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W. T. Thistleton Dyer, Esq. :

Report on the Progress and Condition of the Royal Gardens at Kew, 1880.

H. W. Freeland, Esq. :

Elegy on the Death of James A. Garfield. By the Donor, 1881.

H. H. Hayter, Esq., Government Statist, Victoria :

Census of Victoria, 1881.

Mrs. Edward Henty :

Portrait of the late Mr. Edward Henty, Pioneer of Victoria.

Dr. Emil Holub :

The Colonisation of Africa (Pamphlet). By the Donor.

Falconer Larkworthy, Esq. :

New Zealand Revisited by the Donor (Pamphlet).

W. J. Patterson, Esq. :

Proceedings of the Dominion Board of Trade, 1879.

Henry Prestoe, Esq., Trinidad :

Report on the Botanic Gardens, 1880.

C. Graham-Rosenbush, Esq. :

Sierra Leone: its Commercial Position and Prospects. By the Donor, 1881.

J. S. Segre, Esq. :

Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette, October 20, 1881.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Hon. T. RISELY GRIFFITH, Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, to read the following paper, entitled :—

SIERRA LEONE : PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

There has been so much variety of opinion and controversy respecting Sierra Leone, from its foundation to the present day, that I must confess to a feeling of some difficulty in doing justice to the subject within the limits of this paper ; but within those limits I will endeavour to give as full and trustworthy an account, as my experience in the Colony, more particularly in taking the recent census, and some research, enable me to do.

The Colony is situated on the Western Coast of Africa, 8° 30' north of the Equator, and 13° east of Greenwich. It consists chiefly of a peninsula, formerly called Romarong by the natives, about 18 miles long by 12 in breadth, containing an area of 300 square miles, that is, about the size of the Isle of Wight. Its boundaries on the north and east are the rivers Sierra Leone and Bunce, and on the southern and western shores is the Atlantic Ocean. Besides this, there are the Quiah country, British Sherbro', a most important territory, annexed in 1862, and several islands, the largest of which are the Isles de Los, about one degree

north of the Colony; the Bananas, about three miles from Cape Shilling; the Plantain Islands; and a strip of land on the Bullom shore, nearly opposite Freetown, the capital. These additions bring up the total present area to thousands instead of hundreds of square miles. The peninsula is mountainous throughout; the highest peak, Regent or Sugar-loaf mountain, is about 3,000 feet above sea-level. The soil is in some places a reddish-brown clay, in others it is rocky or gravelly, with an admixture of ferruginous earth, strewn with granite boulders. In several places there is found in the lower grounds a cavernous kind of stone, very easily worked, largely used for building purposes, and covered with an alluvial soil. Iron is known to exist, and samples have been sent to England. The Colony was founded nearly a hundred years ago as a settlement for the released victims of the slave trade, and it was hoped that their presence on the African coast would prove a certain means of extending civilisation over the whole Continent.

The earliest mention of the peninsula now called Sierra Leone is supposed to be contained in the *Periplus* or account of the voyage of Hanno, the Carthaginian traveller in the sixth century B.C. There has been much disputation as to the exact places visited by him, but it seems to be certain that Sierra Leone is the locality whence he carried the skins of the gorillæ—long supposed to be fabulous creatures until their re-discovery by Du Chaillu—and where he witnessed, to his surprise, the burning down of the rank vegetation by the natives in the dry season, a system of agriculture followed to this day, but which he described as burning mountains running into the sea. This first contact of the country with civilisation, however, led to nothing, and this part of Africa remained quite unknown to mediæval Europe until the fourteenth century after Christ. The Portuguese are usually called the first discoverers, but their claim is disputed by Labat, a French writer, who says that two companies of Norman merchants at Dieppe and Rouen made, in the year 1365, new establishments at Serrelionne, and on the coast of Malaguette, the one being called "Little Paris," and the other "Little Dieppe," from the towns which were formed in the environs of the forts of the merchants.

The Portuguese, under Captain Pedro de Cintra, one of the "gentlemen" of Prince Henry the Navigator, visited the place for the first time, probably about 1462, shortly after that prince's death. In the account of the voyage written by Cada Mosto, printed from his MS., in the collection of Ramusio at Venice, in 1550, we find that they gave to the Cape afterwards known as

Cape Tagrin, and now Cape Sierra Leone, the name of Cape Liedo, "that is," says he, "brisk, or cheerful, because the beautiful green country about it seemed to smile." From Cape Liedo, he continues, "there runs a large mountain for about fifty miles along the coast, which is very high and covered with lofty green trees; at the end whereof, about eight miles in the sea, there are three islands, the largest not above ten or twelve miles in circumference. To these they gave the name of Saluezze; and to the mountain, Sierra Leone, on account of the roaring of thunder heard from the top, which is always buried in clouds." This quotation is, to my mind, decisive as to the origin of the name, which has been variously attributed to the roaring of the waves upon the shore, the lions or leopards found in the country, and to the supposed resemblance of the mountain crest to the shape of a lion couchant. This very common notion was first published by Villault in 1666. Voyagers of strong imagination believe they can see the form of this lion, but my imagination has not yet been powerful enough for the purpose.

William Finch, merchant, who visited the place in 1607, found the names of divers Englishmen inscribed on the rocks, among others those of Sir Francis Drake, who had been there twenty-seven years before, Thomas Candish, Captain Lister, and others.

In 1666 the Sieur Villault tells that up the river from Cape Liedo were several bays, the fourth of which was called the Bay of France.

The English had a small fort on the river Sierra Leona in 1695, whence they traded to the east as far as the Foulah country for slaves, ivory, and even a good deal of gold. This fort, however, was not long after abandoned.

The next account of the country is given by Mr. Smith, surveyor to the Royal African Company in 1726. He tells us: "It is not certain when the English became masters of Sierra Leone, which they possessed unmolested until Roberts the pirate took it in 1720."

Smith named one of the bays near the cape Pirates Bay, in memory of the burning of a ship there by Roberts the pirate; a name which it still retains.

Down to the year 1787, the chief, almost the only, business of the English at the spot was to carry on the slave trade. Mr. John Matthews, lieutenant in the Royal Navy, resided at Sierra Leone during the years 1785-7, and has left us very interesting accounts of the country and its neighbours as they existed at that time, with full particulars of the methods followed at Sierra Leone of carrying on the traffic in human flesh.

The idea of the present settlement was a direct consequence of

the memorable decision of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, delivered on the 21st June, 1772, that no person could be lawfully detained as a slave in England. In virtue of this decision many negroes were deserted by their former owners, and left in London unprovided for. A charitable society, of which the celebrated Jonas Hanway was chairman, was formed for relief of the poor blacks in London, and the most feasible plan suggested was the formation of a settlement at Sierra Leone to receive them.

In the year 1787, a large sum having been subscribed, the promoters, by Captain Thompson, their agent, acquired from King Tom, or Naimbana, a chief of the Timmanehs, who occupied the country, a title to the Peninsula of Sierra Leone for a sum of thirty pounds, which was duly attested by a deed signed with the mark of that monarch, and confirmed at a grand palaver of the tribe two or three years afterwards; and although the opponents of the scheme subsequently raised a laugh at this transaction in the House of Commons, Mr. Buxton declared that the mark of a King Tom or a King Jamie was to him infinitely more satisfactory than the abominable practice of seizing upon territory by driving the inhabitants from their country. In 1787, the first batch of immigrants, 460 freed negroes, under Captain Thompson, sailed in the ship *Nautilus*, which thus became in some sort the *Mayflower* of the new settlement. Numbers died on the journey, and several fell victims to the climate or their own intemperance shortly after landing. The remainder built themselves a town—Freetown. In the year 1790 the new colonists were attacked by a body of natives, in revenge for the burning of a town belonging to King Jemmy, a native chief, by the crew of a British vessel. They were scattered about the neighbourhood, and were collected from their hiding-places, with some difficulty, by Mr. Falconbridge, who was sent out from England in the beginning of 1791, and whose wife, Mrs. Falconbridge, wrote an account of the new settlement, which is most interesting, being written from an English lady's point of view.

In 1791, the company—hitherto called the St. George's Bay Company—succeeded in passing through Parliament an Act, 31 Geo. III., c. 55, incorporating them under the title of the Sierra Leone Company. Among the ninety-nine names named in this Act as constituting the first body of proprietors, the foremost are Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, William Ludlam, and Sir Richard Carr Glynn; and these deserve to be remembered as the actual founders of the settlement. They spent in its establishment

and development a sum of £111,500 in the first two and a half years of its existence.

The directors of the company organised a system of government under an English officer, Lieutenant Clarkson, R.N., as nearly as possible resembling the British constitution.

In 1792 a considerable addition was made to the settlement by the arrival in sixteen ships of 1,881 negroes from Nova Scotia. These men had served under the English flag during the American war, at the close of which they had been placed by the Government at Nova Scotia, but, finding the climate unsuitable for them, arrangements were made to locate them permanently at Sierra Leone. The Nova Scotians, however, had been trained under the American system of slavery to look upon agricultural labour as so exclusively fit for slaves, that they considered it rather degrading to engage in it; and I am sorry to say that a notion of the same kind appears to be far from uncommon in Sierra Leone at the present day, and to be at the root of much of its want of progress. From these mistaken ideas chiefly arose the complications and troubles which disturbed and retarded the infant settlement.

The Company made special efforts to encourage the practice of agriculture. They offered annual premiums to encourage the building of farmhouses, the rearing of cattle, the raising of all kinds of provisions and articles of exportable produce, and they engaged an eminent botanist, Dr. Afzelius, who afterwards held a high position in the University of Upsal, to investigate the natural history of Sierra Leone, and established a garden of experiment under his superintendence, besides forming experimental farms in several parts of the Colony for the instruction of the inhabitants. To these establishments they forwarded for cultivation a large collection of valuable plants of the East and West Indies and the South Seas from Kew Gardens, and a gardener trained in England to superintend their naturalisation in the Colony.

All these efforts were entirely destroyed, as the Colony was attacked by a French squadron and great damage done in 1794. In that year Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, the historian, became Governor for the first time. By the year 1798 Freetown contained about 300 houses, besides public buildings.

In 1794 the Sierra Leone Company made their first effort to open up trade with the interior by the despatch of a mission consisting of two of their servants, who penetrated 300 miles inland as far as Timbo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom. In consequence of this mission a deputation of chiefs from Timbo visited the settle-

ment to propose terms of trade, and a small beginning was made of an internal commerce which, had it been properly developed, would have proved the best means of carrying out the objects with which the settlement was formed.

The next memorable event in the history of the Colony was the arrival of the Maroon settlers in October, 1800. They were in number about 550, natives of Jamaica, who claimed their freedom when the English took that island from the Spaniards: as they had long lived independently in the mountainous districts there, and did not bear the reputation of being a peaceable people, it was thought best by the British Government to locate them in Sierra Leone. These Maroons, notwithstanding their distaste for agriculture, became industrious men and useful members of society.

In 1800 the Sierra Leone Company obtained a Charter of Justice from the Crown, authorising the directors to make laws not repugnant to those of England, and to appoint a Governor and Council.

Up to the year 1806 the slave trade had not been legally forbidden to British subjects, the first law for its abolition being passed May 23 of that year. An English slave barracoon and slave depôt had accordingly existed on Bunce Island in the Sierra Leone River up to that date. Its dismantled remains with some of the guns which formerly defended it, the cellars wherein the slaves were confined, and some curious inscriptions on the tombstones remain to this day as relics. I visited the spot myself in company with a picnic party in December of last year, and we spent some time in contemplation of the change from former white barbarism.

It will of course be impossible within the limits of this paper to dwell upon many details of the early history of the settlement, although there is much that is both instructive and interesting. But I must pass all over with the simple statement that the Company, having found itself unable to carry on its designs owing to unforeseen circumstances, such as war with the natives and debt, an Act of Parliament (47 Geo. III., c. 44) received the Royal assent August 8, 1807, whereby the possessions and rights of the Sierra Leone Company were transferred to the Crown from January 1, 1808. In the debate on the third reading of this Act, Mr. Thornton concluded his speech by remarking that in whatever sense the Colony might be said to have failed, he thought they had afforded proof of the practicability of civilising Africa, and it would be for the Parliament and the Government to act hereafter as might, under the circumstances, appear expedient.

Thus formally ended the first company of philanthropists who founded the settlement. No doubt they set out with lofty hopes

and expectations, which were not realised, but their intentions were pure, and many of their measures were marked by foresight and care, though frustrated by circumstances beyond their control. As a thing not generally known, I may mention that this Company had a coinage of its own. A silver half dollar in the British Museum collection, which I had in my hand a day or two ago, about the size of a florin, has on the obverse side the words, "Sierra Leone Company, Africa," surrounding a lion guardant, standing on a mountain, and on the reverse, imprinted on the rim, "Half-dollar piece, 1791," the year of the creation of the Colony, and in the centre, between the two numbers 50 and 50, are two hands joined, probably representing the union of England and Africa.

Although the Sierra Leone Company had ceased, its principal members immediately formed "The African Institution," through which the Government acted for some time. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, son of George III., was patron and president; Henry Thornton, the chairman; and Zachary Macaulay, for many years the hard-working and unpaid secretary. It was supported by Mr. Percival, Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and most members of the Government, but subject to much opposition and criticism during the whole of its existence, partly from interested slave traders, and partly from misunderstandings and general ignorance of the conditions of the settlement. I must observe, however, that in looking over the pamphlets relating to these old controversies, I cannot help noticing that many of the difficulties of this Company and the preceding one arose from their own too sanguine and mistaken estimates both of the climate and of the capacity of the people for self-advancement. But, on the other hand, their opponents were far more violent in the opposite direction. The truth lies between the two extremes: negroes are neither so bad nor so good as they have been painted; they have their shortcomings in common with all other races, and those are their best friends who speak of them in a kindly spirit.

The first Governor appointed by the Crown in 1808 was Thomas Ludlam, Esq., and since his time to the present there have been so many changes as almost to justify the witty observation of Sidney Smith, that Sierra Leone always had two Governors, one just arrived in the Colony and the other just arrived in England. This constant change has been of course very detrimental to the settlement. It would be impossible to enter upon a detailed account of the endless changes which have taken place. One of the most

popular and energetic Governors was Sir Charles Macarthy, who held the post for nearly ten years—an unusually long period—beginning in 1814. His name is still remembered with great affection by the natives, and Mr. A. B. C. Sibthorpe, a native negro writer, who has just published a history of Sierra Leone, speaks of it as “the glorious era of the Colony.” The leading idea of his government was the promotion of intercourse with the interior of Africa, as the best means of encouraging trade and industry, and he sent out several expeditions for the purpose, the chief of which was under Major Laing. He was unfortunately taken prisoner and murdered by the Ashantees in January, 1824, which nation, barbarous as it is, still reveres the name of Governor Macarthy as an example of all that is brave and great. Other names held in special remembrance by the inhabitants are those of Sir Stephen J. Hill (1860-2), Sir Arthur Kennedy (1852-4, and again 1871-3), and Sir John Pope Hennessy (1873).

The present population of the original settlement, including British Quiah, which was annexed at a very early date, is 53,862; and of the dependencies, Isles de Los, Tasso, Kikonkeh, and British Sherbro', 6,684; total, 60,546. Probably the population is much larger. I judge that an additional 4,000 in British Sherbro' would be within the mark. The difficulties of taking a census among half civilised people are very great, and the officers who assisted me in this labour found considerable obstructions from groundless rumours and the superstitions of the people.

Of the total sixty and a half thousand inhabitants, only 163 are whites resident, to whom at the time of the census 108 more were added of floating white population, being crews and passengers of ships in harbour. The remainder consisted of the following remarkable variety of races, which render this small community a sort of epitome of all Africa, no less than sixty languages being spoken in the streets of Freetown:—Mandingoes, 1,190; Timmanehs, 7,443; Jolloffs, 189; Baggas, 340; Mendis, 3,088; Sherbros, 2,882; Gallinas, 697; Limbas, 493; Soosoos, 1,470; Foulahs, 225; Locoos, 1,454; Serrakulies, 129; Bulloms, 129; Kroomen, 610. These fourteen names comprise all those who may be classified with any exactness as to their specific African nationality. But in addition to them are large numbers of other races inextricably intermixed; descendants of the liberated Africans, who number 35,430, being more than half of the whole population; West Indians, 393; and miscellaneous tribes, who together number 4,132.

The Timmanehs were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country,

the purchase of the original site of the settlement having been made from their chief, Naimbana.

They principally inhabit the Quiah country, and spread a considerable way into the interior. Though their country is divided into petty kingdoms, they speak the same language throughout with but slight variation. They are pagans, though some profess the Mohammedan religion in name but not in practice. Though hard-working themselves, they make their slaves grow most of the produce, and they bring large quantities of rice, ground-nuts, benni-seed, and other articles into the settlement, which swell the exports of the Colony. I would willingly ascribe to the nearest of our neighbours, and their representatives in Freetown, of whom there are many, some virtues if they possessed any, but, unfortunately, taken as a people, they have been too truly described by able and observant writers as dishonest and depraved. Though not naturally of warlike disposition they have engaged in many wars, both internal and incursionary, which have done more to retard the progress of trade than anything else.

The Mendis live at the back of the Sherbro' country. They are warriors ; they almost live by war, and are ready to hire themselves out as war men to almost any tribe or nation willing to pay them for such services, or without pay where they can plunder for reward. The English have, however, found them to be most useful allies at times. They fought for us as far back as 1838, and upon several occasions since their services have been proffered and accepted. In the Ashantee war of 1873-74 about 800 of them were engaged on our side, and gave every satisfaction. Only as lately as the recent Ashantee difficulty they made an offer of their services. They are out and out pagans, but are useful as neighbours in the Sherbro' country, where they carry whatever produce they have to dispose of. They are glad to see a white man amongst them, and think highly of the English.

The Mandingoes are Mohammedans in religion, and follow various pursuits ; they are skilful as tanners and blacksmiths, and as they are of a shrewd nature, many of them become brokers and interchangers of produce in Freetown for the other less intelligent tribes. Their habits and religion produce a better state of existence than other uncivilised tribes. The Assistant Arabic interpreter of the Government, a Mandingo by birth, tells me that destitution is almost unknown in their country and that age is treated with veneration. Of all the tribes who come to us the Mandingoes are least mendacious. The care of their aged leads to the belief that there must be some good in these people.

The Soosoos were originally emigrants from the Mandingo tribes; they came to the Mellicourie, Fourricariah, and Soombuyah countries, and intermarried with the aborigines, who were Bulloms, Tonko Limbas, and Baggas. Being better educated in the Koran, which appears to be the standard of education, they soon became powerful enough to command the country to which they had originally immigrated. Some time since the Government of Sierra Leone were obliged to help the Timmanehs against the Soosoos, notably in 1858-59, when they were unable to combat with this then powerful tribe, but more recently the Timmanehs have acquired greater strength and matters are now reversed, the Soosoos being unable to stand against the Timmanehs. The Soosoos bring to the settlement produce of all kinds, but particularly ground-nuts, bennie-seed, and gum; they are reckoned, as Africans go, to be a hard-working people, and continue Islamites in religion.

Of the Kroomen as a race of hard-working men I cannot say too much. Very shortly after the formation of the Colony, the Kroo-boys appear to have settled in large numbers in Freetown, and in the year 1816 an ordinance was passed authorising the purchase from one Eli Ackim of certain lands which were devoted to these people, and where they at present reside in the portion known as Krootown.

Every mail steamer that comes from Europe and touches at Sierra Leone takes a certain number of Kroo-boys on board, who perform the work of unloading and loading, painting, scraping, and cleaning generally during the voyage down the Coast and until the vessels return, when the European sailors again turn to. Each man-of-war takes a complement of them and they perform the same description of work, relieving the white sailors from exposure to the sun. In cases of disobedience, punishment is awarded and administered by the headman, whose authority over his boys is thoroughly recognised. As boatmen they are exceptionally good. Those resident in Sierra Leone are under a king or chief chosen by them, who settles disputes and adjudicates in minor cases of larceny, &c., amongst themselves. The present occupant of this office is King Tom Peter, who is also a first-class police-constable under the Colonial Government, his sphere of duty being assigned to the locality of his own people. Taken as a people they are the hardest workers amongst the Africans, and they are much appreciated on board Her Majesty's ships on the West African Station. There is no mistaking them, for they all have the broad blue band tattooed on their faces, which commences at the top and centre of the forehead and reaches in a straight line to the tip of their noses. They make ex-

cellent carriers, and are engaged on all expeditions which start from Sierra Leone. They look up to the English, whom they regard as parental in every sense, and I believe they would willingly hand over their country to Great Britain if the smallest promise of protection and support were made to them. They are pagans, but many of those resident in Sierra Leone have embraced Christianity. Frequently they adopt the most absurd names, such as Pea Soup, Bottle-of-Beer, Jack Never-fear, and Tom Two-glass. The men are of very little use at farming, nor do they make good house servants. In other respects their services are indispensable to commerce in this part of the world. They are broad-chested and muscular.

The liberated Africans and their descendants are of a number of tribes whom it would be an endless labour to endeavour to classify. The most numerous and important are the *Akus*, a word signifying, according to Dr. Robert Clarke, how-d'ye-do, and *Eboes*. The country of the former is in the neighbourhood of Lagos, whilst the Eboes inhabit the eastern banks of the Niger. To weld all these races into one has been always the great task of the Government. In former days tribal riots were not uncommon, but have long happily ceased. The last disturbance of the kind took place in 1834 in the Second Eastern district. Both these tribes are, however, singularly clannish.

The Government of the Colony has undergone various changes. From the very first some share in Government was committed to the native Africans, of course under European superintendence. In 1863 an Executive Council, consisting of four members, nominated by the Crown, was created by Royal charter, and a Legislative Council. In 1866 it became the centre of Government for all the West African settlements, but in 1874 this was modified, and the Colony is now under a charter dated 17th December, 1874. There is an Executive Council, consisting of the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, and the Officer commanding the Forces, and very lately the Crown Solicitor has been added. The same officials with four others appointed by the Crown, form the Legislative Council; of these latter, three were Africans. The settlement is divided into districts, each presided over by a manager. British Sherbro' is under a civil commandant, as also Kikonkeh, whilst the Isles de Los are under a sub-collector of customs, all appointed by the Governor.

The principal towns of the settlement are Freetown, the capital, founded in 1787; Waterloo, Kissy, Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, Wilberforce, Goderich, York, Kent, and about 20 others.

Freetown is pleasantly situated, facing the harbour looking north; it occupies a space extending in length for about three miles, and contains about 22,000 inhabitants. It is remarkably well laid out. The streets are wide, though the houses are somewhat uneven in point of size. The majority of the houses are built of stone to a height of from eight to fourteen feet, the upper part being wood-work, many with galleries or verandahs in front. A great number of better class houses have sprung up of late years in Freetown. It is a feature of the people to invest their savings from trading in house property. There are several public buildings of importance. St. George's Cathedral, a substantial brick building, with clock tower, has lately been re-modelled, and is about to be re-seated in modern style. Government House, once Fort Thornton, occupies a prominent position, and is pleasantly approached through a handsome avenue of mango trees.

The military barracks are on a hill of about 300 feet high, and are built in a commodious and superior manner. There are at present about 400 rank and file of the 1st West India Regiment, whose presence adds considerably to the importance and security of the settlement. Churches and chapels of various denominations abound, and the educational establishments are well built. Freetown contains the best market for vegetables in West Africa. The exhibition of fruits and vegetables along the well-filled stalls would do credit to many a large town in England. There is also a good butchers' market, well supplied with beef and mutton on alternate days, beef being sold at 6d. a pound, and mutton at 9d. There is a good supply of poultry, ducks fetching 2s. 6d. each, turkeys from 10s. to 15s., and fowls from 10d. to 2s. The pork is unfit for European consumption.

There is probably no place along the Western Coast of Africa where such excellent water can be obtained as at Sierra Leone, and the supply is abundant. Water pipes are now laid down in most of the principal streets, and in many cases it has been carried into the houses of the residents. The bringing of the water into Freetown from the hills and springs near the town is of immense advantage, and a convenience which the inhabitants appreciate greatly. The benefit of pure water in an African town cannot be over-estimated, and much of the sickness, more particularly dysentery, which is to be met with in other towns on the Coast, may be largely attributed to the impurity of the water.

As to the occupations of the people, out of 159 classed as belonging to professions, 140 are ministers of religion, very few of them being Europeans. The great number of traders and

hawkers is a circumstance sufficiently surprising and important to claim the closest attention of the Executive and the Legislature; nor can the ordinary observer fail to be impressed with such a state of things. On the peninsula of Sierra Leone there are returned 53,862; of these, traders and hawkers number 10,250, or about 19 per cent., but as many of the so-called school children and persons who describe themselves as of no occupation are also hucksters, to say nothing of the transient traders, the percentage under this head can safely be put at 23. Little good can result to a country as long as one-fourth of its people are dependent for their livelihood upon what they sell to the remaining three-quarters.

It seems desirable that some measures should be adopted to induce them to discontinue occupations so manifestly prejudicial to their own advancement as well as to the country generally, and oblige them to engage in labours of production. An attempt in this direction was made in 1879 by Sir Samuel Rowe, who proposed an ordinance for the imposition of market and hawking dues, but the opposition of the trading community was so strong that it had to be withdrawn. The same tendency to engage in the work of distribution rather than the production of wealth seems to be a general characteristic of the negro race, well deserving attentive consideration.

Farmers, farm labourers, and market people principally belong to the Quiah and Second Eastern districts, and as a large number do little else than purchase vegetables in the districts and bring them into the town to sell, the class of people who are most needed, namely, the agriculturists, is reduced considerably below the minimum of the number required.

The fishermen produce little more than enough for the subsistence of their own families, and the quantity offered for sale in the markets is comparatively small in proportion to the amount which this kind of industry might produce.

The real number of artisans or mechanics, who have any right to the term in the true meaning of the word, is very limited; and it is to be regretted that in Sierra Leone, where the people are apt to learn and tolerably quick to apply, when they give care and attention, there is not a greater number of thorough workmen to teach their handicrafts and become examples to the rising generation. A youth who has been two years with a carpenter, boat-builder, blacksmith, or mason, arrogates the title to himself without any compunction, and frequently, whilst he is learning from an indifferent teacher the rudiments of his trade, he sets himself up as a master of his profession. There is hardly a single trade that

can turn out half a dozen men who would be certificated by any European firm for possessing a thorough knowledge of it. Of all trades in Sierra Leone, and certainly in Freetown, that of tailoring is, I think, the most patronised, but this arises from the love of dress, which is inherent.

CLIMATE.

In every matter connected with Sierra Leone, the question of climate forms a most important consideration. From its geographical position, the heat is necessarily excessive for Europeans. The usual temperature of dwellings is from 78 to 86 degrees. The seasons of the year are practically two, the wet and the dry, and I cannot give a better idea of the weather which may be expected by those who propose visiting that part of the world, for agriculture or commerce, than may be obtained from the following table of rainfall, from observations and records carefully made at the Colonial Hospital, Freetown, during the year 1860 :—

Date.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	—	—	—	—	·48	·02	2·40	4·25	·09	·40	·25	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·45	·40	·54	—	—	·1
3	—	—	—	·95	—	·11	1·13	·13	·58	·12	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	·35	·17	·28	1·00	2·75	·80	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	—	·08	·08	·57	1·00	·45	·04	—
6	—	—	—	—	·08	—	·92	—	1·40	·40	—	—
7	—	—	—	—	·15	1·38	·11	·15	1·05	·37	·47	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	·08	·03	—	·40	—	1·00	—
9	—	—	—	—	·10	·06	·04	1·24	1·58	·25	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	1·03	—	·03	5·40	3·05	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	·10	·32	·10	·45	·55	1·90	·25	1·02	—
12	—	—	·11	—	·70	·10	2·0	2·73	10·40	2·72	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	·05	·18	·42	2·60	·55	·43	—	—
14	—	—	—	·33	—	3·85	3·25	2·82	·05	—	—	—
15	—	—	—	·26	·06	3·00	4·20	·30	·25	—	—	·2
16	—	—	—	·30	—	1·07	·02	1·65	—	2·00	—	—
17	—	—	—	—	—	·15	—	—	—	·80	·08	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	·05	·25	—	·15	·62	·33	—
19	—	—	—	·03	·45	—	1·57	·38	—	·29	·83	—
20	—	—	—	·55	·02	—	2·61	3·15	—	·27	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	·10	—	1·17	1·15	—	·75	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	·96	·02	1·45	·25	—	—	—	—
23	—	—	—	2·14	—	·12	·39	·56	—	·71	·01	—
24	—	—	—	—	·09	1·63	·27	·47	·37	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	·75	·85	·09	·96	2·52	3·75	—	·03	—
26	—	·10	—	—	·38	·05	2·85	1·66	·65	—	—	—
27	—	·23	—	·55	1·03	1·35	·40	2·50	4·70	—	—	—
28	—	—	—	·98	—	·05	1·10	—	2·80	·06	—	—
29	—	—	—	1·17	·78	·03	1·75	·02	1·85	·06	—	—
30	—	—	—	·80	·06	—	·03	—	·15	·56	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—	·78	·09	—	·02	—	—
—	—	·33	·11	8·91	9·74	13·74	35·55	36·97	39·24	12·34	4·96	·3

It will be noticed that the rains commence to fall about May, and continue with tolerable regularity during the succeeding five

months, and the dry season is embraced in the months from November to April. The total average rainfall for the past five years has been close upon 155 inches, or about five times greater than that of England. The most sickly portions of the year are those immediately preceding and directly following the heavy rains. The reasons for this are obvious. The struggle, as it were, between the sun and the rain is much greater, for whilst during the heavy rains the sun is much less powerful, and the water, falling in large quantities, carries all impurities before it, in the intervening dry season, there is just a sufficient quantity of rain falling to be acted upon by the heat of the sun, and consequently the miasmatic vapour arising from the ground is much increased. Many older residents prefer the rainy to the dry seasons. I must confess, however, a personal predilection for the latter. The objection to the rainy season is the extreme dampness which permeates everything; even wearing apparel and books are affected by it; nothing escapes. Charcoal fires have to be kept in the houses and offices to counteract its influence. On the contrary, in the dry season, although the thermometer is a few degrees higher, there is nothing to make it objectionable. The climate at this time of the year may be likened very much to that of the West Indies; indeed at all times I am inclined to think there is no very great disparity, more particularly if the hills around Freetown be chosen as a residence. There are, however, two peculiar features—tornadoes and the harmattan.

The tornadoes of Sierra Leone are certainly a grand phenomenon. They generally take place after the weather has been unusually sultry. Distant thunder is heard at intervals for days previously, accompanied each evening with lurid, sulphurous forked lightning; in the eastern horizon clouds may be seen gathering, and a long arch of dense black clouds stretches across the sky, until at last the wind, which up to this time has been remarkably still, bursts forth and continues for some time, together with very heavy rattling rain. The thunder is extremely loud, and the lightning most vivid. The wind is very powerful while it lasts, which fortunately seldom exceeds an hour. When it is over the delightful coolness of the air for some hours fully repays for the inconvenience it has caused.

The harmattan is a wind that blows at intervals for about two months, in February and March. It has a remarkably desiccating tendency, and, though disagreeable, is by no means unhealthy. It comes across the Sahara, and consequently brings with it a fine dust, which has been known to be carried out to sea for many miles. Sailors have given the name of "the smokes" to these clouds

of dust. Articles of furniture may be heard to crack under its penetrating influence, paper and the covers of books are bent by it, ink in open stands evaporates, and even glass is rendered more brittle. The natives dislike the harmattan, and complain of cold. I do not think it very much affects Europeans.

The question of the influence of the climate upon Europeans is, however, most important. On the one hand, I think the expression "white man's grave"—so common that it is repeated even in the elementary school-books of England—is both exaggerated and mischievous. "Give a dog a bad name and you may as well hang him," is a proverb applicable in many ways to Sierra Leone. The pioneers of civilization and the earlier residents suffered to a fearful extent, but I do not hesitate to say that if they had adopted the rules of living which are now being tried, they would not have added so many names to the long roll of deaths ascribed solely to the climate. Even at the very first, Mrs. Falconbridge pointed out that sickness was due quite as much to want of care as to the climate. Dr. James Boyle, in 1831 reported to the Colonial Office that "the most exaggerated notions" prevailed among men of science on the subject. In 1830, Mr. John Cormack, merchant, who had resided at Sierra Leone from 1816 up to that date, stated to a Committee of the House of Commons, that out of twenty-six Europeans in his service, seven had died, seven remained in Africa, and twelve had returned to England, all of them but two or three in good health. In 1836 we meet with a medical opinion that not one-fourth of the deaths are merely from the effects of the climate. Many Europeans have resided in Sierra Leone in the enjoyment of health for many years. Governor Kenneth Macaulay, a younger brother of Zachary Macaulay, lived there for twenty years, Mr. Reffall for fifteen years, and I am personally acquainted with several who have resided there for many years, and who have enjoyed a large portion of health.

The fact is, the climate of Africa is often made the scapegoat of European recklessness, and if Europeans who go there would but take proper precautions, we have it on the best medical authority that much of the sickness and death might be avoided. Great improvement has taken place of late years, in some degree owing to the use of quinine, a medicine quite unknown to the first settlers. A very practical appreciation of this improvement is shown by the Directors of the Star Life Insurance Society, who have reduced the very heavy rates formerly charged for insurance of lives in Sierra Leone. I admit that the climate is bad and dangerous, though not to the extent which should deter any man of

ordinary English courage from the attempt to serve his country and benefit the natives of Africa in a region where, without European supervision and guidance, progress would be impossible. The climate has been most ably written upon by Dr. James Africanus B. Horton, and I can only refer you to his works for further information and instructions for guidance in relation to the preservation of health in the climate, and the degree to which Europeans suffer by the neglect of necessary precautions.

Efforts have not been wanting in this direction. Sir John Pope Hennessy appointed a separate Department of Public Health. Attempts have been made to introduce the cultivation of the *Eucalyptus globulus*, with a view of counteracting the ill effects of the marshy soil, but without success, from the carelessness or ignorance of the planters. A better state of house accommodation has begun to prevail. In 1879 the Colonial Government passed an ordinance compelling the owners and occupiers of lands and buildings not only to cleanse their houses in a most effectual manner, but to check the growth of vegetation which might produce malaria, with many other sanitary regulations, and full power is given to the sanitary inspector to enforce a rigid carrying out of the ordinance. The difficulty of carrying out strict regulations is, however, known only to those who are acquainted with the peculiar ways of the people of Africa. The dry earth system is gradually becoming general, and will, no doubt, be productive of good. A plan has also been lately proposed by the Colonial Office, upon the recommendation of Sir Samuel Rowe, for the establishment of a residence for Government officials on the hills at Leicester, about three miles from Freetown, some 800 feet above sea level, and where the temperature is much milder than below. The only drawback to the proposal is the daily journey to and from Freetown, in all the vicissitudes of weather.

The Agricultural question has always been a crucial one in Sierra Leone. The proper cultivation of the soil is, and must always be, the true foundation of prosperity in any country. The shop cannot flourish unless the farm supports it; and the friends of the Colony regard with anxiety the centralisation of capital at Freetown. I have been gratified, however, to notice, that the desire to acquire land and cultivate it has lately increased to a very great extent, and I regard it as a hopeful sign for the future. The Colonial Government are desirous of fostering and encouraging cultivation: But the people, however, want two things—capital and scientific agricultural knowledge. The native implements are still of the rudest kind, their hoes little more than sufficient to scratch

the ground, and their only other implement a cutlass to cut down the bush. Ploughs are unknown, and spades little used. Wheelbarrows are detested, although they are not quite unknown; the people would much sooner "tote" the soil in a box on their head, and instances are on record where the negro has "toted" the wheelbarrow itself, wheel, handle, and all.

The soil is still prepared for seed in the ancient method of burning down the bush, and merely scratching among the stumps and roots. There are some exceptions to these practices, but we who now how obstinately the British farmer himself once fought against new-fangled notions on his farm, need not wonder at a like difficulty with the African.

The soil of the country is fertile, though hardly in a high degree, and it is an unfortunate circumstance that no qualified authority has yet been employed to prepare a thorough report on the subject. I think it very undesirable that any British Colony should exist without a full and trustworthy account of its soils and minerals. The soil is understood to be least fertile in the neighbourhood of Freetown and the mountain district, but along the valley to the river from Wellington to Waterloo it is good, and the same may be said of British Quiah and of Sherbro'.

Among the plants which might be most usefully cultivated, I would mention in the first place cocoa and coffee. It is well known that cocoa requires a moist soil, and from what I have seen of its cultivation in the West Indies, I am convinced that portions of the territory of Sierra Leone are peculiarly adapted for its growth. It is possible that the natives may object to it, for it is very hard to induce them to enter upon any industry which requires several years' waiting for profitable results, and the cocoa tree requires five or six. But considering the great demand for cocoa, and the suitability of soil and climate, I consider its introduction of the greatest advantage. Mr. Thomas Bright has established a coffee and cocoa farm at Murray Town. Native coffee was discovered in Quiah in the year 1796, and a reward given by the Colonial Government to the Nova Scotian settler who found it, but it has not since been cultivated to any extent. Attention is now being given to the production of Liberian coffee. The following account of the farm of Mr. Wm. Grant, with which he has recently favoured me, will be interesting. It is situated at Hastings, on land which he obtained from the Colonial Government for a trifling sum, on condition that he would devote capital and labour in developing agriculture:—

“The plants in my plantation, when I left Sierra Leone, were all in a healthy state, and I continue to have good accounts from the manager since my arrival in England. I have under cultivation at present over 400 acres of land, of which 100 acres are in sugar cane. I have also 40,000 cocoa plants, from 9 to 18 months old ; 5,000 Liberian coffee plants, 9 months old ; 2,000 cocoa-nut plants, 6 months old ; and a very large area in maize, cassada, and cocoa, sweet-potatoes, yams and other native vegetables. I may also mention that to shade the cocoa plants, I have planted over 15,000 plantains and banana-plants, some of which are now bearing.”

Mr. Samuel Lewis, barrister-at-law, a native gentleman, has established a farm, principally with a view of studying the best methods of agriculture, and is doing much to influence his countrymen in favour of agricultural pursuits. A lecture on the Agricultural Position of Sierra Leone was read by him at Freetown, in April of this year, and contains many interesting statements and recommendations on the subject, which time and space forbid me to enlarge upon now. One peculiar production is the highly valued cola-nut. The Mahommedans of Africa have a singular belief that if they die with a portion of this nut in their stomach, their everlasting happiness is secured. It is used as a sign and token of friendship all over Africa, corresponding to the “pipe of peace” among the North-American Indians. It has the curious property of indefinitely postponing the feeling of hunger, and one nut, it is said, will sustain a man’s strength during a long day’s march. The cola trees bear twice a year, and the nuts, which hang in pods from the branches, are some of them not unlike an English chestnut. They are grown extensively for the African market. The value exported in 1860 was £2,445 ; in 1870, £10,400 ; in 1880, £24,422 : so that the product is an increasing one. The other productions of Sierra Leone which may be mentioned, are cotton, but of which very little is grown, ginger in large quantities, malagetta pepper, arrowroot, castor oil, maize, cassada, eaten only by the natives, and ground-nuts. These are the principal productions of agricultural importance ; some of them are grown to a very slight extent.

I had prepared a rather complete list with the botanical names of plants in the Colony, but must forego mentioning them for want of time. There are, however, many now quite overlooked which it has occurred to me might be advantageously cultivated, and be the means of opening out new trades and industries. I will only instance the mangrove plants, which overgrow the swampy shores of the Sierra Leone and Sherbro’ rivers. One variety of this species is much used in Sind and other parts of Asia for tanning purposes. A portion of the export trade of Sierra Leone is in

raw hides, but if these trees could be utilised, the hides might be manufactured into leather within the Colony, which would thus get a new industry and an increased revenue. I mention this merely as a sample of what a thorough botanical survey might bring to light.

Of industries specially connected with agriculture, I have just learned that Mr. Grant is preparing to introduce a sugar mill to manufacture the sugar now growing in his plantations, and also an ice-making machine to work by steam power, which, I need hardly say, will be of the greatest medical usefulness in such a climate.

A model farm, managed by Europeans, for the instruction of natives, the introduction of improved implements, and modes of cultivation, but, above all, the popularisation, so to speak, of agricultural pursuits in preference to trade and barter, are the main wants of the Colony in this department. A system of agricultural prizes, such as were tried in the early days of the Colony, would also be well worth a trial. I may say that, in common with most other observers, I have never found the African race unwilling to labour when they feel that a good profit will be the result, though they are wanting in patience to wait for the result.

To those who are supporters of missionary work, Sierra Leone is an interesting spectacle. Seventy years ago it was a heathen land: to-day it is filled with places of worship. In its earlier days the bearers of the Gospel to the heathen located there met with many trials from climate, ill-will, and opposition from slave traders and chiefs: to-day the various Christian sects are vying in Christian rivalry.

In the fifteenth century we read that the Portuguese commenced missionary efforts on the West Coast, but whatever successes attended them have long since disappeared. Early attempts to establish Methodism near Sierra Leone were made by Dr. Thomas Coke in 1796, but they failed. The Nova Scotian settlers, who arrived in 1792, embraced amongst them Wesleyans, Baptists, and members of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, and each sect claims that period as the era of its commencement in the settlement.

The Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, sent the first Sierra Leone missionaries (Messrs. Renner and Hartwig) out in 1804—German disciples supported by English funds. As years went on their numbers increased. In 1811 the first ordained Wesleyan missionary arrived in Sierra Leone, who has been followed ever since by an unbroken succession of Europeans. In 1816 the Church Missionary work was entered upon in good earnest, and their labours were devoted, in common with the others, to the

liberated Africans, who were now located here in large numbers. Among many names in early missionary work may be mentioned those of Nylander and W. A. B. Johnson, whose hard work and untiring zeal with a people whose belief was a degrading superstition produced the happiest results. A long roll of names of Christian labourers and their wives who died at their post is to be read in the various published accounts. In twenty years, from 1815, out of seventy who were sent out, thirty-seven died, or were invalided, in less than a year.

By these efforts, and those of other denominations, was Sierra Leone christianised; and what is the result to-day? According to the census returns there are 18,660 Episcopalians, 17,098 Wesleyans and Methodists, 2,717 Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, 388 Baptists, and 369 Roman Catholics. There are still, however, many pagans, with whom the various denominations are combating.

To the Church Missionary Society, Sierra Leone owes much. In 1839 they erected a stone church at Kissyroad; in 1849 that at Pademba-road. They have spent close upon half a million of pounds in Sierra Leone! They withdrew their grants in 1862, and at the present moment give about £300 a year only; a large amount is collected amongst Church members and the various Dissenting bodies for their own support. The first bishopric was established in 1852.

Latterly, the Native Church Pastorate, established by Bishop Beckles in 1861, has taken over the ecclesiastical functions of the former Episcopal Missionary Church; the constitution of the Native Church is identical with that of the Episcopal Church of England. The late Bishop, Dr. Cheetham, whose vacation of the bishopric has just been announced, did much to further the cause of the Church in Sierra Leone, and his removal will be a great loss to the Colony.

The question of the success of Christianity in Africa is a very momentous one; let us hope that the dream of Sir Charles McCarthy will be realised, and that Sierra Leone may be the base whence future operations may be extended step by step to the heart of Africa. I would recommend, from whatever point it is approached, that the system adopted should be that carried on by the Basle Missionary Society, who combine Christian teaching with practical instruction in useful handicrafts, and thus implant with the knowledge of the Gospel the belief that labour is dignified and profitable.

I now come to speak of education. In 1880 eighty-two schools were in existence; the number of scholars on the roll being 8,543,

of whom 4,711 were boys and 3,832 girls. They were principally supported by the various religious denominations. Of the above eighty-two schools, forty-five were in connection with the Church of England, and thirty-seven with other bodies, principally the Wesleyan Methodists.

Of the schools for higher education, Fourah Bay College was built by the Church Missionary Society, and opened on the 18th February, 1828, with six pupils, one of whom was Bishop Crowther, of the Niger. At times it has been closed, but for the past thirty years has steadily carried on its work. It is about a mile and a half from Freetown. It is affiliated to the University of Durham, and its students, by keeping the necessary terms and passing the required examinations, may attain all the degrees of that University without leaving the shores of Africa. Many are now graduates of Durham.

The Church Missionary Grammar School gives a superior education to native boys. It celebrated the thirty-sixth anniversary in April last. The most promising boys of the common schools pass to this one, and the best of them to Fourah Bay College. It is both a boarding and day school, and since its opening over 1,000 boys have been admitted, many of whom now fill important posts. The curriculum is that of an ordinary English grammar school. The establishment is now self-supporting, and has an invested surplus, out of which the tutors are sent to England for further education. I had the pleasure of attending an examination of the boys of this school in December, 1880, and I was much struck with their general proficiency.

The Wesleyan High School for Boys is also an excellent institution. Like the Church Missionary Grammar School, it receives youths from neighbouring Colonies, who derive instruction which could not be obtained on other parts of the coast. It was opened in 1874, and is very prosperous.

The Wesleyan High School for Girls was opened in 1879. The idea of a superior school for girls originated with Mrs. Godman, the wife of a Wesleyan missionary, on her arrival in the Colony. But it was cordially taken up by the natives, and they subscribed the entire funds for its establishment. It was thought best to adopt the commercial principle, but as yet no one has asked for profit, and the school shows signs of good progress and prosperity. The principal teachers have been engaged from Europe.

The Annie Walsh Memorial School for Girls, under the fostering care of the Church Missionary Society, was established from a

bequest made for the purpose by the English lady whose name it bears.

The efforts of the Roman Catholics in aid of education are very praiseworthy. The priests have a large school for boys, and the sisters educate girls and young women. The Mohammedans also have their schools, where, in addition to the Koran, both English and Arabic are taught. In common with their fellow-religionists of the interior, they show a great desire to obtain knowledge.

A desire to gain knowledge characterised the negroes of the Peninsula at the time of the first settlement, although not from a very worthy motive. A common proverb of those days was, "Read book, and learn to be rogue so well as white man." We may safely say that the better example set them by the white man of these days has induced a higher motive by this time. At all events, they show a great anxiety to get learning of a certain kind, unhappily not always the most practical. Poor people will make any sacrifice to give their sons a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, but the attendance of the children at the elementary schools is very irregular. The desire of the people is rather to enter upon professional occupations than to work at handicrafts, and this affects the standard of education aimed at. I think a larger development of industrial teaching is much wanted throughout the Colony. There are negroes of pure African blood in connection with the Colony and on the West Coast who have fully attained to the high standard of intellectual culture we reach in England, and have gained the University degrees of Oxford and Durham. These men afford an incontestable proof that the negro race is not hopelessly incapable; and a great responsibility rests upon them, which, from personal knowledge, I may say they fully realise, as intellectual representatives of their race before the people of Europe and America. But, at the present moment, what is most required in Sierra Leone is the raising the whole mass of the people, by giving to their teaching a more practical turn, which shall induce habits of industry, economy, and self-reliance, and in proportion as we thus encourage handicrafts, trade, and agriculture, we shall make the country less dependent upon European teachers. Governor Havelock since his arrival has taken up the subject of public education very earnestly, and passed a new educational ordinance, the principal feature of which is the encouragement of industrial teaching; and I may add, that every effort in this direction will have my very cordial and active support, so long as I am connected with the Colony.

I must not omit the important departments of trade and commerce. One of the main objects of the founders of the settlement was to make it an outlet for the trade of the interior with Europe and the rest of the world. In this sense, Freetown, which possesses the only convenient and safe harbour for hundreds of miles along the surf-beaten coast, has been aptly called the Liverpool of the West Coast of Africa. Its trading operations, beyond the export of its own productions, embraces the collection of commodities from surrounding countries, and their export. There are very large possibilities in such a position: what are the prospects of their fulfilment?

No less than seven-tenths of the Freetown revenue is derived from trade passing through the Lokkoh and Roquelle rivers. If good roads could be made through these border regions, and if travellers could be secured from molestation arising from the internecine wars of our neighbours, a much larger trade might be done. The best efforts of the Colonial Government are constantly used in the direction of preserving peace among them, and a feeling of amity and goodwill is sedulously cultivated with those who are more distant, by the entertainment of their chiefs and messengers who visit Sierra Leone, by the Government. They are seldom allowed to leave the Colony without being the bearers of a message of friendship, and substantial tokens of goodwill, in the shape of presents to their chiefs at home. Apart from sentiment, it is felt that in promoting peace and friendship with these barbarous neighbours, we increase their demand for our own goods, and in advancing their welfare we also promote our own.

Expeditions have at times been organised into the immediate interior with the same object. But, in spite of all efforts, trade is very much hampered on our borders by internal wars. As an illustration of this, the recent war in the Quiah country has helped to reduce the quantity of ground-nuts exported from 608,000 bushels in 1879 to 247,000 in 1880. These wars are not directed against us, although we are the sufferers. The cultivation of the country in which they occur is neglected, industry is paralysed, and the unhappy belligerents have nothing to export.

The accession of territory known as "British Sherbro," in 1862, has helped to increase trade to a considerable extent, and it has been termed the "milch cow" of the settlement. Time will not permit me to give this important addition the justice it deserves, but I may state that twenty-two rivers and creeks form a confluence near the island of that name, and the amount of native produce brought down is very large.

The principal imports of the settlement of Sierra Leone, which pay no duty, are Manchester cottons, woollen goods, wearing apparel, and haberdashery; tinned provisions, flour, candles, and oil, salt, hardware, and beads. There is a great importation also of spirits and tobacco, the duties upon which form the largest portion of the revenue. The total value of the imports in 1880 was £445,358; of this sum the United Kingdom supplied £321,529, or nearly two-thirds; America, £45,486; while France and Germany supplied £33,913 and £26,203. Some five months since I counted no less than eight steamers in the harbour at one time, besides a goodly number of sailing vessels. This means business.

This may appear a trivial number, but I am speaking of a small Colony. The following table of vessels entered and cleared in 1875-80 will show the increase in shipping:—

ENTERED.	Year.	Sailing.	Tonnage.	Steam.	Tonnage.	Total Vessels.	Tonnage.
	1876	292	33,617	120	107,715	412	141,332
1877	267	35,983	103	105,391	370	141,374	
1878	235	34,737	143	130,855	378	165,596	
1879	215	27,284	218	162,735	433	190,019	
1880	205	27,044	194	172,513	399	199,557	

CLEARED.	Year.	Sailing.	Tonnage.	Steam.	Tonnage.	Total Vessels.	Tonnage.
	1876	280	34,575	115	101,501	395	136,076
1877	288	39,417	102	104,585	390	144,002	
1878	252	37,202	150	127,257	412	164,459	
1879	225	31,687	218	159,676	443	190,754	
1880	213	28,817	198	172,409	411	201,726	

At present three lines of steamers run to Sierra Leone. The original African Steamship Company and the later British and African Navigation Steamship Company; between them they furnish a weekly service, besides occasional intervening South Coast boats which call there. The distance from Liverpool to Freetown is 3,078 miles, and the journey occupies sixteen days. There is another line from Marseilles, belonging to Mons. Verminck, which provides a steamer every three weeks. The two first-named have excellent, though limited, passenger accommodation.

I find the value of imports and exports, taken from official records for the last six decades, stands thus:—

	VALUE OF IMPORTS.	VALUE OF EXPORTS.
1830	£87,251	£71,076
1840	73,989	65,858
1850	97,892	115,142
1860	284,485	304,393
1870*	280,864	350,317
1880	445,358	375,986

* Including British Sherbro'.

The principal articles of export for the last five years are shown in the following table:—

Articles.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	Rate of Duty.
Dutiable.						
Benni-seed ...	17,257 bus.	23,114½ bus.	46,847½ bus.	27,249 bus.	22,200 bus.	1d. bus.
Cola-nuts	1,953 pkgs.	1,573 pkgs.	2,288 pkgs.	2,447 pkgs.	2,331 pkgs.	5s. cwt.
Ground-nuts...	220,908 bus.	204,992 bus.	357,560 bus.	608,522 bus.	247,707 bus.	1d. bus.
	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt.	cwt. qr. lb.	
Gum	5,226 2 3	4,366 2 5	3,904 2 14	5,071	6,859 0 22	2s. cwt.
Hides	213,756 lbs.	170,832 lbs.	41,752 hides	53,380 hides	46,343 hides	2d. each
Palm oils	349,794 gals.	348,501½ gals.	347,265 gals.	440,175 gals.	292,306 gals.	1d. gal.
Palm kernels	316,244 bus.	514,020½ bus.	404,909 bus.	513,258 bus.	383,318 bus.	1d. bus.
Free.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	cwt. qr. lb.	
Ginger	18,730 0 22	22,042 2 3	19,821 2 25	37,214 0 7	16,801 0 24	—
Rubber	456,695 lbs.	609,285 lbs.	687,134 lbs.	379,220 lbs.	829,636 lbs.	—

A large and increasing export is india-rubber. In 1873 only 40,750 lbs. were collected. There has since been a gradual increase, and in 1880 Sierra Leone exported 829,636 lbs. This rubber is much prized in the English market, where it fetches about 1s. 8d. per lb.

In respect to the distribution of produce, Great Britain took £103,644, France £143,640, and America £25,551. Nearly all the ground nuts are exported to Marseilles, where there are extensive oil factories; and much of the oil consumed under the name of salad oil is the produce of the ground-nuts of Sierra Leone. America takes the hides. Gum-copal was exported in 1880 to the value of £18,221, cayenne pepper to the value of £642, and when I tell you that I can purchase in Sierra Leone twelve quart bottles of cayenne pepper for eight shillings, you may form some idea of the quantity that is grown. 16,629 lbs. of beeswax were also exported.

The revenue and expenditure of the past five years have averaged, respectively, £63,869 and £59,283. The liabilities of the Colony on the first day of this year amounted to £50,637, being the balance of a debt principally incurred in connection with the harbour works. It is in course of reduction, and the policy of the late Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, tended very much to the increase of trade, and the liquidation of the debt of the settlement. The revenue is principally derived from a tax on wines, spirits, tobacco, and a wharfage duty of 10s. per ton. The export duties are also light. There are no assessed or house taxes.

Some months ago a prospectus appeared concerning a new bank for West Africa, at Sierra Leone, with branches at Senegal and Lagos. It is much to be regretted that it fell through from internal

reasons, and not from any want of support on the part of the public. I learn from good authority that the idea has not been allowed to drop, and I am further credibly informed that two prospectuses will shortly be issued, each having a similar object. As I am personally unknown to any of the promoters, my opinion will, I trust, be taken as a purely disinterested one, when I say that there is a good and profitable field for such an institution, provided it be judiciously managed.

A late Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Stephen J. Hill, C.B., K.C.M.G., in writing recently upon the subject, says: "In my opinion a bank is greatly required to open and increase trade in Western Africa, and the accommodation afforded by such an establishment would tend to increase mercantile speculations, and induce the natives to industry, and largely increase the exports of that country, and with strict supervision and caution in dealing with the native traders, the bank should pay good dividends to shareholders." With this opinion I fully coincide. No town on the West Coast can compare in civilisation, intelligence, and commercial activity with Freetown.

Generally speaking, from my own observation, I believe that very few of our commercial men are alive to the importance and advantages which Sierra Leone and the West Coast of Africa present for trade. The few who have recognised these advantages are making large profits, and if their number was increased great benefit would result, both to themselves and the Coast.

We are not without trade rivals on the Coast. The French are pushing in every direction, both on the shore and by land expeditions to the interior. Owing to French encroachments in the northern rivers, more particularly their temporary occupation of Matabele, the Colonial Government have recently acted upon their rights under the Treaty of 1826, with the king of the Fourricariah and Mellicourie country. From my official position I refrain from further remarks on this subject.

Among the features of social life I may just mention that a club, similar to those of gentlemen in England, has been recently formed in Freetown. It is frequented by European officials and merchants, and most of the prominent native inhabitants. It supplies a want long felt, and has every prospect of successful continuance. Seventeen of its members are also Fellows of this Institute. A public savings bank will be opened on the 1st of January next year, in virtue of an ordinance passed some time since. It is hoped the people will largely avail themselves of its advantages.

The loyalty of the inhabitants is unbounded. In 1861, the Duke of Edinburgh visited Sierra Leone, and the date of his visit, October 10th, is still kept every year as a public holiday. A town was re-named Prince Alfred Town in his special honour. The negroes thoroughly identify themselves with England, and claim a share in her greatness. It is within my knowledge that Winwood Reade's anecdote of the African policeman's boast to a Frenchman, "Hi sar, I tink you forget me lick you Waterloo," is a literal fact. There are two newspapers published in Freetown, the *West African Reporter* and the *Watchman*, written and printed entirely by natives.

In the not distant future I hope to see not only Sierra Leone, but the other West African Colonies, connected with the rest of the world by telegraphic communication, which I am sure the various Governments would largely subsidise, and, speaking of electricity, reminds me that it is not too much to hope that Freetown may before long be lighted by the electric light.

On the relations of the European population to the negroes, I would only remark that the West African Civil Service has become much more popular since the Government has granted six months' leave of absence on full pay to their officers, after eighteen months residential service; and although there has been some sickness amongst the European officials, I cannot point to a single instance of a death, from climatic causes only, during the past two years. There is, therefore, some hope that in virtue of this new arrangement, and with increased attention to sanitary regulations, to which I attach the highest importance, and further encouragement to officers to remain, there will be a greater continuity of European service in the Colony. This will conduce to stability of purpose in the policy proposed and executed, and if future governors and officials have the real interests of the settlement at heart—as I know those of the present and immediate past have—they will be able to train up a generation of natives loyal to Great Britain, and self-reliant enough to dispense, in course of time, with much of the present European superintendence. The natives are shrewd enough to distinguish between the man, whether official or merchant, who has the interest of their country at heart, even while he is working for himself, and the man who is working for selfish ends alone; and I can say from experience that they will put confidence in anyone whom they know means to be their friend. We have a great responsibility, not only towards the people of Sierra Leone, but to those of all

Africa, to undo the ill effects of the bad moral example of the traders of the past generation. I have quoted the old proverb in relation to education, and I cannot resist the temptation to relate a short anecdote which I have found in a manuscript volume of reports to the pious founders of the settlement, and which shows the contemptuous spirit in which even their emissaries treated the black man:—

“Our guide, Mousa Mousa, was also a Mandingo man, but he would not only eat at all hours, but drink gin at all times, and my friend Grey diverted himself with making him renounce his religion every day, before he would give him a dram, which the old boy did very readily rather than want it.”

Traditions of similar treatment have had much to do with the non-success of Sierra Leone as a centre of influence in its neighbourhood. The liberated Africans of the Colony and their descendants, of course, have other and better feelings, but their influence with the pagans in and around the Colony must be reduced in consequence of past rudeness and contempt of Englishmen. Those days have, however, long gone. Slavery and the slave trade, so far as European traffic is concerned, are things of the past, except in a contraband and illicit manner. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by a pure, a peaceful, and an enlightened policy. There is no occasion to pet and pamper the negro, or for a high-strung sentimentality in dealing with him. The scars of the slave chain are wearing away from his skin, and the iron which once entered his soul has given place to grateful feelings towards England—the nation of slave liberators. But it is for us now to complete the good work which our forefathers begun, and to show to those whom they taught us to call men and brethren, that they are indeed our brethren, capable, if only they are willing, of helping themselves and of progressing towards a brighter future as we ourselves are at home in England.

In conclusion, I have to thank you for the patience and kind attention you have given to this paper. I am aware of many defects and omissions in it. I trust that much that I have left unsaid will be discussed by gentlemen that I see in this room, who are better qualified to address you than I am.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. PONSONBY A. LYONS, in opening the discussion, said: Sir Henry Barkly, ladies and gentlemen,—You have heard this very interesting and instructive paper on the Colony of Sierra Leone. You have heard—and, no doubt, have been impressed by

the very important fact—that it possesses the only port, for hundreds of miles along the coast, which is always open, and which is free from the tremendous surf of the Atlantic breakers. But there is another important fact relating to Sierra Leone to which I would call attention. It is not only the best port along that coast, the Liverpool of Western Africa, but it is the nearest point through which communication can be made with the immense and fertile district of the Soudan. The Spaniards have a proverb which says that with sun and water it is easy to make Paradise. Now, in the Soudan you have this: you have the three great conditions requisite for great fertility—deep, rich soil, abundant water, and the warmth of a tropical sun. From Sierra Leone to the Niger is not more than 400 miles, and a way might very easily be opened to it without great expense. Our Government ought to give the same facilities to our Colonies which the French give to theirs. (Hear, hear.) They should assist them by forming ports, by opening communication through the country, and forming friendly relations with the natives, by making railways and by maintaining peace. (Cheers.) The French have done much in Senegambia. They have formed the great port of Dakar—a port with a splendid harbour, which possesses jetties capable of having 180,000 tons of shipping alongside at one time. They are now making a railway from it to connect the Senegal with the Niger; a railway which will be at least 820 miles long, and which will be guarded by a line of forts where it extends beyond their own territory. Some of these forts have already been constructed with the full approval and co-operation of the native tribes, who have been wearied out by long and wasting wars. Now, as I have said, Freetown is less than half that distance from the Niger. The Soudan, the basin of the Niger, is an immense plain, very rich and fertile and thickly populated, although devastated by constant wars. The population even now has been estimated at 40,000,000. It is an agricultural and industrious population, ready, if a market is opened for it, to grow any quantity of agricultural produce which may be wanted—produce of the richest kind, the value of which is now scarcely understood and cannot be estimated. It is also rich in mineral products—iron, copper, and gold. The Niger affords a water-way for many thousand miles; that is to say, the Niger and its Benue and its other tributaries. We have, to a certain extent, opened navigation up the Niger for about 800 miles, but much of that part of the river is shallow, and the pestilential swamps which lie between the mouths of the Niger form one of the most deadly districts in the

world. Now, a railway from Sierra Leone, which is about 1,500 miles west of the delta of the Niger, would avoid these dangerous and deadly swamps, would at once arrive at the upper waters of the river, and would afford a sanatorium for the white population of Sierra Leone. For three generations we have been endeavouring to put down the slave trade. At great cost and by great sacrifices the external slave trade, except with certain Mohammedan countries, has been ended. The great work which still remains to be done is to put down the internal slave trade which is carried on with Mohammedan countries—(cheers)—the trade which devastates the country, wastes the population, and destroys all peace and confidence among men, which gives only too good reason to dread the approach of any stranger, which causes every tribe to be at war with its neighbours, and to surround itself by a ring of desolation. Our work is to put down this slave trade and open the country, and this is best to be done by commerce. (Hear, hear.) The British Empire is perhaps the largest in the world, and its dependencies are certainly the most numerous, widespread, flourishing, and vigorous. They are becoming more important and more powerful every day, and I trust and hope that the time is not very far distant when we shall see the Colonies cease to be dependencies and become integral parts of the British Empire—(cheers)—when we shall see the authorised representatives of the Colonies sitting in the Imperial British Parliament, and deliberating on Imperial questions. (Loud cheers.) I am aware that there are many and great difficulties in the way of such a plan, but I am sure that every day that elapses diminishes those difficulties—(hear, hear)—while it makes the necessity more urgent and more imperative. (Cheers.) When this great assembly shall be constituted, then a great step will have been taken towards the unification of the whole world; then we shall come nearer than anything the world has yet seen to the realisation of that glorious vision of our great living poet:—

“When the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.” (Applause.)

The Hon. WILLIAM GRANT (member of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone) said: Sir Henry Barkly, ladies and gentlemen,—You must take me with all my defects. I am a stranger to your language. I may mean more than I wish to convey; but I wish you to supply what I am not able to express. (Hear, hear.) My friend the Hon. Mr. Griffith has exhausted the question; but, in thinking over the matter, there are one or two points which I

must bring before you. In the first place, he speaks about the exaggerated idea entertained about the badness of the climate of Sierra Leone; and it has been an unfortunate thing for the place that this idea has prevailed. But, like everything else in the shape of prejudice, it has taken hold of the minds of the people—the real facts are passed over, and the prejudice remains; and I, as a West African negro, feel it has been a drawback to the progress of my country. (Hear, hear.) It has been unfortunate that that book has been published by which Sierra Leone has been called “The White Man’s Grave.” (Hear, hear.) But if the truth is looked at and discussed fairly, it will be seen how exaggerated the statement is. The fact of men leaving their own country for a climate to which they are not accustomed, where the social life and habits of the people are so different to their own, and yet doing all things as if they were in England—you cannot wonder if they get ill. These and other facts have so operated as to affect the health of the white man; and if you look at it closely you cannot attribute it all to climate, and therefore it was not justifiable to call it what it has been called. (Hear, hear.) I mention that for this reason—that wherever I go in England, and my country forms the topic of conversation, when I express my surprise that so very little interest is taken in my country by the wealthy people of England, I am invariably answered: “Ah, but it is called ‘The White Man’s Grave.’” (Hear, hear.) What have I to say against such prejudice? I remain always silent. (No, no.) I say, if you look at it closely it is true that it is a wholly different climate to your own; but if you go there and take care of yourselves—as I must do when I come to your country or I must be short-lived—(cheers)—we shall not hear of its being the white man’s grave. (Renewed cheers.) I assure you that, comparing the climate with that of other tropical places in India, West Indies, and South America, it will bear a favourable comparison. (Hear, hear.) When I look at the different British possessions, and think of Hong Kong, Calcutta, and other places in India and South America, which are most unhealthy, I find nothing is said about them. (Hear, hear.) Well, I would wish to say that there is such an amount of indifference in the people of this country for Sierra Leone—whether it is due to the climate or not I do not know—but that indifference seems not to recognise the fact that it is a portion of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) I should like to say that although we are in a climate which you represent as bad, yet the people of that climate, and the inhabitants of that Colony, look upon themselves as British subjects. (Cheers.) And I can assure

you that they are as loyal to the British Crown and people as any other of the peoples of the other Colonies in the British Empire. (Renewed cheers.) There are three other points that we shall have to grapple with in view of the future of Sierra Leone. Now, we have to look at them closely. In the first place, education; secondly, agriculture; and thirdly, capital. (Hear, hear.) Education, I am glad to say, has been taken hold of by the present Governor, Mr. Havelock. From all accounts, he has shown great energy in what he is doing, and from the ordinance which has been passed I think it means really earnest, good work. (Hear, hear.) But education from the point I allude to is that practical education which develops the man and makes him what he is—not the education which makes him simply the blind imitator of what he is not. (Hear, hear.) Of course the education, as originally introduced into the Colony, was an experiment, and a grand experiment it was. They said, “There are these people, and we will educate them as ourselves.” (Cheers.) It was a good idea, but it was defective, because there is as great a difference between the negro and the white man as there can be. He is capable of doing anything that the white man can do. But then, to get him to do that, you must educate him in himself. You must bring him out by himself; you must not educate him otherwise. He must be educated to carry out a proper and distinct course for himself. (Hear, hear.) The complaint has been general of the want of success in the education of the negro; but it is not his fault; the fault is from the defect of his education. He fancies, by the sort of education that you give him, that he must imitate you in everything—act like you, dress in broadcloth like you—(cheers)—and have his tall black hat like you. (Laughter.) Then you see the result is that he is not himself; he confuses himself, and when he comes to act within himself as a man he is confused, and you find fault that he has not improved as he ought to do. But if he is properly educated you will find him of far greater assistance to you than you have any idea of. (Cheers.) Then comes the next point, agriculture, which is one of those things we all know that cannot exist without taking proper hold of it. It has been the groundwork and the secret of the successful progress of every nation in the world, but which we, however, in Sierra Leone, have neglected. (Hear.) Everybody who knows anything of the natives of the interior of West Africa is well aware that they attend to agriculture to a certain extent to supply their wants, and that during the time for preparing their farms for planting you cannot get them to do any work, however much you pay them. But we in

Sierra Leone have found out, unfortunately for us, that money is quickly made by trade—so we give no attention to agriculture, but go on pottering in trade, which we have now found to be a mistake. We find out that after fifty years have been spent in trade by the people—although, true, they have succeeded in making a little money, and built fine houses—yet they have not succeeded to the extent which they otherwise would had agriculture been the groundwork of the movement of the people. And now that the people of the Colony have recognised this fact, I am glad to tell you that they have resolved to devote their attention exclusively to agriculture; and we now ask the Government to give us their assistance in fostering it. The people are anxious to go to work in a proper way by planting coffee and cocoa and growing cotton, which you get from India and America. Why should we not supply you with a great portion of the cotton you use in Manchester? (Cheers.) Why should we not supply you with a great portion of your coffee and cocoa, which will save you from consuming such an immense amount of adulterated stuff—(laughter)—which you get in this country? (Cheers.) That is where it would be of great advantage to you if attention were directed to it; besides which, it would be of great assistance to the mercantile interests of this nation and to the well-being of the inhabitants of these islands. Then, with regard to capital—there you are! (Laughter.) Well, in thinking about agriculture we are thinking about ourselves. But we are poor. We then say to you, “Will you give us assistance? Give us a helping hand to begin this great change.” (Cheers.) And I say the Government ought to do all in its power to carry out this financial arrangement by which to assist the people in Sierra Leone in this new development of an important idea. There are a lot of people anxious to go about the work, and there is now a field that will bring a large and profitable return to those who see their way to go into it; and there are fields for investment far better than the diamond and gold mines of India, where you have given millions of pounds, and which, up to this moment, have not resulted in a penny-piece dividend being returned to those who have invested in them. Yet, just within 8,000 miles of you, and only fourteen days’ sail from Liverpool, a few thousands would yield you 20 or 30 per cent., and you would be doing good to your own people, who are British subjects like yourselves, and who are doing all they can to assist in promoting the welfare of this country. (Cheers.) We hope that this discussion to-night will be the means of inducing the Government to give support not only to education, but to agricul-

ture, and to encourage capital in going to the country, because it would do a great deal to assist not only the negroes, but to introduce much of the manufactured goods which you have in this country and at the same time open the eyes of the capitalists of England to the fact of the existence of this new and profitable field for the investment of their money. Sierra Leone is the central point, and she must be the point where you have to penetrate into the interior of Africa. (Hear, hear.) Had the French, as a Frenchman told me a short time ago, the possession of it, they would see a different thing, because they know the importance of it; and yet for a few thousand pounds the agricultural and financial progress of the whole Colony could be developed in an astonishing manner in a very short time, and the whole benefit would be conferred on the British nation. Taking the negro as he is he feels grateful to the English people; he is anxious to work with them; he looks upon them as a father—as, in fact more than a father; and he reveres them as one who is superior to himself. (Cheers.) When we come, as negroes, to see the great act of your nation to the negro race—that great act which no negro can think of or speak of without bowing his head with reverence and gratitude to this great nation—(cheers)—we do not know whether it is thought of here in the way we think of it; but if you look at this act, which has induced a whole nation to subscribe millions of money, to sacrifice hundreds—ay, thousands—of valuable lives for the purpose of relieving a down-trodden race of a whole continent from degradation and death—(applause)—if you look upon it in the light that he does, you will find he says, “What has all this been done for? Nothing! You gain nothing from us. (Cheers.) You simply do it as an act of justice, and it is an act of kindness and an act of God-like goodness.” And I, as a representative negro, stand here and bow down my head in token of reverence to this nation for what they have done for my people and my country. (Loud applause.) And we are at any time ready to do all we can to listen to you, and do all in our power to forward anything for you—never mind how difficult—to do all we can to gain your goodwill, and to support what you have done, and to assist you in doing all we can for our own people. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. FREDERICK EVANS, C.M.G.: Mr. Griffith remarks about the climate of Sierra Leone: that it is perhaps not quite so black as it is painted, I am prepared to admit. But, from my own personal experience, I can confidently assert that it is far from being an earthly paradise. Let anyone anxious to test the nature of the climate go to Kew Gardens, and sit for a week or two in one of the

tropical houses there ; I can assure him that he will by no means feel in robust health when he leaves. I cannot think of a better simile than this. I think that the fact of there being so few deaths in the last two years is not entirely due to any improvement in the climate consequent on the increased sanitary measures which have been recently adopted (and during the last three or four years great steps have been made towards increased sanitation), but to the fact that the facilities for getting away from Sierra Leone when sick are greater than formerly. A mail calls every week, and there is a Colonial yacht at the service of the Governor. An officer who gets very ill is now sent off to Madeira or England as soon as possible. I have seen Mr. Griffith on one occasion so ill that if he had not had this facility for leaving Sierra Leone and going to Madeira, I am of opinion that none of us would have had the pleasure of hearing this valuable paper which he has read to-night. (Laughter.) I can call to mind three or four deaths amongst Europeans which have occurred during the last two years, but that these deaths have been entirely due to climatic causes I am not prepared to say. I am at one with the Hon. Mr. Grant as to the loyalty of the Sierra Leone people towards the British throne. They all hold Her Majesty in great reverence, and will not yield the palm in this way to any. Before sitting down I will mention one curious fact bearing somewhat on this. It will be found difficult in Sierra Leone to pass any British coin bearing the image of any previous sovereign. I once myself attempted to pass a shilling coined in the reign of George IV., and was met with the remark, "Massa he no good ; dat king done die." (Laughter.)

Mr. A. H. GRANT: Being interested in this discussion I am glad to be called upon to address you, if I may be considered not to take the wind out of the sails of my namesake, who has done all for the climate of Sierra Leone that one could wish on this occasion. I think that possibly the reason I have been called upon to speak is, that I have had the opportunity of noticing some of the educational progress of the Colony, which is represented by a gentleman, not present this evening, but who is known as the first negro graduate of the University of Oxford. I am sorry he is not here ; and I was going to make some special remark ; but knowing the discursive, allusive, and alliterative nature of the negro mind in all things except coming to the point, I would say that, however uneducated he is, let the next negro who aspires to honours go to Oxford mathematically acquainted before he goes there. The inspiration of the surroundings of Senegambia often give one a tropical sort of exuberance. (Laughter.) I am glad to see that I have been

commiserated in the sense of exciting a little sympathy. (Hear hear.) I would just throw out a couple of hints: first, that if the native mind is cultivated in this country, as I know it is aspiring to be done, that we might have a little more of the corrective nature of mathematics drummed into us ere we aspire to the honours of Oxford. I speak of this, seeing it is one of the defects we labour under when coming to this country to graduate. (Hear hear.)

Mr. G. G. M. NICOL, B.A. (Sierra Leone): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I was only apprised of this meeting this afternoon, and I am very glad to be present here to-night, because, as a native of Sierra Leone, I take the greatest interest in my country:

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself hath said,
‘This is my own, my native land’?”

When I hear, therefore, of a meeting like this, called to discuss my country and its inhabitants, I am very pleased indeed to be present. I have listened with great attention to the paper which has been read, and I say for myself, and in the name of all my African friends here to-night, that I am very much obliged to Mr. Griffith for it—it breathes such a truly generous, kind, and noble spirit. (Cheers.) I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Griffith—I have never spoken a word to him; but after his paper, I conclude that he is a perfect gentleman and a man of education. (Laughter.) I do not say this as a thing which admitted of any doubt before, but simply to bring out the fact that, whenever you find scorn and contempt for the African, generally speaking it comes from those who are neither gentlemen nor men of education. We have heard of Englishmen who spend their time in disparaging West Africans, especially those of Sierra Leone. Not long ago I was talking to a gentleman who was advocating the claims of Lagos over those of Sierra Leone, and he hazarded the opinion that the English people did not care about Sierra Leone, because, forsooth, its people are descendants of slaves. (Laughter.) But, sir, we are not descendants of slaves at all, but of a freed people, and looking at the matter in that light, putting race and nationality aside, we can compare favourably with the Australian. But let us look at the matter a little more closely, for I wish the true position of the slaver to be appreciated. Is he not a coward for going to another man’s country and stealing him? On him, therefore, should rest all the obloquy, shame, contempt, and scorn. I do not think, however, that any such wild idea exists among the English people; and I am convinced that if we state our case sensibly, we shall be listened to, at least by some.

That a man like Mr. Griffith should be in Sierra Leone, and take such deep interest in the Colony as his paper evinces, is a matter for much congratulation ; and I hope that there will be many other gentlemen to follow his example. (Hear.) I have been in this country several years, and am therefore somewhat of a stranger to Sierra Leone. I cannot speak very accurately about the place, but I can speak generally of the people, and what is wanted for us at home. Mr. Griffith says, " Without European supervision and guidance progress would be impossible." In that opinion I entirely concur. There is an old saying—" The hand washes the hand and the finger the finger ; a town saves a town, and one city another." Can you exist without communication with France, Germany, Austria, America, and other parts of the world ? You live by one another. When one country has an invention it transmits it to another. When the electric light was found out in one place it was at once carried to another. Therefore I say, without European supervision and guidance, progress in West Africa would be impossible. With regard to education, I will just say that it has been proved beyond all doubt that the African *is capable*. The first missionaries who went out to Sierra Leone went against public opinion ; for the idea then prevalent was that the negro had no brains at all. And this perhaps will account for our first teachers being men of no great education. The education at Sierra Leone, in consequence, has not reached such a high standard as could be wished. Still, the people are very anxious for superior learning. When they have passed through the day-schools and grammar schools, they want something higher to fit them for after-life. There being no colleges on the coast where they could get that training, they come over to England for three, six, and even nine years, to perfect their education, so as to be fit to take a proper position on their return. What we feel most is the want of a regular educational establishment. There are many day-schools in Sierra Leone, but they are chiefly supported by voluntary enterprise. I venture to think, sir, that education should be national. It now forms, I believe, a constituent part of political science, and there are few countries where it is carried on by voluntary aid alone. In India there is an elaborate educational machinery, supported by the Government ; such a thing we should like to see on the West Coast. The next thing I will mention is the encouragement of the natives. When you have educated them, what then ? When a man has been through the University, taken his degree, and so on, he expects a respectable position ; and I venture humbly to think that the Government should encourage such men to join the service, so that

there should be, as it were, a motive and an object in studying. I do not say that they should be appointed when they are not fit; all I am contending for is, that their education should be not away from, but in that direction which would fit them to hold positions of trust, in however remote a period, and so participate in the government of their country. I will again thank Mr. Griffith for the kind way in which he has spoken about us and our country. (Cheers.)

Commander V. LOVETT CAMERON, R.N., C.B., said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—After listening to Mr. Griffith's most instructive and interesting paper one need say very little about Sierra Leone. One thing which has given me great pleasure this evening is that sitting close to me is a native of Sierra Leone, from whose lips have fallen some of the truest words of wisdom about Africa it has ever been my lot to hear. A man like this, who can truly appreciate what has to be done in the way he does, can say that at present and for some time to come the minds of the natives of Africa will, to a certain extent, differ from those of Europeans, and cannot be moulded in the same mould, and that therefore the development of the African must be different from the development of the European. As rice, wheat, and maize require different modes of culture, so English, French, Germans, white men and black, also require different modes of mental culture. Ceremonies and methods change, customs and climates change; so will the forms of civilisation change. When I go to Africa I do not wear a black coat, but dress in the way I consider most suitable to the climate; so we must not try to force Africans into the iron bonds of a civilisation fitted only for our climate. I was glad to hear the Hon. Mr. Grant recognise this, as I believe all sensible people will recognise it: the people of Africa have been brought up from generation to generation in a manner entirely different to the English, and it will take some time to change them. Heredity has something to do with this. As certain talents run in certain families, so in nations certain traits always exist: we have been growing up in certain traditions which become intensified by long usage. The African who till lately has been shut out from free contact with civilisation has had the disadvantage of growing up under different traditions. A man like Mr. Grant proves what the natives are capable of, but still we must not be disappointed if all do not attain to his level or that of Mr. Nicol. The Soudan has been spoken of to-night. Soudan (*Barr el Sodani*) may mean the whole continent, it may mean the Egyptian province lately governed by Baker and Gordon, and usually means the countries between Darfur and the

Niger. Sierra Leone can scarcely be called the Liverpool, therefore, of the Soudan, but it is, without doubt, both the Liverpool and London of a large and important portion of Africa. However, at Sierra Leone, as all over the world, we have got to look to the action of a neighbouring and friendly power who is everywhere pushing her commerce and extending her empire. England at present regards the operation of this other Power with apathy. France in Senegal, in Tunis, at the Gaboon (whence they have outflanked Stanley), in the Pacific, in Syria, and in the Mozambique, is everywhere pushing forward. The trans-Sahara railway is no mere ideal project; the flooding of the Shotts behind Algeria is decided on, and, if we may believe Bruce, who first won his spurs as Consul General in Algiers, and his successor, Colonel Playfair, this will have a most beneficial effect on this great French Colony. The annexation of Madagascar (*Notre Inde à nous*) has been discussed *in camerâ* by leading French statesmen; and now all the islands between the future canal across the Isthmus of Panama are being subjected to her flag. When I was at Loanda the honour of our flag was upheld, and Lisbon statesmen not permitted to encroach on debatable ground. Now they have annexed northwards from Ambriz to the mouth of the Congo, and that noble river itself is being left at its embouchure to the Belgians and Dutch. A short time ago a French trading steamer was scarcely ever seen on the coast—now they are common; and the Americans are contemplating starting a line from New York. The effect of this will be to take most valuable trade out of the hands of Englishmen and away from British ports. The Gold Coast Colony was a short time ago more closely connected with Sierra Leone than it is now; but still a few words about it may not be inappropriate here. I was out there this spring, and am shortly going again with Captain Burton to revisit it. Burton calls it an “old new California”; but from what I have seen, and what I expect to see, I do not believe that California, India, Australia, Midian, or any other gold-producing region of modern or ancient times can pretend to compete with the Guinea or Gold Coast. The name Guinea (there were once two Guineas, one farther north) is most probably derived from their having been discovered by Genoese mariners, who called them Genoa in honour of their native state, and Guinea is a corruption of Genoa. The climate of Africa has been much abused; it is not as bad as it is painted; I have done things in Africa I could never have dared do in England. I have heard a half-baked Yankee, calling himself an Australian, say that the British flag blighted commerce wherever it flew; I think that is rather different from

the opinion of those here to-night. I believe that the British flag, whatever mistakes may be made by our Government, will always protect commerce. I believe that the English nation will always be so true to itself that honour will be its first and principle its second guiding star; that under no Government, whether Tory, Whig, or Radical, will it wave over less territory than it does now, and perhaps in a short time over more; and that, as hitherto, it will always prove true to those over whom it floats. (Applause.)

Mr. COLIN GRAHAM-ROSENBUSH (late Consul for Italy and Holland at Sierra Leone) said: The subject has been ably treated by Mr. Griffith in the admirable paper he has just read, and has also been well spoken to by Mr. Grant and the previous speaker: I will therefore make but few remarks. With regard to the climate, I should like to observe that, previous to the administration of Sir John Pope Hennessy, very little attention was paid to sanitation. In a paper read before the Society of Arts in 1873, Mr. Hennessy mentioned that on his appointment to the Government of the West African Colonies, he found the sum of £161 a-year only was spent on sanitation in Freetown, the whole of which consisted of salaries—that is to say, £120 for the salary of the inspector, who was at the same time the Colonial surgeon; £23 for the salary of his clerk, and £18 for a labourer; and not one shilling was spent on the Colony itself. There is a long list of Governors, from Lieutenant Clarkson in 1797 and Mr. Ludlam in 1808, to Sir Arthur Kennedy in 1872, and not one of them had given a thought to the health and sanitary improvement of the Colony, and Mr. Hennessy was the first to set apart a sum of money—£1,200—for the purpose of sanitation. With regard to commerce, that of Sierra Leone has not, in my opinion, received from previous speakers the attention it deserves. I do not depreciate the value of agriculture; on the contrary, I consider it necessary to commerce. But in every country there are certain centres from which foreign importations are distributed to inland towns, and from which home produce is sent to foreign countries. We must, therefore, always have certain trading stations on the West Coast of Africa, in order to diffuse our importations into the interior, and to collect and transmit to Europe the produce of the agricultural tribes of Africa; and as one of these Sierra Leone is most important. The principal measure necessary to admit of such an end—that is, to the augmentation of the imports and exports of the Colony—is the facility for communication with the interior. These facilities are now very deficient. There are few safe and commodious roads into the interior;

the rivers are navigable to but a moderate distance ; and caravans which now come to the coast occupy fifty to sixty days on the journey, and pass through countries the chiefs of which levy taxes upon the produce and goods which traverse their territory. This tends to decrease, or at all events to prevent, a large augmentation of trade. What is wanted is a safer and better accommodation for traffic, and better roads. On the question of capital, there is no doubt that more capital is wanted ; at the same time there is a large amount of wealth at present lying dormant in the Colony. It is well known to those who are acquainted with the Colony that large sums of money, in coin, are buried by natives in iron pots under the ground, simply because they have no facilities for the deposit of their savings with any feeling of security : the consequence of which is that a considerable portion of the capital of the Colony is idle and unproductive. The increase of capital required by merchants is for the most part temporary and periodical. For instance, merchants trading to the north of Sierra Leone require during the dry season a larger amount of capital than during the rains, while the trading season of those to the south is exactly the reverse, and consequently they require the temporary aid of additional resources, such as those of which traders in the north can make no use. What the Colony therefore requires are the means by which merchants and traders can periodically obtain the temporary accommodation they require, and which would not only bring additional capital into the Colony, but would render that which is there at present useful and productive.

The CHAIRMAN : At this late hour of the night it becomes my duty to close this interesting discussion in the usual way by proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Griffith for the able and comprehensive paper which he has read to us. I think we must congratulate our friend Mr. Frederick Young on being able to obtain so excellent a paper for the Institute on the subject of our West African Colonies. (Hear, hear.) I am free to confess that it was a subject on which I, in common with many members of the Institute, was very ignorant before the paper was read. It is not, as my friend the Hon. Mr. Grant seems to suppose, because the British people are indifferent to the Colonies, but because they have such a great many other things to think about, and are somewhat ill-informed as to their Colonies, and as to the West African Colonies in particular. We have heard a great deal to-night from Mr. Griffith of their resources, which seem to be considerable, and their trade, which is growing in importance. Their exports, indeed, do not appear to have increased as rapidly as they ought to have done during the past

twenty years ; but I am gratified to hear from Mr. Grant that that state of things is not likely to continue, and that many of his fellow-countrymen are about to apply themselves in earnest to agriculture and other productive pursuits, and that we may hope soon to be entering upon a new era. (Hear, hear.) There is one point in connection with this subject which has not been alluded to either in the paper or the discussion, although I hoped that Captain Colomb, whom I see present, would have dealt with it, he being better able than most people to do so—that is, the great value and importance of Sierra Leone as the only safe and defensible harbour that Great Britain possesses on the route—I may say from this to the Cape of Good Hope. (Hear, hear.) Whatever the capabilities of Ascension and St. Helena may be in other respects, they are comparatively open roadsteads; and it is at Sierra Leone alone that our men of war can rely on being able to water and take in supplies and coal under any circumstances. In the event of a maritime war, which I hope is far distant, our cruisers would then be debarred from getting the supplies of coal which they at present do at Madeira, Cape de Verde, and other neutral ports, and Sierra Leone will become the basis of the naval operations essential for the protection of the vast amount of commerce crossing the Equator into the south Atlantic. I think that this is one of the points not referred to which shows the great importance of Sierra Leone to the Mother-country. (Cheers.) I ask you to join with me in a vote of thanks to Mr. Griffith for his paper. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

Captain BARROW proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Henry Barkly for his great attention and kindness in presiding over the meeting.

The vote was honoured, and duly acknowledged by the CHAIRMAN.