

Titled: Rev. Edward Jones' journal of a visit in the Rio Nunez in January 1844.

Introduction: In 1844 Rev. Edward Jones was the superintendent of the Fourah Bay Institute, Sierra Leone's higher education school that was sponsored by the government but operated by the Church Missionary Society. He was an African American born in Charleston, South Carolina, and was the first black to graduate from Amherst College in Massachusetts. His parents were free blacks in Charleston where they were successful inn keepers and slave owners. Jones intended originally to settle in Liberia, but his Anglican roots drew him instead to the CMS and to Sierra Leone. British officials at Freetown found him argumentative and too republican for their liking, and several tried unsuccessfully to have him removed from Sierra Leone. When Thomson became missing at Timbo and when it seemed likely that someone would need to go to the Northern Rivers and overland to Timbo to rescue him and his son, Jones was a logical choice, for he was an American by birth, and Americans were still well represented among several of the Northern Rivers' influential trading families. Traders would facilitate any rescue effort, and without their help any expedition into the interior would have little chance of success. This journal covers Jones' observations from the time he left Freetown until his return there. There are additional letters in the CA1/O/129 series that relate directly to Jones' Nunez visit.

Source: Church Missionary Society, CA1/O/129/105C, Letters, Reports, Journals of Rev. Edward Jones, 1841-64, "Journal from Sierra Leone to the Rio Nunez in Her Majesty's Steamer *Albert*, Jan. 1844."

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Transcription: by Bruce Mouser.

[Rev. Edward Jones' journal of a visit in the Rio Nunez in January 1844.]

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**Journal from Sierra Leone to the Rio Nunez in Her Majesty's Steamer
Albert, Jan. 1844.**

Freetown.

Jan^y. 5th. The Special Meeting having thought it necessary to make every attempt to procure correct information as to the reported death of Mr. Thomson² came to the resolution that I should proceed to Teembo by way of the Rio Nunez from the head of which river there was said to be easy and constant access to the Capital of Footah. The Governor as soon as he was informed of the circumstance very promptly and kindly procured me a passage in her Majesty's Steamer "*Albert*" which will take me as far as Debucco beyond which the river is not navigable.

My parting with the Youths³ was very affecting; many seemed to think they should see my face no more. But as I was not going on a path of my own choosing⁴ I went with a cheerful heart though some what saddened at the separation from Dear friends. The Lord order all the ships of my journey.⁵

At 7 P.M. The *Albert* weighed anchor and in an hour's time anchored off the Cape distant 5 miles from Freetown.

Saturday 6th. At daylight we were again under weigh. Passed the "Isles de Los"⁶ at 5 P.M.

Sunday 7th. Came to anchor at half past 1 this morning off Mudbar⁷ distant 12 miles from one of the mouths of the Rio Pongas. Preached today at 10 A.M. by invitation from the Commander.⁸

Wednesday 10th. Still at anchor looking out for a slaver⁹ as the commander had information that one or two were up the river.

Thursday 11th. Anchored this morning inside the Pongas.

As the ship's boat was about to go up a large creek near us I accompanied

the officer in charge. We proceeded about 18 miles in a most tortuous course; the banks were low and muddy abounding in mangrove and emitting an intolerable odour. We did not see a solitary hut nor meet with a single human being.¹⁰ All was emptiness and desolation, rendering the more impressive by the shrill screams of numerous water fowl.

12th. At 8 this morning the *Albert* cruised up another branch of the Pongas and came out to sea at Sandbar.¹¹ The Pongas has so many large creeks, all wide and navigable, that it is next to impossible for any one vessel to ferret out the slavers who resort here. We heard of two leaving a short time before we went up.

13th. Saturday. At day light we started for the Nunez. The land begins to assume some elevation and presents a finer appearance, and at Cape Verga rises into a bold promontory.¹² Spoke the brig "*Nunez*" from London bound up the same river. At 6 P.M. Anchored off Sandy Island. This Island lies in the mouth of the Nunez and a few years ago when surveyed by the "*Etna*"¹³ was said to be covered with trees. There is nothing now to be seen but some dry and withered stumps.

14th. Sunday.¹⁴ At 7 A.M. we proceeded up the river. As we had the first of the flood with us we went at a rapid rate.¹⁵ At 10 A.M. held divine service; and at 5 P.M. reached Debucco distant about 70 miles from the sea. Went ashore in the evening and remained all night.¹⁶

15th. Monday. Landed my baggage and took possession of my quarters which are miserable enough - a grass house stripped of its thatch which is done to prevent injury from fire and consequently open over head. To remedy this inconvenience a quantity of mats were placed on a frame over my bed which did not prevent me from seeing the stars. In front of me is a large open space where about a hundred Foulahs and other natives from the Interior are huddled together in parties of five and six each around blazing fires - some cooking, some eating, but the most part singing and dancing - presenting a scene of the most novel description. Conferred with Mess^{rs}. [Benjamin] Campbell¹⁷ and Bicaise¹⁸ to whom I had brought letters from the Governor as to what steps I should take in reference to my journey to Teemboh. They told me that they had dispatched a messenger to the Imaum with presents requesting him to forward M^r. Thomson's son¹⁹ without delay. They had

also written to the lad to secure all his father's papers.²⁰ They were there in daily expectation of the messenger's return as he left this place on the 23rd December and promised to be back in twenty-five days.²¹ I see no other alternative but to abide by their advice although it is likely to occasion a delay of some ten or twelve days. I am fully of the opinion that travelers to the interior of this country suffer very much from the various and too often vexatious delays thrown in their way, which acting upon a mind anxious to advance produce despondency, disease and death.²² May God grant me faith to acknowledge his hand in the disposal and ordering all the circumstances and events of my journey and patience to abide his will. The persons to whose hospitality I have been commended has shown me the greatest kindness and I am as comfortable as one could expect to be at this distance from home.²³

16th. Tuesday.²⁴ Heard this morning that a large party of Foulahs was in our neighbourhood just arrived from the interior.²⁵ They had come for the purpose of trade but were obliged first to present themselves before the King of the Landamas²⁶ whose name is Sarrah.²⁷ There are three tribes in this river - The Bagoes²⁸ at its mouth, the Naloos in the centre, and the Landamas at its head. The Naloos speak a dialect not at all understood by their immediate neighbours, while the Bagoes and Landamas understand each other without any difficulty and in fact their language seems to be the same with the Timneh.²⁹

Although the King of the Landamas receives ten dollars a month from each factory in the river³⁰ on condition of not interfering with trade he yet endeavours as much as possible to secure the best portion to himself and has his people on the lookout whenever strangers arrive to compel them to bring their goods to him before they are allowed to trade freely with the merchants. In this way he always contrives to get the best of every thing and is doing a very profitable business on furnished him by the merchants.³¹ What I witnessed today may give some idea of the misrule in this country. A Foulah chief from Teemboh after some months reaches the last Foulah town distant from this about thirty miles and called Horeous. In order to make a fine shew, all travellers have been forced to stop until he was ready, that they might swell the numbers of his train. The roads are

guarded and no one allowed to pass. In this case the detention has been about eight days, and though few had any connection with the chief yet none dared attempt to pass before he was ready. I am told that these delays are very frequent.³² In company with the Commander of the “*Albert*” and the principal English merchants I went to see the Foulah party which had just arrived. We took our station under a large tree where we had a good view. They came in a long procession two and two attended by an armed party whose duty it was to keep the roads clear and to prevent straggling from the ranks.³³ They were upwards of two hours passing us and as they walked very slowly we computed their number to be about 2000. Some had fowls, some rice, others coffee, hides, cloths, and gold. Most of them were slaves, who in many instances were distinguished by a small rope around their necks. This I was informed was a significant token that such were for sale. They presented a miserable appearance bending under the weight of the loads they carried upon their heads.³⁴

18th. Thursday. Another large part of strangers arrived today. Some them are Bambarra people from Segou and Jenneh and along the banks of the Niger and many are Serracoolies and Mandingoes.³⁵ They are last from Teemboh and say they left the messenger sent to bring Mr. Thomson’s son at that place.³⁶ This is good news if true but I have already found how little dependance can be placed on such statements.

There was a meeting today on board the *Albert*³⁷ of all the British and French traders, at which it was agreed upon to adopt vigorous measures towards King Sarrah.³⁸ His tyrannical conduct almost surpasses belief and he has proceeded so far as to threaten to tie up and flog the merchants. The result of the meeting was that all should remove their persons and property down the river while the *Albert* would keep up a strict blockade. It is thought this will embroil him with the Foulahs; and that as trade will be stopped his own people will force him to come to some arrangement.³⁹ The Commander of the *Albert* last year⁴⁰ made a treaty with Sarrah every one of the stipulations of which he is said to have violated. My journey at present is out of the question, as I could not get people to go with me neither would it be safe to attempt it. The Lord direct my way!

21st. Sunday. This is no Sabbath. All are busy moving their property. Carpenters, blacksmiths, traders are all at work as if they had never heard of a day of rest. The necessity of the case is pleaded but I have seen enough to convince me that with or without necessity there is no distinction of days observed except that the Sierra Leone people charge more for work done on the Lord's day than on other days. At 10 A.M. held service on board the *Albert*.

22nd. Monday. Today one of the French residents died suddenly after a few hours illness. He was a Roman Catholic and was unable to speak when his danger was discovered. At the request of his friends I attended the funeral and read our burial service.

41^{27th}. Saturday. The *Albert* having waited until all the residents had removed proceeded down the river and anchored off Ropass a factory just beyond the limits of the Landamas. The river is here from a mile and a half to two miles wide and presents a scene of bustle and business. The English, French and American flags are flying from different vessels and numerous small craft are plying to and from the shore. The blockade commences today and it is hoped that King Sarrah will soon come to terms. Went ashore and found that the Messenger from Teemboh was arrived. He is accompanied by a special messenger from the Imaum himself who is sent to say that Mr. Thomson's son had left for Sierra Leone by way of the "Mellicourie"⁴² ten days before the arrival of the bearer of the despatches from the English merchants at this place. As there is no doubt of the correctness of this statement I shall return to Sierra Leone as soon as an opportunity occurs and not wait for the *Albert* as she may be detained for some time. The very disturbed state of the country prevents my living ashore and I have no opportunity to gather much information. This makes my situation irksome.

28th. Sunday. Held service on board the *Albert*. There were several persons from the shore and some sea-men from the vessels around us. Preached from Heb. 2.3. "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?"

29th. Went ashore and baptized 11 children. There was quite a congregation assembled. So far as I can learn this is the first time this ceremony has been performed in this river within the recollection of the present residents, some of

whom are of twenty and thirty years standing.

30th. Tuesday. An unfortunate affair took place today which assumes a serious aspect. An armed part of Naloos whose territory adjoins that of the Landamas and with whom and us there has been no difference fired upon a boat of the *Albert* which was endeavouring to enforce the blockade. It seems that they took offence at the institution of the blockade without their being consulted; and the Chief's brother "Urah" was sent with an armed canoe purposely to break it.⁴³ As the canoe neared the shore a blank cartridge was fired from the *Albert* as a signal to the people to heave to. No attention being paid to this a ball cartridge was fired across the canoe's bows. As they still pulled on for the shore a boat manned with Kroomen was sent to prevent their landing. The canoe first gained the shore and finding the *Albert's* men to be unarmed, they immediately fired upon them and then ran off to some distance. Happily no injury was sustained by the Kroomen who succeeded in capturing the canoe which was taken along-side the *Albert* and burnt by the Commander's orders. The boats of the *Albert* were not manned and armed and proceeded to the shore with the Commander himself to demand explanation and apology. He was some distance in advance of his men who were ordered to remain quiet till sent for. The Naloos who were behind the stockade which surrounded the grounds (the factory of a M[ichael] Proctor) seeing the Commander alone made a rush upon him and was only prevented from making him their prisoner by the timely aid of his men who now promptly came to their Commander's rescue. Orders have been given to arm all the dependants of the factory and the crews of the vessels at anchor are to keep guard on shore as it is rumoured the Naloos will make an attack during the night. They are evidently prepared for war.⁴⁴

31st. Wednesday. Today the *Albert* went down the river and anchored off Cassakabouly the residence of the Naloo Chief Salifah. As my residence was in the Cabin of the *Albert* I have to continue on board which on the whole is far preferable to remaining on shore. As soon as we had come to an anchor communication was opened with the Naloos and the Commander has given them till 4 o'clock tomorrow afternoon to accede to his terms which are as the Chief

disclaims all participation in the attack made by his brother and pronounces it to have been unauthorized by him and his people, that his brother as the principal offender be given up and sent on board the *Albert*, otherwise hostilities to commence immediately.⁴⁵

Feb. 1st. Thursday. The Chief's brother not having been given up, at 4 o'clock precisely the *Albert* hoisted the red flag and commenced firing upon the town. Several congreve rockets were discharged one of which set fire to Salifah's residence.⁴⁶ There was no return from the shore and as we did not see any one and sufficient time had been given for all to remove, I do not think any lives were lost. Returned up the river to Ropass at 8 P.M.⁴⁷

2nd. Friday. The *Albert* was occupied today in burning a small Naloo town.⁴⁸ No resistance was offered as every one had fled.⁴⁹ We have heard that several hundred of the enemy are congregated in the woods near Ropass and that they threaten to burn and destroy that factory which information caused the *Albert* to return in the evening. The merchants are much alarmed as there is a large amount of goods ashore to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds.

3rd. Saturday. Having heard this morning that an American brig⁵⁰ was likely to sail for Sierra Leone I went on board and agreed with the Captain to take me home. He will not however sail before Monday as he is afraid to attempt to go down the river unless convoyed by the *Albert*. I cannot but see the hand of God upon me today for any good. Since I had received authentic information as to the departure of Mr. Thomson's son from Teemboh I have continued in the *Albert* purposing to return in her to Sierra Leone. But as the war was likely to detain her for some time I had this morning put my things in an American brig with the hope of soon leaving the river, and thus escaped being an eyewitness, it no more, of the calamities that followed. The *Albert* left this morning with the avowed purpose of burning Cassakabouly. Having anchored off the place all the boats containing about forty men mostly Kroomen landed under the command of Lieut. Cockraft himself. It was low water when the landing was attempted which rendered it exceedingly difficult the men being up to their knees in the mud. The ascent to the stockade was very steep and before the men could well get clear of the mud and

form into something like order the Naloos seeing their defenceless position opened a sharp and destructive fire upon them. The result was that the attempt to take the place was precipitately abandoned, but not before the *Albert* had sustained a loss of four men killed and eight wounded. All the killed were Africans. This is likely to prove a most unfortunate affair. The crew of the *Albert* was already crippled as she had sent the greater part of her white men to Ascension before leaving Sierra Leone and now without a reinforcement she will hardly be able to bring matters to a close. The crews of the vessels keep nightly guard ashore & Ropass presents the appearance of a fortified camp.⁵¹

4th. Sunday. There was no opportunity to hold service today. The one thing that employed every one male and female was to assist in making good our defence.

5th. Monday. We continue still in the same state of alarm and affairs are looking very serious. The brig in which I had taken my passage cannot pass down the river without falling into the hands of the Naloos as their town commands the channel and is strongly fortified.

6th. I have now a prospect of leaving this unhappy country. One of merchants has placed a schooner at the disposal of the Commander of the *Albert* who will send her to Sierra Leone for assistance. The *Albert* is to tow her beyond the point of danger and through the kind attention of a friend a free passage has been given me in her.⁵²

7th. At noon today I left Ropass in the Schooner "*Margaret*" the *Albert* taking us in tow. We met with no resistance until we reached Cassakabouly when the Natives commenced firing upon us. Three round shot entered the *Albert* one passing under the paddle box into the engine room. No one however was injured, though the bullets dropped about us like hail stones. The *Albert* and the men in the schooner fired in return but with what effect it is impossible to say. It is reported that the chief Salifah was wounded in the affair of the 3rd February and that the enemy have lost many, killed and wounded, but it is quite impossible at present to ascertain the truth. We proceeded on our way and having arrived near the mouth of the river the *Albert* left us to pursue our course while she returned to Ropass.⁵³

10th. Saturday. At 2 P.M. we sighted the hills of Sierra Leone. The distance from

the mouth of the Nunez to the Cape is 203 Miles (south). The passage has been very pleasant and right pleasant the prospect of soon being with Christian friends and joining in the prayers and praises of the Congregation. I had been sojourning in Mesech and dwelling in the tents of Kidar.⁵⁴ I had been among those who were enemies to peace, and there were things of daily occurrence that often brought to mind the works of the Psalmist O that I had the wings of a dove for then would I flee away and be at rest!⁵⁵ The disturbed state of the country[,] the excitement in the minds of the people caused by the preparations for war, and not least the profane language and the society in which I was often compelled to mingle - all tended to render my situation distressingly uncomfortable. I could besides do little or nothing in the way of exercising my ministry. But now thanks to a merciful Providence who kept me in safety when the messengers of death were running to and fro. I was restored to the scene of my former labours in renewed health. Some fears were felt, some anxious enquiries made as to friends whom I had left suffering from illness, but to all these an answer of peace was vouchsafed. With a light heart and quick step⁵⁶ I walked on to Fourah Bay and when I saw the glad faces and received the hearty welcome of the youths I felt more strongly than ever This is my own if not my native land.⁵⁷

E. Jones.

1In CMS CA1/0/129, “An Ordinance [6 February 1845] for naturalizing the Revered Edward Jones, Clerk,” Jones was described as a “Native of Charleston, in the United States of America.”

2William Cooper Thomson, linguist attached to the Church Missionary Society, had gone to Timbo in 1841, remaining there until his death in October 1843. Thomson went to Timbo as the representative of the Sierra Leone Colony, but he also represented active business interests at Freetown. His instructions included traveling beyond Timbo to Segou on the Niger River. While at Timbo, Thomson became directly involved in a civil dispute between Alimaami Abubakar and his challenger for rulership, Omar. A civil war broke out while Thomson was in Timbo and Abubakar was removed from power. Much of Thomson’s difficulties lay in his determination to assist Abubakar and to oppose Omar. For Thomson’s own reports, see CMS CA1/0/214, “Papers, Letter, Reports, W. Cooper Thomson.” The only published version of Thomson’s government report is found in Lord Stanley, “Narrative of Mr. William Cooper Thomson’s Journey from Sierra Leone to Timbo, Capital of the Fútah Jállo, in Western Africa,” *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*, XVI (1846), 106-135. Those authors who have written about Thomson’s expedition include Gustav Deveneaux, “Buxtonianism and Sierra Leone: The 1841 Timbo Expedition,” *Journal of African Studies*, (1978), 34-54; Winston F. McGowan, “The Development of European Relations with Futa Jallon and the Foundation of French Colonial Rule, 1794-1897” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1978).

3E. Jones was the headmaster at the Fourah Bay Institution. The “youths” refers to the male students in his charge.

4This reference to “path of my own choosing” may refer to either a belief that Providence had directed that this was his proper course of action or he had taken the advice of others to go via the Rio Nunez path rather than the Melikori path.

Thomson had followed the latter path to Timbo and became enmeshed in endless controversy and vexations along the way.
5The Church Missionary Society was known, in the early nineteenth century, for its moderate Calvinist adherence. Letters and reports from missionaries to the home society and instructions to the missionaries liberally were immersed in discourse involving Providence and God’s Will. For a discussion of moderate Calvinism, see Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), chapter 3, “The Moderation of Calvinism in the Churches.”

6The Iles de Los were a group of five main islands, located approximate six kilometers from the present city of Conakry in Guinea. For the Iles de Los, see Bruce L. Mouser, “Iles de Los as Bulking Centre in the Slave Trade, 1750-1800,” *Revue Française l’Histoire d’Outre-mer* 83, no. 313 (1996), 77-90; Peter McLachlan, *Travels into the Baga and Soosoo Countries During the Year 1821* (Freetown, 1821); James Boyle, *A Practical Medico-Historical Account of the Western Coast of Africa* (London, 1831); A[lfred] B[urdon] Ellis, *West African Islands* (London, 1885).

7The Modeba estuary to the Rio Pongo often was called the mud bar. This contrasted significantly with the sand bar which was located at the main mouth of the Pongo; the latter bar shifted unannounced, depending on the volume of water flowing from the river, the season of the year, and the time of the daily tides. In consequence, many captains chose to enter the river through the mud bar which, although more shallow than the main entrance, was less dangerous and less likely to result in running aground. It was common practice, along this coast, for indigenous peoples to demand salvage rights over any vessel grounded on a sand bar or a reef.

8The Commander of the *Albert* was Lieutenant Cockcraft. Cockcraft had already, by 1844, visited the Nunez on several occasions and knew many traders and landlords in the river.

9This would have been a late report for slaving in the Rio Pongo, although not necessarily unusual. The Pongo had been a favorite resort for slave traders from the eighteenth century, once the Fula had established secure trading paths from the Fuuta Jaloo to the coast. When the slave trade became illegal for Americans and Britons, the numerous streams that made up the Pongo provided ample camouflage for captains and local traders, and slave trading flourished into the 1830s. By 1844, it would have been unusual for slavers to openly visit the river. Perhaps the *Albert’s* presence was unexpected and had surprised a captain or two. The more likely circumstance is that there were always rumors of slavers operating along this coast and the *Albert’s* Commander was likely a willing or anxious listener to such rumors, for such a capture would mean that prize money could be anticipated once the slaver and his cargo was brought to the Admiralty Court in Freetown for adjudication.

10The arrival of a steam vessel from H.M. fleet would have been known throughout the mouth of the river. Towns, in this section of the river, also were located a slight distance from the river’s bank, primarily a consequence of the mangrove character of this coast.

11Sandbar was the main entrance and could be safely approached from the interior at high tide. Shifting tides and the river’s current, however, continued to make this entrance particularly dangerous.

12 Captains who navigated the African coast often used landmarks as indicators for precise location of sandbars, reefs, or obstructions of any sort. These might include trees, rocks, hills, and so forth. Sailing atlases and pilot instructions often contained elaborate descriptions. When a storm removed a tree or changed a land form in some way, that circumstance would have been duly noted in the ship’s log, and the word would soon have spread along the coast.

13Captain Belcher, “Extracts From Observations on Various Points of the West Coast of Africa, Surveyed by His Majesty’s Ship *Aetne*, in 1830-1832,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, II (1832): 278-305.

14PRO, ADM 51/3549, H.M.Steamer *Albert*, Shiplog, reads somewhat differently for this date: “7 Weighed and proceeded

up River Nunez. 6[8] Passed Sand Island. 10 Must.^d per Division and performed Divine Service. Passed several blazes on both Banks of the River. Noon. PM. 1.30 Eased and stopped the Engines. Communicated with the English Factory of Ropsas. 1.40 Boat returned up Do. Proceeded. Saluted King Sara with 3 Swivels. 3.40 Came too off De Bucca in 1 ½ fms. Moored Head and Stern. Communicated with the English Factors.”

15A flood tide refers to high tide, a time when waters along this coast rise as much as five meters. This creates a significant inward flow of water from the sea and a current on which a vessel can mount the river.

16Debucco, Deboka, Deboké, Boké is the Landuman name given to the head of navigation. This also was the political center and capital for the Landuma people. It was also one of the termini for caravan trade from the Fuuta Jaloo; as a consequence, it was also there that many Africans, Euroafricans, and Europeans/Americans operated trading stations. As noted below in the text, large numbers of Fula frequented Boké, bringing with them significant trade and demonstrating their political and military influence in the region. From the eighteenth century, a Fula governor was stationed at Boké to protect Fula interests and maintain an open path between the interior and the coast. For more on Boké during this critical period, see Bruce L. Mouser, “The Nunez Affair,” *Bulletin des Séances, Académie Royale des sciences d’Outre-mer* (Bruxelles), (1973-742), 697-742; Roderick Braithwaite, *Palmerston and the Nunez: Competition, Diplomacy and Justice* (London, 1996); Roderick Braitwaite, “The Rio Nunez Affair: New perspectives on a significant event in nineteenth century Franco-British colonial rivalry,” *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer* 83, no. 311 (June 1996), 25-45.

17Benjamin Campbell was an important British trader along this coast, with establishments and agents in the Nunez, Pongo, and Iles de Los. He aggressively opposed slave trading, believing that commerce in commodities would replace slave trading. In consequence, he encouraged the production of coffee, groundnuts and other local produce for the European market. Campbell was also a principal spokesman in the Nunez for the interests of British traders vis-à-vis the Naloo and Landuma traders and rulers. While in Timbo, W. Cooper Thomson had received a letter from Campbell and Bicaise in which they offered to provide him supplies and assistance, should he attempt to proceed beyond Timbo to Segu. Apparently, Campbell was concerned that a southern path through Port Loko might have an impact on trade to the Rio Nunez and that trade from northern Fula territory might be diverted from the Nunez to Portuguese and/or French terminals further to the north. In a letter to Campbell, CMS CA1/0/214/31, Thomson to Campbell, 21 October 1843, Thomson assured Campbell that he would represent the interests of both Campbell and Bicaise at Timbo.

18John Bicaise was described variously as a West Indian, EuroAfrican, and European. It is clear, however, that he spoke English, Portuguese and French and that he shifted allegiances depending on circumstances. In 1843, however, Bicaise was still a member of the British camp of traders in the Nunez and was working closely with Campbell. He also represented French interests when called upon to do so. Thomson’s letter to Campbell of 21 October 1843 mentioned that Bicaise had written to Thomson while the latter was in Timbo. That a messenger from Bicaise could deliver a letter to Thomson during wartime would indicate a particular status for Bicaise in the Fuuta Jaloo, perhaps one that recognized his importance to Fula trade on the coast. In December 1843, James Stevenson of Freetown (CA1/0/129, Stevenson to Jones, 27 December 1843) informed Jones that he had received a letter from Bicaise indicating that he had received word from Timbo of Thomson’s death. Stevenson indicated that Bicaise had already sent a message to Timbo requesting particular of Thomson’s death and asking that his property and son be returned to the coast via the Rio Nunez. In a subsequent message (CA1/0/129, Warburton to Campbell and Bicaise, 3 January 1844), J. Warburton of the Society informed Campbell and Bicaise that Jones would soon arrive in the Nunez and would proceed to Timbo, if that were necessary. In the meantime, Warburton requested Campbell and Bicaise to host Jones while he was in the Rio Nunez.

19By this time, Abubakar had been removed as ruler, effective March 1843. William Thomson, also called Billy by his father, was born in c. 1828. By the time of his trip to Timbo in 1841, he spoke Temne and Mandingo. Billy quickly learned Fula as well, at least enough to become a principal intermediary between his father and the learned men at Timbo. By Thomson, Sr.’s account, Billy was well received in the Fuuta.

20These papers have not been found thus far in this research. Thomson mentioned a diary and journal in his letter to the Church Missionary Society. The section of a journal used by Lord Stanley in his “Narrative,” also has not been located.

21Twenty-five days, for a return visit to Timbo from the Nunez, would represent rapid progress along the path and suggest that all disruptions in the interior had ended by this time. Effectively, this meant that it was possible to reach Timbo within twelve days from the Nunez.

22 In this instance, Jones was expressing a maxim of the coast that travel in the interior was fraught with dangers and extortions. Once a traveler placed himself under the protection of a landlord or the guardian of a road, he effectively had surrendered some choices and became subject to the whim of his guardian. Reasons for delay along the path could be real or imagined, and the traveler was unlikely to be told of all the factors that contributed to access of a commercial path joining the coast with the interior. Essentially, the traveler became totally dependent upon his protector, a circumstance that most adventurers had not experienced and likely considered humiliating and demeaning. Delay meant longer exposure to tropical diseases, especially if delays occurred close to the coast while travelers were still in areas where mosquitoes were most present.

23 Essentially Jones was indicating his acceptance of circumstances as they were, but explaining those as not the consequence of his hosts but rather the will of God.

24From Logbook of *Albert*: “PM. Saluted Chief of the Foulahs with 5 Guns. 4 Weighed and proceeded down River. 4.50 came too off the Factory of Sr. Andrew with B[est] B[ower]. In 2 F[athoms].”

25By mid-January, paths between the coast and the interior should have been open for nearly a month. If it took, however, time to organize a caravan in the interior and cross from the interior, this large caravan might have represented the first major caravan to reach the coast during this trading season.

26Accepted rules that governed the use of international paths and of strangers who were visiting in another’s territory required that all visitors first pay a visit and perhaps a duty of some sort to the principal landlord who would act as their host and protector while they traded within his lands. The rules, described as rules of relationships and “of the road,” are described more fully in Bruce L. Mouser, “Accommodation and Assimilation in the Landlord-Stranger Relationship,” in *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, edited by B. K. Swartz, Jr. and Raymond E. Dumett (The Hague, 1980), 495-514; Bruce L. Mouser, Editor, *Journal of a Missionary Tour to the Labaya Country (Guinea/Conakry) in 1850*, by Rev. John Ulrich Graf, University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, History and Culture, No. 01 1998.

27For more on Sarah/S’ahara, see Braithwaite, *Palmerston and Africa*, 51, 129, 130, 153, 311. Sarah died in 1844.

28For the Baga language, see F. K. Erhard Voeltz, “Les langues de la Guinée,” *Cahier d’études de langues Guinéennes*, No. 1 (1996), 6-8; P. E. H. Hair, “The History of the Baga in Early Written Sources,” *History in Africa*, 24 (1997), 381-391; Frederick Lamp, *Art of the Baga: A Drama of Cultural Reinvention* (New York, 1996).

29See David Dalby, “The Mel Languages: A Reclassification of Southern ‘West Atlantic,’” *African Language Studies*, VI, no. 2 (1967), 1-17.

30In January 1842, Commander Philippe de Kerhallet of the French man-of-war *Alouette* obtained an agreement with Sarah which lowered customs for French traders to ten dollars per month. For this agreement, see Charles de Kerhallet, “Côte Occidentale d’Afrique – Les Rio Nunez,” *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, IV (1867), 196-200. This stipulation of a ten dollar fee was reinforced by an agreement of December 1842. For the evolution of these agreements, see chapter 5 in Bruce L. Mouser, “Trade and Politics in the Nunez and Pongo Rivers, 1790-1865” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972), especially 207ff. The 10 dollar duty, for British resident traders, was only obtained in 1843.

31This is the best reference to active trading by Sarah. No other account places Sarah so firmly in the position of a trader. According to this account, Sarah used his political position and the relative weakness, at least at that time, of the Fula to enforce his will upon European traders or strangers visiting his river. Such visitors paid special and higher trading fees and followed rules of relationship somewhat different from those traders who were resident in towns. The reference here likely refers only to those who were bringing goods to other traders who operated factories in the river.

32Jones characterized this as an abuse of power; however, his description correctly portrays accepted practice for nearly a half century. Trade between the interior and the coast was considered a Fula monopoly. Commerce was tightly regulated. It was customary that privileged members of the ruling family or retainers would be given a right to organize a caravan that would go to the coast for trade. With title to organize such a “train” in hand, the organizer closed all paths to the coast and required all those desiring to go coastward to place themselves under the organizer’s care and protection, for a fee or percentage of the caravan’s value. This applied to Fula and to strangers passing through Fula territory. While Jones perhaps saw this as extortion, it was simply the rules under which commerce operated through this section of west Africa.

33Stragglers, certainly, might fall victim to bandits; but stragglers also might attempt to avoid payment of duties to a caravan organizer, since those payments were generally based on the value of the sale at coastal factories.

34It is unclear that these were slaves destined for export to the Americas. More likely, if prices were advantageous, they would be sold for use on plantations being organized to grow coffee, groundnuts, and other commodities in the Nunez and Pongo regions. Some might make their way to Portuguese ports in Bissao where slave trading still occurred occasionally. It is clear, however, that many porters in this caravan were slaves and were carrying rice and hides which were heavy items. The caravan would carry equally large quantities of salt back to the hinterland and a comparable number of porters would be needed. Therefore, it is doubtful that all porters, so marked as marketable, were really expected to be sold on the coast.

35It is probable that this reflected a different caravan with a different point of origin within the Fuuta. Certainly all members of this caravan would have placed themselves under the protection of an organizer as mentioned above.

36 That Jones mention Timbo indicates that the Mandingoes attached to this caravan has separated from a caravan that was heading toward Freetown. The Freetown caravan contained Thomson’s son.

37By the account found in the *Albert’s* logbook, the *Albert* was anchored off the town identified as the “factory of Sr. Andrew.”

38By 1844, Sarah had disrupted commerce sufficiently to have brought British and French traders together into a community of Europeans, despite whatever differences they might elsewhere along the coast. In the Nunez, all Europeans were united against Sarah, and against the Naloes as well if they placed obstacles to interrupt commerce. French, Belgian or British men-of-war and all Europeans tended to join forces for common advantage against local rulers. It is puzzling that the Logbook of the *Albert* contained no mention that such a meeting occurred onboard.

39See Mouser, “Trade and Politics,” for Fula interference in Landuma politics during this period.

40PRO CO267/182/Offices, Admiralty to Colonial Office, 5 August 1843.

41By the *Albert's* Logbook, the intervening days were spent in the following fashion: "23 January . . . 9 Mustered for Division Exercised part at great Gun Drill . . . PM. Exercised part at Great gun drill. Kroomen with musquets . . . 14 January . . . 9 Mustered at division. Exercised at Quarters. . . 25 January. . . 1.30 Weighed & proceeded down the River. 3.30 Came to Casarcies. Moored head and Stern. Mustered at Quarters. . . 26 January . . . 1.20 Weighed & proceeded down the River. 3.30 came too off Ropasse with B[est]B[ower] in 5 fms Veered to 25 fms. . . 27 January . . . Commenced Blockade of the River, 5.30 Must.^d at Quarters. . ."

42The Melakori, or Moria, path was the path used by Thomson as his departure into the interior in 1841.

43See Mouser, "Trade and Politics," for more on the particular problem with the Naloes. The Nalo also charged monthly and yearly customs of traders using the river, as well as anchorage duties and other duties. As long as trade was closed with the upper river, Nalo duty collections also were ended. There were also nuances of local politics at play as well. The Nalo could claim to be protecting their rights by objecting to the blockade, while at the same time showing some support for Sarah and his rights to charge duties of his own choosing against European resident traders. Generally, however, the Nalo opposed European and attempted to use the narrowness of the Nunez at their capital, Kassakabuli, to enforce special duties on traders wishing to conduct business in the upper river. There is also some evidence that the *Albert's* arrival interrupted a Naloe maneuver to seize Sarah and transport him as hostage to Kassakabuli for secret talks with the Nalo rulers.

44The *Albert's* account was similar: "9 Must.^d by division. Employed as requisite. Boats keeping strict Blockade of River. Noon. PM. 1.50 Ob[serve]^d large Canoe coming up the River, hailed her to stop repeatedly fired a Blank cartridge to enforce Blockade, then two balls across her bows & sent Dingy to stop her. Ob.^d on Dingy approaching her, his Crew fired deliberately on the Boat; and saw do. Arrest Canoe, down Boats, manned and armed. Do, and landed a Crew. 5 Burnt Canoes. Obs.^d a large Armed force outside Ropass Stockade, Landed Rocket Tube, and planted do. Sent to demand and explanation from Salifou Chief of the Naloos, whose Brother had fired on us. 12. PM, Crew on shore."

45 *Albert's* account: "Took Blockade off the River having come to Terms with Saahara. People on board employed as most requisite. 12 Embarked Crew, up Steam and proceeded to Cascboulie. Noon. PM. 4 Mustered at Quarters. Loaded Guns with round and Grape shot. 4.10 Ob.^d a Canoe, bearing the Flag of Truce. Lamina brother of Salifou came on board. Found the Naloos had seized a Canoe and Boat the property of British Resident. demanded do. & that Uria be given up, having begged to prolong Truce, gave then 24 hours longer. 8 secured the Guns and closed Magazine."

46 The Congreve rocket was a weapon named after Sir William Congreve. It was used extensively during the Napoleonic wars and the War of 1812. It had a range of two miles and could thrust a warhead of 3 to 20 pounds. It was a frightening weapon and was used more to disturb the enemy's morale rather than to damage it physically. It created a fascinating display of fireworks and rocket trails.

47*Albert's* account: "Noon. PM. Finding Salifou persist in not giving up Urai, hauled down Flag of Truce and fired on the Town. 4.10 Ceased fire, and rehoisted Flag. hailed town to know if they wanted to accede to Terms, not doing so, reopened fire. Obs.^d Stockade blown down in several places. 4.20 Ceased firing, for the purpose of listening if they would accede to terms. 5.10 Obs.^d Rockets set fire to Town. 5.30 Ceased fire and prepared to land, but it being reported to me that an army was marching on Ropass. Up stern and Boats and proceeded thither. Obs.^d Town still burning. Rockets did not do execution expected from damp [unreadable word]. 8 Anchored off Ropass and landed Starboard Watch for protection of the Town. Midnight. (Sig.) Macleod B. Cockcraft, Act.^s Lieut. Commanding."

48It is likely that this town was Bel-Air, located on the river's right bank. See PRO ADM51/3549, Logbook of H.M. Paddle Steam Vessel *Albert*.

49*Albert's* account: "People emp.^d filling shell, making Torches &c. and preparing for Action. Noon. PM. Weighed and proceeded to Catacuma. Obs.^d an armed force on shore, beat to quarters and fired on ditto, down Boats and burned 7 Canoes and the Town of Catacuma. Up Boats and proceeded to Ropas. 8 Anchored off do. Landed one Watch to protect the place. Midnight."

50This American vessel has not been identified. For another American view of the river at this time, see George E. Brooks, Jr., "Enoch Richmond Ware, African Trader; 1839-1850. Years of Apprenticeship, Part I," *The American Neptune*, (June 1970), 174-186; George E. Brooks, Jr., "Enoch Richmond Ware, African Trader; 1839-1850. Years of Apprenticeship, Part II," *The American Neptune*, (October 1970), 229-248.

51*Albert's* account for 3 February: "[at Ropas] AM. Embarked Watch. Left Ropas in charge of Merchant seamen. 9 Weighed with Mr. Flyght Thompson, MacKintock & Francis Nobson, W[illia]^m Leshburn, and George King, seamen Volunteers from Merch[an]t Brig "*Nunez*." 9.45 anchored off the Town of Cascabouli and prepared for Action, commenced firing on the Town, endeavouring to breach the Stockade. Sent Kroomen armed with Mr. Mallard, to lay plank to cross the Mud; all being ready landed the ship's company, advanced on the Town, Action becoming exceedingly warm. PM. 1.10 A very heavy fire, owing to the difficulty of crossing the Bank and extracting the people from the Mud. Commander ordered a retreat effected do, in face of a tremendous fire. Lost shot dead Jack East & Bottlebeer (Kroomen) and John Martin (Lib[ate]^d African). Obs.^d grape and Cannister from the ship do great execution. Lost mortally wounded while pulling on board Duke William Krooman, severly Jolly Bacchus Lib.^d African, slightly Michael Morairty and Tom Joe (K[roomen]) finding it impossible to remain under fire, the men dropping so fast; the Enemy remaining in the Bush. Slipped (B[est].B[ower]. [anchor]) with 30 fahms of chain, and proceeded to Mud Channel, gave people a 1/4 of an hour to wash &

clean themselves. Up all Boats, found wounded on Board Mr. Thompson serving the Long Gun, Mr. Thompson & James Sishr[?] severely, Francis Nobson Vol. and Jack Andrew slightly. Ret[urne]^d within Pistol shot of Cascabouli. Howitzers throwing shell behind the Bush. 3 Enemy having ceased resisting ceased firing, plainly distinguished the cries of the wounded on shore. Secured the Guns and proceeded to Ropass. Landed a party to protect the Town, buried the men lost on shore Killed in the action. Midnight.”

52 In the meantime, the *Albert* remained anchored off Ropass. On 6 February, the *Albert's* account: “8 Employed barricading upper deck. Sent Mr. J. Mallard, John Eason, James Scott, to Sch[oone]^r “*Margere*” with dis:[patch] to Sierra Leone. . . 6.8 Landed a party to protect the town.”

53 The *Albert's* account: “9.30 Brought fires forward. 10 took “*Margaret*” in Tow proceeded down the River. Enemy from Cascabouli opened fire[,] fired round grape & Musquet shot in return. Rec.^d 3 round shot, one thro' the Engine Room and 2 thro' upper deck. Carpenter emp.^d stopping shot fill hole. Ob.^d Enemy in great numbers behind Stockade. PM. 2.50 Cast off “*Margaret*” 4.50 came too off Victoria with (S[tream]B[ower anchor]) 9.30 Weighed and proceeded up the River. Fired on Cascabouli in passing. 10.50 Came too off Ropass with (S.B.) Midnight.”

54 “Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar. My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace but when I speak they are for war” (Psalm 120:5).

55 Psalms 55:6.

56 The phrase “light heart and quick step” and in the context Jones used it appeared in *The Quarterly Christian Spectator* (March 1831), 101, in a “Review of Butler’s *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*.”

57 “Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself hath said, This is my own, my native land!” Sir Walter Scott, *Lay of Last Minstrel*, Canto 6, st.2.