

## Robert Campbell

### *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland*

*An Account of a Journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa in 1859-60*

1861, EXCERPTS

The African American abolitionists Robert Campbell and Martin Robinson Delany travelled to present-day Nigeria in 1859-1860 to negotiate with tribal leaders concerning the potential settlement of freed slaves from the United States. The men crossed the ocean separately and met at Abbeokuta, north of Lagos, visiting several cities in the Ogun River region (see map, p. 4). Each man wrote an account of the journey, Campbell including far more detail and commentary on the leaders and cultures they encountered. (Campbell's "motherland" is Africa; he does not indicate knowledge of his parents' ancestry.) No resettlement project resulted from their trip, partly due to the emigration controversy among American blacks, and partly due to impending civil war in the United States. For himself, Campbell asserts in his preface that "I have determined, with my wife and children, to go to Africa to live."



Colton's illustrated & embellished steel plate map of the world, 1854, detail; square indicates area of Campbell's travels along the Ogun River in present-day Nigeria

#### Ch. 4: Abbeokuta<sup>1</sup>

Acting-Consul Lieut. Lodder had furnished me with a letter of introduction to his Majesty Okukenu, Alake of Abbeokuta, which I was anxious to present. The Reverend Henry Townsend of the Church Missionary Society kindly accompanied me. My reception by the King was very cordial. I explained to him the object of my visit to the country, which he was pleased to hear. He observed that for people coming with such purposes, and for missionaries, he had great "sympathy," and would afford every encouragement; but that some of the people (emigrants from the Brazils, Cuba, and Sierra Leone) who were now coming into his dominion, especially traders, gave him much trouble.

His body above the loins was nude; otherwise his attire consisted of a handsome velvet cap trimmed with gold, a costly necklace of coral, and a double strand of the same ornament about his loins, with a velvet cloth thrown gracefully about the rest of his person, under which he wore his shocoto, a sort of loose trousers reaching only to the knees. One of his wives (he has more than a hundred) was seated on the same mat fanning him. He fondled on his knees an infant, and eight or ten of his other little children, all about the same age, were gamboling around him. On his right were seated several very old men dressed in white cloths, elders of the Ogboni council, with one or other of 'whom his majesty usually plays at the native game of *wari*, a description of which is given in another place. He offered me the only chair in his establishment. The Reverend Mr. Townsend, being an intimate acquaintance, sat on an end of his mat. A few slaves, by the by, his chief administrative officers, also sat near him. He presented me on my departure a head of cowries, worth nearly fifty cents. During the next few days I visited the principal chiefs to explain the object of my visit and to make to each a small present. Though humble, these presents were well received and in every instance a return present of cola nuts (*cola sterculia acuminata*)

National Humanities Center, 2009: [nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/](http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/). Robert Campbell, *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa in 1859-60*, 1861; published in M. R. Delany & Robert Campbell, *Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa*, 1860, introduction by Howard H. Bell (University of Michigan Press, 1969); permission pending. Some paragraphing added and spelling modernized by NHC. Full text online in the Open Library at [openlibrary.org/b/OL6955209M/pilgrimage-to-my-motherland](http://openlibrary.org/b/OL6955209M/pilgrimage-to-my-motherland). Complete image credits at [nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/imagecredits.htm](http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/imagecredits.htm).

<sup>1</sup> Southwestern Nigeria on the Ogun River, about sixty miles north of the capital, Lagos. [NHC note]

or of cowries was given. The natives generally at first regarded me as a white man, until I informed them of my connection with the Negro. This announcement always gained me a warmer reception. . . .

The king of Abbeokuta, whose person is considered too sacred for the popular gaze, is never permitted to leave the palace except on special occasions, and then he only goes into the open space without the palace-gates, one of his wives being in attendance to screen his face with a large fan. So with the king of Oyo, who once or twice only in the year exhibits himself to the public, decorated in his best robes and wearing a crown of coral. At these times any one can stare at his majesty with impunity. In Ilorin the king may not be seen, except as a mark of special favor, even by those to whom he affords the privilege of an audience.

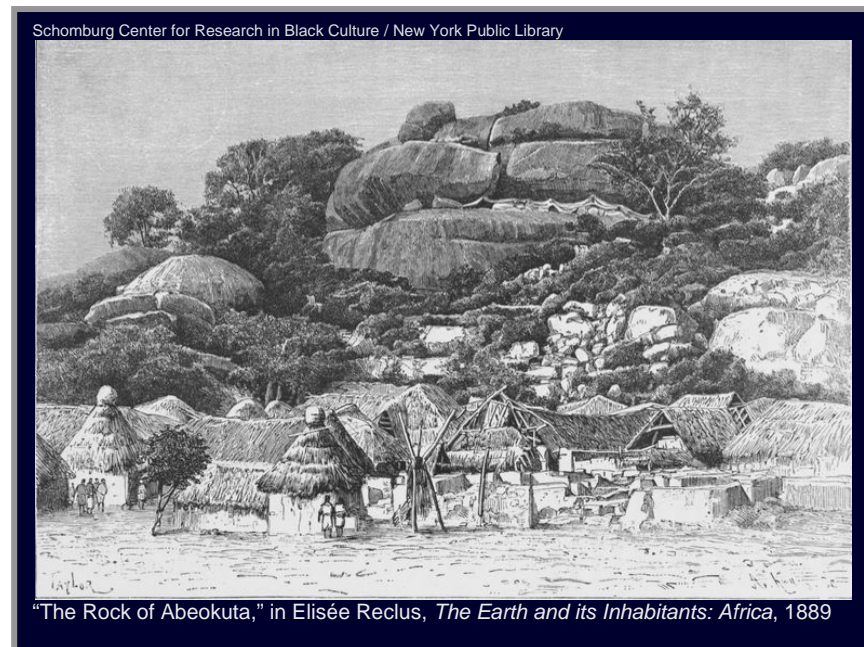
If the reader will permit the expression, Abbeokuta might be said to be in form an irregular circle. The circumference of its outer wall, for in some parts of the city there are three walls, is about twenty-three miles. It was originally formed of over one hundred townships, each independent and governed by its own chief. The people are of the Egba tribe of the Akus, sometimes incorrectly called Yorubas. About fifty years ago, wars with the surrounding tribes, particularly with the Yorubas, had disorganized their nation, the greatest number of their people being enslaved, and sent to the Brazils, Cuba, and other places; many of them were also recaptured by British cruisers and taken to Sierra Leone. A few flying before their relentless enemy, and wandering from place to place, at length found refuge beneath a shelf of rock now called "Olumo," this hiding-place is said to have been before the den of a band of robbers. Advantage was taken of the security thus afforded, by others of the Egba tribe, and their number continued to increase until they felt strong enough to form a town and build a wall. In a short time that town, as before stated, contained the remnants of over one hundred townships, and became too powerful to be successfully assaulted by their enemies. The walls now include a number of huge hills of superior building granite, the quarrying of which will doubtless yield large profit to its inhabitants at no remote day.

They called the town very appropriately, "Abbeokuta," which means under a rock. It is now estimated to contain more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, and its population is fast increasing by accessions, not only from the surrounding tribes, who find in it greater security for life and property, but also from many of those, and their descendants, who were sold away as slaves. . . .

Viewed as to its power of enforcing order and affording security for life and property, the government of Abbeokuta is as efficient as a civilized government can be, and it accomplishes these ends with the greatest ease and simplicity. Punishment is always summary and certain; notwithstanding, nobody

complains of injustice. The penalty for theft is extreme, being either decapitation or foreign slavery. Before the advent of missionaries and civilized people adultery was sometimes also a capital offense; now it is modified to heavy fines, the amount of which is always proportioned to the position and wealth of the offender. Cases of adultery often occur, and must be expected until they are taught to abandon the disgusting system of polygamy.

The tenure of property is as it is among civilized people, except as to land,



which is deemed common property; every individual enjoys the right of taking unoccupied land, *as much as he can use*, wherever and whenever he pleases. It is deemed his property as long as he keeps it in use; after that, it is again common property. This custom is observed by all the Akus.

The surviving relatives of one buried on any lot of ground have a right to that ground which nothing can tempt them to relinquish, and from respect to the sentiment, no one would invade on any pretext, particularly when the deceased was a mother or father. Mr. S. Crowther, Jr., has long desired to possess a strip of land contiguous to his place of business, but no offer of money can induce the owner to part with it, although he is very poor, because his father lies buried there. . . .

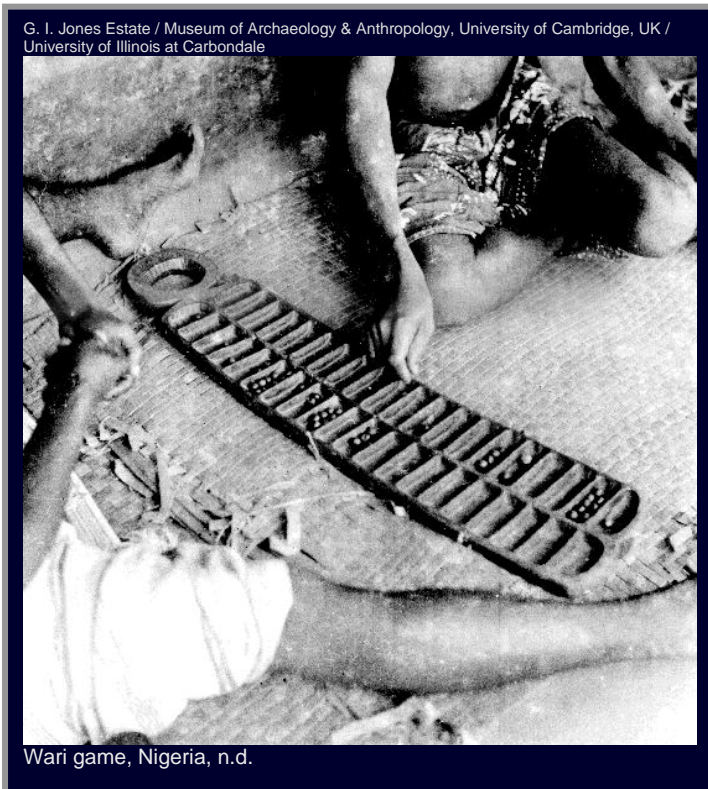
## Ch. 6: Miscellaneous

... One never passes a group of boys at play without witnessing some of the most dexterous performances of tumbling, wrestling and other exercises tending to the development of the muscular powers of the system. In their dances too they exhibit evolutions, throwing at once every muscle into action, which would almost be regarded as impossible except witnessed.

In the towns further interior than Abbeokuta, in which the use of fire-arms has not yet become general, one frequently sees groups of boys contesting in feats of archery with great skill. In Oyo bets are only permitted in these exercises. There are several fine games of skill practiced by the Akus. A favorite one is the “wari.” The apparatus consists of twelve cups arranged in two rows, hewn out of a single block of wood. Four bean-like seeds are placed in each cup, and the game is begun by each party alternately taking the contents of one cup of the row next himself and distributing them, one by one, beginning at the cup next to that from which he took them. When one party can throw the last three or four of his beans into the cups of his antagonist, containing not more than one or two beans each, he seizes the contents as his prize, and thus they continue until the beans are all taken, when each counts what he possesses, the victory being of course accorded to him who has most. There is perhaps not a house in which one or more

of these apparatus is not kept, for the entertainment of the inmates [i.e., residents]. They are found too, at all the “beer-shops,” if the reader will permit the application of that term to the places at which the native *oti*, or corn-beer, is sold. I never made a more acceptable present to any one, than of four dozen pretty glass balls, or glass marbles, if you please, to the Alake of Abbeokuta, to use in his game of wari. . . .

A funeral in this section of Africa is not unworthy of notice. A brother of the chief Atambala having died during my sojourn at Abbeokuta, I went over to his house to condole with him on his loss. I found the old chief in no condition to receive the sort of condolence I was prepared to offer, as both himself and almost every other person present was intoxicated. His compound<sup>2</sup> was crowded, a large number of his friends being there to participate in the ceremonies. Drums were beating, the women singing, and as



<sup>2</sup> Walled enclosures in Africa, comprising several dwellings, are called by the civilized people “compounds.” [Campbell note]

many as had sufficient command of their legs were dancing.

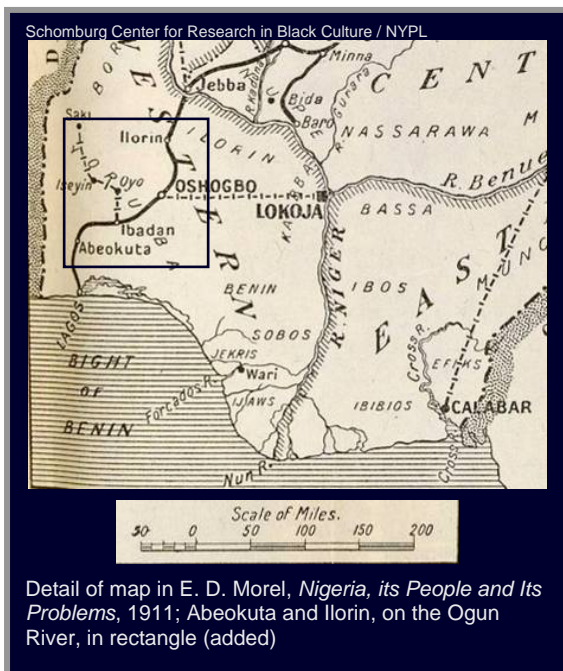
They permitted me to see the corpse, and to my astonishment I found it wrapped with cloths, in exactly the same manner as are Egyptian mummies. The cloth is usually the best the friends of the deceased can purchase. On this occasion they used one which I had presented the chief a few days before. It was laid in an open piazza, the walls around which were draped with velvet and other costly cloths. All this time there was moving through the city a procession, made up of drummers, men bearing a board covered with cloths to represent the corpse, women singing alternately songs of lamentation and of praises to the dead, with other men firing guns, and all dancing and otherwise enacting the most extravagant gestures.

The deceased is always buried in the house in which he lived. Sometimes a stone is placed on the spot, on which offerings to his manes<sup>3</sup> are occasionally deposited. In some cases, where the party was greatly respected, on account of his position on earth, he becomes after death the subject of religious adoration.

The Africans are not behind either the English or Americans in their love of pageantry. The writer does not remember a day spent at Abbeokuta without having witnessed something of this sort. The most frequent were processions of societies for mutual saving. They are formed chiefly of women. Once a week each member deposits a certain amount, the aggregate of which is drawn by one member, who of course continues her deposits, and does not draw again until all in turn have done likewise. There is no disadvantage in drawing last, as those who do so receive a consideration for the use of their weekly deposits by the other members.

Before 1839 little if anything was known of Abbeokuta. The Yorubas and Egbas recaptured and taken to Sierra Leone were sold away before any such place existed, and no travellers had before been in the neighborhood, but at this time vague rumors began to spread along the coast that the different tribes of the Egbas had united themselves and had built a new city, powerful from its natural defenses not less than for the brave hearts and strong arms of its people. These were joyful tidings indeed to the Egbas at Sierra Leone, in the bosom of most of whom was immediately kindled the strongest desire again to be united to their long-lost relatives and friends. Conquering a thousand difficulties, they eventually carried out the object of their desire, and in the short time between 1839 and 1842, we are told by Miss Tucker<sup>4</sup> in her admirable little book, that no less than 500 of them left Sierra Leone for their country.

Simultaneously with these occurrences, the people of the Brazils and of Cuba, Egbas, Yorubas, and other Aku tribes who had obtained freedom, began to return. From all sources there are now scattered throughout the country, but chiefly at Lagos and Abbeokuta, over five thousand of these people, semi-civilized generally, but in some instances highly cultivated, being engaged as teachers, catechists, clergymen, and merchants. Industrious, enterprising, and carrying with them, one here and another there, a knowledge of some of the useful arts, they have doubtless been the means of inaugurating a mighty work, which, now that it has accomplished its utmost, must be continued in a higher form by the more civilized of the same race, who for a thousand reasons, are best adapted to its successful prosecution. . . .



<sup>3</sup> Souls or spirits of dead ancestors. [NHC note]

<sup>4</sup> "Abbeokuta; or Sunrise within the Tropics." Although Miss Tucker has never been to Africa herself, yet her statements are perfectly reliable, as they come from the best sources. [Campbell note]

## Ch. 9: Ilorin

There was just light enough to enable us to see the dim outline of the wall as we approached Ilorin, and by the time we were within the gates it was dark, but the atmosphere was illumined by a brilliant light from the burning of grass in the plain to the right of the city — a magnificent spectacle. Except between Abbeokuta and Ijaye, where there is a dense forest through which it requires fully five hours to pass, forming the division between the territory of the Egbas and Yorubas, the country is clear, with only low scrubby trees much scattered, with an undergrowth of rank tall grass. In some places, from what cause it is difficult to say, there can be found no other kinds of vegetation than this grass, particularly in the neighborhood of large cities. Every year, after the harmattan winds, the natives set fire to it, causing an immense conflagration, sweeping over the country like a tornado. . . .

Early the following day we sent our interpreter to salute the king, and inform him of our visit to his capital, asking to be permitted as soon as possible to pay our respects to him in person. The interpreter was conducted to Dungari, the king's prime-minister, who received, and conveyed the message to his master. Shortly after we received a return salutation from his majesty, together with a large vessel of well-prepared native food, sufficient to feed both ourselves, and attendants for the day, also a similar present from Dungari. These presents were continued for the whole time we remained in the town, but after three or four days our servants and the other inmates of the compound retained, and consumed it among themselves, without even informing us of its arrival, a liberty we cheerfully granted for several reasons.

Every day we were requested to prepare to visit the king, but were continually put off with some slight excuse till the fourth day, when we were led into his presence. . . . Our interview with his majesty, King Shita, was very interesting. Quite unexpectedly he permitted us at this first interview to see his face, a privilege he never accorded publicly to any who had before visited the place, at the same time informing us, that it was because he regarded us as his own people, descendants of native Africans. Besides the direct subject of our mission, we conversed on the forms of civilized government, his majesty asking

many questions respecting Queen Victoria, and the ruler of the country from which we came, of whom the American missionaries had before informed him.

As a "ruse," he invited us to accompany him to his mosque, to which he said he was just going. We accepted his invitation, but when we prepared to go, he laughed and again seated himself, saying that he was glad we seemed to have no prejudices against his religion; he was seated on a mat in a long piazza, usually entirely screened, but on this occasion the screens were drawn up just where he sat, so as to expose him to view, but still keeping out of sight many of his wives. He is an old man, and like the king of Abbeokuta has had the misfortune to lose an eye. He is not a pure Negro, but like many of the Fulanees in his town, one of his parents, most likely his father, must have been an Arabian; his physiognomy therefore is not purely Negro. He is a man of small stature, but well proportioned, and was neatly attired in a white robe, turban, and red cap. He was surrounded by a number of well-dressed men, priests, officers of his court, eunuchs, etc., all of whom sat in a clean sheltered space before his piazza, but on the ground. We were placed about four yards in front of him, to the right of the company, except Dungari, who with our interpreter was on the right of us.



Although the king understands Aku well and therefore could converse directly with our interpreter, yet the customs of his court require that all that is said be communicated to him in Fulanee by Dungari, who as before remarked . . . is, except the king, the most important personage of Ilorin. He is by birth a Fulanee, but of the blackest type of Negroes, as are indeed ninety-five per cent of them; those who are lighter in complexion, or differ in physiognomic conformation, being more or less of Arabian intermixture. In common with many of the people he reads and writes Arabic, to teach which there are quite a number of schools in the town. We saw there, in the marketplaces chiefly, several Arabians, some of whom had travelled immense distances across the continent, for purposes of trade, in which they all engage. . . .

The day before we departed we received a special invitation to exhibit our curiosities — my watch, fowling-piece, etc. — to the king, which gave him much pleasure, and induced the remark from Dungari: “Verily, if I had not a strong mind, I would embrace the customs and religion of such a people.”

The next day we took leave of the king, who made us a second fine present of two mats, two pairs of beautifully wrought sandals, and three heads of cowries “to pay our expenses down.” At our first interview, after receiving ours, he had made us a present of equal value. A horseman and two foot-soldiers were sent with us, as an escort, and quite a multitude followed us out of the town, wishing us a safe journey and blessings of every kind.

The people of Ilorin are not all Mussulmans [Muslims], there being also a large, almost equal proportion of Yorubas, heathens; these, headed by a powerful Balagun, occasion King Shita considerable trouble, and might one day remove him and his party from power, an object openly avowed. We saw a large number of convicts about the streets, their legs chained so as to permit them a very limited and peculiar locomotion. Such prisoners are not found in other towns, being either sold into foreign slavery or decapitated as the penalty for their offense — the former, a kind of punishment the teachings of their religion forbid the Mohammedans inflicting on their own people. . . .

## Ch. 10: Return

. . . we crossed the Ogun and suddenly encountered one of the saddest spectacles in Africa, a village only a few days before full of life and activity, now entirely depopulated, its inhabitants captured as slaves, itself in ruins and ashes. The people belonged to Oyo, and were collected there on account of the employment of ferrying passengers over the Ogun during the rainy season. The King of Oyo having a short time before captured a few of the people of Ijaye, Arey, in retaliation sent an expedition against the place, and suddenly pouncing upon the unsuspecting inhabitants at midnight, took every individual and burnt the place. . . .

We arrived at Berecadu on the evening of the same day, without any incidents on the journey worth recording. . . .

Berecadu is a town of about thirty or thirty-five thousand inhabitants, judging from the extent and character of its only market. The people are partly Yorubas and partly Egbas, paying tribute to both nations, but obliged to guard against both also, as each seems determined to compel the paying of tribute to itself alone. Its defenses are so well contrived that it would almost be as difficult a place to take as Bicolorun-pellu, except by surprise, and this is not likely, as a large number of armed men, “keepers of the city,” are stationed every night at the gates.

There are two walls encompassing the whole city, leaving a space of about two hundred yards between them, and this space contains a dense forest, with an interlacing undergrowth, utterly impassable to an enemy except by the use of means incompatible with the dispatch of warfare.

We sojourned with the Visitor, who lives in the compound of the chief, to whom I as usual paid my respects and explained the object of my visit. He is almost the most miserable person of the town, old, blind, neglected and in dirt and rags, yet cheerful and apparently much concerned for his people. There is a second chief or regent, who is charged with the municipal administration.

Leaving Berecadu shortly after midnight, we arrived at Abbeokuta in time for breakfast. Except in the warmest part of the day, it is always pleasant to travel in Africa, but it is particularly so at night or near

day-break: the country then seen by the mellow light of the moon, or by the gray twilight, seems twice as wild and magnificent, and the flowers distill their perfume in greater abundance: now and then, it is true, one hears the dismal screech of some night-bird, or the yell or howl of some small animal disturbed in his repose by intruding footsteps, but these serve only to break the monotony; and besides, there are the gentle cooing of doves, and the cheerful voices and merry laughter of your native attendants, sufficient to cheer any heart. . . .

We found Abbeokuta in considerable commotion. Only a few days before, the Dahomians were known to be advancing against the city, but informed doubtless by their spies of the reception that was prepared for them, they suddenly wheeled about and retraced their steps, not without committing much depredation among the people through whose territory they passed.

Every one was also speculating on the war in the interior and its probable consequences and duration. Being the only person who had returned thence for a fortnight, everyone wanted to hear news from me: the king and chiefs desired an interview particularly, respecting the Ibadans we met on the road, who were suspected to be loitering there to join the Dahomians in their contemplated attack. . . .

I never experienced real hardship until in this little journey between Abbeokuta and the coast. No sooner had we fairly started than it began to rain heavily, and it continued raining more or less until we reached Lagos, so that, sleeping and waking, I was wet the whole time, forty-eight hours; but I warded off the effects by helping the canoe-man with a paddle the entire way, by which means we also arrived at Lagos earlier. . . .

We arrived at Lagos on the evening of the 7th of April. Dr. Delany accomplished his overland journey in the same time, so that we met crossing the bay, and landed together. The next day, Sunday — Easter Sunday — we attended divine service, and heard a sermon from our venerable friend the Rev. Samuel Crowther, who was now spending a short time with his family, and expecting to return to his labors up the Niger in a few days. . . .

On the morning of the 10th of April we bade adieu to Lagos, and after an unusually fine passage across the bar, embarked on board the Royal Mail S. S. [Steam Ship]“Athenian,” Capt. Laurie, for Liverpool. . . .

At Freetown, Sierra Leone, we saw a large slaver, brought in a few days before by H. M. S. S. [Her Majesty’s Steam Ship] “Triton.” Her officers and crew, consisting of over thirty persons, were there set at liberty, to be disposed of by the Spanish Consul as distressed seamen. They were as such forwarded in the same ship with us to Tenerife [Canary Islands]. No wonder that the slave-trade should be so difficult to suppress, when no punishment awaits such wretches as these. What scamp would fear to embark in such an enterprise, if only assured that there was no personal risk — that he has only to destroy the ship’s flag and papers on the approach of a cruiser, not only to shield himself and his crew from the consequence of his crime, but to receive the consideration rightly accorded distressed honest men. These villains, of course return to Havana or the United States, procure a new ship, and again pursue the wicked purpose which their previous experience enables them to accomplish with all the more impunity. . . .

## Ch. 11: Conclusion

**T**he native authorities, every where from Lagos to Ilorin, are willing to receive civilized people among them as settlers. It is hardly fair to say merely that they are willing; they hail the event with joy. They know and appreciate the blessings which must accrue to them by such accessions. They would, however, be opposed to independent colonies, the establishment of which among them, not only on this account, would be highly inexpedient.

The sea-coast, from the prevalence of mangrove swamps, is unhealthy, but it is a fact that many persons, even Europeans and Americans, enjoy good health there, and many of the deaths are more to be attributed to alcoholic indulgence than to the character of the location. Abbeokuta, and all other interior towns we visited, are healthy, but even in these an occasional attack of bilious fever must be expected for a year or two, or until the process of acclimature is completed. Emigrants should remember that in new countries it is always necessary to exercise great watchfulness and discretion. . . .

The commercial and agricultural prospects are excellent, but there is much room for enterprise and energy. There is a decided demand for intelligent colored Americans, but it must be observed that one who is only prepared to roll barrels would have to compete with the natives under great disadvantages. Agriculturists, mechanics, and capitalists, with suitable religious and secular teachers, are most required. . . .

Emigrants going to Abbeokuta, according to the second article of our treaty, will be permitted the privilege of self-government, but this can only be municipal, and affecting too only themselves. There is no doubt, however, that in time it will assume all the functions of a national government, for the people are fast progressing in civilization, and the existing laws, which from their nature apply only to heathens, would be found inadequate for them. Even now, as soon as any one of the people assumes the garb or other characteristics of civilization, they cease to exercise jurisdiction over him. He is thenceforward deemed an “oyibo,” or white man.<sup>5</sup> The rulers, of course, will not be unaffected by those influences which can bring about such changes in their people, and thus they too will find it expedient to modify the laws to meet the emergency. But emigrants must ever remember that the existing rulers must be respected, for they only are the bona fide rulers of the place. The effort should be to lift them up to the proper standard, and not to supersede or crush them. If such a disposition is manifested, then harmony and peace will prevail; I am afraid not, otherwise. . . .

Cotton from Abbeokuta has been an article of export to the British market for about eight years. In the first year only 235 pounds could be procured, but from that time, through the efforts of Thomas Clegg, Esq., of Manchester, and several gentlemen connected with the Church Missionary Society, London, the export has more than doubled every year, until, in 1859 the quantity reached about 6000 bales or 720,000 pounds. The plant abounds throughout the entire country, the natives cultivating it for the manufacture of cloths for their own consumption. Its exportation is, therefore, capable of indefinite extension. In the seed it is purchased from the natives at something less than two cents per pound. It is then ginned and pressed by the traders and shipped to Liverpool, where it realizes better prices than New-Orleans cotton. The gins now in use by the natives affect injuriously the fiber, so as to depreciate it at least two cents per pound. Properly cleaned, it would bring far more than New-Orleans cotton, and even as it is, the value is about four cents more than the East-India product. The plant in Africa being perennial, the expense and trouble of replanting every year, as in this country, is avoided. There are flowers and ripe cotton on the plants at all seasons of the year, although there is a time when the yield is greatest. Free laborers for its cultivation can be employed each for about one half the interest of the cost of a slave at the South per annum, and land at present can be procured for nothing. These are advantages not to be despised. . . .

There is certainly no more industrious people anywhere, and I challenge all the world besides to produce a people more so, or capable of as much endurance. Those who believe, among other foolish things, that the Negro is accustomed lazily to spend his time basking in the sunshine, like black-snakes or alligators, should go and see the people they malign. There are, doubtless, among them, as among every other race, not excepting the Anglo-American, indolent people, but this says nothing more against the one than the other. Labor is cheap, but is rising in value from the increased demand for it.

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The following is a copy of the treaty we concluded with the native authorities of Abbeokuta:

### TREATY.

THIS Treaty made between his Majesty Okukenu, Alake; Somoye, Ibashorun; Sokenu, Ogubonna, and Atambala, on the first part; and Martin Robison Delany and Robert Campbell, of the Niger Valley Exploring Party, Commissioners from the African race of the United States and the Canadas in America, on the second part, covenants:

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<sup>5</sup> This term, which literally signifies stripped off, was applied to white men, from the belief that their skin was stripped off. It is now applied indiscriminately to civilized men. To distinguish, however, between black civilized and white civilized men, the terms *dudu* for the former and *fufu* for the latter, are respectively affixed. [Campbell note.]



ARTICLE FIRST

That the King and Chiefs on their part agree to grant and assign unto the said Commissioners, on behalf of the African race in America, the right and privilege of settling in common with the Egba people, on any part of the territory belonging to Abbeokuta not otherwise occupied.

ARTICLE SECOND

That all matters requiring legal investigation among the settlers be left to themselves to be disposed of according to their own customs.

ARTICLE THIRD

That the Commissioners on their part also agree that the settlers shall bring with them, as an equivalent for the privileges above accorded, intelligence, education, a knowledge of the arts and sciences, agriculture, and other mechanical and industrial occupations, which they shall put into immediate operation by improving the lands and in other useful vocations.

ARTICLE FOURTH

That the laws of the Egba people shall be strictly respected by the settlers ; and in all matters in which both parties are concerned, an equal number of commissioners, mutually agreed upon, shall be appointed, who shall have power to settle such matters.

As a pledge of our faith and the sincerity of our hearts, we, each of us, hereunto affix our hands and seals, this twenty-seventh day of December, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine.

OKUKENU	his X mark	ALAKE
SOMOYE	his X mark	IBASHORUN
SOKENU	his X mark	BALAGUN
OGUBONNA	his X mark	BALAGUN
ATAMBALA	his X mark	BALAGUN
OGUSEYE	his X mark	ANABA
NGTABO	his X mark	BALAGUN OSE
OGUDEM U	his X mark	AGE, OKO

M. R. DELANY  
ROBERT CAMPBELL

Witness: SAMUEL CROWTHER, JR.  
Attest : SAMUEL CROWTHER, SR.

We landed at Liverpool, Dr. Delany and myself, on the 12th May, 1860, in good health, although we had been to — Africa!

\_\_\_ F I N I S \_\_\_