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JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY
TOUR TO THE LABAYA
COUNTRY
(GUINEA/CONAKRY) IN 1850

By Rev. John Ulrich Graf,
Church Missionary Society

Edited by Bruce L. Mouser

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ABSTRACT

The paper is an edited transcription of the journal of a missionary based in Freetown (Sierra Leone), who in 1850 visited part of what is today Guinea-Conakry, inhabited by Susu people. It is particularly informative about the protocols established in this region for commerce. The original text is supplemented by an introduction, a map, annotation and a detailed index.

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INTRODUCTION

Labaya Country was located in the headwaters of the Dembia/Konkouré River in present Guinea/Conakry and was believed in 1850 to be a state that separated coastal peoples who were in alliance with the Fernandez lineage at Buramia on the Konkouré River from the interior state of Sulima. During the early nineteenth century, most Europeans considered Labaya to be part of a vast Susu nation or linguistic group that stretched from the Rio Nunez on the North, to the Scarcies River on the South, and into the Fuuta Jaloo highlands on the East. In 1821 Peter McLachlan's early sketchy description of Baga and Susu peoples identified the Labaya Susu as one of five main Susu groups that included the Yamfa Susu of the Rio Pongo, the Dembia Susu of the Dembia/Konkouré River, the Sumbuya Susu of the Wonkapong region, and the Sulima Susu of the upper Scarcies/Kolente River.¹ French writers identified Labaya as part of the Susu kingdom centered at Tiyé in the Rio Pongo. The expedition to Labaya Country, conducted by Rev. John Ulrich Graf in 1850, produced the first detailed observations of the upper Konkouré River.

Graf's decision to conduct an expedition into a Susu country was not the first of its kind. The Church Missionary Society, Graf's patron society at Sierra Leone, began its missionary enterprise in West Africa in 1804 when it sent Rev. Peter Hartwig and Rev. Melchior Renner to Freetown, intending that they would proceed soon to the Rio Pongo where Susu was spoken and where several headmen and traders sought their presence. Henry Brunton had lived in the Pongo for more than a year at the end of the eighteenth century and had constructed several grammars and tracts in Susu which he believed to be the region's commercial language and most likely vehicle to carry Christianity into the continent.² In 1805 Hartwig lived in the regions of Sumbuya and Moria, both occupied by Susu peoples. He also studied the Susu language in settlements near Freetown, which was becoming a focus of coasting trade.³ Other newly-arriving missionaries, however, agreed with the general consensus that because Islam was firmly entrenched in Sumbuya and Moria, missionary efforts there would be unfruitful. In 1806 and years following, the Church Missionary Society established schools and churches in the Rio Pongo, an area rapidly changing its character from Baga to Susu and a region where the slave trade flourished. After 1813 Society efforts in the Pongo began to falter, and by 1817 it had withdrawn its missionaries to the Iles de Los or to Freetown where thousands of "liberated Africans" were being landed from captured slave ships and where Britain could better protect its own citizens and its newly acquired subjects. Between 1817 and 1850, the Society concentrated its efforts in or near the Freetown settlement, especially within villages created for "recaptive" Africans, as the landed liberated Africans were called.⁴ In 1845 the Society laid the first cornerstones for new buildings which would soon become known as Fourah Bay College, one of whose objectives was to prepare

¹ Peter McLachlan, *Travels into the Baga and Soosoo Countries, During the Year 1821* (Freetown, 1821), 16.

²P.E.H. Hair, "Notes on the Early Study of Some West African Languages," *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, sér. B, no. 3-4 (1961), 383, 691-692; P.E.H. Hair, "Susu Studies and Literature: 1799-1900," *Sierra Leone Language Review*, no. 4 (1965), 38-39, 50; Samuel Walker, *Missions in Western Africa, Among the Soosoos, Bulloms, &c.* (London, 1845), 171-173, 181-183.

³Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham Library, CA1/E1/116a, Hartwig's Journal, and CA1/E1/116c, Hartwig's Journal; Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 203-211.

⁴Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, II, (4 vols., London, 1899), 100-103; Stiv Jakobsson, *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?* (Uppsala, 1972), chapters 3 and 4.

"native" missionaries to carry the Christian Gospel into the interior.⁵ By 1850, the Society had identified "Native Missions" as one of its fundamental objectives for the coming years. Graf's decision to conduct an expedition to Labaya, an area known to be occupied primarily by non-Muslim Susu-speaking Africans, therefore, was within the Society's experience and objectives.

Little has been written about Rev. John Ulrich Graf. German or Swiss by birth, he was associated with the Basle Missionary Seminary, which provided several missionaries to the Society's efforts in West Africa. He arrived in Freetown on 26 October 1836 and remained there for nineteen years until his death on 22 March 1855.⁶ The Society assigned him first to duties at the Gibraltar Chapel at Fourah Bay and then as superintendent of the Christian Institution.⁷ In 1839, however, he was pastor of the "liberated African" settlement of Hastings, located approximately 20 kilometers southeast of the center at Freetown where he maintained a school and mission; in that year the foundation stone for a new church was put in place.⁸ By his own account, he was a member of an expedition in 1839 into Bullom and Temne countries near the settlement and reported his observations to the Society whose headquarters were located in London.⁹

Planning for an expedition to Labaya appears to have been well organized. Graf's reasons for going into the interior were several; he intended to extend his knowledge of the Susu language in an area where it reputedly had its purist form. Merchants from Bundu often visited the Freetown settlement, and perhaps Graf believed that his visit in Labaya and Sulima, the latter his ultimate objective, would be welcomed. In either area his study of Susu could be enhanced. He was apparently the only missionary then studying the Susu language at Freetown, although others were studying Mende, Sherbro, Bullom, Temne, and Vai, all languages located in the vicinity of Freetown and considered languages of conversion.¹⁰ Another reason was to report on the peoples, fauna, and mineral resources in the upper Konkouré River region. In Graf's congregation at Hastings also was an old man who spoke Susu, perhaps himself a "liberated African." In addition to his Susu translator, Graf selected six men from the Gloucester congregation to serve as bearers and compatriots "in Christ" for this expedition; along the path they would conduct religious services and, through their believed example, demonstrate the wisdom and advantage of their faith. Two bearers were to be reserved to transport Graf to the coast should he become ill along the way, a likely expectation on this coast. February/March were the best and healthiest months for travel into the interior. Torrential rains extended from May to October, and during those months travel along the coast became treacherous because of sudden storms, and paths became muddy and often impassible. The rainy season was also the "fever season," a time when even a minor illness could become quickly serious if not fatal. Cloud cover in February/March could be

⁵Stock, *History*, I, 451, noted that Mr. Haensel was organizing the Fourah Bay College in 1827.

⁶E. G. Ingham, *Sierra Leone After a Hundred Years* (London, 1894), 203; Stock, *History*, I, 263 and II, 99.

⁷CMS CA1/0/105, Graf to Coates, 13 January 1837. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford, 1963), 136, noted that Gibraltar was a village established for pensioners from the 4th West India Regiment who had been stationed at Gibraltar. The Christian Institution at Fourah Bay eventually became Fourah Bay College.

⁸Ingham, *Sierra Leone*, 232.

⁹See Graf's "Journal," ms. pages 36, 41; CMS CA1/0/105, Report on the Mission of Research to the Timenee Country, December 1839.

¹⁰Hair, "Notes on the Early Study," 683-685; 693-694; Hair, "Susu Studies," 41. "Preliminary Remarks," in CMS CA1/0/105, "Extracts from the Journal of a Missionary Tour into that part of the Susu Country, called Labaya, lying due east of the Rio Pongas, West Coast of Africa, and undertaken in February and March 1850." According to Graf, missionaries at Freetown in 1848 were told that missionary tours should not involve "great expenditures," but in 1850 a small grant had provided funds sufficient to launch this expedition.

expected to be minimal, which meant that traveling by moonlight could be adopted. Indeed, one could expect roads to be well-traveled during this period, for it was that time of year when large caravans of Fula and more distant travelers came coastward with commodities for trade.

A decision to follow the Konkouré River into the interior was well-advised. Whether Graf considered another path is unclear in records found. The Konkouré path was, however, a good choice because it originated on the coast at Buramia/Bouramaya, the capital of the Fernandez lineage, whose members had three sons then attending school at Freetown. Whether Graf had made arrangements with the Fernandezs to serve as his hosts/patrons for this journey also is unclear, although likely. The Fernandezs were descendants of Luso-African traders who established themselves along this coast during the mid-eighteenth century, intermarried with local women, became nominal landlords who ruled over their own lands and slaves, and by 1850 exercised considerable influence between Buramia and the Labaya Susu.¹¹ According to Graf's report, all towns between Buramia and Labaya were in alliance with the Fernandezs. The path between Buramia and the interior was also a well-beaten one, followed for at least a century by traders from the interior and scouted by traders from the coast. This meant that "rules of the road" which recognized certain protocols of behavior were in place and could be expected to protect Graf and his party once they left the coast.

Graf's report is remarkable for several reasons; it clearly outlines protocols established for commerce and traders, identifies customary practices that regularly occurred in this region, describes the nature of rulers and their conditional powers, and contains Graf's own observations about Africans and those circumstances he noticed along his path. Perhaps clearest of these were his comments about protocols. "Rules of the road," at least for Europeans, required that one obtain a patron or host who would provide a guide charged to introduce his party to the next, and perhaps temporary, host and arrange for accommodations and hospitality. Ideally, such a patron should be a person of status and stature who exercised considerable powers and who could chastise others should they not follow expected practice. Any party of strangers was required to contact the headman upon entering a village, make introductions and explain its purpose, and present token gifts of friendship. The host would reciprocate with a token gift (perhaps a cola nut) and gifts of food which would be given back to the headman for his cook to prepare for his guests. A stranger would reside in accommodations provided by the host, and at the end of the visit the guest would pay his host a token amount for this service and for food preparation. The host necessarily provided guests with protection while in his village/territory and generally expected to be rewarded occasionally with gifts of items from the coast, such as tobacco, snuff, beads, or rum (in non-Muslim areas), and with increased status for having hosted an European. The latter meant that guests, especially Europeans, were expected to be detained as long as possible so that a host's retainers could view his guests and appreciate the headman's importance. A guest should not overstay his visit or test his host's patience. At the end of the visit, the host might be expected to provide a guide to the next town or, if one was already assigned the party, to accompany the group for a way out of his village. Accepted protocol also required that services be paid for; a canoe and its crew would be "chartered" from one point to another. Bearers to carry goods would be obtained from a host, in exchange for a payment per head to the host and an extra

¹¹Claude Rivière, "Le long des côte de Guinée avant la phase coloniale," *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, 30, sér. B (1968), 742; Jules Hubert Saint-Père, "Petit Historique des Sosoos du Rio Pongo," *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, 13 no. 1 (1930), 35-36; André Arcin, *Histoire de la Guinée Française* (Paris, 1911), 141.

payment to the bearer himself when the expedition ended. This was also true for guides or messengers sent to accompany a party along the path. Many of Graf's problems stemmed from his attempt to change these rules, however insignificant these changes may have appeared to him.

Graf's comments about local practices are instructive. Gift-giving was a concern of his from the beginning. One of his principal objectives clearly was to discover whether he, indeed all missionaries, could avoid this practice; generally, he offended both hosts and townspeople who were disappointed that a man of significance appeared to be stingy with his goods. One of the marks of status was the type of clothing one wore; he noted, most likely from his Sierra Leone experience, that teachers and clerics were honored when they wore Muslim dress. Some headmen, whether Muslim or not, also adopted Muslim dress, perhaps to obtain status; on two occasions Graf donned his clerical robe and collar and, at least in his eyes, acquired stature by association with his Muslim counterparts. He remarked often about the importance given education in this region. The Fernandezes had sent sons to Freetown, perhaps following a tradition established by their father a half-century earlier. Mori Musa, ruler of Bubuya, let it be known that he too had studied abroad, both at Forékariah in Moria and at Timbo or Labé in the Fuuta Jaloo. Mori Musa promised to send a son to Freetown, although that promise remained unfulfilled. Schools themselves were important in the region. The Fernandezes maintained one at Buramia, where students obtained some religious education and supposedly studied other subjects as well. At Labaya, Graf's description of Muslim education is familiar to any one who has visited the interior - Morimen teaching scholars around a fire, students reciting verses from the Koran with strong voice, and the moon serving as their lamp. Graf's notes about the possibility of "redemption" or payments for crimes are also interesting: a person found guilty could be ransomed if proper payment were made to compensate losses; otherwise that person became a slave and a marketable commodity. His remarks about male and female circumcision and about social and religious ceremonies occurring at harvest time help to explain, again, why his expedition often received a reserved reception in many communities.

Graf made important observations about the nature of rulers and states in this region as well. Although Fernandez would soon acquire British and French recognition as king of his area, that was not so clearly understood by Graf in 1850. Although Fernandez exercised influence among many village headmen into the interior, Graf noted that he held absolute power only over his own village and slaves. Mori Musa, in contrast, he described as a king, but wrote that even his powers were restricted; Mori Musa ruled by consensus, and only his ability to summon an army from among his allies marked his real authority in Labaya. There was a boundary, of sorts, that divided the allies of Fernandez from those of Mori Musa. The nature of states, at least here, may have approximated "confederations" of towns that maintained commerce following certain rules and granted recognition to one of its own as having permission to raise armies against common enemies.

Graf's journal also contains frequent characterizations about "liberated" and indigenous Africans and about the institution of slavery. Perhaps one can excuse, or understand, his views about "liberated Africans" because large numbers had been landed at Freetown, and he and other clergymen had been given the unenviable task of transforming these into productive and Christian citizens.¹² These recaptives came from the entire coast of west Africa, and although

12F. Harrison Rankin, *The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834* (London, 1836), 322-323, noted that 29,684 recaptives had been "emancipated" at Freetown between 1818 and 1834.

the Colony attempted to keep linguistic groups together, they were persons in strange surroundings and were expected to follow rules that were alien to themselves and their cultures. Many of his comments about interior peoples were likely a consequence of his violation of accepted practices; to be sure, all found him interesting, but many thought him miserly, argumentative, and difficult and, in consequence, treated him poorly. He did not sufficiently understand their language.¹³ His comparisons of coastal peoples to those of the interior followed, however, local wisdom along this coast; interior peoples looked different, perhaps more European in features, and therefore, in his eyes, were superior. His defense of slavery as "Divine appointment" in Africa also reflected attitudes prevalent at Freetown and helps to explain why slavery lasted so long in Sierra Leone and Guinea during the colonial period.

The "Journal" which follows is printed with as few changes as the editor considered possible. Pagination is added in brackets at the beginning of each manuscript page, although these numbers appeared in the original at the bottom of each page. Material within parentheses appears as in the original. The adverb [*sic*] is applied sparingly and only when the word is a common word and might be interpreted as a misprint. The few words added, in brackets, are names for towns found on current maps or words that appeared to be missing or made the document easier to follow. Underlined words appear as in the original. Known Susu words appear in *Italic* font. An index is added at the conclusion to help the reader make associations within the manuscript. In general, however, the manuscript was written in a script that was easy to read and transcribe. The original journal is located in the Church Missionary Society Collection, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, and is listed as CA1/0/105. It is printed here with permission of the Church Missionary Society.

13"Preliminary Remarks," in CMS CA1/0/105, "Extracts from the Journal of a Missionary Tour into that part of the Susu Country, called Labaya, lying due east of the Rio Pongas, West Coast of Africa, and undertaken in February and March 1850."

**JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY TOUR
TO THE LABAYA COUNTRY &C.
By Rev. John Ulrich Graf, CMS**

Previous to my departure for some part of the Susu land I secured the services of an old man from Gloucester, who, though not suitable in every respect as an Interpreter, had the advantage of having served me in that capacity some years ago and of being a steady member of the Church at Gloucester, able to read his Bible. I also picked five of the steadiest young men of my own Church,¹ four of whom are married men, and all able to read their Bibles and to make a fair use of the Prayer Book and Hymn Book. With them we formed every where a specimen of a little Christian Church and I hoped that their quiet and peaceable demeanor would exert a favourable influence upon the Native Tribes. I am happy to state that I had no reason to regret any choice: the conduct of my little company formed at all times a happy contrast with the rude and grovelling propensities of the people amongst whom we travelled; not infrequently I have seen them show genuine indignation at the mean and designing conduct of persons who sought to annoy us; sometimes even they expressed their opinion that by a sound flogging they might easily teach one and another a wholesome lesson: but never once have I seen them really in earnest about it, even when we were subjected to great inconveniences. According to the flesh they have had no pleasant life; but, I believe, for the work's sake, they would again be willing [ms.2] to forget past hardships and once more embark in such a cause.

Feb. 5th [1850] Having taken an affecting leave from our families, ignorant as to whether we should see one another's face once more in this life, we all set out for Freetown, where a canoe had been engaged for us.² Here we purchased some cooking pots, tin pans, instead of dishes and plates, with Iron spoons and Jack Knives. Besides some cash, which I took with me, I procured a few pounds of long-leaved and sweet-scented tobacco; some beads, needles, scissors, coloured cotton balls, paper, worsted caps &c all of which were for the purpose of purchasing the needful provisions as we proceeded on our journey.³

1Rev. Graf was pastor of the Anglican Church at Hastings, near Freetown.

2It was Graf's practice to rent canoes and oarmen for each section of his expedition, depending upon local conditions. For this service he made arrangements with headmen at each stopping-place along his path. Only nine people were enumerated in his party; five from his home church in Hastings, his interpreter, himself, and two who are not identified in this record.

3Graf had decided, beforehand, to avoid problems of gift-giving and presents by purchasing all of his provisions on the local market, as he proceeded on his expedition. This meant that he and his party would need to purchase food and cook for themselves. They still would be required by local custom to present themselves to the headman when they entered a village, explain their mission, and seek his hospitality and protection. The goods listed here refer to specific items taken for precisely the purpose of bartering for provisions.

Feb 6th We embarked this day in the hollow of a large, heavy tree, called a "canoe," in excellent spirits. After we had fairly settled and had gone out to sea we took to our Hymn books in order to begin our trip with one of the songs of Zion; but the heaving of the waves soon deprived us of all singing inclination and, one after another, betook himself to the reclining posture, looking, withal, very pale and grave; my landsmen having even lost all relish for their food from sea sickness. At night we anchored off Medina⁴ and slept in the open air. The following day we landed at Mahele,⁵ a factory situated at the entrance of the rivers Scarcies. In one of them lies the large town Kambia, visited by Major Laing⁶ in 1822, and the starting point of Jack Le Bore in the same year for the Sulima country. Between this factory and the Island Matacong, there is another river of notes, Malagia,⁷ with a large town at its head of the same name,⁸ the inhabitants of which are Allies of the Sulimas against the Foulahs and [ms.3] their Allies, the inhabitants of Furicaria.⁹ Were the latter not most bigoted Mahomedans, this town would offer the finest starting point for excursions into the Interior; this town being at a distance of sixty miles¹⁰ from the coast and the river of the same name being navigable all the way. But without some protection it would be very unsafe for a "dog of a christian" to pollute the sacred precincts of such a "praying" town! In it no Tomtom is allowed, to be beaten, nor any other kind of Pagan amusement tolerated; in it the slave is kept at the greatest distance, is not allowed to live in the same quarter with his lord, is forbidden the company of the free nobility; nay, he dares barely cover his naked body, even if he has the means of procuring clothes, lest he should, per chance forget his masters injunction: "Stand off for I am holier than thou."¹¹ This large town is very likely the chief capital of that

4Medina, or Lungi, was a large village on Bullom Shore opposite the Freetown settlement. It became the headquarters of Dala Mohamad Dumbuya at the beginning of the nineteenth century after he was expelled from the settlement on charges of slave trading. Medina became a major trading center in the network of commerce that linked Freetown with markets in the Northern Rivers. Medina was also considered an important Muslim center for this section of coast.

5Mahele was a town/factory located on the northern shore (right bank) of the Scarcies River estuary, on the mainland opposite Yelibuya Island.

6For Laing, see Major Alexander Gordon Laing, *Travels in the Timmanee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries* (London, 1825). At the time of his expedition, Laing was a Lieutenant of the 2nd West India Regiment stationed at Freetown.

7This river is variously called the Maligia, Melacorée, or Samo.

8In this case, Graf doubtless was referring to Maligia, which was then in alliance with Sumbuya.

9Graf repeats here Freetown wisdom, however erroneous for the time. The leaders of Maligia and Forékariah, two major towns within the state of Moria, opposed each other until the death of alimaami Amara Morani of Moria in 1826. The election of a new Morian ruler, alimaami Ali Gberika Ture, in 1826 and the signing of a treaty of friendship in 1827 with Britain ended, at least temporarily, the contest between these two towns and their ruling lineages. Perhaps Graf was reporting accepted wisdom that believed that divisions within Moria and between Moria and its neighbors were deep-seated and would reemerge. Indeed, Graf may have judged correctly, for soon after his expedition, the area drifted again toward civil war. For the history of this region and its impact on Sierra Leone history, see David E. Skinner, *Thomas George Lawson: African Historian and Administrator in Sierra Leone* (Stanford, 1980).

10This is an error; more reasonably calculated, Forékariah is about 60 kilometers from the coast.

11By 1850 clergy attached to the Church Missionary Society had dismissed the prospect of mission stations in Moria or on any of the coast south of Cape Sangara and north of the Scarcies River. At the end of the eighteenth century, James Watt had led an expedition from the Nunez to Timbo, capital of the Fula in the Fuuta Jalloo, and returned to the coast by way of Moria and through Forékariah. Watt's written report and a promise from the alimaami of Timbo to provide missionaries with land and pupils at Timbo was sufficient to encourage early clergy to study the Susu language as a probable language of conversion, once they advanced along the coast. Rev. Peter Hartwig, and others, spent some time at Forékariah and in neighboring towns while they studied both the language and customary practices; these missionaries quickly realized that the political and social life of

particular part of the surrounding Susu country, which is called, Sumbuya, meaning a "mixed country," the inhabitants consisting of Foulahs, Mandingoes, and real Susus.¹² In other parts of Sumbuya the same fanatic strictness is not observed towards the heathens, the latter forming frequently the majority of the population; yet even there the Mohamedans not unfrequently assume great airs, attain great influence and exert considerable authority; and many a heathen chief adopts Mohamedan dress and superficial Mohamedan forms in order to appear more respectable.¹³ Other considerable towns in Sumbuya are Baireira, Moribaya, Wongkafong &c &c.

At Mahele no one offered us night quarters, although it is the factory of a Sierra Leone Merchant; and, therefore, after we had enjoyed [ms.4] our supper of rice and fish soup, we betook ourselves again to our canoe and slept sound and safe till early in the morning, when we pushed off again into the open sea. The wind was unfavourable, our Crew got weary with rowing the heavy craft; and, not having prepared for more than a voyage of two days, our provisions had got low: these, with some other voyaging inconveniences, induced us to put into the Island Matacong, where we arrived on Friday, February the 8th at 3 o'clock P.M. Here I was kindly received by the intelligent and hospitable Merchant M^r [Nathaniel] Isaacs,¹⁴ who is the absolute proprietor of this Island, where, for the last few years he is carrying on an extensive business. Unfortunately for me his Schooner was awaiting high water to carry M^r I. off to one of his numerous factories in the Rivers of the coast. He is a shrewd and kind hearted man; and as his name implies, a some of Abraham. After he had left I was hospitably entertained by his Agent, a son of the Chief of the Plantain Islands.¹⁵ He kindly offered me a bed for the night, but, as I wished to start early the next morning in order to spend a quiet Sunday at the Isles de Los, I preferred sleeping, as usual, in the canoe. I had slept but a few hours when I was awoke by a violent fit of colic and dysentery; I arose from my airy couch and wandered about in darkness, amongst the fields and paths of the Island, in extreme pain; until the dawn of day made me bold enough to knock at the factory house and beg for admittance. Various country drugs were administered (by my host's "Rahab")¹⁶ until I was driven for relief to a small medicine chest, which I had made for the journey. Ague and

Moria was inexorably intertwined with Islam and that Christianity would have limited or no success in this area. After 1810, missionaries regularly dismissed the Mandingoes of Moria, and the Susu of Sumbuya as well, as arrogant and beyond conversion potentials.

¹²Graf here confused the political divisions within the Northern River. Wonkapong, not Forékariah, was the capital of Sumbuya, another state altogether. The inhabitants of Sumbuya were more ethnically mixed than, probably, were those of central Moria. It is doubtful, however, that there were any or very many Fula living within the politically designated area known as Sumbuya, unless they were merchants.

¹³This was common practice along this coast, recorded from the early nineteenth century. Even Christian Africans, however, wore Muslim/Mandingo dress, probably because it was comfortable and cool and because it had become a part of the regalia of rule in the region.

¹⁴Nathaniel Isaacs was born in 1808 in Canterbury of Jewish parentage; he lived for a time in Natal, South Africa, and in 1834 began trading in West Africa. He owned property in both Gambia and Sierra Leone and in 1844 purchased Matacong Island where he maintained a factory from which he shipped large quantities of timber and groundnuts. Local traders and headmen considered Isaacs as an extension of the Sierra Leone establishment, although he did not formally enjoy such status. For Isaacs, see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford, 1962).

¹⁵Identification of a "rightful" ruler of the Plantain Island for 1849-1850 is difficult. This was a time of civil war between contending branches of the Caulker family. It is probably correct to identify the person mentioned here as a member of the Caulker family.

¹⁶Rahab was clearly the local term used for a learned person and for one who was knowledgeable in traditional medicine.

fever took the place of the colic, and I had [ms.5] misfortune to spend the Lord's day - February 10th quite exhausted on my couch. This was the first and an unexpected trial; but I knew that my God must have sent it for wise purposes and was led to suspect that this might be but the "beginning of sorrows." But I could say: "Thy will be done," and humbly resigned myself to His present and future dispensations. On the Monday morning, although very weak, we proceeded in our hollow tree and hoped to reach the Isles de Los the same day; but the wind being unfavourable and the Crew being sore afraid to overwork themselves, I was obliged, once more, to sleep in the open air, under the dew of heaven,¹⁷ the land being out of sight. What, however, rendered our situation more perplexing, was the circumstance that my people as well as the Crew had omitted, from idleness or forgetfulness, to take in a supply of fresh water, thus disabling us to cook; even our wanted and necessary food; so that from Sunday night to Tuesday twelve o'clock (forty two hours), when we landed at the Factory Island (Isles de Los),¹⁸ we had tasted no food; thus well nigh turning a high fever into a low fever! Of course we rejoiced to reach this place, where I was kindly received and hospitably entertained by Benj:[amin] Campbell¹⁹ Esq^r, one of the oldest and most intelligent Residents on the coast, who supplied me with much valuable information on the Natives of the Main land.

At this group of Islands we stayed a week to recruit and prepare ourselves for our land journey; but, although they are healthy and beautifully situated, they present nothing, morally, of the least interest. Formerly they were inhabited by Slave Dealers,²⁰ who had here their depot of living merchandise; the ruins of their factory still remain. The inhabitants are few, mixed, famous for nothing but extreme idleness for [ms.6] which they were notorious. Neither farms, nor mechanical operations are to be seen; neither Yam, Cassada, Cocoa, plantains, bananas, pawpaws, sour or Sweet sops, none of all these, except a few Mango and Orange trees with an innumerable host of sparrow and monkey depredators; the latter, the poor legacy of old Slave Merchants, exclusively confined to this one (Factory) Island. The inhabitants are supplied with rice from the main land and with fish, out of their own waters, by Sierra Leone strangers, who procure fish here to the amount of £4,000

17Graf often repeats local wisdom that sleeping in the open, exposed to "dew," was particularly unhealthy. For this reason, Graf later (ms.75) recommended that a tent become part of an expedition's equipment.

18Factory Island (also called Ile Kassa) is the island closest to the coast of Guinea. This island took its name from the major trading factory located on the island in the eighteenth century. For more on Factory Island and other islands in the Iles de Los group, see the editor's "Iles de Los as Bulking Center in the Slave Trade 1750-1800," *Revue Française de l'Histoire Outre-mer*, 83 (1966), 77-90.

19Benjamin Campbell was a former employee of the firm of Macaulay and Babington who traded in the Northern Rivers. He served on the Council of the Governor of Sierra Leone and later traded and lived in the Rio Nunez and Rio Pongo, and on Factory Island. His "wife" in the Pongo was a daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Lightburn who took his name and, presumably, maintained his interest in the Bangalan branch of that river in his absence. After the death of William Skelton in the Rio Nunez, Campbell reportedly courted Skelton's widow, Elizabeth Fraser Skelton, who operated an important trading center at Victoria and who had inherited money/lands from her father, John Fraser, who died in 1824 in Florida. In PRO CO267/216/125, Macdonald to Grey, 4 October 1850, Campbell was described as resident Manager and Magistrate of the Iles de Los.

20After the end of legal slave trading by Great Britain, British officials believed that slave trading covertly continued on the islands as traders located there wholesaled goods to slave traders resident on the coast. In 1818, Britain signed a formal treaty of cession of the islands with Mongé Demba of the Baga-Kaloum who claimed ownership. That treaty, and subsequent actions, resulted in the placement of detachments of troops on various islands as a measure to end further slave trading from the islands. Benjamin Campbell and Michael Proctor were instrumental in closing the slave-trading chapter upon these islands. The ruins mentioned likely refer to those of Kassa, or Factory town.

annually;²¹ but, they have scarcely the means of procuring either for the supply of their own wants: they starve rather than work, even for high wages. Strange infatuation! too true a picture of thousands and tens of thousands of the African race!

One of these Islands, however, Crawford,²² affords some pleasing and yet melancholy reminiscences. It is here that the [Church] M.[issionary] Society's Missionary M^r Klein²³ was stationed: His wife the niece of Scott²⁴ the Commentator, was a Missionary to the letter. It was she who kept a girl school, who by her affability encouraged the visits of the Natives and who, moreover, applied herself with such great diligence to the study of the Susu language, that most of the historical parts of the Old Testament were translated before she died. But those translations alas! appear to have been consigned, in England or on this Coast, to obscurity: not unfrequently the fate of Missionary productions.²⁵ Poor Klein survived his wife by several years; but as to him, alas! history is veiled in the tear drop of grief, it only knows that he too is no more! Of those interesting school girls of M^{rs} Klein's, one still remains. Her maiden name used to be "Mary Sab." She was married to Emanuel Anthony, of Portuguese extraction and in those [ms.7] days a Schoolmaster under Klein.²⁶ When the schools were given up Anthony became a trader and, at the death of his father, inherited several household slaves, amongst whom was a family woman, who became cook in his house. Anthony offended his slave grievously by giving her daughter in marriage to a man of whom she disapproved. She resolved on revenge by poisoning her master.²⁷ She prepared the fatal drug and carried it about her person until a favourable opportunity should offer; but, her Master never eating alone and being unwilling to injure his wife and children, she found it difficult to attain her object. But, instead of burying her grudge in oblivion, her passion grew stronger by time: year after year passed and she still kept her poison in readiness: ten long years had thus elapsed when she, at last, found the desired opportunity! Anthony had gone out and did not return home for dinner; his family had enjoyed their meal, but her Master's share had to be kept waiting his return. After his repast he fell ill; but the

21This is a practice that continued into the present century.

22Crawford's Island (also called Roume) is located in the center of the island group. This island is approximately 1.5 kilometers wide and as little as 150 meters across. It possessed good water during the rainy season and had good anchorage nearby. For these reason, traders also maintained factories upon this island, and the British stationed their first occupation forces on this island after the 1818 treaty of cession.

23Rev. Jonathan Solomon Klein, Church Missionary Society, was of German background and arrived at Freetown as a part of the Susu mission in 1806. He served briefly in the Rio Pongo Mission and for a time maintained a school/church at Kaporo on the Kaloum peninsula. In 1816 he moved to the Iles de Los to buildings provided by Mr. Carr and Samuel Samo. He remained on the islands after Britain took possession in 1818.

24See Thomas Scott, *The Spirit of a Genuine Missionary* (London 1810); Thomas Scott, et al., *A Commentary upon the Holy Bible*, VI, 3rd Edition (London, 1833-35).

25Rev. Peter Hartwig also lived for a time with the Kleins on the islands; he also was engaged in translating sections from the New Testament. None of these translations have survived.

26Emmanuel Anthony was born c.1801 in the Rio Nunez to a Portuguese (Antone) in the employ of John Pearce. Emmanuel attended Church Missionary Society schools in the Rio Pongo until they closed in 1816. Apparently he was a teacher at the Iles de Los mission, but he also engaged in commerce in the Rio Nunez in the 1830s and 1840s in association with William/Elizabeth Skelton at Victoria. He died c.1847.

27Poisoning of masters by servants was a common theme/story in the rivers. Theodore Canot claimed that this happened in the Rio Pongo in the 1820s/30s and that traders guarded against it by employing food tasters or by never eating alone. For a detailed description of daily circumstances in the Rio Pongo, see Theophilus Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book or 20 Years' Residence in Africa* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1976), 58.

symptoms were not alarming and, if they had been sufficiently so as to create suspicion, Anthony would never have doubted, for a moment, his cook's devotion to his interests. The poor man, however, gradually grew worse and worse, lingered for a month and expired about three years ago! He was greatly lamented by the more respectable inhabitants of the neighbourhood; rumours of a suspicious nature got abroad; the woman was called, confessed the deed, explained the reason and only regretted that the poison had been so old as it would otherwise have killed her Master at once, and prevented his suffering so long! The red water Ordeal was administered; [ms.8] she was willing to die after having had revenge; took the basol [sic] with a firm hand, emptied it precipitately to the dregs and, with the last sip, dropped dead to the earth!!²⁸ Mary Anthony still lives surrounded by a grown-up family; but alas! the two eldest sons are the grief of her old age and the burden of her widowhood! how anxious felt I to visit this last remains of the Society's labours and to have administered some "Consolation in Christ Jesus" to the sorrowing mother and thus to have revived wholesome impressions, perhaps too much and too long effaced! but having no other business to call me to that island, I felt not at liberty to go to the expense of a boat for the sole purpose of visiting her.

Having understood that the removal of the Society's Missionaries in 1818 had been often and bitterly regretted by the Susu Chiefs and by the Slave Dealers themselves,²⁹ I thought it might be of some advantage if I could interest some one or more of those chiefs in my present Mission and thus connect the new with the former operations of the Society. Many of those chiefs near the Rio Pongas have been removed into another world; but

28A dramatic description of red water is given by Samuel Walker, *Missions in Western Africa* (London, 1845), 21: "The red water is prepared by infusing the powdered bark of a tree, called talee, which has a sweet taste, and is a strong poison, having powerful emetic and purgative properties. Before being powdered, the bark is publicly exhibited to the large concourse of people assembled, to show that it is genuine. The operator first washes his hands, and then the bark, as well as the mortar and pestle. When powdered, a calabash full is mixed in a large brass pan full of water, and is stirred quickly, until covered with froth like a lather of soap. A number of prayers, ceremonies, &c., are performed at the same time. A little rice, or a piece of kola, is then given to the accused to eat, being the only substance he has been allowed to take for the previous twelve hours. After having repeated a kind of imprecation upon himself, if he be guilty, the red water is administered to him in a calabash, capable of holding about half-a-pint, which he empties eight, ten, or a dozen times successively, as quickly as it can be filled. If emetic effects be produce he must continue drinking until the rice or kola is brought up. If, however, its purgative properties be exhibited, the person is condemned immediately, and the effect is called 'spoiling the red water.' In some instances the person has died after drinking the fourth calabash, when, of course, his guilt is considered as proved." The most complete descriptions of red water are found in Adam Afzelius, *Adam Afzelius: Sierra Leone Journal 1795-1796*, edited by Peter Kup (Uppsala, 1967), 24-30, 63-64.

29Removal of CMS missionaries from the Rio Pongo began in 1816 and was completed by 1818. The main mission was located at Bassaya in the Fatala branch of the river, in the midst of traders who bought and sold slaves as well as commodities. Of course, the missionaries opposed slave trading and reported the activities of traders and the supposed complicity of Baga and Susu landlords/hosts in these transactions. These reports, and the British decision to protect missionaries against those who opposed them, led to numerous raids by Squadron Vessels against trading establishments, and some headmen located in the river. Two other circumstances led to their removal. Bassaya Mission, itself, was situated on land which had been contracted to a former/deceased slave trader whose son requested that his father's contract be honored by the headmen; the headmen followed customary practice and agreed to this request. Secondly, the British were settling "liberated Africans" in large numbers at Freetown and petitioned the Society to focus their efforts at Freetown where their students and the missionaries could be better protected by British forces. The combination of these conditions led to their final removal from the Rio Pongo by 1818. Many traders and headmen in the Rio Pongo region continued, after their removal, to send children to CMS schools, but this time at the Iles de Los or at Freetown.

the most intelligent and favourably inclined amongst them, who died about five³⁰ years hence, has left three intelligent sons as chiefs: this was Manga Fernandez at Buramia [Bouramia].³¹ His eldest son Jellorum, known only as Manga Sory (abbreviated) is the best disposed of the three and also the most influential with the other neighbouring chiefs. As I was anxious to get a favourable starting point on the Coast to be transmitted from chief to chief,³² and as Buramia led me to a very central part of the Susu country, [ms.9] I determined on proceeding thither and for that purpose hired a canoe in which I and my party left the Isles de Los on the 18th of February [1850].

We sailed all day and, if the boatmen had been less idle we might have got to Buramia the same Evening; but, although they had had no occasion to exert themselves all day, they were not willing to pull up the river with the tide and so we had once more the hazardous as well as unpleasant task to spend the night in the open air in the canoe. We slept but little and in the morning, the tide was unfavourable and when, at last, we reached the upper part of the river, the boatmen could not find the landing place so that it was 11 o'clock on the 19th before we got to this town, having eaten nothing the whole of this and the preceding [sic] day. Yesterday we left too early to cook and we had got far into the open sea before we found out that the boatmen had taken in no fresh water to cook with, although we had fire and raw provisions. These fasting times are, to a European, who is in the habit of eating little but at short intervals, most trying, as he can but ill accustom himself to lay in a large store at one meal. Determined, however, to live "black man's fashion" in this respect to the utmost of my ability in the hope of thereby facilitating our progress, I tried to make the best of it relying on the Lord's help. At Buramia I was, upon the whole well received. The three brothers tried to make me comfortable; the youngest of them, Malcolm, gave me part of his own house consisting of an open piazza as a drawing and sitting room and an interior room with one door and no window; and fine accommodation I considered it, according to African style.

30This is an error. Other reports place his death at 1823, at which time Jellorum Fernandez became the ruler of Buramia.

31William Fernandez, perhaps also called Edward, was born of Portuguese background at Buramia c.1775 and died in 1823. He studied in England/Liverpool for fourteen years during his youth and returned to the Dembia/Konkouré where he operated a factory until his death. Fernandez was a patron of the missionary society's efforts in the Pongo after 1808, at least until 1816 when he recommended that the Society abandon its Bassaya mission. The Fernandez lineage was connected to the Tanu lineage and maintained working relationships with the Kati/Bangu lineages at Thia, capital of the Pongo Susu. By 1816, Missionary Society records identify him as the most powerful person on the Pongo's left bank. Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, 138, indicated that William's father, Old Jellorum Fernandez, was still living in 1796, describing him as "a black Portuguese from Bissao, and a good man." But Afzelius described William Fernandez as a "villain and a lunatic, so that he has driven all the white traders out of the river."

32This is the first reference to customary practice along the coast, which dictated that strangers adhere to a particular protocol and that strangers/guests effectively be handed from host to host along their way. This protocol also required guests first to greet their host and make arrangements for accommodation and hospitality (generally including meals) that would need to be paid for in some fashion. The host gifted his guest with provisions and perhaps a white kola, and the guest generally gifted his host with a token present. The host also guaranteed his guest's protection, provide (for a fee) a guide/bearers and letter of introduction to the next host, and often accompanied his guest for a distance after the host left his territory. Those headmen in alliance with Jellorum Fernandez covered territory to the boundaries of the Labaya Susu. It was the host's responsibility to provide instructions to the guide who, in this case, was to explain to hosts along the way that Graf was not a trader, that he would prepare his own food, and that headmen should not expect customary presents as occurred with traveling traders. Canot/Conneau's *A Slaver's Log Book*, 114-122, also detailed conditions along trade paths but not with the specificity described by Graf.

Manga Sory, the eldest son of the late William [ms.10] Fernandez, is a steady, quiet sort of man, spending the whole day in his hammock in sweet idleness and receiving the daily homage of his own people as well as that of strangers. Common, coloured trousers with a sky blue, Mohamedan gown form his whole attire, whilst a white beaver hat of many a year's wear, distinguished him from all others as a man of power and honour, I take it to supply the place of a "crown," for he, in common with the other African Grandees, wears such appendages both in as well as out of doors. This chief is a man of considerable influence in the neighbourhood, but has no real power except over his own private slaves.³³ As the eldest son of his father he is expected to keep up certain customs of the latter, in which he takes no little pride. This was evinced in the school which he keeps up in a separate little house in his own yard. I found in it about thirteen boys, each holding a spelling card of English words, not one of which they knew the meaning of, but are only mechanically taught to spell words of a few letters with the view of preparing them for the Sierra Leone schools, where the Brothers Fernandez have at present three children to learn to read. Sory himself pretends being the Schoolmaster, although I never met him in the school, and he himself understands but very little of English spelling, though he does read a little. His greatest feat consists in repeating the Morning and Evening Hymn, to which he certainly gives some kind of intonation, which he calls singing. It is interesting to see even this sorry thing of a School in the "bush," the chief, if not the only, use of which is that it keeps the boys for many hours in the day out of harm ways, in this country certainly an unusual circumstance for whilst Mohamedans teach their children, [ms.11] by the fire blaze³⁴ at treentide letting them run about all day, this Schoolmaster-King keeps his pupils in attendance from 8-12 and from 2-4 o'clock.

M^r. Gabriel Fernandez is a man of sober, intelligent and gentle demeanour; alas! that he has not fallen into better times and better society. Kindhearted and open, wishful to learn he would probably have become an useful member of a Missionary settlement; an Israelite without guile, but also without power or influence.

M^r. Malcolm Fernandez, my landlord,³⁵ is a young man full of undisguised worldliness, boasting in the number of his wives and his slaves, given to strong drink, very talkative, but withal generous and frank. On the day of our arrival he made me a present (with his brothers) of what he called a "bullock"³⁶ knowing full well that according to African usage generally the value of three bullocks was expected as a present in return, which was, perhaps, as much as all my packages were worth;³⁷ I looked startled at his generosity, declared that I could not give any present in return I certainly could not think of accepting his; that moreover I and my small party could not manage to devour a whole

33In this section between the Pongo and Dembia/Konkouré rivers, effective power rested on the ability of a headman to protect those headmen who placed themselves under his protection. As a descendant of Portuguese traders from Bissau, the Fernandezes were themselves guests of local "land kings," and, although they had lived at Buramia perhaps for nearly a century by 1850, they still may have been considered as "non-indigenous" by true Africans in the area. Later in this document, Graf described the relationship between headmen more in terms of an alliance, a confederation of interests.

34See Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book*, 109, for another description of a Muslim school.

35Malcolm was providing Graf with accommodation in Buramia.

36Customary practice expected that such gifts be handed back to the host, with the probability that they would be cooked by the host's staff for his guests.

37The "3 for 1" rule was commonly accepted and expected. Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast* (London, 1970).

bullock whilst good; that what little provisions we wanted, such as rice and fowls, we should always wish to pay for, but that I was utterly unable to give presents any where in my travels, as I had not come for any trading purposes. He took my meaning; protested before me and my Interpreter, that although in some parts of Africa presents were expected in return, he too well knew that European customs were different; that if he expected any in return he would call it [ms.12] "selling," but that this was a genuine, bonafide, present. I still objected that a bullock was altogether too large an animal for seven persons. But at last he said that he would take half, and I should keep the other half, upon which I proceeded with a thousand thanks, into the yard to accept of the bullock, when lo! it turned out a poor, small, lean calf! I said nothing; had it killed and, at last, had one hind quarter with one shoulder as my half allotted to me. As for my landlord, I really believe him a liberal sort of man; he never would allow me to pay for my lodging and showed, moreover, that he would have been willing to administer to my comforts in any way that I might have desired. I was, however, unwilling to place myself under too great obligations and the sequel will show that I was not far wrong in thus acting with caution. I knew too well that as I acted here, the starting point of my journey, so I would be expected to act all my way through, and therefore I subdued my own inclinations to return kindness for kindness (except in the way of fair barter), lest I should defeat my own objects afterwards.

As an encouragement to my host, Manga Sory, I had promised to send him some School **A**books on my return to the Colony, and also offered to receive a few of his children for education. This day, Wednesday February 20th, I sent him a present of a superior kind of Cotton seed, received from England, and some Tobacco seed of my own growth, on the manner of cultivating both of which I had given directions previously. On the same day I spoke to one of the brothers and sent my Interpreter to Manga Sory to express to [ms.13] him my wish of proceeding on my journey, if practicable, the following day, and to request him to procure me one or two men to serve us as Guides as well as to assist in carrying the loads. I was told that they had sent for a fourth brother, "Edward," who was living a few miles off, and that on his arrival they would consult together about my journey. On Thursday Edward Fernandez did come, but returned in the afternoon and I heard nothing about my journey. But I had noticed that Manga Sory had looked unusually angry all day: when as usual, I got to his schoolhouse with my people to hold morning prayers, he took scarcely any notice of me, which surprised me not a little. I said nothing about this change, but understood enough of the language to suspect that he was displeased with me. In conversation with my Interpreter I found that he had made some difficulty about sparing me any of his people to accompany me, because they were all engaged at his farms;³⁸ I also found (what I had expected) that he had made particular enquiries as to the valuable contents of my boxes!! Hearing all day nothing about my journey I went, in the evening, in search of Manga Sory, whom I found at his brother's Gabriel. I now asked both the brothers whether they intended to assist me in proceeding on my journey, else, if they were unwilling to do that, they should at least procure me a canoe to enable me to return to the Isles de Los. He began the old tale about the hardship of taking his people from their work &c. I answered that as the season was not yet

³⁸Throughout this report, Graf mentioned that rice was being harvested in numerous towns. This was the dry season, and it is understandable that Fernandez was reluctant to send able men with the expedition, thereby reducing his harvest crews. In this instance, Graf presented Fernandez with an option (either a guide or a canoe for his return to the Iles de Los) and insisted on an immediate answer—a procedure that seldom works well along this coast.

advanced and as I was willing to pay him for his men's work for me, I was surprised that he could make an [ms.14] excuse. He got somewhat impatient and went away. During his absence I told his brother how surprised I had been all day to see his brother so changed toward me; if I had failed in any observances peculiar to the country or given any kind of offence, he should frankly tell me, as I would wish to make ample amends. Gabriel tried lamely to say that it was not with me that his brother had been angry; but I replied, that his conduct this day, in which he had not given me one friendly word or look, sufficiently explained the object of his displeasure. I then returned to my quarters for the night. I was going to retire when Manga Sory came in and in a milder tone informed me that he had sent for three boys and that I might leave in the morning. I thanked him and expressed my readiness to wait until the Evening if it suited his convenience better. The following day we left.

Before we take leave of this place it may be proper to make a few general observations. If **B**this country were more densely populated Buramia would offer a suitable locality for a central Missionary station, there being water conveyance up to the very town. But Buramia itself is but very small, consisting of less than a dozen families and the neighbouring towns appear but few and small likewise.³⁹ As Manga Sory has a precious good opinion of his school keeping, he evidently does not care much to be supplanted by a better master in Learning; and whilst he professed some regard for Missionaries (as long as he expected something out of me), he showed but little desire for their presence or influence. Indeed his more candid brother, Malcolm, told me (although half in a joke) that [ms.15] they did not require any schoolmasters or Missionaries, as they were a superior, a civilized family, above the level of the common Susus!⁴⁰ The fact is, they know enough of christian manners and habits, to fear their restraints on their present heathen habits. Their father, Edward Fernandez, had spent 14 of his young years in christian England; there he no doubt acquired, during that long time, civilized habits and perhaps some bit of a form of religion; but alas! how little have 14 years of mere civilizing Agency done for him or his family! He is said to have had no fewer than one hundred and fifty wives during his life time and he was unable to tell all his children.⁴¹ His sons follow, more or less, in their father's polygamic wake, of which my landlord made no secret at all, though he was sufficiently on his guard not to let me know the exact number of the female slaves to his passions. For the present I invited them to visit me in the Colony, to send me their children for education &c &c. subsequent visits may, possibly, give me a more favourable impression, but for the present my friendly proposals were responded to but indifferently, from the simple fact, that they were not accompanied by a handsome present! Here is the secret of Manga Sory's anger and displeasure, when he saw himself disappointed in his expectations! And here too is the secret of the bribed friendship of many an African chief, which so often turns out to be a mere "morning cloud"! I left this

³⁹This is an interesting characterization, especially since in 1856 (only six years later) Buramia was described as a town of nearly 3,000 population. Perhaps Graf was describing only the lineage compound.

⁴⁰As descendants of Portuguese, the Fernandezes regularly identified themselves as Europeans when it was to their advantage and emphasized their African heritage when reference to African practice or privilege was important. Elsewhere in missionary reports, they distinguished themselves from the progeny of slave traders and "liberated Africans" or Sierra Leoneans whom they denegated. Church Missionary Society, CA1/E3/8, Bashia, Renner to Secretary, 8 June 1812

⁴¹In 1810 Rev. Butscher reported that William Fernandez had spent eleven years in England. See Church Missionary Society, CA1/E2/39, Butscher to Secretary, 24 October 1810.

place with a heavy heart: here they had had, more than thirty years ago, some knowledge of the truth; they had witnessed the christian character and conversation of God's servants; a Bickersteth⁴² even had trod their paths! their own father encouraged christianity and civilization [ms.16] and yet so little demand for the "pearl of great price," so indifferent about the "one thing needful"! Be it so now; the day of your visitation will come yet, and may it come soon!

Feb. 22nd. Having got two men to accompany us, we left this afternoon, accompanied to the canoe by the three Fernandez. Having crossed over the river Dembia, we passed a small village Ghoinéa [Koubiya] and now proceeded for several hours over poor, stoney ground with scarcely any variation. We had not been on our journey an hour, when the stoutest and strongest of Monga Sory's boys began to complain of the heaviness of his load, demanding that some of my other people should relieve him, although the box which he carried contained absolutely nothing but a small bag of salt for our own consumption, it being an article of great scarcity in the Interior, where we intended to go. I, at first, took no notice of the man, as every one had had his load assigned to him before we left Buramia. He went on groaning and murmuring as if he was greatly injured, until at last he stopped behind the party, laid his box down and went to hide himself. On being informed of it, I went in search of the refractory youngster and made him walk at the head of the gang, giving him at the same time a suitable reprimand. This, however, appeared only to enrage him more and as he became very abusive and I was afraid to get such a scene repeated by others if not checked in time, I at last stopped him, made him deliver his load and now required either willing obedience or his immediate return to his master. He promised amendment; but as we soon got to a small village, Ghoniya, I thought it more prudent to [ms.17] make different arrangements. I gave his load to one of the two men whom I had kept in reserve for the purpose of carrying me, when over-fatigued; and thus I sent him back to his master.⁴³ This case shows, what we experienced more than once afterwards, that they profess the most servile obedience to their master, agree to do anything before their face; but once away from them, they are apt to throw off every restraint and even to speak disrespectfully of them. This decision, on my part, at the very outset, had a very good effect on my whole party, especially on the guide remaining with us from Buramia, with him I had reason to be satisfied, on the whole, to the end of his undertaking. We now went on comfortably by moonlight until 7 o'clock, when we arrived at Gaingbombo, having walked at least 6 miles and got sufficiently fatigued from our first day's march. On entering Gaingbombo we fell upon a camp of Foulah traders amounting to at least 200 individuals. As the village was too small to give them lodging, they had cleared its vicinity of its brushwood and in the large open space had kindled from 20 to 30 fires, round which a dozen or more of these haughty sons of the prophet lay squatted, enjoying their supper.⁴⁴ Arrived at the village we went in search of the

⁴²Rev. Edward Bickersteth, *Report of the Visit of the Assistant Secretary to the Settlements and Schools of the Society on the Western Coast of Africa*, Church Missionary Society, visited Fernandez in 1816, and in consequence of that visit the Society decided to abandon its Bassaya mission. For a time, the Society considered establishing a school at Buramia where Fernandez promised to become its patron.

⁴³Graf clearly had planned for the possibility that he might become incapacitated and might need to be carried back to the coast. It also was common practice that bearers were acquired from hosts through payments, little or none of which went to the bearers themselves. An extra present to each bearer was expected at the expedition's conclusion.

⁴⁴Local practice generally required traveling caravans to follow a protocol of greeting their host and receiving hospitality that was returned with gifts/presents or fees. It is understandable that a small village might be

headman, who at last gave us a poor little hut, not more than 8 feet square. We were inclined to lay down our wearied limbs at once, unmindful of the calls of hunger; but fearing lest we should feel ill prepared for the fatigues of the following day, we roused ourselves once more: some went in search of water at the nearest brook, others in quest of wood close by, and after some trouble the inhabitants succeeded in mustering up a small chicken and half a bottle of palm oil, with which we made a soup, which, with plain boiled [ms.18] rice, henceforth became our palatable fare twice a day. This being our first effort at travelling on foot, we were too much fatigued to enjoy our food; but the more delightful we felt it to stretch our wearied limbs on the mat spread on the floor of the house or piazza, having for myself the distinguished luxury of a railway blanket for a mattress and my travelling carpet for a pillow. Thus we spent our first night in the wilderness, between pagans and Mahomedans; but with Israel's watchful God for our protector, we felt safe, slept sound and in the morning awoke with thankful heart! Before proceeding any further I should mention that we were now on our way into the Labaya country. In conversation with the Brothers Fernandez I had learned that this was the largest Susu tribe on my way to the Tambagha and Sulima countries; the inhabitants of which were represented to me as a friendly people, speaking a good dialect and whose King, residing at Bubuya [Doubouya], was on friendly terms with the Fernandez family; but all the towns up to the frontier of Labaya are under the influence and in the relation of voluntary Allies of Manga Sory, although in local affairs each town or village is independent.

Saturday 26th At 6 o'clock this morning we broke up leaving the Foulahs to warm their bedewed limbs by the side of their homely fires and after having gladdened the headman's heart with a new sparkling shilling, we proceeded, as before, Easterly, deviating occasionally to the North and to the South. The path led us through barren, rocky, bush- and grass- fields until 9 o'clock, when we arrived at a town consisting of not fewer than six houses; yet [ms.19] in Africa it is a "town;" and as we had walked 6 miles and felt the monitory symptoms of hunger sufficiently strong, not to be over nice as to the prospects of a breakfast, we halted and stopped here over the heat of the day. As we saw no prospect of purchasing any provisions from the apparent poverty of the place, we made soup of a bit of dried veal brought from our "bullock" at Buramia, which, with the rice which we carried with us, made us a breakfast. Whilst this was preparing we met for morning prayer, which we always accompanied by the singing of a hymn or two. I tried to speak to the old man, my landlord and the chief of the place, of spiritual things, reminding him of his old age and the necessity of preparing for a change: he looked vacantly at me and asked for gunpowder! That's man, thought I, of the earth, earthly! The people here keep no kitchens in the dry season, for fear of setting fire to their houses; therefore they allow the huge trees of the forest to grow close to their houses, under which they cook their victuals. I succeeded at last in purchasing two small fowls to help us over Sunday, for which they wanted Tobacco, Gunpowder, Rum or Flint stones: these are the grand staples of trade all over Africa. At 2 o'clock we were glad to leave such a poor place and proceeded through bush and grass fields; the sun was still excessively hot which made me regret having broken up so soon. The

overwhelmed by a large caravan that could deplete a village of provisions or challenge traditional authority with its presence. That the caravan camped outside a village, but close to sources of drinking water, was common practice. Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book*, 123-124, mentioned a caravan of approximately fifty persons being able to seize control of a village of forty, taking the "best quarters" and annoying "the proprietors for more provisions."

country became more and more barren and wild in aspect. We crossed a number of hills consisting of huge masses of rock, and the valleys contained but little soil although in the Rainy season small rivulets run through them, [ms.20] which fertilize the soil on both sides. We walked steadily until 5 o'clock, when I got so exhausted that I was obliged to rest. My party too were getting well fatigued, for since the poor village which we had left at 2 o'clock we had not met with one single hut, not yet one single fellow wanderer. Having stopped my party, I lay myself down on the heated rocks, in violent perspiration, sore at my feet and stiff in my limbs, withal ready to faint. This was Saturday; no town was near at hand; we felt unable to proceed much further; and thus we saw no alternative except to spend the night by the side of some little streamlet and to make the branches of trees our canopy for the night. Yet to spend the Sunday in such a cheerless situation amongst the wild beasts of the forest appeared to us very unhomey. We decided on making another effort to gain at least some solitary farmer's hut, to screen me from the night dews. We took a refreshing draught of cold water mixed with a little brandy, which a kind friend had supplied me with on starting from Freetown. My people did not relish the mixture, for I had been obliged, to prevent the Natives from troubling me for it, to medicate it with Peppermint for the nose, and with Sulphate of Quinine for the palate: this succeeded admirably. More than once I was asked for liquor, and when I found the people too importunate, I gave them a few drops of my Brandy: they invariably pronounced it very good, but declared it did "not agree with them!" After the draught we all felt refreshed; I felt strength and spirits return and we determined to go so far, at least, today, as to be near a town in the morning. We had hardly walked another half hour when we [ms.21] met a company of Foulahs loitering by the side of a small river, preparing for the night and washing the cow-hides⁴⁵ which they were carrying to the coast for sale. They eyed our boxes most keenly, declared that there were untold treasures in them, regretting, doubtless, that we were not travelling in their own country where they would easily have made themselves masters of our enticing treasures. Fortunately, they were themselves but strangers here like ourselves, and though they were all armed with guns and swords, they ventured not to molest us, but followed us with wishful eyes and aching hearts, until they had lost the last longing glimpse of our precious boxes! The aspect of the country, in its extreme barrenness, presented itself to my mind as a fit emblem of its inhabitants, which, with great fatigue, depressed my spirits not a little. "Singular occupation, thought I, to hop from rock to rock in the scorching sun, in a barren wilderness with hardly a wretched thing of a village, few and far between; amongst a people a thousand times more barren still than the land they inhabit! barren in social weal, in manly exertion, in noble feeling, in religious knowledge, seeming even to care but little to supply the few daily wants of a precarious existence, and amongst these the Missionary is to sue for aspirants for heaven's felicity, for candidates of the new existence of heaven-born souls, to flourish and grow in every christian grace?! Vain delusion! "seek not the living amongst the dead"! These were Satan's delusions at a time when body and mind were faint and exhausted. Thank God, they proved but "vain," for a night's refreshing rest and the Lord's own blessed day, found me as ready as ever to toil yet more and more, if it were only to [ms.22] pave the way to more favoured messengers of the Gospel than myself. I remember[e]d New Zealand and South

⁴⁵The Fula were generally characterized in the literature as people who maintained large herds of cattle in the highlands of the Fuuta Jaloo. Salt was one of the principal commodities they sought on the coast because their cattle preferred sea salt to rock salt. This is the first reference to "washing cow-hides" found in original sources.

Africa and the Greenlander⁴⁶ and took courage in the Lord; I thought on our thousands of pious Negroe worshippers at Sierra Leone and my own beloved congregation at Hastings, and I felt once more "strong in the Lord," determined by the grace of God to go on, with patient endurance, in the work of evangelizing the heathens. We toil not for objects of sight, but of faith; of faith in God's unfailing promises, which to the child of God are as good as sight! These more cheering reflections found me on the Lord's day at Ghánya [Konia], where we had come the evening before after a walk of five hours (at least 8 miles) from our last halting place. The moon shone beautifully when we repaired as usual to the headman of the village for lodgings. All our luggage was placed in the middle of the street, we took our seats each on the package which he had been carrying, whilst young and old came staring at us with astonishment. After waiting for some time, the old man made his appearance and left us waiting there in the street until our guide had delivered his master's message⁴⁷ with all due formality. A hut was at last assigned to us, to which we were anxious to repair to stretch and rest our wearied limbs; but before we had time to do so, we had to witness a scene of considerable confusion. The women and children had been as anxious as the men to partake of the novel sight of a white man. One of the young men present who seemed to have some bit of a notion of good manners, but who was sadly intoxicated, ordered them abruptly away, when [ms.23] another young man (his own brother) apparently less civilized, but more sober, gallantly took the sex's part and reproached his antagonist with his drunken fit. The former was not much pacified by this, especially as the latter stood forth in an open space, challenging him to settle the question (as to whether the women had not as much right to look at the white stranger as the men) by main force. He came forward too but too well impressed with his pugilistic inferiority, he showed but little inclination to decide the argument in that way. The old man, their father, at last interposed and threatened the parties with a few strokes of the cutlass to promote peace between them. Neither of the two showed particular liking to that mode of adjustment, and therefore each retired to his house leaving us at last at liberty of doing the same. Although we had felt exceedingly fatigued the day previous, a night's rest and a quiet sabbath put us all to right again. We held Divine service in this wilderness hut, and felt that, notwithstanding it had never had Episcopal consecration, God was in the midst of us to help us, so that we could say in a superior sense: "surely this is none other than the house of God." Ghanya is now but a small village, though it appeared to have seen better days. The old headman expressed a wish to join us in prayer, but was prevented by a very troublesome cough; he willingly accepted a few words of spiritual counsel and admonition. At this place the soil suddenly improves, so much so that the inhabitants might, with common industry, be very well off. But, strange to say, we could not procure any kind or quantity of provisions for any money or goods. [ms.24] They said with great simplicity that last year they had cultivated their rice farms very well, but still they had "brought forth no children." No fowls, rice, guinea corn, groundnuts, cassada &c, in fact, nothing could we get and therefore we fared but poorly. Indeed, we had to divide one small fowl, which we had purchased on the road, between our two Sunday meals, with a few handfuls of rice which the

⁴⁶Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, I (London, 1899), chapters 24 and 28, described difficulties faced by missionaries in New Zealand among the Maori and in South Africa among the Zulu as being particularly difficult, especially as they related to diseases and the presence of settlers, the "Oxford Group," and political unrest. The reference here to Greenlander is unclear in this research.

⁴⁷This is reference to Jellorum Fernandez's instructions to the guide, who was directed to explain the expedition's purpose and the unusual cooking provisions arranged between Fernandez and Graf. The guide also was to explain that Graf would not give gifts, as was regularly expected from traders traveling the path.

poor chief, out of compassion, shared with me. The people's poverty was so abject that they all hurried to their farms early in the morning in order not to expose themselves. One of my men who went to their farms in search of provisions actually met them picking and cooking the leaves of the cassada plants. Sunday Afternoon the large party of Foulah traders, whom we had left squatted at Gaingombo yesterday morning, reached this place. They came in boisterously; took possession of every house which they found unoccupied without the least ceremony, asking neither headman nor any one else; one of them came to hang up his bag at our house without the least hesitation, thereby meaning to settle for the night; but my old Interpreter soon sent him about his business. These people are a peculiar race: they travel all over Africa setting Kings and chiefs at defiance, carrying no passport except each man his sword and his musket, breathing every where a most religious contempt for all the Kafirs amongst whom they travel.

Monday 25th We would gladly have staid another day at this place, in order to rest ourselves; but want of food forced us to quit it: We passed through large fields of good ground and went in an Easterly directions until, in about an hour and a half, we came [ms.25] to a considerable town called Yangye [Yengen], which is the last town belonging to Manga Sory's territory on this side of the Labaya country. Here we stopped all day from the deceitful manoeuvre of our guide who represented the next town as too far to reach it the same time day; I had reason afterwards to regret having listened to our guide. In this town they had been feasting and dancing for the last week or two on account of the rite of circumcision having been safely performed on the young people (males and females) of the town. This is called in Susu Kulund□i. This rite is performed at an advanced age, some of the party who had submitted to it having born children. Although decency imposes a certain degree of seclusion, they seem to attach no religious merit to the ceremony whatever, but submit to it merely for the sake of a physical advantage which is believed to be derived from the operation.⁴⁸ During this time Bullocks had been killed, country beer had been made and drunk in abundance, whilst dancing and merriment had been kept up night after night, so that we found nothing left for us to purchase except a small quantity of rice and a small fowl. In the afternoon I was quietly sitting by myself in the King's piazza when I saw gradually an immense concourse of people collecting before the chief's house, mustering altogether about 200 fighting men. As I could not guess what all this gathering was about, I retired to my own house, when I was told by my Interpreter that they had met in order to extort a present from me, although my guide had duly delivered Manga Sory's message, that, as I was not on a trading errand I could not afford to give any present. I waited a while, when the King at [ms.26] last sent for me with the request that I might bring his people a present. Having previously invested myself with my clerical surplice and Band,⁴⁹ I proceeded in due solemnity to the multitude squatted on the ground. I now told them that I regretted to see that

48As a social ceremony, a *Kulundgi* marked the entry of mature males and females into society in general and secret societies in particular for both males and females. It is likely that the male society was *Simo*. Afzelius, in his *Sierra Leone Journal*, 110, 113, described preparation for a "Cullonge[e]" which he characterized as a "dance" that included "drumming dancing and clapping hands very loud[l]y." Afzelius also, 130, indicated that a Cullongee was held at the time a person was buried and would include eating and drinking, all taking place near the "palaver" house.

49That Graf wore a clerical garb on this occasion illustrates the significance given religious teachers and ceremony among the Susu. Elsewhere, Graf mentions that non-Muslim Susu often wore Muslim dress to obtain the prestige that such attire signified. Graf clearly was attempting to identify himself with Morimen, or Muslim teachers, who often visited these towns.

they placed so little confidence in the message which their King⁵⁰ had sent to them through his messenger; that if they could testify to my having ever purchased any thing beyond the mere necessaries of life for myself and party, I was perfectly willing to satisfy their hungry demand; but since they saw I was no merchant and now could convince themselves by my clerical robe that I was a real Moriman, they might either leave me unmolested or else force me to return the way I came, to their own shame and discredit. I was proceeding to tell them that the present I had to give them was to speak to them about God and the next world, when they suddenly stopped me and pretended that they had only called me in order to satisfy the people that the King had not received any present from me secretly. The King's brother appears to have been at the bottom of this whole scene and after all he was not ashamed a few hours afterwards to ask my Interpreter for one of my shirts! As they professed to be satisfied and seemed unwilling to listen any more, I retired to my house, hoping that my appearance in this way would not only silence them, but that the report of it would also precede [sic] me to those places through which I had to pass, in which last conjecture I was not mistaken. During any interview with these people of Yangye, some of them declared in Susu that they could have a great mind to shoot [ms.27] me down, which put my old man⁵¹ into a dreadful fright. But God was a wall of fire round about us, so that no one was allowed to hurt us. Praised be his name! In the evening I was beset by another kind of beggars, these were some Yelles, a kind of public street musicians, kept amongst heathen Susus by every chief of some note. These played the Balandji⁵² pretty well, but vociferated at the same time so horridly the praises of their patrons, as well as the shabbiness of their neglectful hearers, that there was no chance of going to sleep until near 2 o'clock in the morning when they fortunately retired, but returned again before day break. I sent word to these privileged medicants, who generally are as well off as the richest of the land, that they could not expect any bounty from me since I was a priest. All Mahomedan bookmen affect great contempt for these sort of people; they are not tolerated where Mahomedans have considerable influence. The Balandji is not a very contemptible musical instrument; it might be greatly improved. It is made on the principle of Harmonicon Glasses but is more powerful. It consists of a frame about two feet long and ten inches wide; slips of well seasoned bamboo, about one inch wide and ¼ inch thick, are fastened across this frame, under which there is a set of hollow gourds, which should be regularly set not only from the largest to the smallest, but according to the tone which each produces. The narrow slips of Bamboo are struck by a mallet which is provided with some soft, elastic material, the end which touches the bamboo; by beating somewhat briskly upon the slips, the air in the corresponding calabash is set in vibration and [ms.28] produces its peculiar note. The native ear is not sufficiently accurate in tuning these instruments, but still when three or four of them are played at the same time, they can perform on them tolerably well; but they are chiefly adapted for the wilder and louder sort of music, such as war songs &c.

Tuesday 26th Early this morning we set out towards Bubuya, the capital or one of the chief towns of Labaya. I gave the chief (called Sama) a present for the use of the house which we had occupied, whilst he, in return, professing great politeness, accompanied us a

50This was a reference to Jellorum Fernandez, who might or might not have been accepted as a "King" in this region.

51This is a reference to his interpreter.

52See below for a description of the *Balandji*, or xylophone.

short distance from the town, charging my Guide in parting, to carry us first to Tabwe [Tagbé], which is a rival town a few miles to the North of Bubuya. As I suspected no good from this unsolicited injunction, I soon after stopped my party and in presence of all strictly forbade my guide to go either to the right or to the left; but to carry us direct to Bubuya, whither his master had commanded him to lead us. Having therefore crossed a large brook running from South to North and which divides this from the Labaya country, we took the direct road for Bubuya. Henceforth we had constantly to ascend and descend pretty high and steep hills, which would have proved very toilsome but for the pleasant shade, of the high brushwood and forest trees, forming a ~~pleasant~~ refreshing arch over our heads. The fine forests, the farms on the hill tops, better beaten paths &c. all bespoke a higher state of culture and industry. After a walk of six miles we got to Yambaya (lit: Tobaccotown) the first considerable town in Labaya, the headman of which had been present at yesterday's [ms.29] demonstration at Yangyia. He appeared rather shy; got us, however, some fowls and Kola nuts and then went to his farm. About 12 o'clock several muskets were fired to announce the birth of a child, which soon brought us the headman and others back to the town. At 2 o'clock we broke off and although the headman took good care not to ask for a present, he was not the less pleased to accept of a small one which I gave him for the use of his house! He accompanied us for about half an hour and after he had put us in the right way he took leave of us, whilst we proceeded up a high, steep hill, which, at that time of day was very fatiguing. Our guide now wished at every village, to halt for the night, but as we had stayed at Yangyia all day in a great measure to please him, as he told us he had many friends in that town, I now hurried him on to make up for lost time. After we had passed one of the most paltry villages, containing hardly half a dozen houses, we were ran after by five or six savage looking men, coming upon us with very angry looks and talk. When they nearly reached us I stopped my caravan, went up to the barbarians and asked for their good pleasure. They asked in reply how we dared to pass through their town without saluting them i.e. without giving the chief a present.⁵³ I told them that whoever we had met in the street, we had saluted with all due civility, but if they wanted to know more about us, they should follow us to Bubuya and ask their King for what information they wanted! When they heard that we were going to the King of Labaya, they wished no longer either for a present or for information, but returned [ms.30] home not a little ashamed at their silly adventure! Otherwise the people of this part of Labaya were civil and friendly, especially so long as we did not require any favour from them. We were now travelling over a most picturesque country; from the top of one of the hills we beheld the Labaya country with its distant farms, and rice plains, with hill piled upon hill in successive ridges, as far as eye could reach, lying scattered in romantic confusion. All the hills and rivers from the coast hither run from South to North and this direction marks the physical construction of the whole country which I have seen, until I reached the Sumbuya country, where the same sort of hills suddenly break off in huge perpendicular, barren rocks several hundred feet in height. I was greatly cheered by the sight of this hilly land. Where ever I roam in this world, the sight of mountains and valleys reminds me of Helvetia's Alps. It is true, I miss the rich pastures, the shepherd's rural song and the chyme of the cattle bells, the industry and intelligence of that beautiful country; but the hills and dales even of Afric's torrid zone refresh the sight, relax the weary traveller's feet and their cooler breezes brace up

⁵³In this instance, the villagers were probably concerned that Graf had violated traditional custom by not greeting the headman and/or paying the traditional fee for protection supposedly provided by the village, whether actual or assumed.

his heated frame. Strange analogy of homely feelings between Afric's burning Tropics and Switzerland's snowy Alps! Whilst I was engaged with these patriotic musings, what should suddenly astonish my sight but a garden of - - Tobacco and Mustard! We rested awhile to delight our eyes with this novel sight. A few women were just watering this garden, who on seeing me, threw their tools down and ran into the bush! The Tobacco was in bearing, but, [ms.31] for want of a better mode of cultivation and of a more appropriate season, their leaves were of a stunted growth, not measuring more than 5 or 6 inches in length and about 3 inch in width. The Mustard was the most unexpected produce of the two. I was curious to know what name they would give it and found they called it "Onion." This improved state of the country led us to hope for a better sort of inhabitants, better prepared for the blessings of the Gospel and of Civilization. After a walk of at least 8 miles since breakfast we reached, a little after dark, a neat little town on the summit of a hill called Dásoghoya [Dansokhoya], where we found about thirty heads of cattle and a few sheep.⁵⁴ I was going to purchase one of the latter, when an over-shrewd Foulah put an end to my bargain by insisting on double the value. Every where I have great difficulty in getting the necessary provisions. Hitherto I have offered nothing but new silver coin and I feared that this might be the cause of my difficulty; but subsequently I was no better off, when I offered goods for barter.

Wednesday 27th Being entirely out of provisions, we set out early this morning, hoping to be able to procure victuals more easily at Bubuya, where we hoped to reach for breakfast. We went over fine hills and rice farms after a walk of three miles we entered Bubuya, a capital of the Labaya country. All the old people who had not gone to their farms came with cheerful countenances to shake hands and tell us welcome, and whilst we were sitting in the street waiting the King's Mori Musa's arrival, they all took a careful survey of our packages commenting on each of them separately. At last the King came apparelled [ms.32] in his robe of state, consisting of a red, cotton robe in the Mahomedan style. We were directed into one of the best and largest houses of the place, the walls being entirely composed of mud, with a mud sofa at one side of the chief room and a mud bench at the other, provided at the front and back of the house with a wide and cool verandah. Bubuya is indeed the largest town which we have hitherto seen: there may be from 60 to 80 houses and between 500 and 600 inhabitants, what would be thought in Europe a good sized village. The houses are built in different shapes: round, square, oblong &c but all have very large conical roofs which hang far out of the house to within three or four feet from the ground, thus affording a spacious cool piazza independent of the rooms. In these spacious piazza's all parties meet for idle chat, eating snuff and chewing Kola nuts, talking hours after hours the most puerile nonsense; here too palavers⁵⁵ are held and solemn sentences pronounced. It is the place of resort of the statesman, the warrior, the huntsman and the farmer; the King and the beggar, the proprietor and his slave--all squat here on privileged ground. It is the King's audience hall and the strangers' pleading court! The inhabitants of Bubuya are mostly

54A combination of increased elevation and absence of tsetse fly in this region announced the beginning of herding country and a more pleasant climate for these travelers. Apparently, this herd was being tended by Fula.

55Graf uses the term "palaver" (from the Portuguese *palavra*, to talk) variously in this document. Generally, however, the term referred to discussions or meetings where issues of state were conducted. "Empty palaver" meant that the discussion had little substance or likely resolution. "God palaver" referred to religion. A "witch palaver" concerned a trial to determine whether someone was a witch. A "country palaver" was an indigenous conference that might include affairs of state. "Trade palaver" indicated disputes between merchants or tradesmen. A "palaver house" was the community hall.

heathens, the real Mahomedans are but small in number and these not very bigoted. They used to have a mosque, which was burnt down by accident two years ago, and they have not rebuilt it yet, though they talk of doing so. Manga Mori Musa is a very mild, unassuming and kind-hearted old man, about 60 years of age, born with only one eye. He is a Mahomedan; was brought up at Fouricaria and finished his [ms.33] education in the Foulah country.⁵⁶ But there is little Mahomedan nonsense about him; none of that haughty contempt for christians and heathens and of that puerile conceit which distinguishes the Mahomedans generally, especially the Foulahs. He but once made an attempt to show off his attainments in Koranic Cabalistic, but it was done in great simplicity and good humour. One evening we were sitting together on my earthen sofa in my room, when he informed me that he had been aware of my coming several days before my arrival, that he had announced this discovery, which he had made by means of his book, to his people, declaring to them that if I was a Mulattoe or coloured man I would probably be led astray into some other town by designing men, but if I was a thorough white man, I would have judgment and resolution enough to withstand any such attempt and would find my way direct to Bubuya! This story, however, he told me after he had heard of the chief of Yangyia's advice to my guide to carry me to Tabwe. As I did not wish to offend the old man by contradicting him in a trifle, I expressed my wonder at his prophetic skill and was willing to be thought as simple as himself. Another circumstance showed me likewise that he was not over strict in his Mahomedan observances. He made me a present of a sheep (I had promised to pay him for all presents at the close of my stay) which my people immediately killed. Etiquette required that I should give him some of the mutton, but having been killed by "Kafirs" without the approved ceremony of the Koran, I made sure that he would not accept of my joint of mutton. He, however, took it gladly without asking a word about it. This King wears no charms nor have I seen him write any. In the morning he teaches his own children some portion [ms.34] of the Koran to read and learn by heart, and in the evening all the children of Bubuya thus "learning book" meet around the blaze of a large fire to repeat the lessons by themselves, which they perform at the highest pitch of their voice, intoning the long and generally penultimate syllable of each word. From what I could see there might be about 20 boys thus educated chiefly at night; by day they attend to farm work. Those who wish to bring their sons to eminence in the province of letters work them very hard both at their lessons and at manual labour. But as in all the world, so it is here; mental precocity is accompanied by physical debility and short life. One fine boy of about 8 or 9 years was under the tuition of a professional schoolmaster, who by dint of kindness sometimes and of whipping at others had brought his pupil to great proficiency. Many a time have I been awoke between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning by this little prodigy shouting out his lessons half awake and half asleep, by the side of his fire in the middle of the street! But the poor boy was more like an aged, demure dwa[r]f, mournfully sedate, with a huge head and bloated face, instead of a smart, lively romping boy. Another instance was the King's own one-eyed son of about 13 years of age. He too was early and late kept to his book, in the day attending to rural labours, returning home every Evening with a bundle of small sticks, for the scholastic blaze. His attainments appeared to be of a fair order; but his rickety limbs, staring eyes, emaciated frame and solemnly vacant look sufficiently bespoke the tyranny

⁵⁶It was common practice in this region to send a son to Forékariah (capital of Moria) for an Islamic education or to Timbo or Labé, both Islamic religious centers in the Fuuta Jaloo. It was more likely on the coast for a father to send one son to the interior and another to Freetown, effectively spreading his opportunities to markets available both on the coast and in the interior.

which the mind exercised over the body. I spoke to Mori Bokari, the Bundu Schoolmaster who is patronized by Mori Musa, on the baneful effects of mental precocity and he seemed fully to enter into the subject, relating the [ms.35] case of one of his late scholars, who appears to have met with a premature death from over application. The reasons for aiming at training such prodigies are plain: they reflect credit on the parents as well as on the teacher; and whilst the literary wonder of a youth establishes a character for learning and sanctity, he thereby secures an honorable livelihood, by becoming the teacher of others and by writing charms of peculiar virtue, for which he makes himself well paid. Alas! that I could not prevail on the parents of Bubuya to give me their sons for a better education! Manga Musa promised to send me two of his, but I found afterwards that he meant no such thing. The reason for this refusal is easily found: Mahomedans say that by sending their children to Sierra Leone they only become infidels in principle and worthless in their habits! who then can blame them?⁵⁷ Heathens see very well that their state of society is not of a nature to induce a white-man's-book schoolmaster to seek his livelihood in his own country; nor do they wish him to expatriate himself to find employment in a strange land whilst a bit of an Arabic scholar can teach and manufacture grigris and thereby get an honourable bread. It was in vain that I tried to reason with them: they admitted both my premises and my conclusions, my arguments were clear and good, but they refused to submit to the finishing stroke, the

application. "White men deal in theories" seemed to be the only conclusion they could come to!

The inhabitants of Bubuya appear industrious: this being rice harvest, all attend to the farm, from the King downwards, at least for some hours of the day. Every morning the town presents a most warlike appearance, all the men from the youth [ms.36] to the veteran making their exit in all directions, fully equipped with musket and a[m]munition bag or else with swords and scabbards of various sizes. The wearing of arms seems to give a badge of manhood or of gentility. More than once were my people scouted as timid women, because they bore not such resemblance to highwaymen. It is no disgrace to carry a musket without either flint or powder, but it is a shame even to go to one's farm without arms, were it but a butcher's knife. In the Interior they seem more fastidious still: there a man dares not pay visit to his nearest friend or relative even in the same street without carrying either musket or bow and arrow slung over his shoulder. Besides working all day at their husband's farms, the women spin cotton with the spindle for the manufacture of clothes; but the cotton is of the short stapled kind and but carelessly cultivated. From the number of weavers whom I met in the streets, a good quantity of cotton must be grown.⁵⁸ The weavers have no regular moveable looms as I have seen in the Timneh country; they simply pin thin posts into the ground in the open air and when their cotton is consumed, they take them up again and turn them into firewood. Tobacco too is grown: but the people set no value upon it, as they know neither how to cultivate nor to cure it; and they appeared but little anxious to hear from me how to go about it, although they were told that I had succeeded in growing a very fair, marketable

⁵⁷This is currently a favored argument against sending sons or precocious children to government schools. In the early nineteenth century, traders along the coast also complained that sons sent to England for training often returned with useless and disruptive ideas. One trader in the Rio Nunez had his son put to death when it became clear that the son educated in England was prepared to challenge his father for control of commerce.

⁵⁸Although Graf did not observe large farms of cotton, it was common knowledge that Labaya grew cotton and wove cotton goods.

sample of it: and yet all over the country, all are desperately fond of this drug in some shape or other.⁵⁹ Food and snuff are to them the staple necessities of life. The young stripling and the old worn-out matron, the young damsel at the spindle and the huntsman at the chase, [ms.37] all are avidly fond of this drug: indeed snuff for the mouth or the nose is the expensive luxury of the starving multitudes! Bubuya contains a great proportion of old men, who were proud to welcome a white stranger but who would have loved me better had I shared out daily a few pounds of Tobacco; this would have done wonders "as long as it lasted"! The women appeared more modest than is generally the case and not so bold in begging. This town is beautifully situated on the South West declivity of a hillock, surrounded every where by considerably high hills, which would give it a fine aspect, but for the usual irregularity with which it is built; it is covered with filth and stones, the forest coming up close to the houses. The people profess to possess a considerable number of cattle, but they say that they keep them at some miles distance for the sake of superior pasture. However, we never saw a cow or a bullock, neither milk nor butter. It is a peculiar circumstance that the inhabitants consume no kind of oil, neither palm or nut oil nor, shea butter, some of these things being plentiful on the coast and a little farther inland. They seem to use no kind of grease to season their food; soap they make out of well parched groundnuts and the blaze of a fire, burning all night in the middle of their chief room serves them for a lamp. The climate even at this short distance from the Coast seems milder, for although the middle of the day is very hot, the nights are so cool that I frequently required a fire in the room to be able to sleep.

March 1st About 8 o'clock this morning the king came to invite me to the Baptism of an Infant i.e. the ceremony of publicly receiving the little new comer into the society of its fellowmen. About 60 persons were promiscuously seated in front of the child's house. [ms.38] After a few muskets had been fired, an old man, the prime Minister, harangued the people present in a desultory manner, complimenting the King, the White-man &c &c. After his speech he with the father, the mother and the midwife all assembled around a bowl of water, a calabash of raw rice paste, and a small fire, which had been placed at the entrance of the child's house. They all placed their hands upon these basons and after the old man had muttered a sort of prayer in a low tone of voice, he threw the water over the fire, when the infant was quickly dipped into it as it was running off in all directions. The rice flour paste was now distributed in spoonfuls chiefly to children and women and any who wished for some and thus concluded this apparently harmless ceremony, not, however, without a few more musket shots. The whole night which precedes this ceremony most of the young people of the neighbourhood sing and play to the sound of Tomtoms (large African Drums.) In the Evening, the King came to pay me a friendly visit, for which I was very glad as it is most difficult to speak to him alone, being always beset by inquisitive courtiers and he having always shown considerable dislike in being spoken to on any important subjects of conduct or policy before others. I asked him why he did not send some of his children to Sierra Leone for education, as they never could learn anything really useful either for themselves or the world by merely repeating portions of the Koran. He only said that as he had now made my acquaintance, he hoped to do so in future, when we were interrupted by

⁵⁹Graf's comment about growing tobacco and the inability of growers to cure or process it is confusing.

Certainly, land would not have been allocated for tobacco plants unless farmers were capable of processing their crop.

old intruders who came to call the old man away. Although our conversation was thus cut short, yet this little expression of confidence cheered me not a little. I feel that too great delicacy can scarcely be used with these people: boldly to [ms.39] preach against Mahomedan and pagan superstition would alienate the people at once, it would not be suffered in a stranger; to show too great kindness and many favours would immediately lead them to suspect that fawning disposition, general to Negroes when they expect to get something by it, which Mahomedans would be quick to interpret into a sly manoeuvre.⁶⁰ I have therefore made it my chief business to sound the people, establish confidence and kindness of feeling towards Missionaries and cautiously to prevail upon them to entrust us their children. In private, I fail not, as opportunity serves, to speak the truth in love; we daily assemble twice for family worship, we sing and pray with all fearlessness, and endeavour to lead a quiet and peaceful life. I feel great concern at my not being able to make any considerable progress in the Susu language for want of a suitable interpreter: my old man is too loath to speak much and if I weary him with questions he is apt to put me off with evasive answers or even to tell me untruths in order to get rid of my queries. Thus in translating my meaning he gives it another or shortens it into a most meagre thing. This is owing in some measure to his having all the bargain-talk for our daily provisions, and to his being beset frequently from morning to night with Tobacco beggars, who stick close to him as soon as they see him alone. If a respectable family could be met with where a European could live a few months as a member of the family, it would, doubtless, be the shortest way to master the language, but the very best are so uncultivated, rude and filthy as to render such a plan almost impracticable. Amongst other additions to any Vocabulary I have about a dozen different modes of [ms.40] salutation used in different localities but there is not an individual who could tell me the exact meaning of each; it can only be acquired by considerable and familiar intercourse with the Natives. The same remark applies to contractions, abbreviations, transpositions &c of words and sentences.⁶¹

March 2nd After a noisy night, the King again invited me to the social exit of an infant, with whom yesterday's ceremony was gone through. Both these children were 8 days old.⁶² The Mahomedans take this opportunity to give their children names; but these Susus, being generally heathens, are in no great hurry, about the name, when once they have the thing! In the Evening I had a long and very interesting conversation with the King and a few of his chiefs: We spoke of the industrial improvement of their country, the education of their children, the state of civilization of European nations and on various scriptural subjects, with all of which they appeared highly delighted. We went over the history of the Creation, the Deluge, the tower of Babel &c the Patriarchs, Moses &c. The old man asked with peculiar eagerness what had become of David? I told him that David had died and been gathered with

⁶⁰While Graf made clear distinctions between coastal and interior Africans, he had few positive things to say about either. In this report, he variously called Africans barbarians, cunning, groveling, lazy, rude, silly, stupid, sullen, and weak. He found coastal peoples particularly offensive and described some as fit for slavery, a status he described as a "Divine appointment," suited to their very nature. At the same time, Graf had good comments to make about "liberated Africans" at Freetown.

⁶¹Susu was a language studied for many years by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The first dictionaries/grammars of Susu were produced by Henry Brunton, and these were polished significantly by Peter Hartwig and Mrs. Klein, early in the nineteenth century. Perhaps Graf did not have access to these early works. For more on Brunton, see P. E. H. Hair, "Susu Studies and Literature: 1799-1900," *Sierra Leone Language Review*, no. 4 (1965), 38-39, 50.

⁶²This and later comments suggest that it was at this point that a child was named and accepted into society as a member of the group.

his father, but that "David's son remaineth a King for ever." I do hope that this Meeting will prove profitable and wish I could have got such every Evening; but the Evening is the time for judicial consultations between the King and his chiefs.

March 3^d Sunday As soon as I had come out of my room I met Mori Musa with a few attendants, who had brought me, what he no doubt thought, very frightening accounts of war at Tambagha, the country to which I wished to proceed from here. In order to give this intelligence a little more moral or physical weight, he brought with him a stout, bulky, [ms.41] grey-headed man, who in all due pomp declared that he had seen the war with his own eyes, he had been robbed of all his property and thought himself lucky enough to have escaped with his life. He said he had returned from the scene of war a few days only. Although I was too well acquainted with African tactics when a European wishes to proceed to the Interior, not to see the shallowness and the real intention of this story, yet it would not have been in place to despise so important a piece of information.⁶³ I therefore politely thanked Mori Musa and his friend for this seasonable warning, but said, with great simplicity, that as I and my people carried neither sword nor musket nor bow and arrow, the contending parties would soon discover that we were not concerned in their differences. He now pulled a long face and said dryly that if I insisted on going notwithstanding his warning, he would not be answerable for my life. "Of course," I replied, "I do not expect you to answer for my life in another King's country, if you will but give me a guide to get there." I said that I had travelled 12 years ago in the Timneh country and had slept two successive nights in two inimical war camps without experiencing any thing but friendship and hospitality. My old friend shook his head and went away. In the afternoon I asked him whether he had got a guide for me, when he said his most trusty man was on an errand, but he expected him in a day or two, when he should accompany me. In the Evening he said, however, the fact was that he had no man to give me who knew the road. I told him that the sun and my pocket compass would materially assist me in finding the road, if he would only give me an accredited [ms.42] messenger to recommend us to the chiefs on this side the Tambagha country. Finding himself outwitted in all his manoeuvres, he told us that he was willing to give us a guide either back to Buramia or else to Fouricaria, but he felt reluctant to send us into the midst of danger Eastward. He now changed his tone. He said with apparent feeling that if I persisted on going to Tambagha we must earnestly pray God for protection, for we had to pass through a town, Kaninya, where all travellers had been robbed of late! I told him that prayer was our armoury and our Ammunition, we went no where without it and that with it we were ready to face wild men or wild beasts but if the people of Kaninya were really such a bad set it was easy to circumvene them either to the North or the South. Seeing that the King thus sought to produce one bugbear after another, to prevent my proceeding Eastward I produced an Official letter "On Her Majesty's service" from the Governor of Sierra Leone to the chief of Tambagha, telling him that if he did not assist me to the utmost of his power in delivering this large sealed document with my own hands he would incur the displeasure of both personages, the stranger (guest) of both of whom I considered myself. The reader will be curious to know why Mori Musa, who otherwise behave so friendly to me, showed such reluctance to allow me to proceed. African chiefs always feel such reluctance; but two special reasons existed in this

⁶³Perhaps the transcriber incorrectly copied this sentence. Graf may have meant to suggest that it was, at this place and time, improper to dispute the story or to question an account that may have been given to convince him to cancel his expedition beyond Bubuya. The sentence appears here as it appeared in the original.

case. Poor Manga Musa was out of health, in consequence of which he had one leg covered all over with indolent ulcers. He had used native drugs for months with no benefit. At his request I had attended to his complaint: with a few alteratives internally and a few plaisters on the leg, the latter was nearly healed up and he feared, that **[ms.43]** by my leaving, his leg would very likely get bad again. I had, however, provided for that. Another reason arose from his chiefs and headmen. He was willing in any way to further my plans, but that a white man, whose very colour implies wealth! should come stay and depart without giving them, at least once a handsome present, that they could not brook. But principles are worth more than money, I have hitherto proceeded without giving presents, and although we have not lived on John Bull's fare,⁶⁴ yet we have had our humble "daily bread" consisting of two meals of plain boiled rice and generally sufficient soup to flavour it with. What a day may bring forth, we know not, but hitherto we have by the mercy of God enjoyed excellent health and spirits. Indeed since my attack of Colic at Matacong I have not had one day's illness. Man's wants under ordinary circumstances seem but few: plain food with a good appetite, wholesome fresh water with a little wine, brandy or even country beer; good long walks Mornings and Evenings and a long rest in the middle of the day -- these have hitherto kept me in health, cheerfulness and thankfulness to God in the wilds of Africa.

I n the forenoon of this day I had to witness one of those painful scene[s] not unusual in Africa. A few days ago a man from some distance had come to this town and enticed a married woman to elope with him. They both had been overtaken in the night and it was about 2 o'clock this morning when the King and chiefs were aroused from their sleep to dispose of the culprit. He was put in chains and locked up till morning, whilst the woman was left to be dealt with by her husband, as he might best think fit. About 10 o'clock this morning they unfortunately chose my house Verandah as their judgment hall, whilst **[ms.44]** I was meditating in the same place for Divine service. Not knowing what they were about and fearing lest I should give offence by going away, I kept [in] my hammock, to the evident satisfaction of the King, who took his seat close by me, whilst 30 or 40 old men squatted themselves in all directions in this and the adjoining houses. The business began by the prosecutor bringing his complaint and stating the facts of the case; the head-man of the town where the culprit had been arrested gave in his official account viva voce, corroborating the prosecutor's statement. The prisoner, with his feet tied just far enough from each other as to allow his taking steps of a few inches, was brought from the jail and allowed to make his statement, which, however, appeared but a very lame defence. About a dozen of the old men present enlarged upon the circumstances which aggravated the case, amongst which was the man's stupid indifference both as to his guilt or his fate. At last it was decided that the prisoner should be sold by the man whose wife he had taken for the best price he could get. No sooner had the King noded his assent, than they all boisterously jumped from their seat and, with something of real infernal joy, they tied the man's arms above the elbows behind his back and then got a large heavy chain, which they unmercifully threw around his neck and ordering him to lie down, they beat the open link between two stones, until it closed. At this rattling of the chain I could endure the sight no longer; with mingled feelings of indignation, sorrow and pity I retired to my room, where we soon began Divine worship, at which the

64"John Bull's fare" referred to accepted costs for subsistence on the coast, reimbursable by the Crown or by the Society.

King was present all the time though he understood not English. I wore my clerical robes whilst officiating. After I had left they carried the poor fellow to his present owner, who is bound to [ms.45] keep him a week or two in order to give his relatives a chance to redeem him; he seemed, however, to have no one who cared for him.⁶⁵ The same evening a man came in search of the very prisoner charging him with a robbery committed a few days ago. His fate, however, had already been sealed: he had become saleable property to the end of his life! At the opening of this Susu court of Justice the King asked me how we punished Criminals in Europe. I told him that in Europe offenders were fined, imprisoned, made to work hard in houses or in the open air for the benefit of the country and that in extreme cases they were transported or even hung with a rope, but that in no case could a European be sold as a slave. After the Service I expressed my sorrow to the King at what I had seen in the morning. He said he could not be sorry for such a bad man. I then explained to him how that in Europe we aimed at the reformation of criminals in punishing, whilst society was protected and warned at the same time, but that they in this country reduced a man at once to the level of the brute by selling him as a slave. The people brought some provisions to sell, but as it was Sunday we told them that white people who had the least regard for "God palaver" (Religion) never bought or sold on a Sunday. They seemed to wonder that white people could be so scrupulous, but respected us not the less for it. The King seems to have gained some confidence in me as he told my Interpreter that on visiting the Colony in June next, he would be sure to come to see me at Hastings. I am thankful for this little token for good, as it is my chief object to open a Missionary intercourse between Sierra Leone and the Interior.⁶⁶ May the Lord bless this feeble beginning of a favourable prospect.

Monday 4th As we don't breakfast before 11 o'clock I took [ms.46] a walk to about half a mile's distance when I found myself unexpectedly in the middle of some large rice farms, each of which had a few huts, rice stacks and stores. The stacks are made by pinning a series of posts, forked at the top, into the ground in a straight line, several rows of poles are then fastened across, one above another, on which the rice, still on its straw, is hung, so that it hangs down on both sides in a series of layers from top to bottom. In this way it is thoroughly exposed to the air and the sun, and even an occasional shower of rain nor the dew can injure it. At the end of the dry season, after having prepared their new farms for the wet season, they loosen the rice from the straw by means of common sticks with which they beat it. They then stow it until required for use or for sale into a kind of large wicker work baskets in the shape of Eastern vases, having a wide round bottom and tapering up to a narrow mouth. These stores, called "Kingki," are placed on a false floor a few inches from the ground, to keep the rats away, whilst they are plastered outside with tempered earth to exclude the rain, and covered at top with a plastered wicker work lid. In the rainy season they make a roof over one or more of these baskets, some of them being large enough to contain 100 bushels.

⁶⁵Local practice, dating from at least the eighteenth century, provided that criminals or those captured in war could be ransomed or redeemed from captivity for a fee. Captives in war, especially those of status, often were held for a time to see whether payment would be offered to captors; in this instance, those convicted of crimes were apparently given the same chance of redemption. During the heyday of slave trading, it was common to sell both unredeemed captives and criminals to slavers scouting/boating the coast for human cargo.

⁶⁶The Church Missionary Society, at about this time, was attempting to expand its activities and influence by training "native" missionaries who would carry the Christian doctrine into the interior. This would necessarily involve bringing potential students to Freetown where they would receive instruction in schools established for "liberated Africans" or at Fourah Bay College. Beginning in 1850, the Society divided its annual reports into three categories, one of which dealt specifically with interior missions.

At this season all are busily engaged: some stow the rice, others cut immense quantities of grass for thatching their houses, whilst the majority are cutting the jungle for new farms towards the Rains. The ground of Labaya is tolerably good for a hilly country; it is generally rather gravely with a subsoil of quartz or Slate; it is far superior to the rocky and arid plains of the country between this and the coast; but also far inferior to the rich mould of the low, level country of Sumbuya. [ms.47]

In the Evening the King came accompanied by Mori Bokari, the schoolmaster, alone, expressing his wish for a private interview. At this interview he divulged a secret, the existence of which I had all along suspected since my arrival at Bubuya. He said somewhat feelingly that he knew I had come to see him from pure friendly motives; that he had gladly furnished me either gratis or by purchase the provisions which I had required and that he would be satisfied were I to leave without giving him anything. (A saying which I did not wish to put to the test, liberal as it sounded!) "But, said he, "I am daily surrounded by a number of my chiefs and old men from this and from neighbouring towns, who always insist on my giving them Tobacco, Gunpowder, &c pretending all to be quite sure that a white man could never come to see me, on whatever errand, without bringing me handsome presents." Whether this was a consummate begging manoeuvre or a real difficulty, the reader may decide for himself; charity made me to take the latter for granted. I told Manga Musa I was very sorry that he should be exposed to such daily annoyances and that I regretted it the more as these begging importunities deterred Europeans from visiting them, whereby they deprived themselves and their country of great advantages. I offered to appear before a full assembly of his Chiefs and Elders in order to exonerate him from all duplicity of conduct towards them as well as to explain my invariable practice on my journey. I told him boldly to challenge his beggar-chiefs to produce the individual from whom I had purchased Gold, Cowhides, Elephant Tusks &c and I would give that man a present sufficient for them all; but if they were convinced that I was not money-making [ms.48] (trading), then they might rest satisfied that I could not expose myself and my party to starvation, but squandering away the few bartering goods which should procure us food on our long journey. Mori Musa expressed himself quite satisfied as to my integrity and thanked me for having supplied him with a good argument for his people. After this he produced the young men who were to accompany us towards Tambagha, but only as far as Kaninya, the very town which he had so solemnly represented yesterday as being inhabited by a set of well-known robbers!! On expressing my surprise at this inconsistency, he begged me not to press him too close on that point (the question being inconvenient); that he had a Brother by one mother residing in that town, who would see me safe to the King of Tambagha. As I did not like this turn much, I told him that as I was his stranger (guest) he was answerable for my life and therefore I should follow his directions.⁶⁷ After that he wished to come to terms for the services of the two young men, for whom I offered to pay him at the rate of Sierra Leone wages (6^d a day) besides food: As the journey was said to take four days, it would have made 2/- for each. He expressed himself dissatisfied with this pay and knowing that I could not help myself otherwise, he asked me

⁶⁷Graf hints here at a dilemma that any host accepted when he became the sponsor/patron of a stranger visiting his village. Graf arrived with a letter of safe conduct and introduction from Fernandez, who passed him to Mori Musa once Graf left the territory of Fernandez's allies. This meant that Mori Musa became liable for Graf's welfare within Labaya. Assuming that Mori Musa had limited influence beyond Bubuya, Mori Musa needed to identify a suitable host at Graf's next stop or lose face within his region; apparently, Mori Musa held Graf at Bubuya until that suitable host accepted that burden.

out-and-out for the round sum of four Dollars each (7/4)! I started from my seat with astonishment and told him that if he dealt thus with a "friend," the sooner I packed up to return whence I had come, the better. The old man was not a little amused at my vivacity and gradually cooled down to the reasonable sum of 2/6 each man, besides a small present to each, if they behaved well, which he directed me to send him in cash, enclosed in a sealed letter.⁶⁸ He then said he could not let me [ms.49] go before Friday;⁶⁹ but on my representing our long stay here and the long way before us he agreed to let us depart on Wednesday next. I congratulated myself on this arrangement, but I would not all wonder if it were again altered and realtered before Wednesday's sun arises: such are travelling uncertainties in Africa!

My stay at Bubuya has, upon the whole, been rather a pleasant one than otherwise; that it has been a profitable one to the inhabitants, I dare scarcely venture to hope, unless indeed the bread cast upon the water reappear after many days. As long as the people entertained the slightest hope of getting something out of me, they were particularly friendly. Old people and the young came with hurried steps and pleasant countenance to welcome the white stranger, a prodigy never before witnessed in the Capital of Labaya. They besieged my abode from dawn of day till past sleeping hours, waiting and watching and smiling all the time with amazing patience. Then they tried to get something indirectly i.e. to ingratiate themselves into my good graces by extolling the riches, the knowledge and especially the generosity of Europeans! All in vain, their bait would not take. Then they came begging out and out without shame or remorse; but this too proving unsuccessful, they went their way, one to his farm, another to his merchandize, caring not for the stranger's news, failing to get pay for hearing them! In travelling in Africa great wisdom and circumspection is required. If the system of giving presents is adopted, there is no end of giving nor any probability of giving satisfaction, for every one expects or even demands a present in keeping with his real or fancied rank in society; and the stranger not being able to discriminate nor yet to find a disinterested adviser, is thus often placed in the most [ms.50] difficult position. Over and over again he is duped to his great vexation; and now and then he gives such unpardonable offence by unwittingly underrating persons of real influence as to endanger his further progress and even his life and property. Apart from these serious inconveniences, I considered it wrong in principle to purchase the people's goodwill by means of presents. How often have the Natives hailed the Missionary's arrival because he came not empty handed. They have submitted for a while to his distasteful lessons of religion and morality, for they considered themselves paid for this forbearance. But once the charm of free gift was over, on[c]e Tobacco, Rum and Gunpowder were consumed, they have sunk back into a more

⁶⁸Already twelve years in Sierra Leone, Graf must have known the expectations of bargaining practiced on this coast. For him to describe these negotiations in this fashion, however, suggests that he wrote to exaggerate his condition or that he had ventured seldom from the Freetown region. This reference also demonstrates that the host provided guides/bearers and expected to be paid personally for this service, with another and extra gift to be given guides/bearers at the expedition's end.

⁶⁹That Mori Musa sought to hold Graf at Bubuya until Friday was understandable; Friday was the day of worship and his retainers would be visiting Bubuya. This would give Mori Musa increased status as an important host. Perhaps Mori Musa had arranged with the next host for the arrival of Graf's expedition at a particular time and along a particular path, thus giving amply time to prepare and guard the route. In this instance, Graf may have stretched Mori Musa's patience by insisting on an early departure. Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book*, 126, noted that advance notice for arrivals was a matter of courtesy and permitted the prospective host an opportunity to prepare himself, his wives, and his accommodation so that he would not be surprised and "feel mortified" before his guests.

sullen (if not hostile) attitude than before. Although the temporary pleasure at Missionary openings produced by such means may be great, and raise for a time the glowing expectations and the extravagant representations of Missionary friends at Home, it's all of short duration, resting on a foundation of "hay and stubble." No; Heathen nations are not bribed into a submission to the cross of Christ! Had I not scrupled thus to scatter my gifts abroad, there is not a nation or tribe, town or village, that would not have hailed my approach: the sweet savour of the white man (i.e. of his gifts) would have speedily outrun him with such fragrance, that all people would have longed for his arrival, watched with open eyes and open hands for the lucky day; and at last gladly have granted his heart's desire, asked for teachers, promised land, houses, children &c any thing and every thing! But are these in all sobriety real "openings" from the Lord?

Had I followed the usual methods of travelling, I would have had less trouble in getting provisions. After having delivered my present at each town to the chief, [ms.51] it would have devolved on the King's or Chief's first wife to cook for me, as a matter of course. But, besides that my people might still have been neglected, in case my present had not been considered sufficiently costly. I remembered an injunction of Manga Sory to our guide, which was the more full of meaning as it was unasked for on my part. "Tell all my friends on the way, said he, that no one must give the white man cooked provisions on any account; they may bring raw rice &c which his own people will prepare for him, but never anything ready cooked"!!

Amongst such begging people a great deal of patience and good humour is required, or else their importunities will prove very offensive. During my stay at Bubuya one man came once, and, without the least hesitation, asked me for one of my own shirts, although he was wearing then a very good Mahomedan robe. I secretly felt hurt at the man's impertinence, but instead of administering a well merited reproof, I told him I would by all means accede to his wish, if he would give me his gown. He replied that he wanted my shirt for nothing; "just as, said I, I also want your gown for nothing." Another asked me for a pair of scissors, which I promised cheerfully to give him as soon as he should have brought me an equivalent in poultry, rice &c. But one morning a tall stout man stepped into my room with the strange announcement that he had come to have a fight with me! I thought this rather too rough a joke and had a great mind simply to order him out of the house; but a man's house in this country not being a man's "castle" and as I might have given great offence, I put on a friendly smile, made him repeat his errand, whilst I gave him such a friendly shake of the hand as to make him scream [ms.52] out! "why, said I, if you can't bear a friendly squeeze of my hand, you had better not try its fighting grasp!" Every where we were beset with snuff beggars of every rank, age and sex, but by a little management they are kept in good humour and put off. There are times, however, when the traveller amongst barbarians has to put on a sterner countenance, either with firmness to resist their extortions or else to submit passively to their barbarous conduct, looking to God for seasonable help. The sequel will sufficiently illustrate this.

I have frequently called Bubuya the "Capital" of the Labaya country and according to European nations its chief, Mori Musa, would be the King of the whole country. In Africa, however, states are differently organized. The Foulah country has an Alimamy (at present two reigning conjointly) and the Sulima country has a King--but most nations in Africa are

governed by a democratic form of Government, the chief or headman of each town and village holding the office of Magistrate or of a French "Maire," in fact, independent of any higher authority, but from motives of policy placing himself under the authority and protection of the nearest chief of a town. It is thus that, Mori Musa, holds an influence over the chiefs of many minor towns or villages, which they find it politic to concede to him; but if he were to pass the bounds which have been held by his predecessors, his own townspeople would be the first to dethrone him, although they are his chief props so long as he pleases them. In one sense, however he seems to hold precedence over all other chiefs: he only as the power invested in him by consent of summoning the Armies of Labaya. In civil affairs each town is independent, but in settling affairs of foreign policy each town of Labaya sends to Mori Musa at Bubuya its quota of fighting men. [ms.53] All these particulars I got on the spot; but far more difficult to answer is the question: "where is Bubuya"? The Labaya country may be described generally as lying due East of the Rio Pongas, extending considerably to the North and South. But for want of proper instruments I cannot determine with any degree of exactness the true position of Bubuya, its Capital. I had not even the assistance of a Pedometer to give a correct idea of the area of land which we walked over. I had therefore recourse to the following clumsy expedient to give some general idea of distance. We walked at a very fair pace, not unfrequently at the rate of 3½ miles an hour; often we were obliged to walk or rather to hop very fast down the declivities of steep hills and rocks; and every one walking close upon the heels of his predecessor, a degree of steadiness in walking is acquired which is often astonishing. But in order to be on the safe side I have made so much allowance for the different windings of the path and trifling stoppages, as to reckon only an average of two miles for every hour, which I feel sure is rather below the reality than otherwise. According to this calculation I make Bubuya to be at a distance of 60 miles from Buramia which places it at about 12.40 West Long. and 10.8 N. Lat. That my rate of reckoning is rather below than above the mark is also proved by the fact that we outwalked very considerably Foulah parties of Merchants, whose rate of travelling may fairly be put down at 15 English Miles per day; for although they can walk farther in one day, they only keep up this rate for any length of time; they rest, like ourselves, in the heat of the day and now and then stop a day or two at a halting place. Some days we walked over a surface of from 20 to 25 miles, when I, however, only noted down [ms.54] distances traversed in a direct line. Perplexing is the want of instruments on a journey like the present! Before I take leave of Bubuya I must mention the visit of a Bunduka Merchant who was living at a town a few miles off, and which will show the pernicious influence which often works secretly against a Minister of the Gospel in heathen lands. This Merchant came originally from the Bundu country beyond the Mandingoe-land: coming down for the purpose of trade some of the inhabitants of Labaya gave him a wife, which keeps him living in this and in his country alternately.⁷⁰ This Gentleman came one day to offer me Gold for sale; very likely he had been sent by others to try me. I told him I had barely sufficient goods to procure provisions with, much less to purchase Gold. Seeing that I did not so much as look at his Gold rings, he told

⁷⁰There were other reasons for providing a local wife for a traveling merchant. A wife, of the local ethnic group and with local lineage connections, provided access to commodities and information about circumstances that might otherwise be unavailable. The wife, moreover, would probably serve as a merchant's agent in the town during his absence and bring additional commercial opportunities for local produce. This practice also somewhat neutralized the guest/stranger from playing regional politics and tied his welfare to that of locals. The negative side, however, might involve descendants who could challenge local customs as persons who were marginal to both social units, belonging fully to neither that of their mother nor that of their father.

me that I was more cunning than the Susus by making them believe that I was poor, but my shrewdness did not exceed his who knew perfectly well that a white man could not be poor! Whether white or black priests, we were all deceivers imposing on the people's credulity by means of our Book. I told him that he certainly knew more than I did, and might keep both, his knowledge and his gold to himself! Another Bunduka Merchant, I had met with at Buramia who met me again at Bubuya, [was] of a different character. This was a devout Mahomedan, most punctual in his ablutions and most patient in the repetition of his long devotions. He purchased of the produce of the country (Kola nuts) to sell at short distances and when trade was slack, he set himself to write charms and to sell them at the best price attainable.⁷¹ Whenever this man received a present he handled it devoutly and pronounced a prayer upon it, either as a blessing on the donor or as a purification [ms.55] from the moral taint which attaches to every thing possessed by Kafirs. He carried with him a poor aged, half starved female slave to attend upon him on his journeys. He too beset me often with begging!

Bubuya might be an important place in a commercial point of view, as several roads pass through it and through Tabwe between various factories on the coast and the interior, especially Fouta. But instead of agreeing with Tabwe on the construction of roads for cattle⁷² and on giving travelling merchants the greatest possible facility to pass through their territory, the two towns are frequently engaged in petty feuds, each trying to get the greatest number of travellers and each trying to vie with the other in getting most out of them. I spoke more than once to Manga Musa on this subject and he was clear-headed enough to perceive that there was something in it, and that theirs was neither a wise, good or profitable policy; but it is hard to get out of the old paths, beaten by a host of venerated ancestors; and a difficult position, to stand alone in certain views, when the consent of every one is required to carry any thing new out. May a blessing attend on what I have endeavoured to do for Labaya's temporal and spiritual welfare and may the light of the Gospel of the grace of God soon arise on this country of many hills.

March 6th Wednesday. Before day light this morning we arose, packed our luggage and were ready to start, when an unpleasant circumstance took place, which seemed to forbode a series of troubles to come. The Evening before, I had paid the King for all favours received, including, of course, as I did every where, the pay for the house which I had occupied and which belonged to a younger brother of Musa's, called Seiru. With this arrangement the latter [ms.56] was not satisfied, because (as I heard subsequently) his brother would refuse to let him have his share. As my people were now taking up their loads, Seiru most unexpectedly came and clamorously asked for his pay for the house. I referred him to his brother; I represented the usage every where prevalent of paying the chief for the house &c. All in vain; nothing short of his money would satisfy. I appealed to his brother, the King; he would not promise to give him something; Seiru took hold of one of my packages until he should get [his] pay, and yet the King remained stupid and powerless. Seeing that my representations were all in vain, perceiving, moreover, one taking to his pistol, another to his sword and a third to a club, and yet unwilling to be thus imposed upon, I put an end to the

⁷¹In both examples, the Bundu apparently portrayed themselves as Morimen or traders, assuming either role when to their advantage.

⁷²Fula herders frequently brought herds of cattle into subject areas for forage; it was also common that herds of cattle were taken to the coast where they were sold for local consumption or to resident traders who sold them to coasting merchants from Freetown for transportation to that growing commercial market.

palaver by demanding of the King all the money which I had paid him, out of which I took 2/6 and gave it to the boisterous youngster, who indignantly threw it at my feet declaring that a paltry 6^d (!) would not satisfy him: I was going to return the half crown to the King, when a bystander begged me not to heed Seiru's ignorance and gladly accepted the coin for him. We now proceeded in a North Easterly direction, ascending and descending beautiful, but steep hills all the day. We had, however, scarcely lost sight of Bubuya when a new calamity befel us in the knavish and brutal conduct of our guide Amara, formerly the poor orphan boy who had been taken by Mori Musa, at the death of his parents, out of charity; now grown to a tall athletic young man with all the insolent and haughty bearing of one of the false Prophet's Worthies. On leaving the town he began to grumble at the weight of his paltry load, which [ms.57] could not be more than about 20 lbs and soon began to threaten to leave us on the road and return to his master! Whether my party spoke or whether they refrained, he got alike enraged by the one as the other. At the mercy of such a wild barbarian we were now to be, unable to help ourselves or even to get rid of him in any case of emergency! Suspecting the troubles to come and fearing lest his ill behaviour should irritate my feelings over much, I purposely threw myself into the wake of my party in silent expectations of impending trials, as a lamb carried to the slaughter, not opening my mouth!--raising my heart in prayer for grace and strength to bear much for Christ's sake. At 11 o'clock we passed by some farmer's huts, where we stopped to cook our breakfast, consisting of rice, as usual, and a few pieces of dried mutton from Bubuya; after which we rested for a few hours to await the coolness of the Evening. At 1 o'clock, however, when the sun was just at his height, our worthy Guide required my people to call me up as he wished to start, although his master had positively commanded him that he should be guided by my ability and convenience in walking or resting. On my people remonstrating with him on his impertinent haste, a hot quarrel ensued, when I ordered my people to be silent and rest themselves until I called them up. The lion-man retired growling to his den, whilst from fatigue, heat, harmattan-wind and vexation, I lay in a burning fever. Amara having previously assured us that the next town was so far, that if we did not start very early, we should not reach there before midnight (which statement he had managed to induce the owner of the farm to corroborate) I thought it prudent to rouse my people at 2 o'clock, and although the heat was still excessive, we proceeded [ms.58] onward, down a steep mountain with a miserable path which required very cautious walking. My feet soon got blisters. But what was our astonishment when at ½ past 3 o'clock we got in sight of the distant town, which we reached half an hour after! In this town we sat down to rest awhile and then wanted to proceed in the best cool hours of the Evening; but Amara declared that he should proceed no farther till next morning, whatever we might choose to do!⁷³ Thus from our not knowing the path, nor being able to procure another Guide, owing to Amara's wicked influence, we were obliged to stay here over the night, after having needlessly exposed ourselves to the scorching midday sun, to accommodate this unprincipled youth of a guide. No wonder we prayed at our Evening Devotions for a great measure of wisdom, patience, and forbearance. My continued all night; nor was it easy to think of sleep, so desirable after 10

⁷³There are two possible explanations for this misunderstanding. Graf admitted several times that the translator brought from Freetown often failed to convey instructions or explanations to Susu along the path. Perhaps Amara was not at fault in this instance. Another explanation may have stemmed from the circumstance that each village headman became a willing host and that that host expected to gain something from his hospitality, whether payment for a hut or status as a consequence of being host to a European guest. Amara may have had little choice but to acquiesce to a request that a guest extend his visit until retainers could make their introductions.

miles' walk in Africa, on account of the wild shouting, dancing and drumming which was kept up at the very entrance of our hut until day break! This town's name is Kunda Balia [Katibalaya]. This time our guide represented to us one man as the chief; in a week[,] after he represented another and independent of him[,] we learnt that the real chief was a decrepid [sic] old man literally bent down by years.⁷⁴ On our return I just passed by his hut, he crawled out of it to shake hands with me, but I was then so ill myself that I doubted which of us would first "depart hence." To drop a tear of pity at his spiritual ignorance, whilst there was but "one step between him and death" and to raise a faint supplication for him to the "Father of light," was all that I could do at that time.

March 7th Left our night quarters at 6 o'clock too glad [ms.59] to get out of this noisy town. After a walk of 4 miles we rested ourselves awhile under a shady tree at a distance of a few hundred yards from a neat small village called Ghatabele. Here our Guide left our party and ran into the village under pretence of going to drink water. Presently a dozen or more of wild looking, old women came running upon us betraying by their gesticulating manners either wild joy or excessive rage. They abruptly ordered us to remove our packages from under the shady tree into the sunny road; began to sweep, sing, shout and clap their hands, dancing all the time in the most grotesque manner under this tree. Soon after a group of men came running along with our treacherous Guide beginning a most boisterous palaver in the middle of the road with our Interpreter. With a low fever still upon me, weak and languid sitting on one of my boxes in the sun, I was a long time wondering and asking in vain what this tumult could all be about? After my Interpreter had expostulated with them in vain, he at last divulged the marvellous secret which consisted in our having (according to our Guide's secret information to them) desecrated their Fetish or (as they call it) Grigri Tree, and that they could not let us proceed.⁷⁵ At last I insisted on going to the King himself as he had only sent his constable to show his consequence. Arrived at the village the King was too sick to be seen, but I told his representative that if he really objected to let us pass, he should simply tell us so and we should at once return by the way by which we had come, but that I was too ill to enter into the long minutiae of an empty palaver. We were at last permitted to pass on condition of paying the Fetish-women two Kolas, as an atonement for our misdeed. Had I been well I [ms.60] would have protested against their imposition, but was glad to get out of their hands and I paid the two nuts, one of which they returned to me as a token of friendship! All this farce had designingly been concocted by our Amara, who was always bent on getting himself and procuring for his numerous friends on the road a remunerating peep at the contents of my packages! Alas, for such a Guide in the winding paths of an African wilderness! But this was not to suffice. About an hour after we had left Ghatabele we were led away from the right path and soon arrived at a large farm hut, where we met about 30 men and women getting their breakfast, our Guide went to join them in it, whilst we had to sit down in all humble docility waiting for this Worthy's good pleasure to proceed. After a walk of 4 miles from the last village we entered a somewhat large, but miserable town called Damuya. Here we halted for breakfast. It was about 11 o'clock A.M., the sun was hot, the

⁷⁴It should not have been unusual for someone to assume the role of headman if the actual headman was ill or infirm.

⁷⁵Graf's party had offended a local deity/spirit and "spoiled" a sacred tree, an action recognized as a significant violation of local custom; the tree and its spirits would need to be propitiated in some fashion, perhaps through a payment of a fine or at least a sign of recognition for the unintended offense.

atmosphere extremely close and unfortunately they were holding their "Kulundji" (circumcision feast). After Amara had gone about to sharpen people's wits, he returned with the news that the chief of this town was from home, he had left him at the farm where Amara had enjoyed his early breakfast, but that he had authorized him to lodge me in his house.⁷⁶ Consequently I took possession of the poor, small, low hut, and although there was hardly sufficient air in it for the purposes of respiration, I was glad for a shady place to stretch my weary limbs, awaiting the comfort of a little breakfast, from which I hoped to get some strength. After a while Amara again stepped into my room accompanied by two or three men, informing me with the greatest unconcern that the old men in the town had expressed to him [ms.61] their inability to let me proceed in the absence of their headman. But said they, as he had only gone to the blacksmith's, who was living at a little distance from the town, he might be expected in the Evening and then there would be no objection to our proceeding the following morning. This was, however, a mere subterfuge, the fruit of my Guide's deceitful manoeuvres. I felt deeply grieved at his new trick; it was too soon after the last at Ghatabele. I expostulated, I begged that I might be allowed to proceed after breakfast, but all in vain: they listened with cool indifference, were amused at my harangue and retired!⁷⁷ Whilst disdain and secret satisfaction played on Amara's face. After breakfast seeing no other alternative, I tried to reconcile myself to my lot and sent my people out in search of provisions, as we had but a few handfuls of rice left. They asked for fowls, sheep, goats, rice, groundnuts &c but nothing was to be had. We had nothing for our supper and yet we could get nothing neither with money nor good words, neither for merchandize nor for cash. In the Evening I sent some with Tobacco in their hands wherewith to entice people to sell us "bread for to eat;" neither rich viands nor sweet dainties were the objects of our ambition; a score of Cassada roots would have been enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger, but even that could not be got, because Amara's baneful influence either preceded or followed close by [sic] my people's steps in every direction. Although they offered five or six times the value of the cassada, the people complained of poverty, of general scarcity, of the smallness of the article offered in return &c &c. At last we succeeded in getting a few roots which, with the little rice left, had to make up our supper, without meat, soup or even condiment. For the morrow we had nothing left, nor yet any better luck in prospect. I felt the difficulty [ms.62] of our position. Hitherto I had partaken of my people's two common daily meals consisting of rice and (when we could get it) broth; I had found this mode convenient in travelling; it left my people no inclination to murmur at their poor fare whilst they saw that I had no better; but the fact is, we could get no better and the more the natives saw us dependent on them the more they seemed anxious to make us so. Had my constitution not required better fare, as every European requires in Africa, I could have been well satisfied with my present food, which was always well seasoned, not only with cayenne pepper, but with a keen appetite. But I now found myself extremely exhausted, the support thus afforded to my frame not having been in keeping with the daily demands created by long and continued exercise, great heat and lately by a low consuming fever. In beverage too I felt the want of something better than water, as I

⁷⁶That Amara had preceded Graf's party to the village suggests that Amara probably was following expected practice to warn the headman, in advance of their arrival, of the expedition's progress and to secure accommodation for his group. Graf obviously assumed that Amara was a troublemaker and refused to interpret his actions as anything other than negative toward the expedition.

⁷⁷In this instance, Graf did not understand the practice of greeting hosts; he also exhibited a temper that was unacceptable in this village and lost status and influence as a consequence. Later comment that Graf was ill during this period may excuse his excesses.

got occasionally slight attacks of diarrhoea and the little medicated brandy, which I had brought, had been consumed for some time past. In addition to these came my daily anxiety in providing food for nine individuals, which seemed to become more difficult, as we advanced. Thus I spent the remainder of my stay at Damuya in a most painful situation. A low restless fever chased all sleep from my eyelids; strong palpitations of the heart made me feel more uneasy; the whole night I felt as if dying by slow suffocation; and if now and then I enjoyed a few moments' sleep, it was only to aggravate my mental sufferings by delirious visions of famine, starvation and of Amara's treacherous designs! I hailed the morning light, early I made an attempt to rise and depart, but I had no strength to dress; I fell back, helpless, on my couch. I now sent for [ms.63] the King (or Chief) whom, I had heard the night previous to my utter astonishment making a boisterous noise in a house adjoining mine, whilst I had been repeatedly told that he was not in the town! Instead of that, he had never come out of it, and had been several times in my room during the day to visit me and spy my goods!! What then was my astonishment when I found that late at night he was bitterly complaining that, since my arrival, I had not made him the least present. All night I could not forget the designing manoeuvre of this chief with my Guide. It baffled my belief that a man, sobered down by years, should condescend to become the ready or the silly dupe of a youth like Amara. Yet so it is: prospects and promises of gain could achieve that! Early in the morning, therefore, I called for the King; I might have covered the worthless man with the most bitter reproaches for this consummate stratagem; suffering and anguish would have given my words keenness and edge -- but no, the Master whom I serve, the word which I preach and the character which I bear, would not allow me to use "carnal weapons" for spiritual warfare with the powers of darkness. I invited the Chief to sit down by my bedside; I apologized for my apparent neglect, pleaded my ignorance of his presence, expressed my wish to give honour to whom honour is due and finished by giving him a present of Tobacco and requested him to help my people in procuring some provisions. At last he got us a small quantity of rice which, without any soup or broth, made our breakfast. My situation became hourly more trying; I gasped for breath; could neither lie, sit, stand nor walk; too restless for the one and too feeble for the other; my pulse beating but 50 per minute; [ms.64] the heat and closeness of the house and town were excessive, to which must be added the everlasting clitter-clatter noise, the beating of large and small Tomtoms and the vociferations of about sixty barbarians (males and females come to manhood), thus celebrating their vile Circumcision feast (Kulundji) day after day and kept up from day-break till after midnight. My people themselves felt now seriously alarmed at my situation and consulted among themselves what could be done for my relief. My Guide Amara too thought me near mine end and came every half hour to show me the depth of his sympathy by troubling me each time for his wages! I sighed for the poor man and ordered him to be paid in full and more, that I might at least get rid of him.

About midday I had a consultation with my people about our further progress; I delivered **A**my bartering goods to them as I was no longer able to care and provide for them myself. The poor men were greatly distressed; some comforted me with Scripture passages; some sat by me weeping, whilst others went about in search of poultry to prepare some more nourishing food, for which they had to pay extravagant prices. That I had discharged Amara was a comfort to us all. It appears that he had secretly determined not to carry us to the appointed town of Kaninya, whither the King of Bubuya had ordered him, but to leave us at a

town some miles on this side of it, where he purposed either to extort a most extravagant pay from me or else to plunder us with the assistance of his country people on the spot! We had now defeated his evil designs, but whither or how were we to move from this town? The threatening state of my health rendered proceeding onward impossible; to return by the way we came, which was the only one we knew, appeared [a] waste of time. We decided to direct our steps towards the nearest town, where we could procure [ms.65] water conveyance to return to Sierra Leone; this town was Fouricaria which lay about South Easterly from Damuya. Our next difficulty was to procure a guide. We applied to the chief [of Damuya] to get us one; but he had only two men in his employ or vassalage, the one had the small pox and the other was a leper! We offered to himself and the guide he would find, a handsome reward each - he pretended to go about in search of one, but declared he could get no one. At last Amara himself was bold enough to offer himself and, for want of another one and greatly to my grief, my people began to talk about the terms; but he changed his charge too often from two shillings to 10 dollars, that they at last declined all further bargain and determined to return to Bubuya. Amara had been anxious enough for the job, but he feared lest on crossing the frontier of Labaya we should resent his wicked conduct to us. My Interpreter told him pointedly that if we were men like himself, we would certainly give him his due, but that he need entertain no fear on that point as we were satisfied to leave him to Him to whom vengeance belongeth and who would soon or late remember his deeds. The reason why we could get no Guide is obvious. Amara was bad enough to have robbed us and left us in difficulty, if we had proceeded, and screened himself with his Master with some false report, but he was also shrewd enough to threaten any who dared to help me in deviating from the path which Mori Musa had assigned to us.

Saturday March 9th We rose before daybreak and, although I could hardly stand, from extreme weakness, fearing even that I should have to give up walking after a short attempt, yet I started gladly for Bubuya again, preferring by far the company of the wild beasts of the forest, to that of Damuya's inhabitants. To the chief I gave a handsome present at parting, at which he was not a little surprised. On passing by Ghatabele I sent my compliments to the [ms.66] headmen. At Kunda Balia, we breakfasted and rested during the heat of the day, free now from Amara's foolish haste or tardiness. We walked all day slowly, but steadily; never did weary wanderer wind his footsteps homeward with more perseverance and delight. After a walk of 14 miles we stopped at a farm belonging to Bubuya. Here I crawled into a low, narrow hut, one of native's first contrivances in the shape of dwelling. Having purchased a few fowls and some rice, we made for once again a hearty supper, and after having commended ourselves to God's protecting care, we retired. My people slept in the open air, abundantly bedewed, around a homely fire, beguiling the sleepless night with a review of our adventures and a thankful remembrance at our deliverance.

Sunday Mar. 10th Early this morning we set out and entered Bubuya again to every one's astonishment, between 7 and 8 o'clock A.M. Mori Musa appeared pleased to see me safe back again, and, at my request, he gave me one of his own houses for my lodging. In the Evening I made the old man a present of a ready made dressing gown, which I had intended for the King of Sulima; he was so much pleased that he hid it carefully under his gown and hopped away as merrily as any school boy with his Christmas box. Yet, an hour after he sent to beg for some Tobacco! My stay at Bubuya was of no interest this time; I was so weak that I had to keep off all visitors and but a few times showed myself in front of the house. During

one of these an old Foulah man going down to the coast, applied to me for Medicine for an only son in his country, who had become quite deaf. He applied to me because he had heard that I was very expert in writing and thought that I would be able to write a most magic charm. I told him that if his son were with him I would gladly have tried to help him by means of medicine, but that I had no mind to deceive him by means of [ms.67] a written piece of paper.⁷⁸

Monday March 11th Had nothing to cook for our breakfast. At last we succeeded in buying a few roots of Cassada which, with a little salt, was our whole frugal repast. I begged the King to send me off before it was too late or else to procure us food, as I was ill used to our present mode of living, or rather, of starving. He wished that I should wait proceeding homeward until I should feel somewhat stronger. Of course, I thanked him for his good intention, but knew very well that he cared only to get as much as possible out of me before my leaving, as he thought I had no longer any need of the goods which I carried with me. In the evening he promised to give me a Guide to Moribaya (on the Bareira River) Ansumani who had accompanied us to Damuya and to whom I had been able to give a good word. At Moribaya he professed to have a friend who would procure me a canoe to Sierra Leone. I thanked Mori Musa for all his kindness and expressed my hope of seeing him ere long at my own house in the Colony. He now for the first time said that he had never once seen the salt water (the sea) yet, and it was too late, at his time of life, to make its acquaintance; but that on his sending to the Colony, he would send me his messenger; I now saw very well that he cared more for my presents than for me and expressed my disappointment. I also reminded him of his promise to give me one or two of his sons for education; that I could now take them with me, since I was returning direct to the Colony. He said "Yes;" but afterwards sent me word that he wished his two sons first to learn Mahomedan books, after which I might have them.⁷⁹ It was useless to reason on the subject, and therefore I said no more. When the negroes want to get rid of some inconvenient argument, they give such silly, puerile answers as effectually to [ms.68] disgust and weary any sober man.

Tuesday Mar. 12th We left Bubuya this morning for Moribaya, but I was too ill most of the time to take much notice of the country and its inhabitants. At 11 o'clock we got to Baley [Balaya] where, in the absence of the old chief, his two sons gave us a most wretched hut to rest in, whilst my people had to cook in the open street. I had hardly been seated a while, when both sons, one after the other, came to ask for presents; they were told they should get one on my leaving in the afternoon, according to general custom. After a while they returned and peremptorily demanded payment for the miserable hut which I was occupying. They became so insolent that I summoned my party with my railway whistle and they, having been annoyed in like manner, were but too glad to break up again, though it was now after midday and none of us had yet tasted any food. Each took his load, the cook upset his pots into the fire and we bid the Baleyans good-bye, leaving the two troublesome youths

⁷⁸Morimen regularly, as noted earlier, supplemented their income by writing words from the Koran on pieces of paper or leather. These writings were often folded and enveloped in amulets worn around the neck. Often written charms were dipped in water and the residue drunk for its curative properties.

⁷⁹That Mori Musa would have sent two sons to Freetown, after education at Forékariah or Timbo/Labé, would have been unexpected. But it would have given Mori Musa unusual access to circumstances within the camps of all of his powerful neighbors. Graf recognized that it was unlikely that this would or could occur.

to ruminate over their folly, and the old chief to miss the whiteman's present on his return! By the side of the next river we came to, we sought out a lonely, shady place, cooked our breakfast in sweet retirement, wood and water being at hand, and after having greatly enjoyed our breakfast at 2 o'clock P.M. having had neither money nor respects to pay, we proceeded on our way. Hitherto the road had been tolerably good, leading us through farms and grass fields mostly covered with a finely granulated iron ore of which, however, the natives know not the value. We now passed the last town of the high Labaya land, called Musaya, and henceforth had to descend for 4 or 5 miles most precipitous hills, consisting of fearful masses of perpendicular rocks (chiefly granite) of several hundred feet in height, so that, instead of walking, we had to hop from rock to rock, [ms.69] for several hours, which greatly fatigued us. In the Evening we got late to a town called Samaya [Simbaya], lying in the Susu district Baghónyi. We were led into some house for the night, which had two entrances at opposite ends, but without a door or even a mat to either. After some time I found that we were not lodged in the chief's house, and fearing some annoyance might arise from this circumstance, I sent for him. He sat down a while and seeing no present forthcoming, he asked what I had sent for him for. I told him that I had sent for him to make his acquaintance and to pay him my respects and that moreover I should be glad to see him early the next morning before I left; thus intimating that I intended to give him a present on leaving. In the morning, however, no chief made his appearance; whether he liked his morning slumber too well or whether he thought that as I did not occupy his house, he had no claim to any present, I know not. I did not think it worth my while or his to send for him again.

March 13th Having left Samaya early we called at the next town Yalea [Yalaya] on a young chief, a friend of Mori Musa. This chief appeared unusually intelligent and his town is the first that has large fences or mud walls around it and broad roads leading into it. We passed Moriya and Tanene over good gravelly ground and in the Evening we got to a farm house, where we had to stay over night. Fortunately we had bought on the road a young ram-goat which we had killed on the spot and therefore we had a very good supper in this lonely place, where we could not have procured any thing.

March 14th We passed a considerable village Neyenga [Nieguéya] where they were engaged in their horrid Kulundji feast. A great number of old people came to gaze at me and showed a great inclination to keep me to the following day by hook or by crook - but the clattering and yelling [ms.70] of the young people in their circumcision pen reminded me so strongly of the horrors of Damuya, that nothing could have detained me but main force. The people seemed otherwise good-natured and one of them made me a present of a few Kolas. We then passed Golaya [Coyah] and Koba [Karba] and at 11 o'clock A.M. We entered Ghuruya, the first town of the Sumbuya district, large and fortified with mud walls. The houses are lofty and well built, the people more industrious and the soil better than in the upper regions which we had left.

Here a European merchant on the coast keeps an agent to sell European goods and to send to him any African merchants of note.⁸⁰ The King of Ghuruya was away on a war

⁸⁰Agents of this type were generally local Africans or *Gumettas* in their employ from the coast. Traders used these agents to advertise goods available at coastal factories and to announce to caravans the presence, prices, and hospitality offered. Agents also helped to stimulate production of certain commodities in the interior and which were in high demand at coastal factories. For more on this practice, see the editor's "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Nunez and Pongo Rivers, 1790-1808," *Journal of African History*, XIV (1973), 45-64.

expedition; he seems to be a pagan as he is in the habit of keeping about six Yelle-men; but there appear to be a great many Mahomedans living here; though I could perceive no mosque. Wonkafong lies about six miles West of here and is another town of importance in this neighbourhood.⁸¹ We left this town in the afternoon and before we reached Salegere, where we spent the night, a new, unexpected calamity befel us. On crossing a river several of my party stripped themselves and jumped into the water for a refreshing bath, a practice against which I had expressly warned them to indulge in, when they were fatigued or in the evening. I felt displeased at their rash conduct, but unwilling to reprove them after a day's toil, I speedily gave the signal and proceeded onward in order to induce them to leave their dangerous indulgence the sooner. After some time I was told that some of our party were far behind, but knowing that they had not heeded my signal, I took no notice of the circumstance, as I thought the loitering party would take warning for next time, if he had to run after us a while. After a short time I halted and, asking for the loiterers, I found that all had rejoined us except [ms.71] one, who had complained that he was too tired to proceed. I now suspected the effects of their cold bath and sent two men to fetch the missing companion, whom they found, at last, lying in the grass by the roadside, almost speechless. I administered a mild cordial and had him carried to the next village, where we stopped over night. After we had got a little settled, I examined our patient and found him motionless, speechless, with clenched mouth and cold all over from head to foot. With great difficulty we got a few spoonfuls of warm slop into his stomach; used friction, applied flannels wrung in hot water to the pit of the stomach besides a few other remedies. All seemed to be in vain. We then all joined in prayer; asked for Divine Aid in this extremity and commended our brother's soul into the Lord's hand, if he should see fit to remove him from this world. Whilst we were thus engaged he fell into a sound, deep sleep, which gave me good hope. After midnight he awoke and took a little supper, after which he gradually recovered, although he remained in a weak state for a day or two. I trust that this will prove a salutary warning to all my travelling friends as long as they live. To God be all praise.

March 16th Friday Our last day's land march. The soil in Sumbuya is beautiful and this is not to be wondered at. Eastward it is bordered by high perpendicular rocks, leading over hills and mountains to the high table land of the Foulah and Mandingoe countries. From these high regions in the East and from the Labaya hills in the north, the finest alluvial soil is annually washed down into this low, well-watered Sumbuya land. Emigration has followed the same direction: tribe after tribe has been rolling down from these interior highlands, like powerful avalanches, sweeping every thing before them and driving the original inhabitants of the coast into the meanest recesses of the country. [ms.72] To these belligerent tribes have succeeded others, attracted by the goodness of the soil; others again have settled in these neighbourhoods of European factories, to act as brokers between the latter and their trading countrymen from the Interior, imposing alike on the one as on the other;⁸² and lastly, though by far not least, immense carravans [sic] of living merchandize in the shape of slaves have annually been sent down hither from the interior, to be sold to

81Wonkafong was the recognized capital of the Sumbuya state and the residence of the ruling lineage. It also was the center of the Dumbuya lineage trading interest in the Northern Rivers.

82The history of principal Djula trading families and their migrations to the coast is discussed fully in David Skinner, "Sierra Leone Relations with the Northern Rivers and the Influence of Islam in the Colony," *International Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, I (1988), 91-113.

merchants on the coast.⁸³ And these slaves too were not the rich, the noble, the intelligent and the valiant of their native place. They were the dregs and the scum of their nations: the vagabonds, the idlers, the cowards taken in war or the culprits, the felons and highwaymen brought from their courts of Justice. What wonder then if, for ages, European entertained such mean views of the Negroe's intellectual and moral capabilities. They have only seen the grovelling disposition, the compressed foreheads, the protruding jaws, the dark, squinting look, betokening extreme wickedness or the vacant eye, testifying the inward stupidity, or the earth-bent countenance bespeaking secret guilt &c of Negroes on the coast. They have never judged from the tall and portly figures, the high, narrow foreheads, the small chins, the genteel demeanour, the sparkling intelligent eyes, the graceful walk, the spirited valour and perhaps the benevolent hospitality to be met with in the Interior of Africa. The latter quality other travellers have extolled, though I have not yet experienced enough of it myself, to give me the idea that a Negroe can do a disinterested act.

From the various causes stated above, Sumbuya is inhabited by Susus, Foulahs Mandingoes &c all come, at some period or other, from the Interior; the former generally pagans, the two latter Mahomedans.

This day at 4 o'clock we entered the town of Moribaya, which is the largest we ever met with [ms.73] on our present tour, but it is mostly inhabited by Mahomedans, who have a large mosque, provided with all ecclesiastical appendages. This being so large a town we had hoped to find abundance of provisions, and therefore we had used our last grain of rice. Vain expectation! Our landlord could or would not procure us any food, and elsewhere we could find none. Had to retire to our beds without supper, after a good long walk. Our landlord seemed to regret our intrusion; he was an unfeeling, heartless man; neither cash nor goods could get us food of any kind. We succeeded in getting a little hard Cassada which made our breakfast on Saturday the 17th. In the evening our Landlord's brother gave us a huge Cassada root 3 feet in length, but on cooking it, it was as hard as wood. My landlord's wife cooked me twice a chicken with a little rice, but I felt so suspicious of its contents that I was afraid to eat it alone, but shared it with all my people. Our landlord's brother, a Mahomedan likewise, lent me his canoe at an extravagant price, asking for the money half a day before we were ready to start. Refusing to comply with this demand, he actually insisted on getting the money the very moment when we put foot into his canoe, which I had to agree to. Saturday Evening at 9 o'clock we left with a glad heart and empty stomachs Moribaya. We soon entered the Bareira River and in the morning, Sunday the 18th we were in sight of Matacong where we arrived at

10 o'clock and where I was again hospitably entertained by the resident European Merchant [Nathaniel Isaacs].

Mar. 19th Monday Having met here an American brig at anchor, bound for Sierra Leone, we took passage in her and landed on Tuesday Afternoon the 20th, at Freetown and at

⁸³In the heyday of slave trading, the period before 1830, large caravans came to the rivers with rice, ivory, and other commodities to exchange for salt, cola, and European manufactures, especially guns and gunpowder. Excess porters often became commodities themselves, either to the slave traders for future export or to local landlords who employed them in production of coffee, cotton or other commodities grown on the coast. After 1830, production of groundnuts resulted in the development of a type of plantation agriculture that required large number of laborers, some of whom could be purchased in the same fashion.

10 o'clock the same evening we welcomed our families at Hastings, where we were beset, till after midnight, and all the following day, with friendly and cheerful [ms.74] inquiries, offering us sympathy for the past and a hearty welcome for the future. Praised be God.

Conclusions

It cannot but be painful to a Missionary to undertake such a journey and expose himself to such inconveniences and dangers, and after all not to have secured an "effectual door" for a Missionary settlement. Such, however, was not my expectation on starting nor felt I any great anxiety to establish such a settlement. The Natives North of Sierra Leone are not prepared for it. I thought myself happy enough if I could spy the land, form acquaintances and establish friendly relations and give the natives a favourable idea of Missionaries and their principles and operations. And in this respect I trust the Tour has not been quite in vain and that it may yet be blessed by God.

It may have occurred to the reader why I had not invited a Missionary brother to accompany me. The reason lies in this: there was no other Missionary devoting his attention to the Susu language, and to whom, therefore my longer stay in certain places must have prove tedious. I was also determined to ascertain the full extent of economy, with which such Missionary tours could be undertaken, but I never could have expected another Missionary to subject himself to the privations and wants which I voluntarily underwent. Had I travelled in the accustomed way, taking bulky conveniences, European provisions and opening every where the passage by presents, I would have had to employ at least four times the number of men to carry the loads, by which the expense to the Society and the idea of the Natives of my being a merchant, would have been greatly enhanced; and even then the number would not have sufficed to carry me right up to the Sulima country and back again. I trust these two facts have been established from this experiment: 1) that it [ms.75] is practicable to travel in West Africa without giving presents to chiefs beforehand, provided they be well remunerated [sic] after services rendered; trifling little presents of a few leaves of Tobacco being sufficient for Chiefs who render no such services: and 2) that a Missionary must carry such travelling conveniences as will at least keep him fairly alive and render him independent of the supplies procurable on the spot. Such are preserved meats, soups, milk for an occasional cup of tea; wine and brandy; besides a small tent or two to be able to sleep in the open air without endangering his life; and perhaps a machintosh mattress. Although I was nigh paying with my life for this experiment, I trust it will prove useful in future and though I felt weak and emaciated for want of proper or even sufficient food, I felt so far from discouraged, that, if I had found a number of Sulima merchants at Moribaya, returning to their country, I should have joined the party rather than have returned to Sierra Leone. Since my return I still feel the consequences of my journey in great general debility hanging about me for months, but I should not object to renew the attempt by land or by water by the return of the next fair season. Sure I am, that nothing but repeated visits will inure the Missionary and familiarize the the [sic] natives with his motives and proceedings.

In point of Religion the Labayans are loose Fetish worshippers. They have no idols of any kind in their houses or in their farms; but they are in the habit of hanging at the crossing of roads various useless things, such as broken pots, pieces of calabashes shreds of

Chinaware, strips of paper and of blue bafts.⁸⁴ Alas! for their gods! that they can be contented with such contemptible offerings. Besides these they have certain groves in the forest, which are held sacred and dare not be betrod with impunity; but they have no distinct [ms.76] religious character. They are the old matrons place of retreat, where they inure the young females into the mysteries of their sex and whither the young males and females repair daily, each party led by their aged teacher at the time of the Kulundji (circumcision feast), where they are daily examined, purified and sometimes fed. This is a civil rite enveloped in secrecy by common decency, and performed for the sake of real or visionary advantages of a physical nature. A few wear Mahomedan charms and the females all ornamented with beads with fine large coral strings to a sum exceeding £5 or £6 sterling. Mine appeared contemptible; they procured us never even a handful of rice.

In natural productions I have seen but little besides Slate and Iron ore of the Mineral Kingdom; of Vegetables I was told that various valuable articles of commerce grew in the forests, of which the natives knew not either their value or their mode of culture. I was told that Coffee grew here as well as in the Foulah country, but I never saw a shrub, although I frequently looked for some. In one vegetable the Labaya and Sumbuya countries are famous: this is the Kola nut, which has often rendered me such good services that I cannot help noticing it before I close; especially as a considerable trade is carried on in this perishable article between the Susu countries and the settlements on the coast as well as with the far Interior of Africa, where it is not grown. This substance is a very perishable article, as it can only be sold and used whilst in a fresh green state. It is carefully washed and wrapped in a green Banana leaves, by which means it keeps good several months. It is used wherever it is known, as a valuable stomachic, being very bitter and a little astringent; to which follows a sweetish taste which [ms.77] makes a draught of cold water most agreeable, imparting to it the sweet taste of the Kola. It is chewed like the Betel nut in India and like Tobacco by sailors. Its symbolical value makes it of no little importance; since a red Kola betokens a challenge of war or general hostility, whilst the white Kola is the harbinger of peace and friendship or used instead of a flag of truce. Europeans do not soon take a fancy to this substance, it having a raw, bitter taste like a raw potatoe and in shape like a horse ches[t]nut. I never liked it until on morning walks with an empty stomach produced a disagreeable gnawing sensation with a disposition to Diarrhea; when the Kola nut proved of a most valuable effect on both these complaints. So used to it, became I, that I consider it the greatest comfort which I have enjoyed on my journey and cannot help thinking that a Medicinal preparation of this nut might prove a valuable addition to our Materia Medica. It is generally

chewed alone, but people who can afford it join with it Ginger, Alligator pepper or Cardamom seeds.

The dress of the Susus is plain: They wear narrow trousers, some reaching to the knee, some to the ancles; whilst the Foulahs and Mandingoes wear very wide trousers reaching scarcely to the knee and containing from 15 to 30 yards of blue baft in each, which immense length is drawn together at the waist by means of a cotton cord with tassel. The Susus wear a Mahomedan gown somewhat more modestly made, not so wide and flowing. The women wear only a wrapper around their waist two yards in length, whilst a large cloth

⁸⁴Afzelius, *Sierra Leone Journal*, 90; Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, I (1803; London, 1969), 258.

is either tied over it or used as a shawl over the shoulders or as a parasol over head and shoulder in the sun.

The Labayans are tall men, with high, narrow heads; long, narrow faces, pointed noses, and chins and lips very similar to Europeans.

The only article of Barter really indispensable for [ms.78] travellers is Tobacco: this is the African "Passe-partout"!

A few words on slavery. One of the blackest atrocities of which man has made himself guilty is the kidnapping and selling to foreign nations intelligent and immortal beings like himself, "flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones." Yet still, in an age when philanthropy is frequently degenerating into effeminacy, it should not be forgotten that Slavery, in Africa, is of Divine appointment, and observation in localities points it out rather as a blessing than a curse. It is neither more nor less than the European Vassalage of former days. A very few of great genius and extraordinary mental abilities (and few indeed they are!) may feel their servitude a kind of restraint, but whilst they acquire habits of industry and regularity, they are treated as members of the family; enjoy privileges in proportion to their usefulness and faithfulness and are at last allowed to settle in life for themselves, not seldom being assisted and "set up" by their masters themselves. To females, weak and idle men and all who are not able to protect themselves, it appears and really is a great advantage to be under the guidance and protection, the wholesome tutelage, of a powerful Master. A Home-born slave can never be sold, except for crimes which he may have committed or when taken prisoner in war; so that sold slaves are generally the criminals or cowards or idlers to whom the state of vassalage must prove wholesome to themselves and beneficial to Society at large. It is far more bearable than European transportation for life.

And now Susuland, fare thee well! Alas! that I cannot tune the ten-stringed instrument in praise of God's gracious dealings amongst thy inhabitants. But I trust the day of thy visitation will come ere long, and that Gospel - Halleluyahs will yet resound from hill to hill and from dale to dale before this [ms.79] generation has passed away. For it is a sure word of prophecy, "a light that shineth in every dark place," "that every nation shall serve Him." (P.S.72.11), whose "name is above every name and that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Phil. 2.9. "Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

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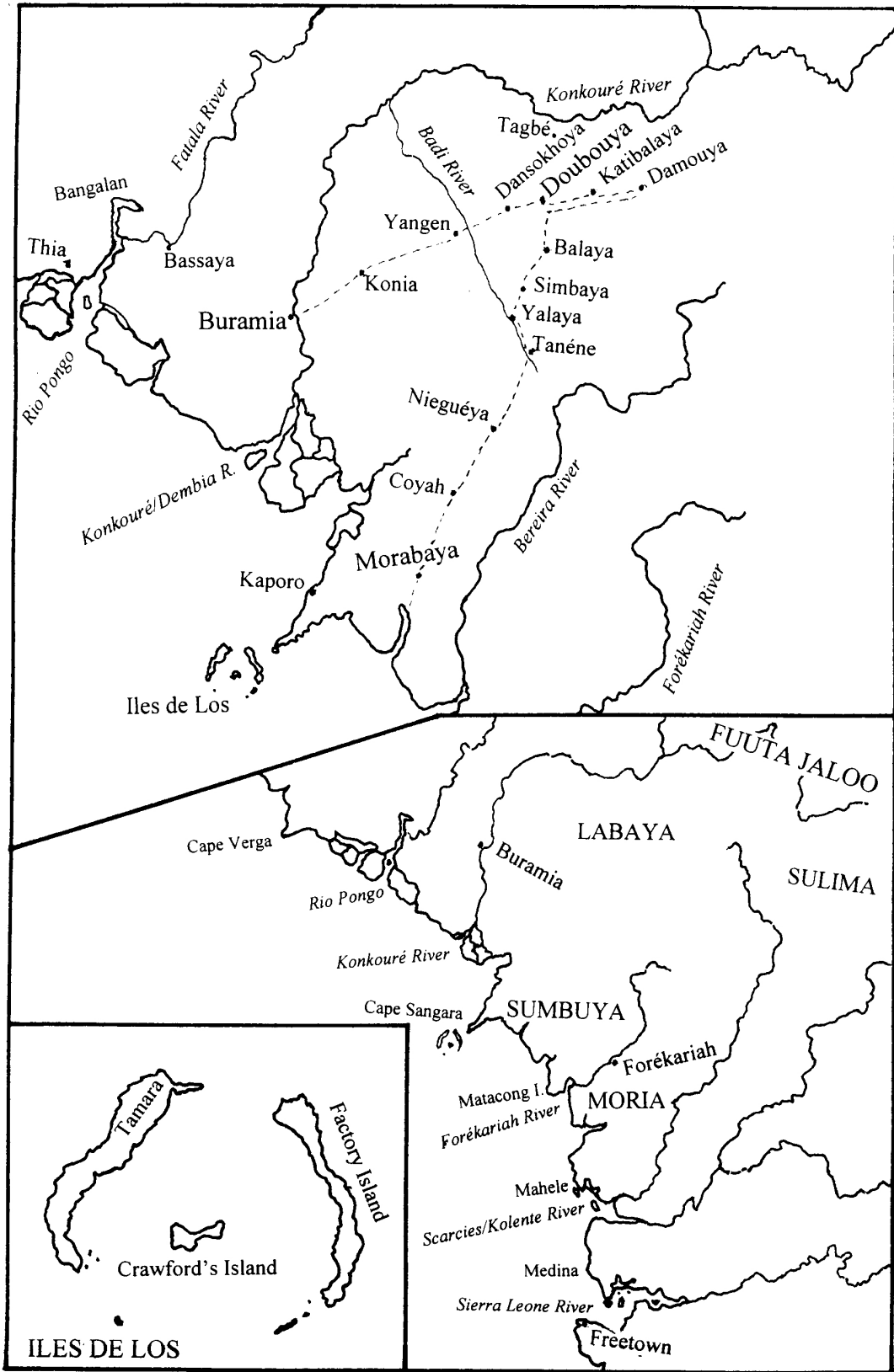
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