went rapidly along. Towards evening we entered a wrong creek, and soon found ourselves in submerged country, and it was not till 9 o'clock next morning that we regained the river, having pulled over fully twenty miles of flooded land. This forenoon we overtook the "Pleiad" aground on the weather-end of a bank, and in an awkward position. I now learnt that the very day we had left, some on board had made the discovery that the river was falling, and had so worked on the mate that he at last consented, though most unwillingly, to descend. On the second day they had got aground here, and had been in a very unpleasant state ever since. Mr. Crowther, Mr. Richards, and the chief mate told me they were very glad I had returned, as Captain Taylor, during my absence, had tried to get the vessel into his own hands, and matters were becoming very disagreeable. Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards had remonstrated against leaving Gùrowa as unnecessary, but were not heeded. Immediately on finding how the ship was placed, I commenced fresh efforts to float her, as if the river should fall, there would be no chance of moving her. The anchors were laid out afresh, and every preparation made for the next morning, when, as the crew were completely

exhausted, we had to give up for the night. By considerable exertions we floated next day, and on the morning of October the 3rd, as we had no fuel on board, nor could get any, dropped down the river about twenty miles to Zhibu.

Mr. May and I had been desirous of getting fresh chronometer rates before leaving Gùrowa, but being disappointed in that, I resolved on remaining at Zhibu for the purpose, employing the crew meanwhile in cutting wood. While here I wished to get to Wukàri, but was prevented by the selfish obstacles put in our way by the King of Zhibu, who, after promising us guides and horses, broke faith with us, and consequently I declined having any more intercourse with him, and did not permit any of the Europeans on board again to visit him. His behaviour towards us made him very unpopular with his subjects, who were extremely friendly. On the evening of October the 5th we first observed signs of falling water. During our stay here we had a good supply of pumpkins, which greatly recruited the men and improved the sick. On the 9th we resumed the descent, and on the afternoon of the 10th reached Anyashi, at which place, by the carelessness of the boatswain, we lost an anchor and cable. On making inquiries about Wukàri, we found that this place, though rather distant, was the best starting-point, but that the journey thither and back would occupy from eight to ten days, a period which at this advanced time could ill be spared. The Chief promised to send a messenger to tell his King of our wish, of our endeavours to visit him, and our hopes of being more successful another season. Having dragged for our anchor and cable against a 5-knot current, until our fuel was all but exhausted, I had to proceed, and on the afternoon of the 12th anchored off the Igbira town of Rogan-Kòto.

At this town considerable trade was carried on, and I took the opportunity of laying in a good stock of wood, which was here very abundant and of excellent quality. On the 14th I touched at Ojogo, received our messengers on board, and recompensed the King for his kindness. From these I learnt that the white men had left Keàna forty-seven days previous to their arrival; had thence gone to Dòma, from which, after three days, they had gone, it was thought, towards a town near Panda (Fandah). This latter part of the story I knew I could ascertain farther down the river. That afternoon I reached Akpoko, where we were welcomed warmly, and next morning went to Dàgbo, where I anchored, and on Monday, after wooding, dropped down to Orùko, the port of Ekèreku, the capital of Bàssa.

On the morning of the 17th, Mr. May and Mr. Crowther went to Ekèreku, and visited the King. On their return we proceeded, and anchored in the afternoon off a recent town named Abatsho. Next day we visited two market-towns, named Amaran and Okètta, and in the afternoon anchored off Yimaha, now that Panda (Fandah) has been destroyed by the Filàtas, the capital of Igbira and the residence of the King. At this place I remained for a day and a-half, and had several very favourable interviews with the King. The people are a very industrious trading set, and one whose goodwill is evidently worth cultivating. They were all suffering from the recent attack of the Filàtas, who were now permitting them to ransom their captives. The King told me that many of their wives and children were still unredeemed, as their means were nearly expended, on which I gave to assist in their purchase four bags of cowries (80,000), which expenditure, I trust, my Lords Commissioners will, on examining into, be pleased to sanction.

After leaving Yimaha, the only other place I touched at in the Tshàdda was Ogba, and on the morning of the 20th anchored at the Confluence off the important town of Igbègbe, where we had the satisfaction of finding our canoe-party in good health; at this, as a busy market-place, I determined to remain for five days, during which time the chronometers could once more be rated.

Two circumstances require here to be related. The King, who is our firm friend, is son of Aboko, who so befriended Messrs. Laird and Lander in 1833. He offered to send some messengers with us up the Tshàdda, to introduce us to such Chiefs as he knew, and to tell us the

names of places; this offer it would have been very impolitic to have refused, and though he sent six persons I thought it better not to demur about the number. They were well-conducted, often serviceable, and were the men whom I sent to Keàna; therefore on their return I gave them 65,000 cowries as a recompense. One of these men on our arrival at Ojogo, hearing that we were to leave again at once, refused to come, but on seeing us actually getting under steam, he hurried on board, and while I was forward got all his effects on board. He brought with him a boy, concerning whom he was strictly questioned, believing he might be a slave; he said, however, that he was a domestic slave, going to be a companion to one of his sons. A few days afterwards he confessed he was for sale, on which I told him that it could not for a moment be permitted to make an English vessel a slave-ship, but as he had probably erred in ignorance, I should ransom the boy. In this he quietly acquiesced, and on inquiry finding the value of such a boy at the Confluence to be 50,000 cowries, promised him the amount. Next morning he came on board, and attempted to carry the boy away, so I turned him at once out of the ship, and going on shore to the King had him sent for and examined in his presence. I related the whole history of the transaction to the King, who replied that he completely agreed with me. I then spoke of the Slave Trade generally, and told him and those around, the views held on the subject in Britain. I brought the boy, who is a fine intelligent youth, down the river, wishing to take him for education to Sierra Leone, especially as he belongs to a new tribe. He is now on board of this packet, and having been fortunate enough to meet with the Bishop and Archdeacon of Sierra Leone as fellow-passengers, they were much pleased with him, and the former said he would be glad to take care of the boy; since his lamented death the Archdeacon has undertaken the charge, and from the boy's quickness he is likely to do well in such excellent hands. He is about ten years of age, and his English name is William Carlin—his native name being Gàto. Before leaving Igbègbe I ascertained that my ransoming the boy, and taking him with me, had given much general satisfaction, while it proved to the people that, although here no one was wronged, we are opposed to slave-dealing in act as well as in word. I respectfully hope that in this transaction my conduct may meet the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

After leaving Igbègbe we called among other places at Idda, Ada-mugu, and the Abò—market-towns of Asabà, Onitsha, and Ossamare—and on the afternoon of the 31st anchored off Abò. Here I remained for two days, and would have delayed even longer, had the trading gentlemen desired it, but as they did nothing, I left again on the afternoon of the 2nd of November, having been on most amicable terms with the people, been assured of their earnest desire for trade and friendship, and received many proofs of their sincerity.

I was most anxious to push through the Delta as quickly as possible, to avoid any causes of sickness, and so did not touch at many of the towns in the Oru country; at those where we did call we found people quiet and friendly, and willing to barter for wood and provisions. To the chiefs of these towns I pointed out the great advantages to be derived from intercourse with white men, how their country would thrive if they turned their attention from war to trade, and the error they committed in trying to stop passage and traffic on the river. On the afternoon of the 4th, I anchored near the mouth of the river, within the full influence of the sea breeze, and which we at once found cool and invigorating.

Next day was spent in preparing for crossing the bar, and for the sea passage. Mr. May and Mr. Richards went by the creek to Brass river, to try and get some news, but found themselves quite disappointed in that respect. The river was in a very disturbed state, said to be owing to the misconduct of Captain C. J. Jackson, a white trader. The same evening two Accra men, British subjects, came asking for a passage. They had been in Captain Jackson's employ, and had left some months previously from bad treatment, and were in great distress. I accordingly took them and delivered them to the British Consul at Fernando Po, but the particulars of this I shall lay before you in a separate letter.

By selecting carefully a proper time for crossing the bar, we were enabled to do so under the most favourable circumstances, not a single breaker being visible. Mr. Richards, who piloted us out, said he had never seen it so smooth before, though this was his tenth passage over the bar. This was fortunate, as we had still the two iron canoes in tow. On the 7th, at sunset, we reached Fernando Po, when I waited on the Consul, who is also Mr. Laird's agent, and he kindly offered me rooms in his house till the arrival of the mail steamer.

During the voyage the amount of sickness was very little, and every case of fever yielded to the careful but free administration of quinine, which was also employed largely as a prophylactic, and as it seemed with great benefit. I shall allude to this more fully in my medical journal to the Director-General. Mr. May had a slight attack of fever, but I escaped it altogether.

After making Fernando Po, we both were laid up, and we have both had occasional attacks hitherto in this vessel. Mr. May's general health has, however, been much impaired by his previous stay of three years on the coast, so that Dr. Hutchinson and myself, after carefully examining him, felt it our duty to give him a medical certificate recommending his immediate return to Europe. I also wrote to Commander Miller stating that, in my opinion, Mr. May's presence in England would be absolutely necessary for proceeding with the chart of the river; he was, therefore, pleased to sanction his proceeding in this packet.

Though, from the increased nature of my duties, I could not devote so much time to Natural History as I could have wished, I have collected a number of specimens.

In accordance with my instructions, I have always followed the custom of giving presents to the chiefs and head men, though from the great number we met, the goods supplied to me were not sufficient. I had, therefore, from time to time to take up articles of merchandize from the ship's cargo for this purpose, and also for the purchase of specimens of native produce, and of these I have a strict account, and to meet the various expenses I have drawn bills on the Accountant-General of Her Majesty's Navy.

I have now to express my great satisfaction with the various persons composing the Government party. Mr. May's labours will, I doubt not, speak for themselves. His perseverance is most indefatigable, while his acquaintance with and love for the scientific branches of his profession render him exceedingly adapted for such service. Altogether he has been of very great service to the expedition. Of my Zoological assistant, who accompanied me from England, I can speak most favourably. I have employed him as my Secretary, and his zeal, diligence, and attention to all parts of his duty have been most praiseworthy. I have taken an after-cabin passage for him in this vessel, as his behaviour and general conduct have qualified him for such a position, but more especially as there are no fore-cabins in this line of steamers; and from what I observed, during my passage out, fore-cabin passengers had to encounter more inconveniences than any seamen on board, which at this season would seriously injure the health of any but the strongest.

Mr. Richards, whom I engaged at Clarence, I found faithful, willing, and intelligent. From his accurate knowledge of Nun Bar, and the intricate passages in the lower part of the river, I would strongly recommend him for any future expedition.

Of Mr. Scott, the assistant engineer, I received a favourable report from the chief engineer of the "Pleiad."

The man, Simon Jonas, whom I left at Abò, a very intelligent man, collected much valuable information for me, and ascertained accurately the feelings of the people towards white men.

Of the various officers of the "Pleiad," most were carefully selected, and well adapted for the work.

The surgeon was skilful and attentive. The chief engineer was fully master of his work, and ready for every emergency. The chief mate was a steady, well-conducted seaman, well acquainted with river navigation, and was likewise well up to his duties.

To one other person I would allude, namely, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, who, from his amiable character and unassuming manners, endeared himself to all on board. To me personally he rendered great assistance, especially in philological and ethnological inquiries; while from his knowledge of African habits and customs, his advice was always valuable.

The trading part of the voyage has been a great failure, but from causes beyond my control.

My various collections I have, according to my instructions, shipped on board this vessel, though, from their bulky nature, I should have liked to have sent them by the "Pleiad."

According to verbal instructions, received at Somerset House before leaving England, as well as with my written instructions, I supplied, when necessary, medicines to the crew, as well as to the natives.

I have merely, in conclusion, to remark that, from all appearances, there is less war and turmoil, and greater feeling of security along the river, than formerly; as detached huts and patches of cultivated ground are now to be seen all along the banks, none of which, I am assured by Mr. Crowther, existed during his visit in 1841.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE, M.D.

Report of Expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda,
between the 19th of July and the 4th of November,
1854.

Dr. W. Balfour Baikie to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

*African Mail Steamer "Bacchante,"
Sierra Leone, January 3, 1855.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour of laying before you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the following condensed account of the proceedings and results of the Government expedition up the Rivers Kwòra and Tshàdda during the past season. This I had intended doing before leaving Fernando Po, but was prevented, partly by indisposition, and partly from the remainder of my time being almost completely occupied in packing up and making arrangements for our voyage to England.

I have already, in my letters from Fernando Po in July last, alluded to the difficulties in which I found myself involved owing to the death of Mr. Consul Beecroft; and mentioned how, on numerous points, having no specific instructions for my guidance, I was obliged to act according to the best of my judgment.

On the arrival of the steamer "Pleiad" at Clarence at the end of June, preparations for the river voyage were actively carried on. These occupied ten days, and would not have been completed in that time, had it not been for the timely and active assistance afforded by Commander Miller, of Her Majesty's ship "Crane."

The gentleman on whose skill, knowledge of the country, and acquaintance with African travelling we had so much relied, being unfortunately no more, and there being no one on board who was at all familiar with African rivers, much precaution seemed absolutely necessary to insure our carrying out our designs.

To assist our endeavours I engaged Mr. Thomas Richards, who had accompanied Consul Beecroft on three occasions up the Kwòra, and on whom he placed much dependence. I looked forward also to Mr. Richards being useful as a pilot over the Nun Bar.

Another person whom I engaged was Mr. J. J. Scott, a coloured engineer; and, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Crowther, I took an Ibo interpreter from Fernando Po. This man, named Simon Jonas, a very intelligent native, was with Captain Trotter in 1841. On our way up the river I left him at Abò to collect information, and on our return after three months, again got him on board, he having been most kindly treated by the people.

Lastly, I engaged an Accra lad, who had been strongly recommended to me, for assisting in the collection and preservation of specimens, as, from my increased duties, I could not devote much time to natural history

pursuits, and I considered that the assistant who came with me from England would have more to do than he could well manage. I accordingly found this lad of very great service.

Under the circumstances, I trust that my conduct in entering these persons will meet with the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

At Fernando Po the second master of the "Crane," Mr. D. J. May, volunteered his services to assist in exploring the Tshàdda; and Commander Miller consented to lend him for this purpose on my expressing my consent. This I at once did, and I have no doubt that the result will prove to their Lordships' satisfaction that the amount of success we met with was considerably owing to the labours of this enterprising and intelligent officer.

All the sails of the "Pleiad" were, by Captain Taylor's direction, left at Fernando Po, but we had frequent occasion to regret this act.

I have, in my letter of the 19th July, given an account of our passage from Fernando Po, and of our entry into the river; before, therefore, recounting the further progress, it may be better to give, in a few lines, the extent and results of the expedition.

We have explored about 250 miles of the River Tshàdda beyond the furthest point attained by Allen and Oldfield in 1833, and reaching to about 50 miles of the meeting of the Fàro and Binue, have established the identity of the Tshàdda with the Binue.

We have established the navigable nature of the river during the rainy season up to our furthest point; and, seemingly, as well as from the information of the natives, considerably beyond.

We have encountered several new tribes; have inquired into the resources, &c., of the various countries; and have ascertained the friendly disposition of the natives.

From numerous careful observations, we have been induced to differ from Dr. Barth's astronomical positions, our furthest point east being $11^{\circ} 30'$, at which time we were considerably beyond Hamarùwa, and almost certainly, at the furthest, within 50 miles of the junction of the Fàro, which was placed by that gentleman in longitude 14° east.

We shall be able to lay before their Lordships a tolerably accurate chart of the entire rivers, with the observations on which our positions are based, and we have also collected materials for a much-improved map of the surrounding countries.

We shall be able, further, to present to their Lordships a considerable amount of information regarding the new districts, and also numerous additional facts concerning the countries previously known, especially Ibo.

We have ascertained more correctly the periods of rise and fall of the water, differing somewhat from previous accounts; we are therefore able more precisely to indicate the proper periods for the entry and the descent of the river.

With the assistance of Mr. Crowther, we have satisfied ourselves of the general desire of the natives to receive instruction and to admit teachers, and also of their wishes to carry on trade with us.

We have ascertained, as far as we could, the extent to which slavery, either domestic or otherwise, prevails.

We have, unfortunately, been unable to obtain any very recent or accurate tidings of Dr. Barth or Dr. Vogel, although every possible inquiry has been made.

We are enabled to report favourably on the climate, having encountered but little sickness, and, providentially, not lost a single life.

Having thus given a summary of the results, it will be requisite to allude to the causes which prevented our reaching further.

Though aware that wood would form a great part of our fuel in the river, instruments for cutting or splitting it were not provided, so that it was only by sheer struggling that we were enabled to continue the ascent, and from this cause alone we lost at least fourteen days.

Inability to cut fuel was the principal cause of our final stop; the Kruboyas also were nearly exhausted by the immense labour consequent on the employment of miserably insufficient tools. Scurvy, likewise, made its appearance among the crew, apparently from an improper amount of

nourishment. The actual turning back of the vessel took place while Mr. May and I were absent in the gig, endeavouring to make a higher ascent.

Numerous other minor, though most palpable deficiencies, might here be mentioned, but these will be better noticed in the sequel.

To continue from the point where I left off in my letter of July 19th—that very afternoon the vessel was carelessly run aground, and remained so for twenty-four hours, so that we did not reach Abo until the afternoon of the 21st. Next morning I went ashore, and finding that Ajè, the second son of the late King Obi, and who was the most influential person, was absent, I called on his elder brother and representative, Tshùkuma, who received us kindly. I here left Simon Jonas, Tshùkuma pledging himself for his comfort and safety. I wished to proceed next morning, as time was valuable, but Captain Taylor declined to proceed on a Sunday. We left on Monday, and for the remainder of the week our progress was very unsatisfactory. It was not until the following Monday that we reached Iddà, where I had a very satisfactory interview with the Atta. We steamed from Iddà on Wednesday the 2nd August, and on Friday afternoon reached the confluence. From this we started on Monday the 7th, and for the four following days continued slowly ascending the Tshàdda. On the 11th we again got aground, and part of the engine having given way and requiring a lengthened repair, I took the opportunity of getting fresh rates for the chronometers before entering the new parts of the river. We therefore remained here until the 14th, and were fortunate in getting likewise good sets of lunar distances.

For a fortnight previous to this time the river had been falling, and the after rains had not yet commenced; I was, therefore, doubly anxious to push on at once, so as to be able to avail ourselves of the expected subsequent rise in the upper part. Coal was now completely exhausted, and we had to procure supplies of wood. Several weighty reasons rendered it my duty to supersede the sailing-master, and to take on myself the entire charge of the vessel, which I did on August the 17th.

For three or four days we had rather shallow water and very winding channels, but on the 23rd August we reached the town of Ojogo in Dòma, where I obtained the only information I could learn bearing on Dr. Barth. A man, who had some five or six weeks previously arrived at this place from Keàna, told me that when he left, two white men, with one or two white attendants, had been residing for some time at that town, and that presents had been interchanged between them and the King. Not being able to get a good description of their persons, I showed this man the frontispiece of Petermann's Atlas, on which he at once selected Dr. Barth's portrait, saying that was the face, only it wanted a large beard. He said the other white man resembled the likeness of Dr. Vogel, as he had no beard and very slight whiskers. From this account, and not being aware of any other white travellers in this part of Africa, I conjectured that the two might possibly be Drs. Barth and Vogel, and determined at once to try and communicate with them. I had on board four messengers, sent by the Chief of Igbègbe at the Confluence to accompany us, and as these men expressed their willingness to proceed to this place, I immediately requested the King of Ojogo to give me a guide, and by persuasion and the help of presents I got them to start next morning. I gave them a present for the King of Keàna, and a letter for Drs. Barth and Vogel. Keàna was about four days' journey from Ojogo, but the men said they would try to reach it in three; I therefore remained for some time at Ojogo, but as after ten days they had not returned, I resolved to proceed, having previously obtained the promise of the King to look after either the white men or any messengers until our return. During our delay I secured a good supply of excellent wood, and the rains having commenced the river had risen about five feet.

From this time we experienced less difficulty in the river, owing to the increasing depth of the water, and we moved faster, having now only one of the trade canoes in tow. We spoke, as we passed, all the towns of any size on the bank of the river, and having passed Dòma on the north side, and a previously unknown tribe named Mitshi on the south, at

length reached the kingdom of Koròrofa. Villages on the banks were here few, but on the 6th September we arrived at a large town on the left bank, opposite to which I anchored, and immediately landed. The inhabitants seemed much alarmed, and came to watch us fully armed; but on my advancing and holding out my hand, they came towards us, and, on finding our intentions to be peaceful, uttered wild cries of delight. I then went and saw their King, who warmly welcomed us, telling us that this was the first time white men had ever visited this country.

The town was named Gándiko, and though in the kingdom of Koròrofa, was originally founded by Filàta slaves, and had become an independent Fùlo settlement. The country of Koròrofa is entirely situated on the south side of the Tshàdda, and the opposite bank is in the Fùlo kingdom of Bãutshi.

On asking the road to Wukàri, I was referred for information to the large town of Zhibu, some miles further up the river. I proceeded thither on the 8th, and found it also to be a Filàta town, but, on inquiry for Wukàri, was told we should have stopped at Anyàshi, some forty or fifty miles down the river. I had therefore to abstain from attempting this journey till the return voyage. The people were extremely friendly, and kept up a brisk trade with us. From the information here received, I found that Wukàri was not nearly so far to the eastward as we had supposed.

After leaving Dãgbo, the river ran considerably to the southward, the course afterwards being about north-east and north-north-east.

I left Zhibu on the 10th, having got a fresh supply of firewood, and for the next two days made pretty fair work, but could discover no signs of towns or villages.

On the 12th we anchored and cut wood, and were obliged to remain all next day to split it up.

On the 14th again started, but at mid-day seeing a large dry tree, we anchored abreast of it, and got all hands on shore. Our instruments, always imperfect, were now so much the worse for wear, that though working incessantly from morning to night, we had not enough fuel to enable us to leave before Saturday morning. A canoe passing down, however, gave us the cheering intelligence, that we were now leaving the district of Koròrofa, and entering the country of Hamarùwa (the Hamarrù of Petermann).

The wood we had obtained did not burn well, so we could not keep the steam up for any length of time, rendering thereby our progress slow.

I became at this time very unwell, and although I kept on deck, could not attend to matters; but having a most able and willing substitute in Mr. May, things went on as before.

On the 18th we reached the village of Zhìru, where we learnt that the town of Hamarùwa was not far distant.

During the four following days we did not make more than twenty-five miles, the current running from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and the crew not being able to keep the furnaces supplied. Large branches frequently floated past us, which, whenever we could, we secured, but from the rapidity of the stream it was no easy matter.

Many of our Kruboyes were in the sick list from overworking, and from another cause which I shall now mention.

For the preceding twelve or fourteen days many had presented themselves with swelled limbs and other dropsical symptoms; and on Dr. Hutchinson's requesting my opinion, I came to the conclusion, after a careful examination, that the disease was primarily scurvy, and I therefore inquired into the quality of their food, which I found to consist of from a pint and three-quarters to two pints of rice and cold water, a supply evidently inadequate for the wants of men so worked, but designated by Mr. Taylor as an ample allowance.

I at once ordered means to be taken for obtaining meat sufficient to give all hands a portion, and desired the sick to get a share of what was in the ship. No spirits were in the ship, which both myself and Dr. Hutchinson considered would have proved eminently beneficial, and the very small supply of wine, now almost entirely laid aside for medicinal

purposes, only permitted a very small portion being daily devoted to the most feeble.

On the 19th Mr. May was laid up with fever; but I was now again fit for duty.

On the morning of the 22nd I reached Gùrowa, where I found persons from the Sultan of Hamaruwa, waiting to welcome us, and asking me to send him a messenger. The town was said to be some seven or eight miles from the river, so I desired Mr. Richards to go, and gave him a small present for the King as a token. Mr. Crowther very kindly volunteered to accompany him; so, escorted by the Hamaruwa party, they at once proceeded. Heavy rains were frequently falling, and the river continuing to rise rapidly.

I here learnt that the province of Hamaruwa was one of considerable importance, little inferior to that of Adamàwa. It is chiefly situated on the north bank of the Tshàdda, but claims considerable territory on the south side. High hills, which we could see on the southern horizon, were in Adamàwa. The aborigines were a wild-looking people named Baìbai, and speaking the Djuka language, but the country had been quite subjugated by the Filàtas. We were now completely in Fùlo territory, and with these people were invariably on the most friendly terms. They were by far the most intelligent and most civilized people we met during our wanderings.

Here, as in every other district above the Lower Tshàdda, yams were not cultivated, various kinds of corn forming the chief food of the people. Goats, fowls, and ducks were, however, to be got at most of the villages.

I anxiously waited for the return of Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards, but they did not make their appearance till the morning of the 24th, when they came on board tired and foot-sore, having had a long journey over a most miserable road. They had however met with a most hospitable reception, and brought me a letter from the Sultan, requesting me to visit him.

I made instant preparations, and at noon started, accompanied by two officers of the "Pleiad," leaving the vessel in charge of Mr. May, now convalescent.

We went by boat along a creek for about three miles, and then landing proceeded on foot by a narrow road, only wide enough for single file, and inclosed mostly on either side by thick bush or long grass. Walking was difficult, as great part was completely under water, and the remainder was soft adhesive mud.

Our route lay across a level swampy plain, on the further side of which was a fine rising ground, at the foot of a range of hills, and on this eminence the town was situated.

We reached the town at sunset, having walked, according to my pedometer, fourteen miles. We were conducted to the house of the Galadima, or Prime Minister, where a large hut and a surrounding yard were set apart for our use, and it being dark we lighted our lanterns and sat down on our mats. We first received a message of congratulations from the King, and then crowds of visitors poured in to welcome us. Half-an-hour of incessant shaking-hands tired us, and being hungry after our walk, we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of various dishes sent us by the King. These consisted of messes of milk and of fufu and palaver-sauce, two well-known country dishes.

Our supper over we arranged our mats, and slept in the open air in preference to the hut, as being more free from mosquitoes.

The next morning we proceeded to examine the town. The houses, which are all circular, are capacious and well-constructed, and are always surrounded by considerable inclosures. The breadth of the town is upwards of a mile, and its length from one end to the other two miles.

The people are a highly intelligent race, often of fine and prepossessing appearance, and almost entirely Filàta. The familiar language is the Filàta or Fùlo (properly Pulo), but most also understand Haùssa, by which we communicated with them. All were well-clothed, the dresses of many being very tasteful; brass and copper ornaments were abundant, which they readily parted with for trinkets, red cloths, and handkerchiefs.

At 11 o'clock we were conducted to the Sultan's residence, and were ushered into his presence; we were placed on Turkey rugs, but were separated from the King by a coloured silk screen, which hung from side to side of the apartment, which rather surprised me, as nothing of the kind was employed when he received my message, but I was informed that such was the custom of the country. As soon as we were seated an attendant threw over me and each of my two companions fine Haùssa tobes, and I was presented with a bundle of spears and a basket of Gourra (Kola) nuts.

We then proceeded with our interview, the Sultan expressing his satisfaction and delight that white men should have visited the country during his reign, assuring us of his ardent wish to cultivate our friendship, and saying that he should send a special messenger to his master, the Sultan, at Sòkato to announce our visit.

I then told him of our country and our Queen, of the objects and intentions of our voyage, of our wish for friendship and for trade, and of our Sovereign's dislike to war, especially when aggressive and unprovoked. The Sultan replied that what I had said about war "was very good," and that he trusted that his people and white men would always be friends. I then offered him two velvet tobes, a sabre with a brass scabbard, a double-barrelled gun, and some pieces of white and coloured calicoes, which seemed to please him much. Dr. Hutchinson also gave him specimens of the various trading goods on board the steamer, and Mr. Guthrie presented him with a supply of writing materials, with which he appeared gratified. I then said that on my return I intended to visit his dependency of Wukàri, which he told me he hoped I would do, and that he would send a message by me. He added, that he had ordered two bullocks to be caught for us, for which I thanked him, and then begged to say farewell. He pressed us much to extend our visit, but excusing ourselves on account of the lateness of the season and pressing occupation on board, we departed.

It was now past 1 o'clock, so I hurried back to our hut, got our baggage packed up, and dispatched at once our Kruboy. A horse was brought, on which I got Mr. Guthrie mounted, as being the oldest of the party, and the most likely to be tired. Horses were also promised to Dr. Hutchinson and myself; but as they were delayed I walked on, leaving him to follow when mounted. I soon reached a very wet part of the road where I had to walk barefooted, but not having a guide, I wandered along a wrong track, and by sunset had completely lost my way, having nothing around me but thick bush; I therefore looked for a tall tree as the best quarters for the night, and was fortunate enough to find a large Baobab tree, up which I climbed, and seating myself on a branch, about fifteen feet from the ground, spent a not uncomfortable night, though the howling of leopards and hyenas surrounded me till daylight. In the morning I stumbled over some huts, and getting a guide, proceeded towards the river, meeting shortly a party searching for me, but who had already consigned me to the wild beasts, which abound in this district.

As the crew was much debilitated and weakened from the causes already mentioned, and as our cutting tools were nearly used up, I was most reluctantly obliged to give up the idea of proceeding farther in the ship. Mr. May and I however determined to make the attempt in the gig, and accordingly, the morning after my return, we started with a crew of six men. I left the vessel in charge of Mr. Marcus, the chief mate, with orders to remain except in the case of a sudden fall in the river, or any other emergency, in which case we should follow in the boat, and I also ordered every means to be employed for getting wood. From what I had already seen, and from the assurances of the King, I felt convinced that a stay of some days at this place would be profitable to the trading party, as ivory was abundant and cheap, and in these particulars Dr. Hutchinson coincided with me.

We left at daybreak on the 27th September, the river still rising. For some days there had been invariably a fine breeze blowing up the river, but to-day, to our great disappointment, it was nearly calm, and we made but little progress against the current. We visited two villages

belonging to Hamarùwa, in both of which the aboriginal inhabitants, though friendly, were less civilized than any we had hitherto met. Next day, having a slight breeze, we did rather better, and in the afternoon reached a town named Djin, up a creek, where, on our leaving, some attempt was made to detain us. On the third morning we had a fine wind, and went rapidly up; in the forenoon we arrived at a village named Dùlti, now, by the rise of the river, most completely inundated, and in which, except one spot round a large tree, there was not a single foot of dry ground. We landed here to take observations, but were soon surrounded by crowds of most savage, wild looking people, who, both male and female, were equally destitute of clothing. For a time their surprise kept them quiet, and we tried to get into conversation with them, and keep them in good humour, but they soon began to be troublesome, and in a body advanced to seize and pilfer our boat, when a little pet dog I had with me raised its head, on which, in astonishment, they held back. Not wishing to have a quarrel, and their numbers, from 300 to 400, all armed with swords, spears, and bows and arrows, being rather out of proportion, I judged it advisable to remove; so, giving one or two presents to the head men, we suddenly shoved off. While looking for another spot on which to land, their canoes followed and tried to entangle us among the bushes, so we had to retreat speedily to the open river, where we were in safety, as there, if they had become troublesome, we could easily have managed them by upsetting their canoes. On reaching the open water, the pursuing canoes, nine or ten in number, and each with eight or nine armed men, immediately turned back. We had previously fixed the afternoon of this day for our return, and so had, although very unwillingly, to steer down the river.

This, our farthest point eastwards, is, as nearly as we could determine, in about latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ north, and in longitude $11^{\circ} 30'$ east. We cannot be quite certain, as our observations, being interrupted by the natives, were hurried and incomplete. From the information we received, we believe that we were at that place not more than fifty miles from the Fàro, and it was a matter of deep regret to us that we could not reach that confluence. Had the wind blown as freshly for the first two days as it did on the morning of the third, we might without difficulty have attained this point.

During our return, which was infinitely more speedy than our ascent, we continued our survey, getting soundings and outlining the river sides. By dark we had gone about twenty-four miles, when being unable to continue our surveying, we anchored. About 1 A.M. on the 30th, one of the heaviest thunderstorms I ever witnessed, came on, but as the river ran between two chains of hills, the attending tornado split into two parts, leaving the centre of the river where we were comparatively free. About 9 A.M. we reached Gùrowa, but found to our disappointment that the "Pleiad" had left two days previously, though for what reason we could not divine, as the river was yet rising. We followed, and as the current ran strong, went rapidly along. Towards evening we entered a wrong creek, and soon found ourselves in submerged country, and it was not till 9 o'clock next morning that we regained the river, having pulled over fully twenty miles of flooded land. This forenoon we overtook the "Pleiad" aground on the weather-end of a bank, and in an awkward position. I now learnt that the very day we had left, some on board had made the discovery that the river was falling, and had so worked on the mate that he at last consented, though most unwillingly, to descend. On the second day they had got aground here, and had been in a very unpleasant state ever since. Mr. Crowther, Mr. Richards, and the chief mate told me they were very glad I had returned, as Captain Taylor, during my absence, had tried to get the vessel into his own hands, and matters were becoming very disagreeable. Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards had remonstrated against leaving Gùrowa as unnecessary, but were not heeded. Immediately on finding how the ship was placed, I commenced fresh efforts to float her, as if the river should fall, there would be no chance of moving her. The anchors were laid out afresh, and every preparation made for the next morning, when, as the crew were completely

exhausted, we had to give up for the night. By considerable exertions we floated next day, and on the morning of October the 3rd, as we had no fuel on board, nor could get any, dropped down the river about twenty miles to Zhibu.

Mr. May and I had been desirous of getting fresh chronometer rates before leaving Gùrowa, but being disappointed in that, I resolved on remaining at Zhibu for the purpose, employing the crew meanwhile in cutting wood. While here I wished to get to Wukàri, but was prevented by the selfish obstacles put in our way by the King of Zhibu, who, after promising us guides and horses, broke faith with us, and consequently I declined having any more intercourse with him, and did not permit any of the Europeans on board again to visit him. His behaviour towards us made him very unpopular with his subjects, who were extremely friendly. On the evening of October the 5th we first observed signs of falling water. During our stay here we had a good supply of pumpkins, which greatly recruited the men and improved the sick. On the 9th we resumed the descent, and on the afternoon of the 10th reached Anyashi, at which place, by the carelessness of the boatswain, we lost an anchor and cable. On making inquiries about Wukàri, we found that this place, though rather distant, was the best starting-point, but that the journey thither and back would occupy from eight to ten days, a period which at this advanced time could ill be spared. The Chief promised to send a messenger to tell his King of our wish, of our endeavours to visit him, and our hopes of being more successful another season. Having dragged for our anchor and cable against a 5-knot current, until our fuel was all but exhausted, I had to proceed, and on the afternoon of the 12th anchored off the Igbira town of Rogan-Kòto.

At this town considerable trade was carried on, and I took the opportunity of laying in a good stock of wood, which was here very abundant and of excellent quality. On the 14th I touched at Ojogo, received our messengers on board, and recompensed the King for his kindness. From these I learnt that the white men had left Keàna forty-seven days previous to their arrival; had thence gone to Dòma, from which, after three days, they had gone, it was thought, towards a town near Panda (Fandah). This latter part of the story I knew I could ascertain farther down the river. That afternoon I reached Akpoko, where we were welcomed warmly, and next morning went to Dàgbo, where I anchored, and on Monday, after wooding, dropped down to Orùko, the port of Ekèreku, the capital of Bàssa.

On the morning of the 17th, Mr. May and Mr. Crowther went to Ekèreku, and visited the King. On their return we proceeded, and anchored in the afternoon off a recent town named Abatsho. Next day we visited two market-towns, named Amaran and Okètta, and in the afternoon anchored off Yimaha, now that Panda (Fandah) has been destroyed by the Filàtas, the capital of Igbira and the residence of the King. At this place I remained for a day and a-half, and had several very favourable interviews with the King. The people are a very industrious trading set, and one whose goodwill is evidently worth cultivating. They were all suffering from the recent attack of the Filàtas, who were now permitting them to ransom their captives. The King told me that many of their wives and children were still unredeemed, as their means were nearly expended, on which I gave to assist in their purchase four bags of cowries (80,000), which expenditure, I trust, my Lords Commissioners will, on examining into, be pleased to sanction.

After leaving Yimaha, the only other place I touched at in the Tshàdda was Ogba, and on the morning of the 20th anchored at the Confluence off the important town of Igbègbe, where we had the satisfaction of finding our canoe-party in good health; at this, as a busy market-place, I determined to remain for five days, during which time the chronometers could once more be rated.

Two circumstances require here to be related. The King, who is our firm friend, is son of Aboko, who so befriended Messrs. Laird and Lander in 1833. He offered to send some messengers with us up the Tshàdda, to introduce us to such Chiefs as he knew, and to tell us the

names of places; this offer it would have been very impolitic to have refused, and though he sent six persons I thought it better not to demur about the number. They were well-conducted, often serviceable, and were the men whom I sent to Keàna; therefore on their return I gave them 65,000 cowries as a recompense. One of these men on our arrival at Ojogo, hearing that we were to leave again at once, refused to come, but on seeing us actually getting under steam, he hurried on board, and while I was forward got all his effects on board. He brought with him a boy, concerning whom he was strictly questioned, believing he might be a slave; he said, however, that he was a domestic slave, going to be a companion to one of his sons. A few days afterwards he confessed he was for sale, on which I told him that it could not for a moment be permitted to make an English vessel a slave-ship, but as he had probably erred in ignorance, I should ransom the boy. In this he quietly acquiesced, and on inquiry finding the value of such a boy at the Confluence to be 50,000 cowries, promised him the amount. Next morning he came on board, and attempted to carry the boy away, so I turned him at once out of the ship, and going on shore to the King had him sent for and examined in his presence. I related the whole history of the transaction to the King, who replied that he completely agreed with me. I then spoke of the Slave Trade generally, and told him and those around, the views held on the subject in Britain. I brought the boy, who is a fine intelligent youth, down the river, wishing to take him for education to Sierra Leone, especially as he belongs to a new tribe. He is now on board of this packet, and having been fortunate enough to meet with the Bishop and Archdeacon of Sierra Leone as fellow-passengers, they were much pleased with him, and the former said he would be glad to take care of the boy; since his lamented death the Archdeacon has undertaken the charge, and from the boy's quickness he is likely to do well in such excellent hands. He is about ten years of age, and his English name is William Carlin—his native name being Gàto. Before leaving Igbègbe I ascertained that my ransoming the boy, and taking him with me, had given much general satisfaction, while it proved to the people that, although here no one was wronged, we are opposed to slave-dealing in act as well as in word. I respectfully hope that in this transaction my conduct may meet the approval of my Lords Commissioners.

After leaving Igbègbe we called among other places at Idda, Ada-mugu, and the Abò—market-towns of Asabà, Onitsha, and Ossamare—and on the afternoon of the 31st anchored off Abò. Here I remained for two days, and would have delayed even longer, had the trading gentlemen desired it, but as they did nothing, I left again on the afternoon of the 2nd of November, having been on most amicable terms with the people, been assured of their earnest desire for trade and friendship, and received many proofs of their sincerity.

I was most anxious to push through the Delta as quickly as possible, to avoid any causes of sickness, and so did not touch at many of the towns in the Oru country; at those where we did call we found people quiet and friendly, and willing to barter for wood and provisions. To the chiefs of these towns I pointed out the great advantages to be derived from intercourse with white men, how their country would thrive if they turned their attention from war to trade, and the error they committed in trying to stop passage and traffic on the river. On the afternoon of the 4th, I anchored near the mouth of the river, within the full influence of the sea breeze, and which we at once found cool and invigorating.

Next day was spent in preparing for crossing the bar, and for the sea passage. Mr. May and Mr. Richards went by the creek to Brass river, to try and get some news, but found themselves quite disappointed in that respect. The river was in a very disturbed state, said to be owing to the misconduct of Captain C. J. Jackson, a white trader. The same evening two Accra men, British subjects, came asking for a passage. They had been in Captain Jackson's employ, and had left some months previously from bad treatment, and were in great distress. I accordingly took them and delivered them to the British Consul at Fernando Po, but the particulars of this I shall lay before you in a separate letter.

By selecting carefully a proper time for crossing the bar, we were enabled to do so under the most favourable circumstances, not a single breaker being visible. Mr. Richards, who piloted us out, said he had never seen it so smooth before, though this was his tenth passage over the bar. This was fortunate, as we had still the two iron canoes in tow. On the 7th, at sunset, we reached Fernando Po, when I waited on the Consul, who is also Mr. Laird's agent, and he kindly offered me rooms in his house till the arrival of the mail steamer.

During the voyage the amount of sickness was very little, and every case of fever yielded to the careful but free administration of quinine, which was also employed largely as a prophylactic, and as it seemed with great benefit. I shall allude to this more fully in my medical journal to the Director-General. Mr. May had a slight attack of fever, but I escaped it altogether.

After making Fernando Po, we both were laid up, and we have both had occasional attacks hitherto in this vessel. Mr. May's general health has, however, been much impaired by his previous stay of three years on the coast, so that Dr. Hutchinson and myself, after carefully examining him, felt it our duty to give him a medical certificate recommending his immediate return to Europe. I also wrote to Commander Miller stating that, in my opinion, Mr. May's presence in England would be absolutely necessary for proceeding with the chart of the river; he was, therefore, pleased to sanction his proceeding in this packet.

Though, from the increased nature of my duties, I could not devote so much time to Natural History as I could have wished, I have collected a number of specimens.

In accordance with my instructions, I have always followed the custom of giving presents to the chiefs and head men, though from the great number we met, the goods supplied to me were not sufficient. I had, therefore, from time to time to take up articles of merchandize from the ship's cargo for this purpose, and also for the purchase of specimens of native produce, and of these I have a strict account, and to meet the various expenses I have drawn bills on the Accountant-General of Her Majesty's Navy.

I have now to express my great satisfaction with the various persons composing the Government party. Mr. May's labours will, I doubt not, speak for themselves. His perseverance is most indefatigable, while his acquaintance with and love for the scientific branches of his profession render him exceedingly adapted for such service. Altogether he has been of very great service to the expedition. Of my Zoological assistant, who accompanied me from England, I can speak most favourably. I have employed him as my Secretary, and his zeal, diligence, and attention to all parts of his duty have been most praiseworthy. I have taken an after-cabin passage for him in this vessel, as his behaviour and general conduct have qualified him for such a position, but more especially as there are no fore-cabins in this line of steamers; and from what I observed, during my passage out, fore-cabin passengers had to encounter more inconveniences than any seamen on board, which at this season would seriously injure the health of any but the strongest.

Mr. Richards, whom I engaged at Clarence, I found faithful, willing, and intelligent. From his accurate knowledge of Nun Bar, and the intricate passages in the lower part of the river, I would strongly recommend him for any future expedition.

Of Mr. Scott, the assistant engineer, I received a favourable report from the chief engineer of the "Pleiad."

The man, Simon Jonas, whom I left at Abò, a very intelligent man, collected much valuable information for me, and ascertained accurately the feelings of the people towards white men.

Of the various officers of the "Pleiad," most were carefully selected, and well adapted for the work.

The surgeon was skilful and attentive. The chief engineer was fully master of his work, and ready for every emergency. The chief mate was a steady, well-conducted seaman, well acquainted with river navigation, and was likewise well up to his duties.

To one other person I would allude, namely, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, who, from his amiable character and unassuming manners, endeared himself to all on board. To me personally he rendered great assistance, especially in philological and ethnological inquiries; while from his knowledge of African habits and customs, his advice was always valuable.

The trading part of the voyage has been a great failure, but from causes beyond my control.

My various collections I have, according to my instructions, shipped on board this vessel, though, from their bulky nature, I should have liked to have sent them by the "Pleiad."

According to verbal instructions, received at Somerset House before leaving England, as well as with my written instructions, I supplied, when necessary, medicines to the crew, as well as to the natives.

I have merely, in conclusion, to remark that, from all appearances, there is less war and turmoil, and greater feeling of security along the river, than formerly; as detached huts and patches of cultivated ground are now to be seen all along the banks, none of which, I am assured by Mr. Crowther, existed during his visit in 1841.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE, M.D.