

SACKVILLE STREET, FREE TOWN.

SIERRA LEONE

AFTER A HUNDRED YEARS

BY THE

RIGHT REV. E. G. INGHAM, D.D.

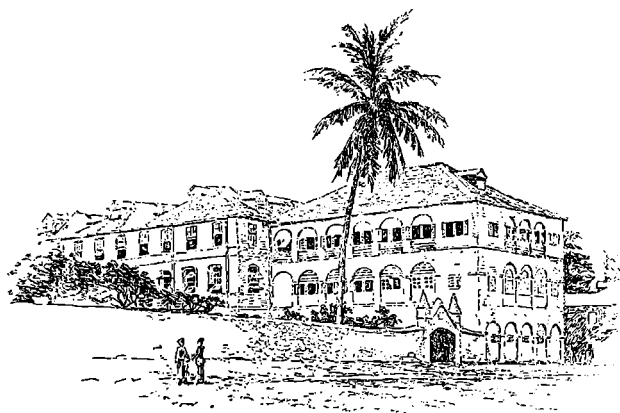
Bishop of Sierra Leone

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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DEDICATED
TO
THE HONOURED MEMORY
OF
ALL WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE IN LOVING AND
DEVOTED LABOUR FOR THE GOOD OF THE
COLONY AND CHURCH
OF
SIERRA LEONE



THE C.M.S. GRAMMAR SCHOOL

PREFACE



IN sending forth this work, the author will only express his hope, that if, notwithstanding his inexperience as a writer, it should secure a reading, it will compel attention to a Colony and a Church that have very peculiar claims on British philanthropy.

This is a period of centenary celebrations. The year 1887 was a very important one in Sierra Leone. The Queen's Jubilee, and the completion of a hundred years since the arrival of the first settlers from London, in 1787, laid upon the Colony the necessity of having a demonstration worthy of such a happy combination. And a very interesting celebration it was.

At that time the writer was not qualified,

either by experience or by observation, to venture upon anything beyond a commemorative sermon or speech. And a more extended knowledge of West Africa, covering eleven years, would not, even now, embolden him to take up his pen and thrust a book upon the public, were it not that a very interesting and important manuscript diary of the first governor has been placed in his hands by the family, for any use which he may decide to make of it.*

After most careful study of this diary, kept in Sierra Leone itself, during the year 1792 by Governor Clarkson, the writer considers that there are many passages in it that cannot fail to interest the present inhabitants of the Colony, as well as others who are deeply concerned in its welfare.

If it is a source of strength to be reminded of the noble philanthropy of those early friends

* Thanks are due to the same family for some of our illustrations; also to Major Fairclough, R.A., for his excellent photographs.

of Africa; if there is inspiration in the example of a good and conscientious man; if it is a power to have knowledge of the circumstances of a hundred years ago in this little corner of Africa, and of how they were met; if there is guidance to be had from the experiences and mistakes and disasters of that time, then these selections will help and not hinder those who are called upon to face the situation of the present moment. It is important, moreover, that the rising generation of Sierra Leoneans should now begin to take some interest in their past; and if this book should lead them to look back upon this Colonisation Scheme as a terminus from which they register the turn of the tide of the fortunes of their race, the writer will feel rewarded. But he aims at more than this, else the selections might have appeared without note, comment or addition. He desires to draw a contrast between the beginning and the end of the hundred years; to indicate the progress made; to bring out as forcibly as possible the features

and circumstances of the present ; and to enforce the conclusion that men, like John Clarkson, of his disinterested zeal and conscientiousness, are urgently needed *now*, not only among Englishmen, but also among Africans, if the objects and aims of a hundred years ago are not to be utterly missed.

It may interest the reader, and lead to the increased circulation of this book, to know that any profits which the author may derive from its sale will be given to the 'Princess Christian Cottage Hospital' at Sierra Leone, which was completed and opened in 1892 (just a hundred years after the events here narrated) and where our English sisters are engaged in practically training African women of the educated class in the art of nursing the sick.

BISHOP'S COURT, SIERRA LEONE,
April 1894.

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ARRIVAL OF A MAIL STEAMER

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WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
From a Drawing by J. Slater

After a Hundred Years



CHAPTER I

AWAKENING OF PUBLIC OPINION

‘The Lord hath a controversy with His people.’

THE very name of Sierra Leone must ever be associated with an interesting and thrilling period of British history.

No sooner had the termination of the American War set men’s minds free to consider other matters, than we find Mr Wilberforce bringing before Parliament the wrongs of the negro race, and the solemn responsibility of the nation in the matter of slavery and the slave trade. An important incident in connection with that unfortunate war was, moreover, to link it for ever with the enterprise about to be described.

Whether we consider the times themselves, or the men who then so warmly espoused this cause, we are led to believe that the influence at work was that of

the great 'Evangelical Revival,' which had begun with John Wesley, and was now taking hold of the Church of England herself. It will be interesting to note some of the most important steps by which men's minds were drawn to this subject.

The Society of Friends were the first to lay a petition on the evils of the slave trade on the table of the House of Commons. This was in 1783. And it was very possibly owing to the great attention drawn to the matter by that petition, that led the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, in 1785, to select as the subject for two Latin prize essays the thesis: 'Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?'

The competition was open to those who had obtained the B.A. degree. Thomas Clarkson had successfully competed in this direction on a former occasion, and he was now naturally desirous of sustaining his reputation. It was in collecting materials for this essay that he came to see the enormity of this traffic. The thought of a prize soon became quite a secondary consideration. He achieved a literary success indeed, but a far greater result was to follow. On his way up to London from Cambridge after that literary triumph, it was borne in upon his mind that (to use his own words) 'if the contents of this essay are true, it is time that some person should see these calamities to their end.' He determined, as one means of attracting public attention, to publish his essay in English. The result was immediate. He



THOMAS CLARKSON.

From a Portrait by A. E. Chalon, R.A.

was soon surrounded by a host of friends. We may mention amongst others, Dr Porteous, Bishop of London, Hannah More, Granville Sharp, and, notably, William Wilberforce, to whom, as a rising politician, he submitted his essay, and whose whole heart he was happily instrumental in enlisting in the cause.

The next date of importance in our chain is 1787; and it will be interesting presently to note, that the year which saw the creation of the Sierra Leone Company, witnessed also the formation of the first anti-slavery society, whose efforts were destined to produce the great Act of 1807, against the slave trade; and the still more important Act of 1834, for the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. From 1787 to 1800, every session of Parliament witnessed Wilberforce's desperate and devoted efforts to carry his motion. In 1800, however, it was resolved to suspend Parliamentary exertion until some favourable event should occur to change the temper of both Houses. And it is most interesting, at a time like the present, to notice that *the very first Parliamentary result of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was to secure a majority on this great question.* There came, through the Union, an accession to Westminster of one hundred fresh members. Most of these men were known to be favourable to the anti-slavery cause. Wilberforce at once reintroduced his motion. A majority of 69 to 36 was

secured, and it was this happy and united vote in 1804 that ensured the great victory of 1807.

It will be seen by those who study that agitation, that the men who were its mainspring and inspiration, were the very men who were at the same time administering the scheme of practical benevolence that has now to be recorded.

CHAPTER II

REPATRIATION

‘Then will I bring them up, and restore them to this place.’

IT was not necessary to visit either America or the West Indies at that time to ascertain something of the forlorn and helpless condition of the unfortunate negroes, or the cruelty of the bondage in which they were too often held by the stronger races of mankind. For many were living a sort of Pariah life in London, some were actually sold in its streets, others were seen in the retinue of their West Indian owners during an English sojourn. It was at the beginning of the long and weary agitation that arose in the manner related in the last chapter, that the incident occurred which forever associated Sierra Leone with this movement. That incident was the *rencontre* between a Mr Granville Sharp and an ill-used negro slave, whose wounds were being dressed in a London Hospital, at which he happened to call. That meeting was fruitful in its consequences for Africa. It was the means of en-

listing that good man's whole soul in a struggle that was to cost him much labour and expense. He would not believe that any human being could remain a slave after touching British soil. As he acted on this presumption in the cases of those unfortunates who took refuge with him from their masters, he was soon in the law courts. And it was not until after several discomfitures, and much expense, and much personal study of law, that his indomitable perseverance was finally rewarded by the celebrated judgment of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, given on the 22d June 1772. 'The claim of slavery can never be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law.' And hence was established by law the glorious principle—'As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free.'

It has been well said, that 'they that watch Providences shall never want a Providence to watch.' When the reader has patiently read through these pages, we think he will admit that there *was* a Providence in the conjunction of events that are now being narrated.

The first thought, after this memorable decision, was to discover some suitable spot, if possible, in Africa itself, that would be congenial and safe for these London outcasts. It so happened that a Mr Smeathman, a former resident in Western Africa, was in a position to give some firsthand information

about that coast. He warmly recommended a negro settlement in Sierra Leone, and this peninsula seems at once to have been selected. The scheme did not long wait for warm-hearted supporters. And the house at Battersea Rise, where his descendants still live, could tell of many a meeting of the newly-formed Sierra Leone Company, under the chairmanship of Henry Thornton, its owner, under whose guidance this benevolent and practical undertaking took shape, grew and developed, side by side with the gradual rise of the tide of public opinion in Parliament, and in the country, on the still larger questions. This company had soon raised a few thousand pounds to assist those Africans in London, who had, in consequence of Lord Mansfield's judgment, been turned adrift by their masters, to settle at Sierra Leone, where they had procured, by purchase, from native chiefs, the cession of a considerable district. Government liberally aided this undertaking, by consenting to bear the expense of transport, and promising to supply rations for six or eight months after arrival in Africa. Whether it was owing to previous hardships in London, or overcrowding on ship board, out of 400 that left England 84 died on the voyage. Nearly 100 fell victims to their own intemperance or hardships during the first rainy season. The remainder, after having built a town in Sierra Leone, were dispersed in 1790 through a palaver with native chiefs, in

which they became accidentally involved, but they were re-united in 1791 through the Sierra Leone Company, and finally settled at Granville Town, about two miles east of Freetown.

London, it soon appeared, was not the only place where negroes were to be found in an outcast and forlorn condition. And when the company had become incorporated by Act of Parliament, and considerable funds seemed likely to come in, the directors began to look further afield. At that moment a delegate (an African) named Peters was in England representing the case of certain Nova Scotians. These people were Africans, born in North America, who had run away from their masters, and had taken the British side in the War of Independence. They had cast in their lot completely with that of the British army, whose fortunes they followed ; they had shown considerable courage in the course of the war, as their wounds would testify ; and they had consequently, by their loyalty to the British side, completely alienated and separated themselves from their former masters. Reduced in number by capture, death and dispersion, the remainder were brought, at the conclusion of the war, to Nova Scotia, where they were promised, in common with certain white loyalists, adequate provisions and grants of land. It was pretty clearly shown by this delegate that neither in provisions nor grants were these promises fairly fulfilled ; and

a sense of injustice, added to the severity of the climate, rendered such a body of people peculiarly ready to welcome the idea of repatriation. The Sierra Leone Company decided that the present was a favourable moment for transplanting any of these people, who might be willing, to their own country once more. Government willingly promised its countenance and aid. For this difficult enterprise Lieutenant Clarkson, R.N. was selected. His zeal and devotion were beyond all praise. His interesting diary reveals to us the discouragements he met with from the English residents; the patience and tact displayed in announcing his mission to the negroes themselves; his testimony as to the condition in which he found them; and the success with which he conveyed the large party across the Atlantic to Sierra Leone.

In spite of most careful explanations and warnings, calculated to remove undue anticipations, 1196 persons were found more than willing to embark under this officer. In order to prepare for repatriation, they sold their little properties, often at inadequate values, and they even paid up each other's debts. Whatever education these people possessed had been acquired since their transport to Nova Scotia. It is said that a few of them had, with part of their earnings, put themselves to school, and that these became the first preachers and schoolmasters of the new colony.

In March 1792 this Nova Scotian fleet, consisting of sixteen vessels, arrived at Sierra Leone, and landed 1131 persons once more on their own coast. Sixty-five had died on the passage of a fever contracted while waiting in tents at Halifax; and Lieutenant Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark in the hospital ship, narrowly escaped with his life, being extremely weak and ill on reaching Sierra Leone. When the company in England received news of this large approaching increase in their family, it was felt that prompt steps must be taken to meet the emergency. The first vessel sent out by the company reached Sierra Leone in February 1792. Two others rapidly followed. More than 100 white persons went out in these ships, of whom 40 were company's servants or artificers, 10 were settlers, 16 soldiers, and between 30 and 40 women and children.

The land was cleared in a few weeks, and the town was named Freetown, in consequence of an instruction to that effect sent out from home.

It must regretfully be stated (and evidence of it will be seen in the diary), that misunderstandings between superintendent and council, the utter incompetency and neglect of some of its members, disobedience to orders sent out by the company as to the use to be made of the ships, confusion in the accounts, in the stores, and in the information sent home, were the main causes of the bad name which the colony imme-

diately acquired through the mortality of the first rainy season. When we imagine this season setting in, as we know it does in this colony, and remember that there was no adequate shelter for these settlers, when we are told that no retail shop had been set up, no money medium established, that neither food nor physic were to be had, though cargoes of both lay in the harbour, and when, moreover, we read that 800 Africans were laid up at one time, and all the medical men but one were ill, we are not surprised that great depression of spirits prevailed. Nor are we unprepared to find that about one-half of the Europeans, and one-tenth of the Africans died in that first rainy season. One anxiety was followed closely by another. The colony was but just emerging from these distresses, when a most unexpected influx of European settlers, who had been disappointed in the Bulam enterprise (referred to in the diary), arrived in Freetown harbour, and perplexed the governor by earnestly petitioning for leave to settle in Sierra Leone. They were in considerable distress and want. But peremptory orders had been sent out that this application, if made, was on no account to be entertained. It appears that many of these very people had applied to come out under the Sierra Leone Company, but had fallen short of its high standard. It appears that no one who had debts in England was allowed to join. As far as possible, men and women of high moral and religious purpose, who would be

likely to exercise a good influence on the African settlement, were sought for, and only a limited number, even of these, could be received. Nothing brings out more clearly than these facts, the high resolve and noble purpose of the company, and the right principles on which their actions were based.

The petition of these people was therefore courteously, but firmly, refused. All possible relief to suffering was afforded, and facilities for returning to England were tendered and ultimately accepted.

One other act of repatriation, under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company, remains to be mentioned. Although of much later date, it is best recorded here. It was in September 1800, during a most unjustifiable outbreak and rebellion on the part of the Nova Scotians, that a contingent of Maroons arrived in the river, under the command of some English officers. It proved a timely accession. The number was 550. The history of this new contingent is as follows:— ‘ After the Maroon war in Jamaica, these people were removed by Government to Nova Scotia on account of the hostility said to exist between them and the natives of that island. It was intended to settle them permanently in Nova Scotia, but, as the reader will be prepared to hear, neither the country nor the climate proved suitable. Under these circumstances application was made by Government to the Sierra Leone Company. The directors were not willing to receive them in their colony, but promised all assist-

ance in settling them in some other part of Africa, and also superintending and instructing them, if Government would leave to the directors the selection of the agents, and defray every expense. An understanding was accordingly effected. The governor and council had hoped to secure the Banana Islands for these Maroons, but slave traders succeeded in frustrating the project. Efforts were then made to settle them on the Bullom shore, but the natives had been made afraid of them. Thus it came to pass, that, at their own great wish, they were received into the colony, and settled at Granville town.

When it is remembered that this enterprise of the Sierra Leone Company—a body of Christian philanthropists who had probably never been out of Europe—occurred more than a hundred years ago, long before the days of steam, and when the modern facilities for travel were unknown, its heroism and its pluck come more clearly into view.

The reader will notice, as he peruses Governor Clarkson's diary, instances of miscalculation, mismanagement, and mistake. It will be seen what unsuitable men and materials were frequently sent out from England at the all-important start of the colony. Utterly mistaken anticipations as to the rapid development of lawful commerce will be observed.

The wonder, however, will be, not that so many mistakes were made, but that Christian philan-

thropy was to be found in those days equal to so vast an expenditure on behalf of a down-trodden race, able to survive so many grievous disappointments, and equal to the task of directing the affairs of this settlement, until it became a Crown colony in the year 1808. Here is a clear instance of the truth, that those who live nearest to the events in which they figure, are least able to form a true and accurate judgment of their full significance. The Sierra Leone Company had little to quicken its enthusiasm during the short term of its existence. Not to speak of the inevitable cold water plentifully poured on it at home, discouraging reports from their little colony, and constant demands for fresh expenditure, accounts of captured ships, and pillaged stores, were not exactly calculated to quicken zeal in this venture of faith and love. But the nineteenth century was a very few years old before it was seen that *Sierra Leone had been indeed a happy thought*, and that this excellent company had been instrumental in forming a settlement that the British Government would now find most valuable in the interests of other members of this same oppressed race—rescued, not from London, nor from Nova Scotia, but from the slave trader on the high seas.

Although it does not come within the scope of this work to trace this much more extended repatriation under the direction of the Crown, after the Act of 1807, yet it may be stated, as affording some

indication of the extent, that, between the years 1819 and 1838, there were 48,359 repatriated and registered in the colony. And this accounts for only twenty years of the century. Liberia was another indirect result of the movement of 1787, and still there are indications that the idea is in the air.

We cannot more suitably conclude this chapter, than by commending to all Africans in America and the West Indies *the principle of selection* acted on by the Sierra Leone Company in 1787. *Those who are impecunious, unthrifty, unsuccessful, and unsteady in the lands of their adoption, had better never return to Africa.* Disappointment will certainly await them, and their advent will do more harm than good. But to the true-hearted son of Africa, who has profited by his long exile, and learnt many things from those whom he once served, who has the fear of God in his heart, and also some love for his race and country, Africa offers a unique sphere for effort and successful enterprise, and a climate to which he can rapidly adapt himself once more. And many are thinking that such a *limited repatriation on the part of those of her sons who have her true interests at heart, and who possess qualifications that her indigenious peoples cannot yet so well command, is just the very solution for which the knotty puzzle of the African problem is waiting.*

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR CLARKSON'S DIARY

• 'The words of the wise are as goads.'

THE following pages contain the promised extracts from Governor Clarkson's Sierra Leone Diary and Correspondence. They have been carefully selected from two thick volumes of manuscript.

The period covered by the extracts is from March 1792 to September 1793. It has been thought well not to insert any explanatory remarks between the various extracts, but to leave the reader to gather his own impressions from the various recorded facts and opinions. Where dates occur, it will be because they have come naturally into the extracts made. Where none are mentioned, the period referred to will be approximately apprehended. It will be found that a very fair impression of the first year's history of Sierra Leone as a settlement will thus be left on the mind.

These brief records will, it is hoped, become the lasting and valued possession of the people of this

colony. They contain much information that we believe has never hitherto been forthcoming, about the circumstances that attended its first settlement. The mistakes, and faults, and sins of white and black are impartially laid bare. The character of a good man and capable leader is set forth to be a noble inspiration to others. And it is earnestly hoped that the earnest words culled from Governor Clarkson's farewell sermon, with which these extracts conclude, may deeply impress many hearts, and that his concluding prayer may express the earnest aspiration of many of those who are privileged to be the direct successors of *the first settlers*. Let not the much larger number, who have become inhabitants of this colony since 1787 and 1792, put these records aside, as concerning only the Nova Scotians or the London settlers. For, on almost every page, it will be seen how the thought of Governor Clarkson, and of the great company that commissioned him, went far beyond that small handful of people, and dwelt upon those other tribes of the African race, whose condition, it was hoped, this colony would hereafter be instrumental in ameliorating. Those great thoughts soared even beyond the masses centred here to-day, after a hundred years, and they embraced the whole of this dark continent as possibly partaking of substantial benefit and blessing through this colony.

May these records, then, stir up many hearts, and create and stimulate true and lofty aims. And may

many be led to resolve that there never shall be wanting a company of Sierra Leone people, who will realise on this spot the noble ambitions and high standards enunciated and acted upon by the old Sierra Leone Company and its first governor.

THE DIARY

‘The ground we are now clearing to build a town, to be named *Free Town*, is situated upon an eminence near the beach, and exposed to the sea breezes, which regularly take place about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. This spot was formerly occupied by the few settlers sent out by Mr Granville Sharp in the year 1787, but who were driven away by King Jemmy, after he had been attacked by Captain Savage of H.M. ship *Pomona* in the latter end of 1788. The country about Free Town is very mountainous and rocky, the stratum a lava, containing a considerable portion of iron ; the highest hill, which appears to be about eight miles off, is in the shape of a cone, and it is probable it may be an extinguished volcano. The whole face of the country is covered with wood ; some of the trees are very large, and, I dare venture to say, will hereafter afford good timber. It abounds everywhere with low shrubs and underwood, which renders it extremely difficult to penetrate into the country. The water is considered very good and well-tasted.

‘King Jemmy has been extremely shy since our



FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *March 16, 1792.*

arrival, and does not appear disposed to visit us, or to place any confidence in us. Thinking it right to remove these feelings, I paid him a private visit this morning for the first time, by landing at a path leading directly to his town ; the king being apprised of my intention, received me with civility. It was thought best for me to go with only two or three attendants than to pay him a formal visit. The king speaks a little English, and said he was glad to see me ; but I evidently saw that he felt uncomfortable, though he endeavoured to appear otherwise. He has not yet forgotten the dispute he had with Captain Savage, and the loss sustained by both sides, for he has been extremely cautious of trusting himself with white men ever since. Mutual civilities took place ; he offered me some wine and water, and, putting his glass to his own mouth first, gave it to me afterwards. This is a custom of the country to show that you may take it with safety. I wished him his health, and prosperity and happiness to his country. We shook hands with each other, and I said I should be glad to see him, and be better acquainted. In the evening I sent him a small present of wine. The town he inhabits consists of about forty or fifty huts, irregularly placed, and interspersed with palm, banana, plantain, orange, lime, paw-paw, and cola trees, which in a great measure supply the natives with food. The houses are built in a circular form, and have a pyramidal roof ; the outer stakes which

form them are matted together with small twigs, and afterwards plastered inside with mud ; the roof or eave of the house projects about two or three feet beyond the sides, forming a pleasant shade, under which the natives sit without being exposed to the scorching heat of the sun. To each of these houses are two doors, which are placed exactly opposite to each other. The space inside is rarely, if ever, divided into compartments. The usual dress of the natives is a small piece of cotton cloth, fastened round the waist and brought between the legs. Sometimes the men will wear a loose kind of shirt over this, but the women are almost naked. The king was dressed in an old naval captain's uniform.

The workmen are making great progress in cutting down the woods, separating what will be useful, and burning the rest. Almost every day since we landed, we have been visited by an old queen called Yamacopra, who does not appear to have much power, though some of the natives show her attention. She took tea with us this evening, and contrived to steal a teaspoon. We missed it, and she assisted us in looking for it. A lady present, who suspected her majesty, was determined to observe her motions, and perceiving the spoon under the queen's wrapping cloth, she pulled it out, which gave her majesty much uneasiness, and she took great pains to convince us it must have got there by mistake. If the same thing had occurred

in a slave factory, the proprietors would have insisted upon her paying one or two slaves, or their value, to settle the palaver.

'The people are now busily employed in cutting materials to build a temporary store house. Many of them have made some progress in building huts for themselves, which form an extensive encampment open to the sea. The erecting a building to hold stores is of the very first importance, and cannot be dispensed with. Captain Cocks is engaged in cutting out a road to wind up the hill at the watering place, instead of the present steep and inconvenient one. King Jemmy begins to lay aside his fears, and disbelieves the insinuations of the slave factors and other people inimical to us. Attended divine service, received the sacrament, several children baptized. After the services of the day, had a long and important conversation with the Rev. N. Gilbert on the situation of the affairs in the colony; suggested the idea of his going to England, to state in person to the directors the real situation we are in. Mr G—— highly approved of my plan of giving the court of directors the earliest and best information, but did not feel comfortable at the idea of leaving his religious duties until another clergyman arrived in the colony. I stated to him the utter impossibility of my entering into the details necessary for the directors' information, from the weak state of my health, and

my almost total loss of memory, and as he could relate to them many transactions which occurred under his own observation on board the *Harpy* (which he knew led to the principal confusion in the colony), and also the conduct pursued on board their shipping generally, with his opinion of the characters of the people I had brought with me, and other important matters relative to the natives, climate, soil, etc., I thought, when he reflected upon these circumstances, he would feel that it would be more for the benefit of the cause he had embarked in, than his continuing in the colony; and, although I really regretted losing his society, which had been a great comfort to me, yet I would willingly submit to that deprivation, and do my best towards fulfilling his ministerial duties during his absence, or till another clergyman arrived, if he would endeavour to remove his scruples and comply with my request. . . .

‘I am informed the natives have much faith in witchcraft, and are very superstitious. The devil is commonly worshipped, though they have some imperfect idea of a God, whom they believe to be so merciful and benevolent, that he could not hurt them, or keep the devil in awe; and as they suppose the latter to be always disposed to do them mischief, they endeavour to pacify him by means of charms and trumpery sacrifices—they say the devil is often seen amongst them, and

their sorcerers often perform feats in which they pretend to his assistance. If a person is accused of a crime, besides the trial by drinking the Red Water, they have another *equally just*. An iron, steeped in the juice of certain herbs, is made red hot, and passed quickly over the hands of the person suspected. If the iron burns, he is pronounced guilty, and sold for a slave. The land now cleared is five hundred and sixty yards in length along the shores, and two hundred yards in breadth. . . .

'I sent the *Lapwing* last night to Robanna Island, to fetch King Naimbanna to the colony to hold a palaver, and to negotiate for the purchase of the Island of Tasso. I desired the captain of the *Lapwing* to hoist a particular flag at his mast-head when he returned if he had the king on board, that I might be prepared to meet him. About eleven o'clock, seeing the *Lapwing* coming down the river, with a flag at her mast-head, I dressed myself and ordered one of the *Harpy's* boats to be in readiness to take me to the king before he reached the settlement. At noon I went on board the *Lapwing* about two miles from Free Town. When the people on board the *Lapwing* first saw me coming they told the king, who had laid himself down in the cabin. He immediately rose and dressed himself in his best attire to receive me. I had, previously to my leaving the settlement, ordered the ships to salute, and give three cheers, as we passed them, and also the whole population in the

colony to be under arms to salute the king when he landed. I was induced to make the greatest parade of our strength when paying the king a compliment, that he and the chiefs with him might see that we were prepared to defend ourselves, and could make a formidable resistance. When the king came upon the *Lapwing's* deck to be introduced to me, his dress was a sky-blue silk jacket with silver lace, striped cotton trowsers, ruffled shirt, green morocco slippers, a cocked-hat with gold lace, and a white cotton cap, for which a large old judge's wig was afterwards substituted. He had a belt round his neck from which hung the figure of a lamb bearing a cross set with rays formed of paste. I was dressed in a full-dress Windsor uniform, with a brilliant star, etc., etc. Upon the king's coming on deck we embraced each other. He asked me how King George did, and said he was a very good friend of his, that he was glad to see me, and hoped we should be good friends. He appeared greatly surprised when he first saw me, and could scarcely keep from laughing, but he soon recovered, by exclaiming, "That he had never seen so young a king before." As we approached the colony, we passed under the sterns of the company's vessels in the harbour, each vessel saluting and cheering as we passed. We could also distinctly hear the shouts from the people on shore. When we had passed the different vessels, we went on board the *Amy* to dine. The party consisted of myself and three or four of

the principal officers, the king, queen, and two of their daughters, Signor Domingo, a chief who lives about four miles up the river from Free Town, and a Mr Elliott, the king's interpreter, who was formerly one of Mr Granville Sharp's settlers. The dinner was very tedious and fatiguing, from my great anxiety to show attention to my guests, and from being obliged to speak through an interpreter. The king spoke and understood a little English, but, on matters of business, he always spoke through his interpreter. In the evening he went on shore, the people being drawn up in lines for us to pass through, when I observed to the king, that I had called all my children out to show him respect, and to assure him how much we wished to be friendly, and to do all in our power to benefit him and his country. That the king and his attendants might see my strength, I desired, after the whole colony had given three cheers, that three distinct volleys should be fired, which had the desired effect, for I plainly saw that they were not only highly gratified at the attention shown them, but equally convinced we had the means of protecting ourselves. As we passed by a hut, I recollected we had brought over an extremely old woman, who was very desirous of laying her bones in her native country, and I introduced her to the king. She was blind, and had passed her 108th year. The king and his attendants shook hands with her. After showing many other little attentions, I took leave of the king

and returned on board the *Amy* so fatigued and exhausted as to occasion strong hysterics. The king and his party went to King Jemmy's town for the night. . . .

March 27th. Thermometer before sunrise, in general about 79 degrees.

'About one o'clock this morning a large baboon entered one of the tents, and seized upon a girl about twelve years of age, by the heel, and dragged her out of the tent. Her cries alarmed a man who was sleeping in the same place, who immediately caught hold of her arm, as the animal was raising her over some planks at the entrance of the tent. A trial of strength now took place between them; the baboon endeavouring all in its power to carry off the girl, and the man equally determined to prevent him. Some assistance coming, the animal let go his hold, and ran off into the woods. Upon relating this circumstance to some of the natives, I have reason to believe, from what they said, that the animal in question was a real Orang-Outang; as they informed me they often see them in the woods, and always walking erect, about the stature of a middle-sized man. Great dissatisfaction appears amongst the settlers, and many of them begin to be very troublesome. The bad example set them by the Europeans when they first landed, the unfeeling manner in which they are often addressed, the promiscuous intercourse with so many dissatisfied

sailors, and the old settlers, added to the many inconveniences attending a new colony, and the general sickness which at present prevails, may in a great degree account for the irritability of temper, and peevish disposition which it is painful for me to observe amongst them. . . .

'I observed yesterday, when the king dined with me, that the women did not sit at the same table as the king ; and I also noticed, that, although the king did not appear to pay any attention to the old queen and her daughters, yet he seemed to like it from others. When we sat down to dinner, the queen with her daughters and other attendants sat down on the ground outside the tent. The king would have sent them something on his own plate during dinner, as he did yesterday, but as soon as we were all placed, I arose and said grace. When I began to help the first dish, I said to the king, "Now king, I will show you my country fash," and immediately sent the plate to the queen, and continued helping the remainder of the females, which occasioned a general laugh ; but I evidently saw the king was delighted with the attention. . . .

'The next subject was about the purchase of the land, which one of the chiefs said we had no right to. I replied, that, although they might not believe me, yet I assured them I would never have come to Africa to take their land without paying for it but I was sure they all knew as well as myself that it

had been regularly bought and paid for, and in consequence, we were come to live amongst them, in a peaceable way, with a determination on our part to do all in our power to make them, their children, and their country happy; that our views were quite different from Captain S——, that we wished to live with them as brethren, and to render the strictest justice to all; that, as our intentions were peaceable, we would endeavour all in our power never to give them any cause for offence, and would be equally slow in feeling anger towards them; and as they knew we had ample means to defend ourselves from any unjust attack, so would they find us resolute and determined in doing ourselves justice upon every occasion. In reply, they wished to take advantage of my expression, “that our views were different from those of Captain S——,” and, in a round-about way, endeavoured to show, that if we meant to go upon a new plan, we ought to make a new purchase. Finding that this was the time for closing the business, I requested the king and chiefs to attend to me whilst I read book. Having desired the secretary to have in readiness the documents relative to the purchase of the land, I desired them to be handed to me, when I got up and showed them all the agreements for the purchase of the land, for the King of England, signed by themselves, and acknowledging the presents received in consideration. This unexpected arrangement they could not over-

come, and I was determined to profit by it, by beginning with one individual, and going through with the whole:—The first person addressed was King Jemmy. I asked him how he came to call such a fool palaver as to want me to buy the land a second time. I then read aloud the specific articles he had received for his share, and showed his signature; and having done the same to every one present who had received part of the purchase, I said, “Suppose, king, you buy slave, and rice, and you pay so many bar for slave, and so many bar for rice at the time, and suppose the man you buy slave of, and the man you buy rice of, come to you next moon and ask you to pay for slave and rice again, what would you call that?” They all exclaimed, “Fool palaver” and burst out laughing, which ended the business.

‘This palaver lasted so long, that I had not time to talk about purchasing the Island of Tasso, the soil of which is rich, and equal to any in the West Indies, fine rivulets, less rocky, and producing tall trees, and less underwood, than our land; only half of it belongs to King Naimbanna, the other half to King Samma, on the Bullom shore. King Naimbanna has promised to treat with me for his half, if King Samma will do the same. . . .

‘*March 28th.* This morning I sent Mr G. and Mr W. in the *Lapwing* to negotiate with King Samma

for his half of the Island of Tasso. They took with them the necessary presents. A black man brought me King Naimbanna's snuff box; but could not explain his errand. We thought, at first, his majesty wanted snuff, although it contained already plenty of Scotch; but as the ambassador had brought a jar in which he wanted some rum, we comprehended at last that the king had sent the box as a token that the man had come from him, and might be entrusted with the liquor. I soon after received a note from the king, signed by E. G., his secretary, requesting to have a dozen of wine and a jar of liquor. As the king and so many of the chiefs, with their attendants, were still on a visit to King Jemmy, I thought I would take this opportunity of making them a present nearly equal to their demand for the purchase of the land, to show them it was not the *money* that I looked to in refusing to acknowledge their claim, but that I did not choose to submit to an unjust demand. Understanding from the number of people assembled that liquor was the principal article in demand, I complied with their wishes, in sending them a great proportion of that article for my *Dash*. It was in vain for me to attempt to moralize at such a time as the present, when the whole population at King Jemmy's town might be said to be in a state of intoxication. I wished to conciliate, and to impress them with favourable feelings towards us, in hopes of securing

their confidence and goodwill, while so many of them from different parts of the country were assembled together after the tedious and interesting palaver of yesterday. We were perfect strangers to each other; we had a *great object in view*, and, much as I abhorred the depravity of their conduct, I knew it would be in vain to expect to make much impression upon old and deep-rooted habits. It was the rising generation we were to look to for any moral improvement, and as it is my determination to take every opportunity of setting the whole colony and the natives a good example in my own conduct, I think it most advisable, in the present state of the colony, to endeavour all in my power to win the natives in their *own way*, so as to secure a peaceable footing in the country, and to do this as far as I can, without losing sight of every seasonable and proper opportunity of reprobating proceedings which militate against our professions. Many of the people are getting forward with their huts. They are to be built in regular streets, and called after the twelve directors; but there is still a great deal of ground to be cleared before the town can be laid out. . . .

March 29th. There is so much confusion and mismanagement in the colony, that I am using every exertion to forward the sailing of the *Felicity* with Mr G. The working-parties are seldom

attended as they ought to be, and the slightest indisposition is an excuse for neglect in every department. The consequences of this neglect, if not checked, must produce habits inimical to the best interests of the colony. . . .

'The rainy season now announces its approach, by a cloudy sky covering the tops of the mountains. Some trees in this country have the peculiar property of letting down from their top branches very straight shoots without leaves, which take root upon reaching the ground. Thus a tall tree is on all sides tied down, as it were by cables, so that no tornado can shake it. This renders the woods impenetrable from the number of strong tendrils and twigs which interweave themselves amongst the shoots and trees. When a tree is cut down or wounded and exposed to the sun, the sap that leaks from it is gummy or resinous. . . .

'The ladies in the colony, by their mutual jealousies and absurd notions of their rank and consequence, give rise to many private piques, which often cause open dissensions amongst the gentlemen, and the mischief they have occasioned from the time the ships left the Downs to the present day cannot be estimated. . . .

'This evening King Naimbanna left King Jemmy's and returned to his own town on Robanna Island. At about eight or nine o'clock several guns were heard from King Jemmy's town. We afterwards

learned that this firing was in consequence of certain religious ceremonies they performed. King Jemmy (the successor of King Tom, who was King Naimbanna's predecessor, though he lived here on account of the great trade he carried on) is only a vassal of King Naimbanna's, and temporary protector of this and a few other towns, till a cousin of the latter is old enough to take possession of them. Young men are never made kings in this uncivilised part of the world. . . .

March 30th. Provisions are getting very short, and unless we have a speedy supply, the dissatisfaction in the colony will increase. The council are daily seeing the dreadful confusion existing through their means with apparent indifference. I have this day again offered to take the whole executive power upon myself, subjecting myself to account to them once a month in council; but they insist upon nothing being done but in council, and according to their pleasure. Thus, after commanding and countermanding each other on every subject, nothing is done. . . .

'The people called the old settlers, were originally the black poor in and about London, who had been collected together and fed by the bounty of Mr Granville Sharp, in the year 1786, and afterwards sent out to Sierra Leone, in hopes that they would be able by industry to support themselves and

families better than in England. They left England in the year 1787, in the ship *Myro*, accompanied by His Majesty's sloop *Nautilus*, Captain Thomson, who landed them at Sierra Leone, after purchasing from the natives a district along the river of nearly twenty miles square. Captain Thomson assisted them in raising their huts; and having protected them, and given them provisions to support them till they could obtain some by their own industry, he left them. He had not been gone long before they began to quarrel with each other; and although Mr Sharp had drawn up for them a most excellent and simple form of government, yet they became disorderly, and disliked restraint so much, that confusion generally prevailed, which, added to great sickness, occasioned a considerable mortality. They were recovering a little from their disorder, had a good stock of poultry, and were getting a tolerably good living, when Captain Savage, of His Majesty's ship *Pomona*, and Captain B——, of Bunce Island, quarrelled with King Jemmy, and burnt his town. King Jemmy, to revenge himself for the injury he had sustained, gave the settlers notice, after the *Pomona* had left the river, that, as King George had destroyed his town, he should destroy theirs, but gave them three days' notice, that they might leave it before they made the attack, which they accordingly did, and fled for protection to Bunce Island and other places in the neighbourhood. Last

year Mr Falconbridge, our commercial agent, made a voyage in the *Lapwing* cutter, by desire of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, just then established, to endeavour to learn something about them, and to render them some assistance. He collected together about seventy or eighty persons, and placed them on a spot called Fora Bay, about three miles up the river, where they built themselves huts, and called the place Granville Town, in honour of their patron, Mr Granville Sharp, and where I found them on my arrival.

‘When the old settlers were first mentioned to me, the person who did it gave them so infamous a character, and pointed out so many instances of depravity, that I was quite disgusted with them; and, having my mind continually harassed with the wants, difficulties and distresses of a new colony, and also observing the Nova Scotians declining in character, from the bad example set them, which I in part attributed to the old settlers, I was led, by the multiplicity of applications at the time, to give the answer I did to Signor D——; but when I reflect upon the consequences which might have attended such a relinquishment of them, I tremble at the thoughts of it, as I ought to have weighed the many difficulties they must have experienced, the great disadvantages they laboured under in every point of view, and their defenceless state, by their numbers being so much reduced by sickness, rather than have

so inconsiderate reply to such a man as Signor D——. I will, however, endeavour to repair my faults by attending to their situation. . . .

'April 1st. Divine Service on shore. The Nova Scotians are very anxious to have their lots of land laid out, which it is not in my power to comply with, from the general confusion in the colony, the state of the weather, and many other obstacles. On all occasions they come to me to make their complaints, and I feel a particular happiness in being able to quiet all their apprehensions, compose their minds, and reconcile them to the conduct of individuals against whom I have now and then complaints. It is truly gratifying to see the full attendance and orderly behaviour of the Nova Scotians at public worship, and delightful to hear them sing, particularly that hymn so applicable to their present situation, "The year of Jubilee is come," etc. . . .

If putrid fevers do not break out amongst us, unsheltered as we are from the rain, crowded, and living upon salt provisions, it will be owing to a particular interposition of Providence. Nothing made of steel can be preserved from rust. Knives, scissors, keys, etc., look like old, rusty iron. Our watches are spoiled by rust, and laid aside useless. The atmosphere is so very humid, from the strong exhalations caused by the heat after the rain, that anything of

linen put by for a time must be frequently aired lest it should mould and rot. . . .

'None of the natives of these nations (calling themselves free nations) are sold for slaves, unless for gross crimes. The slaves exported from hence are few, and come from the most interior parts. The slaves here, we observe, call their master and mistress father and mother. The way the slaves are secured in their journey is by pinioning them, and hanging a loose wooden hoop round their necks, to catch them by if they should try to run away. King Naimbanna, when formerly dealing in slaves, used to send away about 100 annually. King Jemmy has not property enough to carry on any great trade; Signor D—sells more. The King of Shebra, or Shebro, is King Naimbanna's brother, very rich and powerful, has a large standing army, and a vast extent of country, of which he is the despot, but a good man. The language about Sierra Leone (not the Bullom Shore or Sherbro) is called the Timmaney. The Timmaney people were formerly an inland nation, and the Quiers possessed this country; but some generations back the Quiers, having given offence to the Timmaneys, and impeded their trade, which passed through their country, the Timmaneys made war, expelled or destroyed all the Quiers, and killed their king. The shattered remains took refuge behind Cape Sierra Leone, near Sherbro, and live there now. The Timmaney general was made King of Sierra Leone,

and when the Timmaney King up the country died he united both kingdoms. . . .

'April 8th (Easter Day).—Divine service. Four children baptized; also the other Sacrament administered. I still feel greatly fatigued if I am obliged to talk much, and the people, knowing this, have of late stated all their wants and grievances by letter. These have now become very frequent, in consequence of the deplorable condition the colony is in, from the unfinished state of the huts, the tornado season fast approaching, and sickness more or less prevailing throughout the settlement. After church this morning, as I was retiring from the tent, several of these letters were given to me, which I put into my pocket with an intention to read when I had an opportunity and could attend to them. Being much fatigued when I got on board the *Amy*, and dinner being nearly ready, I did not feel disposed to open any of them till that was over. The first I took out of my pocket was the following :—

“DEAR SIR,—Your Excellency's Honor will excuse if that you please the neglect of your humble servant, if that the matter I now communicate to you has already reached your knowledge, of the people rising, of divisions and fictions, and going to elect Mr P— as their governour, and to petition the Honourable Company at home for that purpose; if that it has reached your Honor's knowledge, you are

already armed against their efforts, and excuse your humble servant if that you are not. I hope that these few lines will put you on your guard, although I write with a trembling hand, for I know not how to conduct myself at present; and if that my name should come to their ears, and denied your protection, my situation is bad. The Preston people have no hand in the affair at all, but they mean to stand fast by your Honor, and abide by the consequences. So that we subscribe ourselves your Excellency's humble servants and faithful friends,

“ J. H., J. W.

“ *N.B.*—We rely on your Honor that our names may be a secret, as we know not but our lives are depending.”

‘As soon as I had read this letter, I went on shore, and that no time might be lost, I called upon Mr P——, one of the council, on my way to the centre of the town, and desired the great bell to be rung immediately to summon all the settlers together. They soon assembled, officers and people, not knowing what was the matter, and many of them appeared much agitated. I placed myself under a great tree, and, addressing myself to P——, I said it was probable either one or other of us would be hanged upon that tree before the palaver was settled, and, holding up the letter, I stated the purport of it, at the same time observing, that I should always consider those who

sent it to me as the best men in the place, and I hoped to be able, before I had done, to satisfy the whole colony that they ought to feel the greatest obligation to them for having put me on my guard, that I might face the business manfully, and rescue them and their posterity from the inevitable ruin which must take place, if they suffered themselves to be influenced by such pernicious counsels. Many asked me to name those who had written the letter. I instantly put it into my pocket and said, that whilst I had life their names should never be disclosed, but that I should never forget their exemplary conduct. I then called to their remembrance the many and great sacrifices I had made, and was daily making, to promote their happiness, and referred them to the whole of my conduct towards them since I had known them, and asked if they thought (mentioning the intimation I had received) that their conduct could be justified towards me. I entered into a detail of the consequences of the step they had taken, showing them that it was serious in point of law, as well as ruinous in every other point of view, as respecting their affairs, had it been put into execution. I recalled to their recollection the vast sums of money the Sierra Leone Company had expended upon them, although they were perfect strangers to them; the great anxiety of the company to make use of them as instruments to spread the blessings of Christianity through the wretched heathen nations of this vast

continent, the gratitude they ought to feel at being permitted to be the happy individuals in so blessed a work, and endeavoured to press upon their minds the criminality of their conduct, if, after all that had been done for them, they could for a moment doubt the sincerity of the Sierra Leone Company's views. I then pointed out to them the misery they must suffer if they allowed the demon of discord to gain a footing amongst them, that they would thereby entail misery and guilt upon themselves and their posterity, defeat all the good ends now within their reach, and blast (for a time at least) every prospect of bettering the condition of the black population throughout the world. The settlers explained the matter thus : They had now, and expected to have still more, subjects to speak upon to the Governor, they would not all of them trouble him, and for that reason they had chosen Thomas Peters, their chief speaker or chairman, as it was by his interference and interest they were removed from Nova Scotia, and 132 had signed a paper of this purport, dated the 23rd March, which paper Peters had intended last night to have put into the Governor's hands. They declared they had no other view than to relieve the Governor from the fatigue of so many applications, and expressed their sorrow that he should have taken it up so warmly ; but that they hoped he would see it in a different light, for that, they assured him, they had been most grossly misrepresented. The alarm and agitation

being so great, I found it no easy matter to persuade them they were in the wrong. However, after arguing with them a long time, they at last gave way, and with the liveliest feelings of gratitude and respect, they expressed themselves extremely hurt at what had passed, and promised all and everything I desired, begging of me, with all the tenderness imaginable (some of them with tears), not to expose myself any longer to the evening air, as they observed I was much fatigued with talking to them, and they feared it would materially injure me. I was very glad to close the business with this explanation, for had matters appeared stronger against Peters, I should not have known what to have done with him. He is a man of great penetration and cunning, and from the attention shown to him in England, he thinks himself vastly superior to his countrymen. I cannot bring myself to believe he had any real intention of endeavouring to assume the government, for on looking over the address I see such names attached to it as I am sure would never have joined him in so ruinous an enterprise. However, I shall feel it my duty not only to keep an eye on him myself, but also to have his actions watched and reported to me in private. Some of the men who signed the paper begged me to bear in mind that the Nova Scotians are naturally suspicious and easily alarmed; that they have been deceived and ill-treated through life, and hearing from the council that they are the governors, and at the same time not

having a favourable opinion either of their wisdom or tenderness, and seeing no probability of getting their lands, they began to think they should be served the same as in Nova Scotia, which unsettled their minds, and made them suspect everything and everybody. A lamentable occurrence took place in consequence of this palaver. A young woman seeing me land and walk at an unusual pace up the hill, and hearing the great bell ring immediately afterwards, was so frightened, knowing her husband had signed the paper for Peters' appointment, that she was taken with strong convulsions and soon after expired. After I had left the meeting, a few of Peters' adherents turned their resentment against the persons suspected of having given me the information, which, added to a misunderstanding between the Methodists and Anabaptists, kept the minds of the colonists in great agitation; but the constables being vigilant, gave notice to the magistrates in the tent, and Mr P—— went and saw the parties separated, when all remained quiet for the night. Later in the evening, H. B., a Methodist preacher, and Clerk of the Established Church, who had taken a conspicuous part in the palaver, called at the Gentlemen's Tent. It took some time to convince him that their proceedings were irregular, and he appeared hurt to think that he should be suspected of acting contrary to law. He persisted in thinking it wrong for so many people to tease the governor as they had done, upon the most trifling occasions,

and thought the plan proposed would have prevented it, but if the part he had taken from the purest motives had given offence, he expressed his sorrow for it, assuring the gentlemen of his great anxiety to preserve the peace, and to gain the good opinion of the government. . . .

'It is reported that King Naimbanna will prohibit the slave trade in his dominions. He went the night before last to the Gambia Islands to remonstrate with Monsieur R——, the trader, on the subject, and to assert that he would no more have slave trade in his country; that he would go to Bunce Island and do the same to the trader there, and hereafter make his people learn book. By chance Mr F—— was at Gambia, and relates a manœuvre made use of by R—— to suit the mind of the old king. He presented him with a silver-hilted sword, and told him the puncheon of rum he saw was intended for him, and that he should have it the next day; this made such an impression on the king, that he forgot his resolution, and the slave trade will probably continue. . . .

'*April 11th.* According to a general notice given to the settlers yesterday, the whole of them assembled this morning at the tent to have their names registered afresh, and sign an instrument purporting, that whilst they reside in this colony, they will live obedient to its laws, which will be made conformable

to those in England, as far as local circumstances will permit. Myself and the members of the council signed this deed first, and afterwards the officers, clerks, etc. The people were called over according to the companies formed for their embarkation. At this interview I had an opportunity of correcting and confirming the returns made to me relative to the deaths to this period. The account will stand as follows. Total number of deaths from the time we formed the people into companies at Halifax, 112. . . .

Total number of men embarked at Halifax	. 385
Dead to this period	. . . . . 55
	<hr/>
Remains	. 330
	<hr/> <hr/>
Men qualified for particular trades	. . . . . 162
Labourers acquainted with all tropical production	. . . . . 127
Porters at wharfs and general labourers	. . . . . 41
	<hr/>
	<u>330</u>

Of men qualified for particular trades there were:—

		Brought forward,	20
Blacksmiths 8	Bricklayers 3		
Bakers 4	Brick and Tile Makers 2		
Broom Makers 1	Block Maker 1		
Basket Makers 3	Carpenters 27		
Brewers 1	Coopers 11		
Butchers 2	Caulkers 5		
Braziers 1	Cooks 2		
	<hr/>		
Carry forward,	20	Carry forward,	71

Brought forward,	71	Brought forward,	137
Chimney Sweeper	1	Shipwrights	3
Fishermen	6	Shoe Makers	10
Gardeners	3	Sail Maker	1
Hairdressers	2	Sailors	2
Pot Ash Maker	1	Tailors	5
Pilots	2	Tanner	1
* Sawyers	50	Weavers	2
Shingle Maker	1	Wine Cooper	1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Carry forward,	137	Total,	<u>162</u>

'These men were also capable of cultivating the land and of general husbandry.

'Births since embarkation 14

'Many of the women could spin, weave, and were good laundresses; one or two were midwives, and three or four were capable of keeping a school for children. . . .

'*April 12th.* Nothing particular occurred this day. Visited the different parts of the intended town; am sorry to see so many huts in an unfinished state. The people complain of the great labour it occasions to bring the poles, rafters and thatch for so many houses from the distance they are obliged to go for it. . . .

'It is distressing to me to see the poor Nova Scotians (who look up to me as their best friend) in their present deplorable state, their houses not covered in, sickness generally prevailing, and many

* These men could turn their hands to many useful employments, such as carpenters, etc.

of them appearing scorbutic. They related to me all their grievances and wants, but from the situation of the colony it is not in my power to comply with many of their requests. I am additionally plagued and perplexed at the inconsiderate conduct of some of the council, who, though they do not openly contradict what I may have ordered for the good of the colony, yet they appear to thwart my measures in various ways. . . .

‘As the conduct of the seamen of the company’s vessels had been extremely incorrect and untoward, declaring that, if I offered to punish them, they would resist, and as it has been a constant habit with them to abuse the settlers, to call them black rascals, and to use other insulting and degrading expressions, highly injurious to the colony, and extremely offensive to the Nova Scotians, I mean to take this opportunity, to use an African expression, to settle the “palaver” with them. For this purpose I have ordered captain R—— to be on shore to attend the trial of his men at eight o’clock to-morrow morning, and the same order has been issued to the captains and as many of the seamen as can be spared from the other vessels, to attend on shore to-morrow at eleven o’clock. . . .

‘I now shortly addressed the Nova Scotians, upon the necessity of their being firm to support their privileges, and to protect their families, and told them that, unless we could ensure a proper subordination in every department of the colony, it would be

impossible for us to succeed. I declared that it was far from my desire to make any distinction between black and white. On the contrary, I wished them to consider each other as brethren, requiring mutual kindnesses from each other in their present arduous situation, and no part of their conduct would be more gratifying to me than to see them endeavour to lighten each other's hardships by a conciliatory and Christian-like conduct. I assured them that the declarations of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, as to their civil rights, I should most scrupulously attend to, and trusted that every officer in the colony would be equally alive to perform their duty on that head, agreeably to the *private* as well as public instructions they had received respecting it. I now turned to the prisoners, and began by declaring, that the task I was going to perform was most painful to me ; but when I considered the extent of their crime, particularly in an infant colony, the consequences likely to attend such conduct, if not timely checked, when I looked at the vast Continent of Africa, its immense population, its extreme darkness as to religious truths, and the great probability there was of greatly ameliorating their condition through the means of this colony, if it were once permitted to be established, I had no " alternative but to enforce those laws which my situation authorised me to do," as the only means likely to ensure the present and future happiness of the colony, the prosperity of the Sierra Leone Company, and

probably at some future period, the civilisation and general happiness of this vast continent.

' *April 20th.* Last night a violent tornado. This evening went on board the *Felicity* to pass the night. I had not finished all my letters, and, having much to say to Mr Gilbert, I wished to be with him as much as possible to the last moment of his departure ; and being anxious to get some fresh stock for the voyage, I determined to go with him to the Bananas. I have ordered the *Lapwing* to accompany them, to take me back from the *Felicity* to the Settlement.

' *April 21st.* Early this morning the *Felicity* weighed in company with the *Lapwing*. The wind failing, we did not arrive at the Bananas to-day, but the *Lapwing* arrived and anchored. The passengers by the *Felicity* were Lieutenant W——, R.N., the Rev. N. G——, Mr and Mrs H—— of the medical department, and Captain C——, recommended by Captain B——.

' *April 22d.* Anchored this morning off Cleveland's Town ; went on shore. C—— not at home. These islands are described as the Paradise of Africa. The soil in many places appeared but indifferent. The island is about six miles long, and about one mile broad. Towards the west it is almost joined to another island of high ground. At

low water it is fordable from the one to the other. This island is in like manner joined to a third. These islands are about a league distant from Cape Shilling, and large ships may sail between them and the continent, although they find it difficult at certain seasons to lie at anchor. C——, the present owner of the Bananas, is a Mulatto, and grandson of the white man C——, the first owner of that name. These C——'s have always been supposed to be vassals of King Naimbanna, but think themselves, and act like, sovereigns of those islands and part of the opposite continent. They have always carried on a great trade in slaves; the present owner is said to expend fifty puncheons of rum annually in giving drams and treating the negroes, who come to him on business. Another white trader (B——) now lives here by C——'s permission, and divides the trade with him, on condition that he does not attempt to interfere with C——'s favourite trade in the Sherbro country. We saw here a number of quondam white clerks, doctors, etc., all ghastly-looking creatures. B——, like other great traders, has his factories all over the coast, and is supposed, in eight or ten years, to have made a fortune of £20,000. This man has strongly urged me to establish a plantation, with C——'s permission, on these islands, or on the continent, highly praising the fitness of the soil, but my hands are too full to attempt such a thing at present. All the captains of the slave vessels, which

we found in the roads, show me great attention, and talk in the same strain as B—; but their principles being so much at variance with ours, I paid but little attention to their advice. One, Captain C— of the *America*, took great pains to please me, and although I acknowledged his attention by a general suavity of manners, yet I was determined not to be too familiar with him, which he soon perceived, and stuck close to Captain C— who, I am sorry to observe, was not equally upon his guard, and, in consequence, placed me in such a situation as to put it out of my power to refuse dining with Captain C— to-morrow. Finding myself extremely fatigued, I retired to a sofa, and, shortly after, two female slaves were sent to fan me while I slept, but the very idea of having slaves “to fan me while I sleep, and tremble when I wake,” prevented me from enjoying that repose, which I should otherwise have done. I fear we shall not be able to get much supply of stock at the Bananas, and I cannot keep the *Felicity* to wait for the chance of getting more from other places.

April 23d. Went to dine on board the *America*, Captain C—, much against my inclination; and I had not been on board long before my feelings were put to the torture, in consequence of Captain C— making presents of goats and provisions of all sorts to the passengers of the *Felicity*. The passengers received them with pleasure, and I with pain, *as Captain C—*

would not be paid for them. He told me he was at variance with King Jemmy; that King Jemmy, though pretending to be our friend, was not so; that he and all his people had lately assembled at the Devil's house, making sacrifices to him, with the ceremonies usual on grand occasions, and all this in order to secure his interest to help us out of the country; and he evidently took pains to convince us of the great antipathy the natives have to us, though apparently our friends. B—— told us the same yesterday. I was very uneasy during the whole time I was on board the *America*, on many accounts; but it was perhaps fortunate that I was there to serve as a check to certain giddy persons.

' *April 24th.* Having settled everything with Mr Gilbert, and with Captain M—— of the *Felicity*, I closed my despatches, and the *Felicity* and the *Lapwing* got under weigh, and stood to sea.

' I remained on board the *Felicity* till near dark, when I took my leave and went on board the *Lapwing*, gave the schooner three cheers in the boat, the same from the *Lapwing*, which, being returned from the *Felicity*, we wished them a short and pleasant voyage, and departed; we for the colony, and she stood out to sea.

' "To Henry Thornton, Esq., Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

' " SIERRA LEONE, *April 18, 1792.*

' " MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you three weeks ago, by a vessel bound to Bristol, mentioning my arrival at Sierra Leone. I was then too ill to write at length, and even now I find myself so far from well that I have thought it absolutely necessary to the company's service to despatch Mr Gilbert to England, to make those representations to you in person, which I am utterly incapable of doing in the manner I could wish without great injury to my health. For all particulars, therefore, I refer you to him. A mere general idea of the state of things here, and my opinion of them, is all I shall attempt to give you myself. Had you appointed a council, invested with such powers as are given to the gentlemen whom you have sent out, three or four years hence, after the colony had been well settled, and everything going on well, no inconvenience might have arisen; but, in the present state of things, such a measure appears to me most improper. The present consequences are confusion and disorder; and the future, if not prevented by a speedy alteration, will, I fear, be ruined. Eight gentlemen, all invested with great power, each of them acting from himself, and none of them accountable to the other, form to be sure, a system of government, as pregnant with contradictions and inconsistencies as can be imagined; in such a government there can be nothing but tardiness

in council, and obstruction in all its operations. It wants secrecy, and is destitute of energy and vigour. I have said each of these gentlemen acts from himself. You will be ready to say, 'No, they have only a joint authority, and separately can do nothing.' So it may seem in the theory, but in the fact it is not so, neither can be so. Would you have a council, for instance, to meet every time a package is wanted from the ships? All our time, then, would be spent in deliberations; the gentlemen must every moment be called off from the business of their respective departments. The same reason holds in a thousand other instances, and hence, a great deal of inevitable confusion. One orders this thing, and another that; one does not know what the other docs. The people are perplexed with the multitude of governors, and scarcely know whom to obey. Waste, losses, etc., occur, for want of that sort of regularity, which one man, seeing at a glance the business of every other department, would be able to establish, but which many, for want of proper knowledge and observation cannot, and from motives of delicacy towards each other, will not do. You may be ready, likewise, to controvert my other assertion, that the gentlemen are not accountable to each other. You will say, that there is no one of them authorised to call the rest to account, yet, that a council may do it. I grant it; but then I again ask, would you have a council formally summoned to take notice of every

impropriety that may occur in the conduct of each of its members? Great improprieties they ought and no doubt would notice, but little ones, though big, perhaps, with the most pernicious future consequences, must pass without inquiry, and without censure. Had I had that confidence placed in me by the company, which I must say I had some reason to expect, such arrangements should have been made immediately upon my arrival as would have preserved the colony in the same good order in which I brought the blacks from Nova Scotia. Every man in his department would have given me in a daily report. Exact accounts of all expenditure should have been kept. Every article brought on shore from the ships should have been landed by my order. Every instance of misconduct in the officers of the company to the natives or the settlers should have received a timely check. Order and regularity, in short, should have pervaded the whole system of your affairs here, and you should have had such accounts transmitted to you as would have put the whole as completely under your view as if you were on the spot. If it be considered in what manner I collected the people together in Nova Scotia, in spite of all the resistance I met with from the gentlemen of the country; the good order in which I kept them for several weeks at Halifax, previous to their embarkation, and for which I had the thanks of the President and council, the arrange-

ments I made for their accommodation during the passage ; for preserving peace and harmony between them and the crews of the different vessels, as well as among themselves ; in consequence of which all disorders were prevented, or, as soon as they appeared, were suppressed, and both the captains and the passengers spoke on their arrival here in the highest terms of each other ; add to this the influence I have by such conduct, and by uniformly behaving towards them with kindness and integrity, aquired over the minds of all those I brought with me, and I trust you will not think me arrogant in assuming so much, as I may have seemed to have done in these assertions. You know me too well to suspect me of wishing for power from any other motive than that only of being able to carry into effect all the views of the company, and to realise to these people, who have come hither on the faith of my professions, all that I had given them reason to expect, and that in the speediest and most effectual manner. This I confidently pronounce, will not, and cannot be done upon your present system of government. Nothing is done according to my views, and I have no authority to alter what I disapprove. The people are murmuring and discontented, and I am fretting and wearing myself out to no effect. Fainting and hysteric fits frequently close the mortifications of the day, through the nervous and debilitated state in which my late illness has left me, from the effects of

which it is impossible I should ever recover while things continue as they are. Give me authority, and if it does not come too late, I will pledge myself to remedy the whole. If you do not, my resolution is fixed, I must return home, and seek, in the reflections of my own mind, that consolation which, had it been in my power as much as it is in my inclination, I should have hoped to enjoy in promoting the comfort and happiness of your colony, and carrying into execution those benevolent ends, which the company had in contemplation in the establishment of it. Neither my health, memory, or engagements, as I said before, will allow me to enter into those details which I could have wished; for those, therefore, I must refer you to Mr Gilbert and Mr W——, who are fully possessed of my sentiments, and will be able to lay before you, as circumstantially as I could write, all that you will desire to be informed of. Here I meant to have concluded my letter, but two or three things struck me as of so much importance that I cannot but mention them in as short a way as possible. With respect to the climate, I fear nothing; it is too warm, to be sure, to be perfectly pleasant, but I see no probability of its being unhealthy, unless it be made so by the imprudence and vicious conduct of the inhabitants. Dr B—— is an instance of this, whose death, a regard to truth and the interest of this colony compels me to say, was entirely the consequence of excessive

drinking, and can in no degree whatever be attributed to the climate. It was my determination, had he lived, to have sent him home, to prove to the company and the colony my inviolable attachment in every instance to their interest.

“ You appear to have been cheated in every department—ships, stores and cargo. Very few of the things of any kind are near what they ought to be for the money they cost you. . . .

“ Pray let no more captains who have passengers, bring out their wives. Be very circumspect whom you suffer to come out in future, either as settlers or artificers. Those already here, as well black as white, are too generally immoral, idle, discontented, ungovernable people, whose example and conduct has done us much harm already, and I fear will do much more. . . .

“ There is no man for whom I have a more perfect respect than Mr Sharp, but he has allowed his goodness to be most sadly imposed upon. The black people he sent out, have, generally speaking, so bad a character, that we are afraid to trust them among us. I have once tried them, but was obliged to turn them all out of the colony, and threaten to flog the first that returned. But I have since received a petition from them, begging to be favoured with another trial, and I mean to grant it, though I shall judge it prudent to keep them for a time in suspense. . . .

“ If I should stay here, and we should continue

going on as we have done, I can never have a hope of seeing England. If I leave these good people before they are comfortably settled, I should never be happy, fearing the consequences that might ensue. In short, I am this hour come to the determination not to remain here in my present situation. If I could see a probability of success, I call God to witness, who knows the secrets of the heart, that I should rejoice to lay down my life to accomplish the wishes of the Sierra Leone Company. I consider that millions of our fellow-creatures, who are now miserable and in a state of barbarism, may be made happy, both here and hereafter, should our wishes be crowned with success, and, therefore, I must desire you to look out for some person to relieve me, and I will promise to stay one whole year to assist him in getting your colony in order. I will pledge myself, if he will conduct himself properly, to get him as much esteemed as myself; but he must be absolute. I think your colony would stand a better chance of succeeding by taking such a step, because I could do more good as a private individual than in a public line. In the first place, from not having that great anxiety and charge upon me, I should experience better health, and while your superintendent and the rest of your officers were engaged in commerce, I could gratify my feelings in looking after the morals of the people. I could have more time to visit the natives and the coast; to make my observations on everything that

might be useful ; and, in short, if you can find out a good, conscientious and religious man, who is known to have method in everything he undertakes, I think you should immediately send him out. If you make your intentions public you will have a thousand applications ; but, I think, from your acquaintances you might select a person of the description I have mentioned. *He must have a proper sense of religion*, and he must not be too hasty in anything he undertakes. When he has made up his mind he must be firm, to keep up his consequence among the natives and his own people. He must set an example himself in everything that is virtuous, or he can never punish with propriety. In his punishments he must begin with moderation, and, what is of greater consequence than anything I have said, he must be very particular in his manner of addressing the people, for their feelings are soon hurt. . . .”

‘In the colony, *want* makes rapid strides ; the rainy season fast approaches. With hunger comes mutiny—who can convince an empty belly ? or say to the hungry man, be satisfied ?

‘King Naimbanna and several native chiefs paid me a visit this afternoon. The fatigue and unpleasantness of such a visit is not to be described. So many people jabbering together, others speaking to you through an interpreter, and the whole drinking to excess. My continued fear of giving them offence

and not being at all satisfied at the appearance of sanctioning such proceedings, made me extremely ill for the night. The officers take good care to retire from such scenes when their inclination leads them, but I have *all these weighty anxieties* to contend with, and am obliged to stay till the last. I make it a rule to be as circumspect as possible in my conduct upon every occasion, that the natives may never see an inconsistency in my deportment; and, although I am fearful of refusing them liquor when they come to see me, yet, whenever I have a suitable opportunity, I never lose it, in pointing out to them the fatal consequences of drinking to excess; but I feel the absolute necessity of bearing for a time with their deep-rooted prejudices and customs as the only way to secure their friendship towards us. . . .

I, this day, commenced the important duties of minister to the colony. I promised Mr Gilbert that, while I had health, the duties of the Church should not be neglected, and as the Bishop of Nova Scotia had made me a present (to use his own expression) of good Bishop Wilson's sermons, I read one of them. I had a very numerous and attentive congregation, and, although greatly fatigued with the service, yet the gratification I felt was more than equivalent to any unpleasant sensation I experienced in the performance of the duty for the first time. . . .

'In the evening I met the people by appointment. I began by telling them that I was nearly worn out,

that I came to this colony to expect difficulties, and that where they could not be avoided I met them cheerfully; but what grieved me to the heart was their late conduct in neglecting the public work, and sneaking away before the hour for labour was over, and when at work, attending to it with such indifference; with many other irregularities so contrary to their former behaviour. I asked them who was most to be benefited or ruined by the success or failure of this colony. If it were not for the regard I had for their present and eternal welfare, and those of the natives of this vast continent, I should instantly return to my friends in England, who were anxious to see me; and that they might depend upon it, unless I saw a great difference in their behaviour, I should certainly leave them; that I did not wish to leave them in anger, but, on the contrary, would shake hands with them all, wishing them from my heart as much happiness as they wished themselves, if they thought they could do better without me than with me, and, therefore, it was much better and more honourable for them to say so at once, than to suffer me to sacrifice my life in their service without doing them any good. An instantaneous expression of gratitude burst from the whole, with promises of amendments, many excuses, and also several affecting anecdotes of the particular situation in which many of their families were placed at this time (which I knew to be too true), which occasioned an irritability

that they could not help, though they did not mean to give offence. As one of the council was present who had the night before told me that almost all of the people were anxious to return to America from being dissatisfied, and as I had told this gentleman that I was convinced this inclination did not prevail, and that if it did, he must certainly have had his share in causing it, I was determined to ask the people before his face if such a thing had ever been said. They *all* laughed at the idea, and said they knew better than to say so. Some said, 'If my wife and children like to go, they may; but I will stay.' Others said, 'Those that are discontented, let them go; they are not worthy to stay with us.' This gentleman was greatly confused at the indignant manner in which they all expressed themselves on the subject, and I have but little doubt that he spread the report from knowing that Nancy Thompson had applied to me to let her return to America, from having lost her mother since she arrived in Sierra Leone, and not having any other connection left in the colony. . . .

'At sunrise, according to promise, forty of the Nova Scotians came to wattle in a garden attached to my house, as a botanical or experimental ground. The different captains at the head of their men during the whole day have worked extremely hard, and have been very contented. At noon I gave each a glass of rum and water. The Nova Scotians, if left to themselves, would fully come

up to the character I have invariably given them but they have not had fair play. I have now fully ascertained the fact, that both Mr P—— and Mr C—— have been not only the principal cause of misleading the settlers and causing dissatisfaction on shore, but were also the principal instigators of all the quarrels on board the *Harpy*. Mr P—— is a very industrious, active, insinuating man, but these valuable qualifications are greatly lessened by an unbounded ambition, and a haughty and unpleasant way of carrying on business. He is, besides, such a decided stickler for the rights and privileges of council, that he would suffer the colony to be ruined, sooner than relax one tittle of what he conceived to be his rights. To him and Mr C—— I may safely lay the whole blame of the disorders in the colony, as well as those on board the *Harpy*. Although I have hitherto made a point (whenever I could be spared from the duties of the colony) of attending the council when summoned, that I might not be the cause of retarding the progress of the colony, yet I have never been satisfied with its proceedings, and have considered all their deliberations as so much loss of time, for in no instance have the instructions from the directors been brought forward for our contemplation. Nor has any subject of sufficient importance occupied so much time as has been thrown away in their meetings. . .

‘ Mr T—— confined a valuable carpenter this morning for disrespect to him; the carpenter alleged that Mr T—— had not paid proper attention to his wife, who was extremely ill, and, from neglect, is now in great danger. I am sorry to observe the frequent complaints of the general neglect in the medical department; but how can it be otherwise? People in every situation go and come out of the colony as they please, and if I remonstrate, it is generally insinuated to me that they have the council’s leave, or leave from one of that body; but I will no longer put up with it, for I feel assured that, as soon as the directors receive my first letter, they will lose no time in giving me the necessary power; particularly as I know Mr Gilbert wrote fully to them by the first conveyance after my arrival; for vice and every species of wickedness and discontent are spreading in the colony from so many people living together, having nothing to do, *and their provisions found them.* Would that have been the case had their lands been ready for them upon their arrival? No; every man would have been employed, and would not have had time to talk nonsense. And as to the officers, they have been ruined, from being placed in situations they were never calculated to fill; and their brains have been turned, from being allowed to wear a flaming sword and cockade, with a fine coat and epaulette, when a jacket and trousers would have been more

consistent for those employed in forming a new colony. . . .

‘It is painful to observe the sickness which generally prevails in the colony, and also to notice the extreme negligence of the medical gentlemen. They are seldom or ever to be found in the afternoon; and I cannot help believing that we have lost many people, principally from mere neglect of the surgeons; though many may have sunk under their complaints, from the disordered state of the colony having prevented their being properly attended to. I have no fault to find with the abilities or apparent willingness on the part of the medical gentlemen to do their duty; but from the general insubordination in the colony, and every councillor giving leave to whom he pleases to be absent from the colony, arises a want of regular habits, and a listlessness in the conduct of every one highly prejudicial to the well-doing of the settlement. . . .

‘The people are full of complaints at the method of serving their provisions; some of them getting too much, others too little, and some nothing at all. The applications to me from such people are very distressing, for I have not the comforts they require; and although I take great care, in my reply to their applications, to soothe and commiserate their situation, and to state how much I regret that I have it not in my power to gratify their wishes, yet I cannot

help grieving at the melancholy situation of many in the colony, of which none but those on the spot can have the least idea. The garden lots are not yet laid out, which keeps the people in a constant state of agitation, as no man can tell how far he may be throwing away his time and labour, till his premises are specified; besides, we are losing time every day in getting the ground cropped. These circumstances, with other disorders in the colony, operate on their minds to hurt their feelings, blunt their hopes, and unsettle them in the performance of their duty. It gave me great concern to observe, to-day, the public work so neglected, especially as the rainy season is so far advanced, and we have yet no place on shore for the reception of goods and stores of any kind. I summoned all the black captains and settlers to meet me in the storehouse this evening. When they were all assembled, I entered into a conversation with them, and recalled to their minds the readiness with which they had formerly executed, and even anticipated, my desires, and the regular conduct they had observed, so as to merit even the thanks of their avowed adversaries at Halifax, who did not look upon people of their colour with any feelings of respect. I reminded them that, as a set of men not devoid of feeling, they ought to testify their gratitude towards the Sierra Leone Company, who have expended nearly £40,000 in settling them, and providing for the wants of an

infant colony; that, in acting agreeably to such principles, they would only be serving their own interests, by securing to themselves and offspring an asylum likely to afford to them and the surrounding country the most important advantages. With respect to their lots of land, I did not wonder at their anxiety to obtain them, and I was sorry to remark there had been some neglect with respect to laying-out their garden lots, which I would endeavour to get finished with as little loss of time as possible; but I begged them to consider that the company's officers had feelings as well as themselves, and therefore they could not expect them to give up their thoughts and time to promote their comforts before they got sheltered from the weather themselves. I was fully aware how much they stood in need of little comforts at this critical time, and how acceptable a distribution of such articles as they required would be to them; but they must remember that the goods could not be brought from the ships for sale or distribution till a place was fitted up for their reception. It, therefore, in a great measure, remained with themselves whether they would put off the time for receiving these comforts or not, and I therefore implored them to draw together for the general good, and not give way, as they had done of late, to an irritable and unbecoming conduct towards those who did not exactly fall in with their views just at the moment they required it. I told them that, as

I knew the sick wanted all the comforts we could give them, I had ordered from the Sierra Leone packet some molasses and flour to be brought on shore and distributed equally amongst them. I took this opportunity of informing them, that I had just heard that a gradual abolition of the slave trade was determined on in England, which appeared to give them great satisfaction ; and I therefore implored them to reflect upon the situation in which they were placed, with the eyes of the whole world upon them, and how much the character of the black people would depend upon their conduct ; for if this colony should fail in consequence of their unsteady behaviour, what inducement would there be for men of talent and property to give up their time and labour, in hopes of raising them from their debased state to the blessings of civilisation, if they would not do something on their part to assist them. I told them that I had not only a good opinion of their religious principles, but that I had reported it to their benefactors ; although I was sorry to observe of late a slackness, in a few instances, in their moral conduct, which, if continued, would greatly damp my ardour in their cause ; for they knew I had invariably set them a good example myself, and hoped the company's officers would do the same—for we had all received the most positive instructions on that head, and also to be punctual in our attendance at public worship. I have, of late, observed some officers absent them-

selves from church, therefore I took this opportunity of mentioning it, particularly as the new officers from the Sierra Leone packets were most of them present. I hope it will have the effect I wish. I further proposed to them, that they ought never to buy anything or trade with the natives on a Sunday, for such a regulation would not only break the customs of the natives, of bringing their goods for sale on that day, after they had once or twice returned with them unsold, but would also induce them to make inquiries about the nature and cause of the Sabbath and religion. I next proposed that no guns should be fired within the precincts of the town, that boats for public fishing be built, that Sunday-schools be established, the masters of which should be paid, until those sent out by the company had arrived; that no woman or girl should be seen idle in the streets—for idleness in women, as well as in men, lead to the worst of consequences; and as a check upon this custom, as well as that of their sneaking away from public work, I proposed, that any person convicted of these faults by a jury ought to be sentenced to additional public work, in proportion to the greatness of their faults, or else have their provisions stopped. I explained to them the beneficial nature of public works—such as erecting store-houses, churches, schools, wharfs, making roads, etc., and even the officers' houses, for as long as the gentlemen were obliged to live all in one house,

having no place of security for their papers, etc., they could not help neglecting their duty in failing to procure comforts for the settlers; and to the same reason might be attributed the pernicious irregularity in serving out the stores.

‘The subject of the storehouse next claimed my attention. The want of provisions, which induced me some time ago to put them upon short allowance, I found had discouraged them, and caused them to neglect the public work. The arrival of the Sierra Leone packet, which brought some provisions, and the hopes of the speedy arrival of the *Trusty* and *Ocean*, gave me an opportunity of holding out a better prospect to them in this respect. I therefore called upon them, if they valued their own happiness or that of their children, or if they had any regard for the civilisation of this large continent, now immersed in heathenism, ignorance and vice, to think on these things, and of the awful responsibility they were under, to do all in their power to bring about such an extensive blessing. . . .

‘These people have delicate feelings, and just ideas of right and wrong, and as they have been ill-treated and deceived through life, they are very suspicious of the conduct of white people, particularly if they are attacked in an arbitrary way, and it becomes every one of us to be guarded in our conduct towards them. I regulated this and other complaints, and assured them that the Sierra Leone

Company would always be willing to support their just rights.

'I cannot have any doubt that these people will give me all the satisfaction in their power. I never propose anything but they accede to it ; though sometimes I am obliged to explain my reasons to them, if I wish to see them do it with cheerfulness. I observed with pleasure the affection they felt for me ; they begged me not to exhaust myself any more in speaking to them, for they were ready to do every thing I wished. When I left them, they gave three cheers, and returned to their homes.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNOR CLARKSON'S DIARY—*continued*

‘ I SHALL only observe here, that the directors have freighted a ship called the *Trusty*, from Bristol, in January last, to bring out supplies of various kinds, with several artificers ; but unfortunately she met with a severe gale of wind, which damaged her considerably, and she was obliged to put into Cork to unload her cargo, and to be put into a state of repair. The directors, finding the length of time she was likely to be detained there, made an offer of ten guineas each to a number of artificers on board to cancel their agreement, and most sincerely do I hope they will all come into the measure ; for we are overstocked with useless, dissatisfied people already, and they would only come to find a grave in Africa, for the present Europeans are dying every day. . . .

‘ The whole of the instructions received from the directors to this time are admirable in themselves, and do them great credit ; but, as I have said before, they are not calculated for us in our present state, they only perplex and depress our spirits, feeling

them as commands from our employers which cannot be attended to. I am as anxious, and my heart is as warmly attached to the cause as the most zealous of the directors; but the information they require cannot be furnished them, neither can the regulations they propose be accomplished till the colony becomes more settled, and the different departments more effective. . . .

‘ In the evening I received a letter from John S——, sent out by the company as overseer of lands, and as I am daily receiving similar applications from a variety of people, I shall copy his letter and enclosure :—

“ SIR,—I and my family are quite starving. We have had not a bit of bread for near three weeks, only half a pound of meat a day. If that can be proper for two young children to support and nourish them, I should be satisfied. I must beg you will have the goodness to make an alteration for the better. I and my wife are dying by inches, really, for want of proper support; we cannot stand it any longer. I have sent a copy of agreement from the court of directors in London.—Sir, your obliged servant,

“ JOHN S——.

“ FREE TOWN, 8th May 1792.”

‘ What a pity it is that the directors should have encouraged, as they appear to have done, a number

of women and children coming out at the commencement of a colony! In the upper order of servants it has been attended with the greatest possible evil, for it has been the cause of much jealousy and bad feelings altogether, which will not easily be eradicated. To this fatal measure I should be inclined to attribute the violent party spirit which has been so prominent in the colony. And in the lower order of servants it has already been attended, in many instances, with the most distressing and fatal consequences, and, I have too much reason to fear, will end in the loss of nearly the whole of the white population now in the colony.

Independent of the extreme misery occasioned to individuals, it has greatly added to the distresses of the colony from having so *many* people, who had never left England before, and were accustomed to the common comforts of life, experiencing all at once the difficulties, distresses, and inconveniences of a new settlement, without an effective government, with insufficient shelter from the weather, deprived of the common necessaries of life, and with their wives and children and friends dying, and no means of furnishing them with the attention they require.

‘These distressing scenes unman the stoutest heart. Despondency takes place, and death follows. No one but those on the spot can form any idea how much my feelings are worked upon every hour of the day by applications, expressed in the most pitiable terms,

for what I have it not in my power to bestow ; but I have the only consolation of knowing that I have endeavoured to do all in my power to relieve their wants as far as I could ; and when I could not comply with all they required, I have endeavoured, in my answers to their various requests, to convey to them, in the most consolatory language, how much I felt for them, and how happy it would make me if I could in any way comply with their wishes ; and I have invariably offered to furnish them or their friends with money, or any other means in my power, to enable them to procure elsewhere what I could not get them, if they knew where they could be supplied. . . .

‘ The store tent is now in horrible confusion, people dying for want of food, from the confusion and irregularity in distributing the provisions, rather than for want of little comforts, all of which, however, with proper arrangement, might have easily been remedied. I did all in my power, but it was too late, and I could not alone do everything. My orders were either slovenly and partly executed, or else countermanded by other officers. The only means I can devise is, that all orders should go through my hands alone ; but here I shall have difficulties to encounter. . . .

‘ *May 11th.* A terrible noise in the military tent— all the soldiers drunk. Care has been taken to supply them with abundance of liquor. I went down this morning to the storehouse, and among other unac-

countable disorders I observed that the clerk in the stores had no proper measure for serving out the provisions, that a man working in the store tent dipped a basin into the butter tub, and in that way served it out. Such confusion pervades the whole system of affairs! What avails liberality when passed through channels which divert it so miserably from its proper destination, and even make it a source of misery, mourning, and discontent? . . .

' *May 12th.* In the morning I received a letter from Captain C—, complaining of the neglect of the person sent in the *Harpy's* boat with a case of stationery, who left it on the beach, exposed to the heavy tornado, which must have damaged it considerably. But what was my astonishment, at a council held this morning, when Captain C—, who had on all occasions before been the most tenacious of his authority, and had regularly counteracted most of my designs, proposed that the whole of the executive power of government should be lodged in my hands, and all this out of *regard* to the company's interest. The fact is, that he finds he has undertaken a situation which, if he does justice to it, will occupy more of his time, and occasion greater bodily exertion than he is willing to bestow; and feeling a little indisposed and disappointed, I should not wonder in the least if he has made up his mind to return to England—but time will show. His proposition was agreed to, for

the gentlemen who came out in the Sierra Leone packet have spoken their sentiments pretty plainly upon the state of the colony. . . .

‘Went, accompanied by some of the gentlemen of the Sierra Leone packet, to Robanna to dine with the king. As the king had invariably shown a friendly feeling towards us in all the palavers held, I took this opportunity, when I had not anything in particular to talk to him about, or to require his interference, to take him a puncheon of rum, and some other articles as a present from myself. I also carried him the letter from his son. The king appeared delighted with my attention, and made many feeling and sensible inquiries about his son. When Mr F—— returned from Africa in the *Lapwing* last year, he took young Naimbanna with him to England, and the directors had his picture taken and sent out by Mr F—— in the *Amy*. It is considered an excellent likeness, and when the king spoke of his son, he continually pointed to the picture with tears in his eyes, and the old queen at the same time showed strong feelings of affection. Whenever I mentioned the colony to the king, he always replied, “*I will*,” which is as much as to say, I will do all in my power to serve you and the colony. I returned to the colony at half-past eight. Late in the evening arrived the long-looked-for *Trusty*, having been detained eleven weeks at Cork. . . .

‘*May 16th.* Finding no person this morning to

superintend the workmen at the storehouse, who went on as leisurely as they pleased, I sent a summons to all the gentlemen holding responsible situations, to consult them upon the best method of preventing the confusion that has hitherto prevailed, and does at present prevail, and of putting into execution the general views of our employers. My intention and expectation was, that each in turn would offer to take it in turn to muster the people at sunrise, and to see that they performed their work in a proper manner; but after much conversation, I found such jealousies and party spirit amongst them, as to convince me a *public meeting* was not calculated to effect the good I intended, and we all parted without coming to any resolution on the subject. Sickness continues to increase amongst us,—half the soldiers are now confined with illness, and some in danger, so that I have been obliged to dispense with a sentinel at my tent, although the house is not yet enclosed. . . .

I had in the evening a very interesting conversation with one of the settlers. I can have no doubt of their good intentions, or of their affection towards me. People may in vain disseminate dissatisfaction amongst them, which I can plainly perceive has been the case, after I have conversed with them for some little time, but I can scarcely find a man who, after an hour's conversation with me, is not convinced of the company's generous disposition towards them. It is very difficult to manage people in their situa-

tion. According to the printed declaration from the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, they had reason to expect to have been put upon their lands on their arrival, and they frequently remind me of it, adding, that if they had had their respective lots when they first arrived, the provisions which the company so kindly allowed them would have been a great help to them; but not having their lands, and seeing but little prospect of obtaining them for at least some time to come, it extremely unsettled their minds, and made them despair of ever getting comfortably settled. Besides, they have the greatest horror of getting into debt, from the experience they suffered in America, and they justly say, "What are we to do when you give us our lands and the provisions are stopped? We must either get into debt or be starved, and if we incur debts, we are at that time at the mercy of the company and their agents." These arguments, with a variety of other forcible appeals, and great ignorance as to the principles of government (many of them having imbibed strange notions from Thomas Peters as to their civil rights), the sudden change they have made from a state of the greatest degradation to the blessings of a milder treatment, is more than many of them can bear; and it therefore requires the greatest care in those that govern them, to weigh well the state in which they are at present placed with their former condition. It is also of the first importance to keep in view, that

one of the principal objects of the Sierra Leone Company, in forming this colony, was the civilisation of Africa, and to remember how much the attainment of this great end depends upon conciliating the affections of the present colonists, as their mainstay and support, by a fair, open, and manly conduct, calculated to *win* them to a sense of their duty, by making every allowance for their ignorance, the difficult situation in which they have been placed ever since their arrival in Sierra Leone, the bad example set them at the commencement, and the pernicious advice they have received from individuals frequenting the colony. . . .

‘The officers are extremely unguarded in their conduct to the black settlers—I mean as to their violent and hasty behaviour to them ; and the white people in this country have no feelings of honour in their transactions with the natives. A respectable black trader was here a few days since. B— of the Bananas sent him, and pressed him in a friendly manner to come and trade with him at the Bananas, and he would use him civilly. The black man promised to go, and he went home. Mr B— told one of our gentlemen he wished the man would come to him, and he would immediately clap him in irons, for there was a person in the Scarcies country (this man’s native place) who owed him some money, and he would by this manœuvre be paid, which he said was very fair, and the only way to recover his debt in

this country. This evening, for the first time since my arrival, King Jemmy overcame his fears and ventured into the settlement *alone*. I saw him accidentally, and he behaved very cordially to me, and promised he would come again with King Naimbanna and dine with me. . . .

'The sick gentlemen on board the *Harpy* have written to me to request me to send some person to wait upon them, as Captain W— *cannot spare one of his men*. From the extensive illness in the colony, I find a difficulty in complying with their wishes, although I have offered as much as two shillings per day to induce any man or women to attend them. They have also applied to me for cider or porter, which they now find a difficulty in getting without my order, but I have it not in my power to comply with their request. I have recommended to them to keep up their spirits, as that will do them more good than all their nursing. . . .

'Understanding from those I employ to watch over the minds of the people, and to give me timely notice of anything going forward likely to disturb the peace of the colony, that Thos. Peters is still very unsettled in his mind, and has made some impression upon two or three of the black captains, I summoned them all to meet me this evening, and had a long conversation with them upon various subjects. I find that Peters, knowing I was going out of the settlement for a short time, intimated to the people a desire to be appointed

speaker general for the blacks, and has had the address to stir up the feelings of the *naturally suspicious* blacks, pointing out to them nothing but fears, dangers, oppression and injustice from the company's officers ; and if it had not been for some of the religious part of the settlers, acting from motives of conscience, the whole colony might in a moment have been in a blaze of rebellion. I am sorry to observe that two or three of the captains appear to side with Peters ; and although I cannot yet believe that Peters has any serious desire to usurp the government, yet he has (from his ignorance, added to the general confusion, sickness and the many inconveniences attending our present state) done much mischief already in unsettling the people's minds, and will do more if he is not thoroughly watched. Among other grounds of complaint, the want of their lots of land is the strongest, and not quite without reason. Peters, in his conversation with me, always makes use of improper expressions ; but I never allow them to put me off my guard, considering them the effect of his visit to England. His whole policy consists in making his hearers believe that it was *he* who obtained the *Act of Parliament* for the removal of the blacks to this country. It would be endless to take notice of all the nonsense these people will sometimes utter ; but I feel it my duty for the sake of the colony, as well as the civilisation of this continent, to *bear* with their ignorance, and soften their violence, by submitting to

their prejudices, and yet never deviating *from telling them the truth*. However, on all occasions, I have had the happiness to be able to convince them, by arguments, of their mistake, and knowing so well my disposition and sentiments in the cause, they suffer themselves to be guided by me, notwithstanding the pains taken to render them discontented. After this palaver the people separated, and I retired to bed greatly exhausted. . . .

‘Seeing a ship in the offing about twelve o’clock standing towards the Cape, I ordered a boat, which I called the *Susan*, to be got ready for me to take a sail after an early dinner, that I might go off to meet her, and amuse myself for a few hours. After working, with a good sea breeze and ebb tide, as far as Cape Sierra Leone, I perceived a great many people on board, but could not form the least idea what she could be, or from whence she came, till I got alongside of her, when, on going upon the quarter-deck, I found her to be the *Calypso*, one of the vessels fitted out by the Bulam Association for forming a colony in the neighbourhood of that island. I soon recognised Mr Dalrymple, their governor, as well as others of my acquaintance, and was informed that she came from the Island of Bulam with 153 passengers returning to England, but calling at Sierra Leone for assistance.

I understood they were in want of provisions, and some of them so ill as to require medical aid and other comforts, which they could not receive on board.

Mr D. appeared very ill, and from what I could learn from an old friend, one of the party, I found that he had disagreed with the council, who, generally speaking, were dissatisfied with him, and the whole had formed but an indifferent opinion of his qualifications for the situation he had filled. I stayed on board the *Calypso* till she came to an anchor off the settlement, and I think I never beheld a more motley or miserable set; many of them were half-pay officers, decayed gentlemen and dissolute adventurers, and other respectable characters. The sudden and unexpected arrival of this ship has filled my mind with gloomy ideas, for I cannot calculate the consequences likely to result from so many people of mixed character coming to us at the present time, when our people's minds have become a little settled, after the agitated state in which they had been kept for so many months past. I invited D——, as an old acquaintance, and as the person originally appointed governor of this place, to return with me and partake of my quarters on board ship. He appears greatly distressed in mind, sickly in body, and poor in clothing, etc. . . .

‘I understand that the expedition fitted out for the settlement at Bulam consisted of two ships and a cutter; that the *Calypso* arrived before the *Hanky* and the cutter; that Mr D——, being anxious to take possession of the island, did not wait for the arrival of his consorts, but landed, without making any treaty or agreement with the natives. The consequence was

that, on the Sunday after their landing, about noon, when the white people were secure, as they believed, on shore, reposing themselves in their tents, they were suddenly attacked by the natives. To increase the misfortune, many of their number were gone with Mr D—— on a party up the country. Those about the tents were taken unawares and unarmed. The natives killed five men and two women, and took three or four women away with them, whom they treated barbarously; but the women were afterwards, through the mediation of the Portuguese settlement in the neighbourhood, redeemed and restored to their ships. This has been a sadly-managed business, for the Island of Bulam* is described even by the enemies of the scheme, who are now on their way home, as a beautiful country, and abounding in elephants, buffaloes, fowls, etc.; but the neighbouring natives are said to be the most sanguinary and treacherous, the father sleeping with a knife for fear of his son. . . .

‘We continue to meet with obstacles in removing our lines into the country, as in many instances we interfere with the natives’ plantations, and it requires great care in settling little differences with them on this head. In fact, we purchased the whole of the land, as we believed, to a certain distance up the

* The present name is Bulama. It is an island ‘amongst a large group at the River Jeba, just within the Bijouga shoals, nearly 12 degrees north latitude; now a Portuguese possession, also a telegraph station. It is very unprogressive. The natives barbarous and indolent.’

river, and then straight into the country ; but when the chiefs sold us the country, they had not the least idea that we could want to make use of the whole, and therefore they are not prepared to part with their plots of ground hastily. I have given Mr P—— instructions for his guidance, which will never lead him astray if he will follow them, and neither will they give offence to the natives. Little disputes and applications of various kinds have occupied the whole of my time this day. I find from the Bulam people that many of their party still remain on that island ; that the persons who are now here are those who were dissatisfied with the proceedings and prospects ; and that the party left had chosen my old friend, P. B——, for their governor, who acts with four counsellors. They have great confidence in his prudence. I understand many of the gentlemen of the *Calypso* wish to settle here, and I have been already terribly harassed with applications of this nature. It is painful to me to refuse them ; but my duty to those under my care compels me to do it, although those on board are in a very ill state of health, and are not likely to recover where they are, from being closely stowed, badly accommodated, under no discipline, and in want of necessary comforts ; in short, they are in greater distress than I can well describe. I have consulted with the officers in the colony as to the best method of proceeding, and I have also advised with Mr D—— and an old messmate of mine, Mr K——,

who accompanied the former on this expedition, and everything that I can do to lessen the number, and to administer comfort and relief, shall be done as soon as the nature of our situation will enable me to do it ; but the sickness and distress on board the *Calypso* weigh heavily on my mind, and I fear, from what I have already seen, that the unfortunate arrival of this ship will greatly retard the work of the colony, and again unsettle the minds of the people. . . .

‘ I am occasionally called upon to settle little palavers between captains of slave ships and the natives in the neighbourhood, and I never lose an opportunity of having the palaver stated on paper, with the manner in which it was settled, and the names of the parties concerned in it, with mine as the arbitrator, and copies given to each, when I take care to add on to those copies given to the natives, the views of the Sierra Leone Company, our disposition to live peaceably and happily with them, and our readiness to instruct their children to *learn book* and to make them have *good heads*. When a Guinea man arrives in the bay, I uniformly send, or go on board, to advise the captain not to anchor off our settlement, as his seamen will certainly desert from him and plague me. Some take the hint, and thank me for it ; others do not, and are sure to lose their seamen, give me an immensity of trouble, unsettle the minds of the Nova Scotians, and ruin their morals. We begin already to feel the bad effects of so many strangers of different characters

coming among us, and a stop must be put to it, or some regulations adopted; for if not, we shall be thrown into greater confusion than we have ever been before. Having consulted with the principal gentlemen in the colony, I wrote the following letter, and addressed it to "The Governor and Council of Bulam":—

' "FREE TOWN, *August 10th, 1792.*

"GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry to be obliged to write to you relative to the confusion existing, and likely to continue, in this colony from so many people leaving the *Calypso*, and coming to stay on shore at the same time, and without any kind of order or subordination, and remaining in the town after dark. I am likewise much concerned to inform you that King Jemmy has made a complaint to me of the improper behaviour of your people, and if they do not conduct themselves with more propriety and decorum, they will in all probability involve us, who are at peace and perfectly happy, in a very serious palaver, not only with the natives, but with our own people. I must, therefore, request that you will not permit more than a certain number of your people to come on shore in the daytime, and that they return on board before dark. This will give them an opportunity of refreshing themselves, and the captain of your ship will be better able to get his vessel in order during their absence. Every possible assistance that I can render

you to forward you to Europe I shall receive pleasure in giving. I have fitted up a vessel on purpose to take some part of your passengers to England, to make more room for the accommodation of those who may remain in the *Calypso*, and I have already desired the captain of your vessel to inform me what assistance he requires to fit him out, so as to make everyone on board comfortable, our colony being at this time in good order and subordination. I should be miserable to have the peace of our people disturbed by the interference of strangers. I must candidly tell you, it is not my intention to give any kind of encouragement to any of your people to settle among us, except those who, from particular circumstances, humanity would oblige me to assist, by letting them remain on shore till such time as they may be in a proper state to quit the colony without endangering their health; and those only after having obtained leave from me by a proper application. I have been informed by some of the inhabitants of this town, that your people have offered such extravagant prices to settlers for the various articles issued out to them for the preservation of their health, that they have been induced to part with them, although probably their health and lives may depend upon their making a proper use of these articles themselves. This has obliged me to put a stop to any further supply to our people from the store till the *Calypso* sails. Therefore, feeling as I do for the general happiness of this

colony, and considering that I have offered, and am determined to furnish you with everything our settlement affords, that can add to your comfort during your voyage to Europe, you will not, I hope, think me blamable for having written you my sentiments, or accuse me of a want of feeling in being so explicit. —I am, gentlemen, with every sincere wish for your happiness and the prosperity of your colony, your most obedt. servant,

“JOHN CLARKSON.”

‘In the late dispatches, the directors suggest an idea of applying to have Sierra Leone made a free port, thinking it may tend to promote the prosperity of the place; but I am sure, in our present situation, it would prove our ruin, for we have more strangers among us now than we know how to manage, and we are too much in our infancy to receive benefit from such a measure. . . .

‘The European soldiers are nearly all dead or useless from the effects of irregular conduct and the climate. As to the black soldiers, I see but little use in retaining them in their present undisciplined state, and I shall probably take an early opportunity to make the best bargain I can with them, and discharge the whole. The artificers from Europe are mostly dead, and those remaining are useless, from a variety of causes. . . .

‘*June 20th.* The storehouse]has been so badly con-

trived and built that the weather penetrates in every direction, and, of course, the goods of various sorts stowed in it are more or less damaged, but this is not the only evil. The quantities of different articles and provisions stowed one above another, the badness of the casks in which many of them are contained, and the leakage in consequence, the damaged cheese and biscuits, with other articles in a state of putrefaction, occasion such a stench about the storehouse, and are so offensive inside, that it is extremely painful to me to order people to attend the necessary duty there. It has also been the custom of late to serve out the provisions at the entrance of the storehouse (in consequence of its being so extremely offensive within), where the provision casks have been opened, and the fluids and scraps from all descriptions of articles are allowed to lie and soak into the ground, from the place not having been properly paved. This imprudent measure has greatly added to the unwholesomeness of the place, and from the experience we have already had, I feel, when I am obliged to appoint a person to attend there, that for a certainty I am sending him to his grave. . . .

‘ ‘ FREE TOWN, S. LEONE, *July 2, 1792.*

‘ ‘ DEAR SIR,—As I see by the English papers that France has declared war against Germany, and from letters I have received from England, I have reason

to fear it is likely to become general ; I have therefore to request, should England be wicked enough to interfere (in any other way than to endeavour to reconcile matters in a peaceable manner), so as to create a misunderstanding between the French and us, that you will use your influence to obtain an order that our infant colony may not be disturbed by any of your vessels. Believe me, sir, it is established on the true principle of freedom, and intended to promote the general happiness of mankind, but particularly the natives of this continent ; and should we be disturbed in our infancy, it would, in all probability, retard the progress of civilisation in this unenlightened country. We have it in our power to do great things, if we are permitted to go on in a peaceable way ; and I am sure it must be a heartfelt satisfaction for every good man to know, that the poor Africans have an opportunity now of being instructed in the principles of religion and virtue. The poor people I brought with me from America begin to feel the sweets of a free government, and I am convinced they would follow the example of France, should they be disturbed in their endeavours to maintain their newly-acquired freedom. I must beg the favour of you to present my most respectful compliments to Madame La Fayette, who, I am sure, will be rejoiced to hear that the philanthropic views of the Sierra Leone Company are likely to be crowned with success. That your exertions in the cause of liberty

may exceed your most sanguine expectations, is the sincere wish of, dear sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN CLARKSON.

“A Monsieur La Fayette à Paris.”

‘The more I reflect upon the company’s affairs, the more I am satisfied they must begin afresh with an effective government upon a more reduced scale, and I see no reason to doubt of ultimate success. It is ridiculous to expect to make progress in civilisation but by very slow degrees. You cannot overcome the prejudices of grown-up people, but you may lay the seeds of improvement by instructing the rising generation and letting them see that you practise what you recommend. After all the advantages we have had (for I still mention we have had many), should we not succeed, what a sad effect it will have upon the public, and what little inducement they will have to make another attempt. These reflections are *always* uppermost in my thoughts, and I am miserable at the idea of so fair an opportunity being lost. I feel confident that I can always command the friendship of the natives by a consistent conduct towards them, and have no fear of conciliating the kind offices of the European at the different factories, and still preserve my principles. We have lost many lives yet I will not pronounce the climate bad to a prudent man. Clearing the country will greatly add to

the salubrity of the air, and when men are settled, and their minds at ease, many of the present inconveniences will lessen, but it is out of the power of any man to put himself in my situation, and to know my feelings, when I reflect upon what was *formerly done*, what has since been done, what would have been done, and what has been left undone. . . .

'*July 3d.* I fear, in spite of all my efforts to prevent it, that many *single people* who are sick are neglected, and left to shift for themselves. The death of Mr Cox, as just reported, is an affecting instance, and has depressed me exceedingly. Being a single man, he was left to himself without a person to help him or to care for him, and he was found dead without anyone knowing that he was ill. So many people being sick at this time, require all the attention of their friends, and those without friends, I fear, have been allowed to die without much help or commiseration. . . .

“To our Superintendent and Council at Sierra Leone.

“GENTLEMEN,—The directors of the Sierra Leone Company have been taking into their serious consideration the peculiar circumstances of your situation during the first formation of this settlement. They will not trouble you with a detail of the various considerations which have suggested themselves, and of

the various motives which have concurred in inducing them to form the unanimous determination which it is the object of our present letter to communicate: This is that, in order to ensure that despatch, vigour and consistency which are so essentially necessary, our Superintendent, Mr Clarkson, be invested with full power to act according to his sole direction in all such cases and emergencies as may appear to him to call for the exercise of such an authority, without or against the opinion of the Council—the attention of every individual member of our Council, having of necessity to be often called off from the general business of the settlement by the concerns of his own department. We are persuaded our Council will rejoice with us, that we have now the opportunity of deriving all the benefits that may result from the adoption of this measure, without any danger of abuse of the large powers, by our now possessing a superintendent in whom, both from his sound judgment and amiable manners, this discretion may be safely lodged; and they will be sensible that, in coming to this resolution, we are influenced by no other view than that of a sincere concern for the welfare of our infant institution. Our superintendent will not, on his part, we trust, be averse to the acceptance of this uncontrolled power, how great soever the responsibility that is necessarily annexed to it, provided he should think that the interest of the Company requires the exercise of it. It can hardly be necessary for us to

suggest that this is meant merely as a temporary arrangement.—We are, gentlemen,

‘“ Your Wellwishers, etc.’

‘“ Examd., LONDON, 22d May 1792.”

“ GENTLEMEN,—I have called you together in consequence of having received a letter from the Court of Directors, which invests me with full powers to act as I may think proper, with or without the Council. I cannot help lamenting, when I see the state of our colony, that so much time has been lost since my first landing in Africa ; but I will endeavour to erase from my mind what has happened, and do my best to remedy past evils by unremitting industry. I am now, gentlemen, going to propose to you, what I formerly did upon my first arrival, to convince you, though I have it in my power to do as I please, that I detest an arbitrary government. In the first place, I wish the present government to exist ; and if I find that every gentleman in the Council will show an inclination to do his duty, he shall never want my support. I again repeat, that, in all money matters or business of importance, I will never take a step without your advice ; but, as for the trifling business of carrying on the common duty of the colony, you must have nothing to do with it, but bestow your whole attention upon your own department, whenever circumstances will admit of it. Give me the opportunity of transmitting to our employers such papers

as will show them we are attentive to their instructions, and let your daily conduct evince that you are equally desirous of following their directions as to your behaviour and example, both to the natives and settlers, and you will be certain of encouragement from me."

'I entered into many more particulars, which it is not necessary to mention here. The weather variable. In one day we find it hot, cold, windy, calm, rainy and dry; these changes are certainly injurious to health. Having now full power to do as I please, I hope it is not too late to make a reformation. If I could place confidence in one or two persons, whose whole business would be to assist me, I should not despair of bringing the colony about; but the company must put up with great losses, and give up all idea of receiving any accounts. It is very doubtful if I shall ever be able to bring the Nova Scotians back to their original simplicity and tractability. They require the greatest circumspection and care in managing them; and a man, with the purest motives, if not watchful over all his actions and conduct towards them, might endanger the peace of the colony, and frustrate the benevolent views intended in its formation. The natives are friendly, and may be easily managed by a fair and open conduct towards them. It is my constant practice, when I visit any of the native chiefs, or go into their villages, for myself and those who attend me, to be unarmed. . . .

'As Mr Watt reports himself sufficiently recovered and anxious to have some employment, I have this day appointed him to take the charge of eighty men, and to begin to clear away a piece of ground to erect an hospital brought out by the *Duke of Savoy* on a point of land I have named after this ship . . .

'It is absolutely necessary that a man-of-war, if only a cutter, should be stationed on this coast. I am so interrupted and plagued with the slave-vessels that I am often obliged to neglect the duty of the colony for many hours in the day. Besides, I feel that I have no power to redress grievances, or to take any cognisance of subjects unconnected with the colony; and if Government have consented to the establishment of this settlement, and have put the nation to the expense of nearly £30,000 in removing the Nova Scotians, from a feeling of gratitude towards them, they surely ought not to let the establishment fall, for want of so limited a legal force. . . .

'No one can form an idea of the unpleasant situation in which I am placed, from an anxiety to meet the wishes and promote the happiness of all, as far as I can do it consistently with the public good; but it is a melancholy fact, that I have never known an instance, from the commencement of the colony to the present time, of any individual giving up the least of his private comforts for the public good. . . .

'A strong fermentation in the colony concerning the allotment of the lands. Many of the Nova

Scotians continue dissatisfied and suspicious of the intentions of the Sierra Leone Company, notwithstanding my constant endeavour to enforce upon their minds the many powerful inducements they have for placing implicit confidence in the company, from having already received such numerous proofs of their kindness and consideration towards them. But many excuses may be made for them, when we consider the peculiarity of their situation. In my conversation with them to-day, I proposed reserving for the company the three Cape lands, thinking they might be useful for public building, but I found the general feeling of the Nova Scotians so strong against the measure, that I was obliged to give up the idea of it. Their arguments were, that, when in America, the king made them similar promises to those of the company, but they were all excluded from the water, by the white gentlemen occupying all the water lots, on which they built wharfs, and made such regulations which entirely prevented them from having any communication without payment; they were therefore unwilling to risk the like treatment again. This forcible appeal made such an impression, that I could not but feel the justice of their claims, and I promised them they should not be excluded from the water side.

‘The Nova Scotians agree that the company have a right to any land they choose for public buildings, public wharfs, etc., but not to engross the whole line



THE RIVER, SIERRA LEONE.

of water along the river either way. As the company have laid a great stress upon our behaviour to the blacks, and have constantly expressed their wish that we should endeavour to bring them forward as members of a free state, having equal rights, it is much cheaper, and more to the advantage of the colony, to let the Nova Scotians know that their rights are in every respect as dear to the company as those of the most deserving servant. I therefore desired Mr W—— to draw out an instrument for my signature, declaring that no distinction should be shown in drawing for the different lots; that those who drew a lot next the water should have his right specified in his grant, and that he should be at liberty to build wharfs, storehouses, and anything he may think fit, as his sole and only right, and in every respect agreeable to the printed proposals of the Sierra Leone Company. This promise on my part satisfied the people, and they returned to their homes. It also satisfied me, because I consider it but an act of common justice. . . .

‘After a long conversation with Dr W—— this morning, on the state of the sick people in the colony, and consulting with several of the officers respecting the means of securing a proper attention to every individual that might require it, I determined to divide the people into four classes under the following officers, viz., Messrs P——, W——, D——, and Captain Pattison, giving each of these

gentlemen separate instructions for their guidance, and requesting them to enrol in their lists the names of such as are now sick, in addition to those fit for work, who may be willing to join their parties, should they recover. I hope by these means to prevent the possibility of any individual being neglected, for I am sorry to observe, and repeat again, that many people have been greatly neglected hitherto, and some have died in consequence. . . .

“ *To the Freeholders of Granville Town.*

“ FREE TOWN, *August 2d, 1792.*

“ As we are now ready to lay out the lots of land for the different people of Free Town, I cannot suffer them to draw their lots without giving you an opportunity of partaking of the same chance. I am ready to receive you under our protection, provided you agree to our laws, and to consider you with the same tenderness as those I brought with me from America. I am determined to forget everything that has passed, and consider you and our people as one. If you will behave well, I will do my utmost to promote your happiness, and, therefore, I hope we shall live in perfect harmony together. After this offer, and having put off the people from drawing for their lands, on purpose to give you an opportunity of joining them, I now declare, if you do not agree, you must consider this as a warning to quit your present residence, and we shall give you *eight months* to remove your pro-

perty, houses, etc. If you will take the advice of one who wishes to be your friend, you will not hesitate in agreeing to the methods I propose, for unless you do, I assure you no letter of yours will ever be listened to while I remain in the country, and the Sierra Leone Company will never take a step without asking my advice.—I remain, gentlemen, with every sincere wish for your happiness, and the general harmony of the inhabitants of Granville and Free Town,
—Your sincere Friend and Well-wisher,

“JOHN CLARKSON.”

‘Having received an answer from the deputies appointed to negotiate with the inhabitants of Granville Town, acquainting me that they had made arrangements to the satisfaction of both parties, I returned them the following answer:—

“August 4th, 1792.

“I have just received your letter, and am happy to find such a likelihood of unanimity and harmony between the Freeholders of Granville and Free Town. It gives me heartfelt satisfaction to find that we are likely to get into some kind of order, and hope we may begin, under the blessing of God, to date our happiness with that of your posterity from this hour. I shall from this day consider the inhabitants of Granville and Free Town as brethren, and they shall never find me backward in rewarding virtue, and

using my best endeavours to punish vice. A man who shows an inclination to be industrious shall never be neglected by me, and, while you give me encouragement by your steady conduct, I will remain your friend, and will be happy at all times to convince you by my behaviour, that I would not hesitate in laying down my life in defence of your rights and privileges. I will, with pleasure, wait upon you at the time you request.—Till then I remain, with every kind wish for the happiness and prosperity of Granville and Free Town, your very sincere Friend and Well-wisher,

JOHN CLARKSON."

'As all parties seem to be now satisfied, *I shall look upon this day as the foundation of this colony.* Mr D—— having nearly finished the building for a mess-room, etc., I addressed the officers on the happy termination of the differences respecting the lots of land, and implored them to consider the vast benefits which might arise to this country, if every officer would endeavour to draw together for the public good. I expressed my anxious hope that harmony would prevail throughout the whole settlement, and as an inducement to industry, regularity, and good feeling towards each other, I had made up my mind to establish a public mess for the principal officers, and to put myself at the head of it. I said I did not intend to dine with them regularly; but I should occasionally, and frequently, if I found it

answered the purposes I intended. But I wished it to be clearly understood, that I should establish this mess upon the express conditions, that every member of it should agree, and endeavour to abstain from all party spirit. I pointed out in various ways the advantages the colony would derive in consequence of such an arrangement, as every officer would know that he had not only a comfortable dinner to come to, without the anxiety or trouble of providing for it, but that he would be sure to meet with pleasant society, likely to cheer away any disposition to gloominess, and that it would enable each of them to be punctual in his attention to his duties.

'Having fully explained myself, I gave the name of Harmony Hall to the house, and invited the intended members of it to dine with me to-morrow on board the *Catherine*. Retired to bed early, being much fatigued with my day's exertion, but highly gratified with the conclusion of it. . . .

'A few days since a jury having found Cambridge guilty of the crime alleged, I addressed him for some time, pointing out in strong language the effect his conduct might have upon the privileges of every individual in the colony, if the crime of which he is convicted was allowed to remain unpunished. I told him that, in the Act of Parliament for the incorporation of the colony, a clause had been introduced wherein it was particularly declared, that it should

not be lawful for the company, its agents, or for any individual, either directly or indirectly, to deal in slaves ; and this clause was also particularly specified in the paper circulated at Halifax, that every individual might know the terms on which he engaged when he accepted the company's offer ; that although the prisoner (being one of the old settlers) might never have heard of such a clause, yet he was living in the colony when he committed the crime, it became me, as the chief magistrate, to bring the business forward in the way I had done, to convince his Majesty and the British Parliament that we felt the value of the clause they had inserted in the Act, and that we were determined to watch with vigilance the conduct of those who might be inclined to infringe it. I then addressed the company present, and particularly called their attention to the change they had lately made, contrasting the abject and distressed state in which I found them in America with their present improved condition. I asked them what they thought would be the effect produced upon their friends in England, who had done and were still doing all in their power to lead them in the right way, and who were losing no opportunity of pleading for their civil rights, when they heard that they were *selling each other*. This part of the address produced a strong sensation, and some violent feelings against the prisoner. I conjured them to reflect upon the responsibility of their situation, to keep constantly in mind

that the welfare of the immense population of this large continent, who were all of the same colour as themselves, and who were labouring under the grossest darkness and superstition, depended in a great measure upon the propriety of their conduct, as these uncivilised nations would have but little chance of their condition being improved, while the rest of the world continued to look upon men of their colour as an inferior race of mankind. I paused here for a time, and begged them to reflect upon this solemn appeal to their feelings, and hoped it would influence them to such conduct as would convince their enemies and the world at large that they were capable of enjoying all the improvements and blessings of civilisation, and that they were determined, by a suitable conduct, to go hand in hand with their benefactors in England in doing away with the infamous slave trade, and in endeavouring, by every means in their power, to set an example to the present and rising generation, which could impress them with the advantages they enjoyed under the influence of a religion calculated to produce the greatest happiness on earth, as well as a joyful hope of happiness hereafter. . . .

‘The inferior clerks and lower officers in the colony have been put to great inconvenience, and have suffered many hardships at times, I fear, in *some instances more* than I have been *acquainted with*. I suppose these things occur in all new colonies.

'*August 25th.* The *Calypso's* people have occasioned me more pain and anxiety than I can describe, and my fears are so great lest many of them should stay in the colony, in spite of every precaution on my part to prevent it, that I have issued the following notice, and stuck it up on the storehouse door :—

“FREE TOWN, *August 25th, 1792.*

“The Governor and Council of Sierra Leone think it right to give this public notice, that no person or persons whatever belonging to the ship *Calypso* or cutter from Bulam will be permitted to stay in this town, or in any other part of their territory, except they have express leave from Governor Clarkson to remain here. Any person belonging to the said vessels who may be found remaining in Free Town or Granville Town, or in any other part of the Sierra Leone Company's ground, after the departure of the said ships, will not be suffered to remain there, but will immediately be compelled to depart. It is therefore desired that no person will think of remaining here without leave from the Government.

“By order of the Governor and Council.” . . .

'In the evening arrived the *Samuel and Jane* from England, with dispatches from the Court of Directors. And Mr W——, passenger, to succeed Mr F——, who is recalled. The members of the council and many of the gentlemen flocked on board the *Amy* to hear

the news from England, but no one attempted to open a letter or parcel as formerly, and, indeed, some of the gentlemen retired after hearing the general news, that I might be by myself. This is as it ought to have been at the commencement. The first paper I put my hand upon was a circular letter addressed to every individual officer announcing the change of government. The following is a copy:—

“ SIR,—This serves to notify to you that the change of all the affairs, civil, military, commercial, and political, of the Sierra Leone Company in Africa is now vested in a governor and two councillors. Our governor is John Clarkson, Esq. The two members of the council will be announced hereafter. You are therefore to regard the said governor and council, or as many of them as may be on the spot as our representatives, possessing all our delegated authority in Sierra Leone and its dependencies, and you are to pay them the same obedience in all respects as you were enjoined to render the late government by a superintendent and council.—We are, etc.

“ By the order of the Court of Directors.

““LONDON, 12th July 1792.”

‘Sat up till a very late hour reading the dispatches and private letters, and was truly gratified with their contents. . . .

‘Although the late government is now entirely dissolved by the present new appointment of a

governor and two councillors I shall not make any difference in my conduct to the old councillors, till the arrival of one of the last appointed, and shall consult them as usual. I am glad to find they are still to hold their situation as magistrates, as this office will not interfere with their other duties. Mr Gilbert did not arrive with my dispatches until the first week in July, having been full ten weeks on his passage, but fortunately the directors anticipated, from former accounts, the necessity of making a thorough change in this government. I understand from Mr T——, that a Mr Dawes will probably proceed by the *York* (which ship was at Plymouth when the *Samuel and Jane* left that port), to assist me as a councillor, having no other occupation; he speaks of him as follows:—

‘ “Mr Dawes has been at Botany Bay and Port Jackson, from the first foundation of that colony, being just now returned. He is a lieutenant of marines, and has also acted as a surveyor, in which, and other scientific branches, he is a man of capacity. We have also heard of him as a religious man; he seems cool, correct, and sensible; he is a man of business, and I trust will soon fall into your system, and second your views, so as to ease your mind, and even to render your return to England, if material to your health, much less dangerous than it would otherwise be to the interest of the colony. . . .

‘ “The Rev. Mr Horne who is a fine character, goes

by the *York*. You may be as confidential as you please with him; he is lively, animated, zealous beyond measure in his profession, has been in Wesley's connexion, and is prepared to live and die in the service. He is the man to comfort you if weary or sick, and he will try to animate you and every one he meets, with the glorious expectation he feels himself, as to another world. We think he will be of such use in fetching up the backsliding morals of the colony, and so desirable a friend to you, that we send him off, though at the most unseasonable season of the year. I am truly anxious for his health and valuable life. . . .

“ Dr W—— (though once in the slave trade, and I sometimes have fancied *a little fond of liquor*) will be more useful and more obedient than Mr F——. We have sent a sealed letter respecting the succession to the government, in case of total failure of our new governer and council. I will tell you confidentially, that Dr W—— will stand at the head, and two others, the least exceptionable in our eyes, will be joined with him in case of such an event. . . .

“ We have a very capable manager of an estate, who has left Jamaica for Sierra Leone, and is now among us; he is brother-in-law of Mr B—— and possibly might be fit for more general service. His name is Macaulay.

The following extract is from Granville Sharp's letter:—

“It gave me great concern to find that so much time had elapsed without assigning the land that had been promised to the American negroes, who have been so ill used in Nova Scotia, on that very circumstance that it is natural for them to be very jealous of any delay in making out their lots.”

‘I have also received the most friendly and affectionate letters from other friends, particularly my most valued friend Wilberforce, and I hope I shall profit by the good advice and observations he has made. If I did not feel as I have done since my arrival in Africa, the great importance of my situation, and how much may depend upon my continuing in the colony, the arguments made use of by him would have determined me to persevere. I cannot but admire the apparent anxiety of the directors, and some of the individuals in the direction, to avoid giving me arbitrary power, although they see the necessity of it; I commend them for it, and am perfectly satisfied with the government they have decided upon, as it will answer every purpose, having given me the power to do what I please, against the opinion of the council, provided a minute is made in the council book of the reasons for my differing from my coadjutors. This is very proper, and knowing that my whole heart is devoted to the public good, and to the general interest of the colony and the company, I have no fear but that if I

should be so unfortunate as to be obliged to enforce the power, that my reasons for so doing will be satisfactory to the directors, and convince them I have no other end in view, than the happiness of those committed to my care, as well as the general civilisation of this benighted continent, and the company's prosperity. . . .

' I have often complained of the numerous applications made to me. I will copy three received to-day as specimens of what those usually are which I receive daily. The first is a letter from George Dean, one of the native chiefs at Taganen Point:—

' "TAGANEN POINT, *August 30th, 1792.*

' "MR CLARKSON.—Sir,—My compliments to you, hoping you are well. Sir, I wroate you by my joiner concerning a few nails and boards to mend my long boate with. I will anscr with you for the same in paying you aney think in country produce you may think proper your selph. Sir, I heave sent you one turtle wich I hope youl axcept as a present from me beeing the first, Sir, if you can spere me the boards and nails I could wish them as soon as posable, as I ham much in want of my boate to go to Sherberry. I heave nathink more at present from your humble servant,

his
' "GEORGE X DEAN."
mark.

' The next is a copy of a letter received from one of the settlers:—

“TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN CLARKSON, Esq., Captain General, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Free Colony of Searra Leone and its dependanceys, and Vice-Admaral of the same, etc., etc., Whereas your Honours Memorielist Andrew Moor's wife being brought to bed this morning and delivered of a daughter and now stands in need of some nourishment for her and the child, your Excellency's Memorialist begeth that out your humanity and geantle goodness you will take it into your honour's consideration to give orders that she and the child have some nourishment, such as Oat meal, Molassis, or Shuggar, a little wine and spirits, and some Nutmeg, and your Memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

“*N.B.*—and one lb. Candles for light.”

‘ Copy of a letter from another settler.

‘ “ HONOUR'D SIR,—This is a petition from the poor woman who was so much hackled and cut by Mrs Pace, whose husband are on board the *Amy* Brig—I sent a letter home to Mr Sharp, but has had no answer concerning it, but as, Sir, you are our Dependence, I think it my duty to acquaint you of the treatment after leaving her own husband and intice my own from me, I may say my life are in danger with her whilst she still continue with him, I have seek for satisfaction but never met with none. So Sir, I lay it in your Honor's hand to see justice done

me who is so much injured, which is past the laws of God, therefore, I beg justice done me, from, Sir, yours,
"HANNAH RICHARDSON."

.....
'Performed divine service, a full congregation, as I had particularly stated my wish that every officer and others capable of attending should be at church to-day. After the sermon I addressed the congregation, and congratulated them upon the arrival of the *Samuel and Jane* with supplies, and the early prospect of the arrival of the *York* with additional supplies, and a variety of comforts much wanted in the colony. I particularly addressed the Nova Scotians upon their want of confidence in the views of the directors, and their extreme jealousy of the white people, and assured them, if they did not endeavour to overcome those ungrounded fears, and to put a little more confidence in their rulers, the consequences might be of the most fatal kind to them and to their posterity. I then read to them part of the last dispatches, and commented upon each part as I went along; but as the whole of the despatches do great credit to the court of directors, I shall transcribe what I read to the congregation. The directors say in their letter, dated 12th of July, addressed to the governor and council:—

“There is one more subject, and a very important one, in our view, on which we wish to address you in

this letter; we mean the importance of doing *full justice* to the free blacks from Nova Scotia, giving them the enjoyment of British rights, and *fulfilling every expectation we have raised in them*, and not forgetting, as the very best service we can render them, to guard against every corruption of their morals, and to promote amongst them piety and virtue. It is not distrust of your present intentions, or suspicion of your differing from us upon these subjects, that leads us to this observation; but it is rather a desire of assuring and convincing you, that we shall fully co-operate with you (we mean with our governor in particular, whose sentiments as to these blacks are already so well known to us) in your just and honourable views towards them. Having crossed the seas on the faith of our promises made to them by Mr Clarkson, you may assure them that we are determined to co-operate with him in endeavouring to render their persons and their property safe, their industry productive, their character respectable, their condition in life more and more improvable, and their future days happy. We consider them as the foundation of our colony. To their courage and fidelity we must entrust its defence; we must, in a good measure, trust to their industry for its growing wealth, and in our attempt to mend the morals of the surrounding nations, we must trust a good deal to their good example. To promote in them a genuine spirit of religion, and to guard against every relaxa-

tion of morals by all possible care and attention, must be therefore one main object of our governor and council. If there are any Europeans who, either by their principles or their practice, diffuse irreligion and licentiousness among them, this must be considered as a sufficient ground of dismissal. I assured them from myself, that if any European or other person living in the colony, or its neighbourhood, not particularly belonging to the establishment, should be guilty of any of the above practices, that I would not allow them to continue in our district."

'Having finished reading the above extracts from the despatches lately received from the directors, I concluded by giving them suitable advice. The people appeared to be highly gratified with the part of the despatches I read to them, and I was afterwards informed by several of the officers, that they heard them declare themselves satisfied with the way in which the directors had expressed themselves.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR CLARKSON'S DIARY—*concluded*

‘PERCEIVING a very large ship in the offing, evidently destined for this river, I concluded it must be the *York* from her size, and the captain of the *Samuel and Jane* concurring with me in my opinion, I ordered the *Susan* to be got ready, and went towards the Cape to meet her; but the rain prevented me, and I was obliged to return. In the evening she anchored opposite to the town, and proved to be the *York*, Captain Hebden, last from Plymouth, with the Rev. Melville Horne, Mr Dawes, Mr Lowes, a surgeon, and Mr Field, a schoolmaster. . . .

‘I had a long conversation with Mr Dawes on the affairs of the colony, and from what I can at present see of him, I think he will be a valuable assistant. He appears sedate, and a man of business, and seems impressed with the necessity of doing something in way of trade. Most sincerely do I wish he may be enabled to make use of the valuable articles, nearly spoiled for the want of using. I cannot say I feel prepossessed with the highest opinion of Mr W——, the

new commercial agent. I am satisfied Mr Thornton's fears were correct ; but time will prove all things.

'In all my conversation with Mr Dawes, I laid the greatest stress upon his conduct towards the Nova Scotians. I begged him to keep in view the peculiarity of his position with regard to them, and to contrast their present with their former condition. At the same time, I endeavoured, as well as I could, to give him an insight into their general disposition and character. I am pleased with Mr Dawes altogether, and most anxiously hope the directors will lose no time in sending out my second counsellor. . . .

'I am sorry to find that Mr Watt is extremely ill, and the people in Savoy Point have in consequence been left to themselves for the whole of this week. The frequent relapses which the different officers experience, greatly retard the progress of work in the colony, and no department feels it more than that most essential one, the accomptants. Mr Wakerell's general health is so bad, that he has no spirit or strength to dive into intricate and inaccurate accounts. When he is better the clerks are ill, so that little or no progress has been made of late in bringing them to any kind of regular settlement. Had a very interesting conversation with Mr Horne and Mr Field, the schoolmaster. Both appear to me to be valuable men. I feel a great relief in having Mr Horne to take the Sunday duty upon him, as well as a comfort in the idea that I have so estimable a

man at hand, whose cheerful conversation will soothe and enliven me when my spirits feel depressed. . .

'Mr Dawes is busily employed in making himself acquainted with the general business of the colony, previous to his taking an active part in the arrangement of it. It is my intention to allow him to give presents to the chiefs to a certain extent, to ingratiate himself with them, and I have requested him to be cautious how he manages the Nova Scotians, promising him I will take upon myself to scold and find fault, and his business will be to reward and praise.

'*September 9th.* Fine day. Performed divine service in the morning, when I introduced Mr Horne to the congregation as their future pastor, and gave them admonitions suitable to the occasion. I took this opportunity of publicly reading, as I had done the Sunday before, that part of the despatches from the Court of Directors, in which they express their affection and benevolence towards the black settlers. I dwelt a long time upon the consequences likely to arise from their extreme suspicion of white people, and implored them to endeavour to overcome such ungrounded fears. I asked them how they would like, if they were in my situation, to be treated in the way that some of them had treated me, when they must all have known that I had but one motive in coming here, and that the most disinterested on my part, viz., the happiness of themselves and their

families, as well as the general happiness and civilisation of Africa. More was said respecting the gratitude they ought to show the company for the immense expenses they had occurred on their account. It was generally observed that the people appeared to be much impressed with my discourse ; but they are very forgetful, and no wonder, when I consider the example set them at the commencement, and the number of idle, dissipated characters continually coming and going in the colony ; yet I believe there are but few dissaffected. In the afternoon Mr Horne preached to a crowded congregation, and I resigned my clerical duties.

'September 10th. Gave to the Rev. Melville Horne all the books and papers connected with my late situation, such as the accounts of baptisms, marriages, etc. . . .

*'I have had several applications from the different head men in the neighbourhood, to admit their children into our schools ; but at present we have no accommodation to lodge them. My plan is, when we can do it effectually, to take the native children and lodge them with the different tradespeople, that they may thus get an insight into the various trades, and receive their education at the same time. King Naimbanna expressed himself disappointed that the directors did not send out to him a schoolmaster, and a good man to live with him, to teach him, he said, to be a good man, to learn him and his family *Book*, and to make their *heads good*. . . .*

'Mr Horne and Mr Field are endeavouring to form a school, and I have advised them to make use of the temporary church, which has been occupied for a variety of purposes since it was erected. Mr Afzelius is looking forward to the fine weather, expecting that his garden may make some figure. He has had lately some pleasant and gratifying rambles in the woods, and I can always tell by his countenance whether he has been successful or not. The officers appear to me to draw together better than they did since they have met at Harmony Hall. . . .

'The gardens of the settlers begin to look very pleasing. The Nova Scotians brought out with them a quantity of *good seeds*, and have been able to furnish the officers with many vegetables, especially cabbages, besides satisfying their own wants. The English vegetables which *thrive* here best appear as yet to be the cabbage, the whole pumpkin tribe, purslain, sage, certain kinds of beans and margarom, thyme, cresses, besides all tropical fruits, and some American vegetables. In many of the houses of the settlers are seen great quantities of beef and pork, that they have saved out of their allowance, and hung up along the ridges of their houses to smoke, as provisions for the time when they first go upon their lots of land. In the skirts of the town particularly, and also in the gardens, are sweet potatoes, cassada, and ground nuts in abund-

ance; rice, maize, gums, with many other esculent tropical plants in tolerable plenty, and in many places rich pastures for cattle. Mr Afzelius superintends a garden at present dedicated to culinary purposes for the company's officers, but which will hereafter serve for botanical experiments. . . .

'In consequence of a complaint made to me by Mr Pepys, of his having been molested by the natives while laying out the lots of land, from his interfering with the native villages which lay scattered in many parts of the company's district, I have sent Mr Watt in the *Ocean* to fetch King Naimbanna to settle the business, and have also informed Signor Domingo, and other chiefs in our district, that a palaver will shortly be held, when I requested them to meet King Naimbanna at Free Town, that the subject in dispute might be amicably discussed. The natives, when they sold the land, had no idea that we should ever have occasion to go so far into the country as to interfere with their habitations, and we were equally surprised to find these villages in existence; but it has been the custom for ages for the natives to build their dwellings in the middle of a wood, and they pretend that the cutting down of the wood, and surveying the land, is for the purpose of making war on them, and they therefore would not suffer Mr Pepys to go on with his work. . . .

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN CLARKSON, Esq.,
etc., etc.

“FREE TOWN, *September 27, 1792.*

“SIR,—I should have taken the liberty of writing to you much earlier in the week, but I assure you I have been so very unwell since Saturday, that it was entirely out of my power. What I mentioned to you the other day, I am clearly of opinion would be a saving to the Sierra Leone Company, that is, the manner in which several goods are shipped for this place, was it altered? The article of lime in casks is sent out so badly bound, that perhaps, from being first old casks, and from lying in the bottom of the ship, both the voyage and a long time after their arrival in this river, and even admit they were landed (there being no storehouse as yet capable of receiving them), the sun in a little time makes the hoops fly off. Coals are sent out in the same manner, and a vast quantity lost in the ships, landing and getting up the hill. Now, sir, I would propose to put four iron hoops on each cask, which would prevent this loss.

“Provisions, either beef or pork, I observe is much better, and retains the pickle in iron-bound casks better than wood hoops; many times the beef and pork in the wood-bound casks is tainted, and hardly fit to issue.

“Biscuits being generally stowed in a dry part of the ship does not require iron hoops, but it ought

always to come in tight casks, and none in bags. Flour in tight casks, to keep out the vermin, etc., but none in sacks. Oatmeal, all I have seen here is so bad and so full of vermin as not to be fit to issue, owing, I believe, to the casks not being tight. Barley, in the same condition. Butter, if well pickled and not pressed in the stowage of the ship, will keep, not otherwise.

“Bars of lead, the casks in which they are sent will hardly bear their own weight when new, the heads flying out on ship-board and much loss, and much more is lost in the landing. If they were sent in half barrels or firkins, iron hooped, would prevent this loss. In short, sir, musket balls, small shot, nails, and all articles of great weight and little bulk, require iron-bound casks. Should any more lime be sent to this colony, please to remember laths and hair for the mortar; it would save much plank. Molasses are sent in such bad casks, that they will not bear hoisting out of the ship. I thought it my duty, sir, to lay before you these remarks, which, if you think are of any use to the Sierra Leone Company, I shall esteem myself very happy.—I am respectfully, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

JOHN WHITE.”

‘No one but those who were witnesses to our distressed situation during the severe sickness, can have the least idea of the sufferings individuals

experienced from the want of any comforts, which we should have had in abundance, had proper care been taken in the various articles, nor the great loss the company has sustained from damage by leakage, etc., etc. . . .

‘Having repaired to Harmony Hall accompanied by Mr Dawes and several of the officers, we were soon joined by King Naimbanna, King Jemmy and Signor Domingo, Captain Smart, Robin Dick, Pah Will, etc. etc., and the palaver commenced by the chiefs repeating in what manner this district was purchased by Captain Thompson, who paid the money to King Tom, Yamacopra, and another person, none of whom had any authority to sell any land or to receive money for it. On this King Naimbanna laid particular stress, but immediately added, that, though he was not present at that settlement, nor had received any part of the goods, still, he would look upon the bargain as valid. He accordingly made no further pretensions. I then produced and read a copy of the agreement for the purchase, together with a list of the various articles paid at the time to kings and chiefs, as many did not appear so convinced as I wished them to be; but when I showed them the signature, with the ratification by King Naimbanna, and asked them what fool-palaver this was, to buy a thing twice over, some of them looked ashamed, but they all laughed heartily and acknowledged that the bargain

was fairly and duly concluded, and King Naimbanna owned that he had ratified it. This explanation produced some merriment, and I lost no opportunity of taking advantage of it, whenever I found I could do it with success. The next subject was the uneasiness of the natives at seeing roads cut through the country in which their towns and plantations are situated, one of which roads they had falsely reported to the king was intended to be carried westward to False Cape, which they considered as a prelude to our taking possession of the whole Cape and country. This suspicion, however, was easily removed; but another subject was brought forward. The chiefs prefaced it by acknowledging that the English had, by purchase, an undoubted right to the district extending from St George's Bay to the coast opposite to Gambia Island, but they then stated the great confusion that would ensue when our people cleared the country all around them, and the perpetual alarms to which the natives living within our district would be subject from their plantations being in such an exposed situation. For all these reasons they proposed that we should give up the sea-coast from Fora Bay, from which place the line of division might be drawn up the country: this line would consequently exclude Granville Town from our possession. To indemnify the company, they proposed as an equivalent, that instead of twenty miles, we might go as high up

the country as we pleased. I answered that, when I received my orders in England for coming here, a chart was shown me, which determined the company's boundaries as they are described in their agreement with Captain Thompson, together with all the purchase documents, that I was so far accountable for preserving them, and that it would be discreditable in me were I to lessen the district after such an agreement had been ratified by all parties; for with respect to the inland parts to be given as an equivalent, they might have the same objections, for they would probably be possessed by other nations having plantations and towns to take the alarm, also that great inconvenience would be felt in the conveyance of articles to and from the river side. I then represented that when I brought the present settlers here, I promised them faithfully, as I was authorised to do from Captain Thompson's agreement, that they should have their land along the whole extent of the river, and enjoy all the benefits of it. This promise I had often renewed here, permitting the settlers to build wharfs and quays. I should consequently fail in my faith to them in ceding so large a tract of the company's sea coast. The chiefs could not help acknowledging this as a reasonable argument, and would have yielded, had not some of them had a stronger reason on their side—self-interest. King Jemmy now began to plead for his subjects, and wanted to have the

land-mark situated to the west of the rivulet at the old landing-place, by which they would have the sole benefit and command of the watering-place; and to this he said he was more entitled, as he thereby would recover a piece of holy ground in our district at the head of the small water spring, whither all the natives resort once a year to make sacrifices to a large black snake living under one of the trees, for the continuance of the spring, which otherwise would dry up and distress the country. At the same time King Jemmy urged the payment of 100 bars, which, on our arrival, it was understood by him, we had promised to pay him, as an indemnification for some family spoons and a gold cup taken away from his house, when the marines of the *Pomona*, Captain Savage, with Captain Bowie of Bunce Island, and the old settlers pillaged his town. This demand was of so trifling a nature, that, although I did not recollect making such a promise, I readily agreed to it, as I wished to have an opportunity of doing something to gratify the natives. This present of 100 bars seemed to put the whole company in spirits, and dinner being announced, the palaver was broken up, and we all proceeded to partake of it. Attending upon so large a party was a great fatigue to me. I took every opportunity to ingratiate myself with them, and to convince the chiefs of our honourable and peaceable disposition towards them. I told them we should

be glad to teach their children book, and to do all in our power to make them have *good heads*; that it was a good plan when either party felt injured, to call a palaver, that a clear explanation might take place; by such conduct we should be sure to live happily together and render each other mutual benefits. . . .

'It has been whispered to me that our own conduct has been the cause of this present dispute. Some of Mr Pepys' party, cutting lines into the wood, met with a rice field near Signor Domingo's Town. They were going, in a thoughtless way, to cut the path across the field, when the natives forbade them. Our people expostulated, and wanted to go on through the rice without promising recompense to the natives, because, they said, the land belonged to our district; on which the natives complained to Signor Domingo, and it was through him that I was first acquainted with the transaction. How cautious every officer and man should be in their intercourse with the natives. It is a mercy the natives did not attempt to take the law into their own hands. If they had, no one can tell to what it might have led; but they have invariably applied to me whenever they have felt themselves injured, according to the agreement I made with King Jemmy at the commencement of the colony, when one of his men drew a knife to stab one of the Nova Scotians. Before the palaver broke,

it was agreed that we might continue our line beyond Granville Town, and half-way to Signor Domingo's Town, until next palaver should decide the matter. . . .

'Some of King Jemmy's subjects have met our people in the woods and forbid their cutting roads. The surveyor thought it most prudent to call his people off. We must have the boundaries better defined in next palaver. I understand King Jemmy governs this peninsula almost as far as the Sherbro country; but in matters of consequence, he must refer to King Naimbanna. These kings levy no taxes on their subjects, except that each family, in time of harvest, must bring them a present of two or three bushels of rice. The kings subsist by trade. They have sometimes a number of slaves, who are employed in making plantations of rice, building, etc. Each of these slaves, like their other subjects, brings them three or four bushels of rice per year, perhaps also a couple or more of fowls, a fathom of cloth, a goat, or sheep, or the like. I understand that great difference is made between purchased slaves and their children born in their master's service. These latter, though in effect belonging to their masters, are, however, never sold by them any more than their own children, unless for very heavy crimes. They always call their master 'Father,' and are considered as his children. All slaves appear at liberty to carry on trade, make plantations, and do whatever they please, only giving

their masters in the proportion above mentioned, but they must provide their own subsistence. I understand the dominions of King Naimbanna extend from this river up to Rokelle and the interior country eastward about two and a half days' journey, reckoned at forty miles per day, and southward towards Sherbro four or five days' journey. The power of King Naimbanna is absolute, though in matters of consequence he does not appear to like deciding without the concurrence of the inferior chiefs in the country ; but if he grows angry with them, they will all submit to his opinion, and pay their homage and obeisance before him, kneeling down and laying both hands on the ground before or on his feet, or kneeling and at the same time touching the ground with their elbows ; or else one hand on the ground and the other on their head, bending the head profoundly. It is the interest of the king not to *appear* absolute, but rather to procure a majority of votes on his side. The kings have some profit, but much trouble, in settling palavers, both between white people and those of their own colour. I was informed to-day, by a man who spoke good English, that royalty is not in general sought after with great eagerness ; it is looked upon as an arduous and troublesome office, and declined if possible ; and it often happens that a man is made king by main force, the people generally catching and arresting the heir-apparent on the death of his predecessor lest he should run away. It is said Signor Domingo was

chosen King of Rokelle, where he lately resided, but not wishing to accept the office, he escaped and settled here. Should he ever return he would be caught and made king! As none but old men are eligible, it rarely happens that the king's son succeeds his father. More generally it is his brother, or, in failure of these, a more distant relation. King Naimbanna will not be succeeded by John Frederic, now in England, till after two intermediate kings have reigned. . . .

' *October 5th.* Having made up my mind to leave Mr Dawes with the charge of the colony for a time, that he may be better prepared to take the management of it, should I find myself at liberty to return to England, I have necessarily been much occupied of late in drawing out instructions, or, more properly speaking, little memoranda, for his guidance. As the *Catherine* will sail for England with despatches tomorrow, and I have not had time to prepare my letter for Mr Thornton, I shall accompany her to a certain distance. Mr Falconbridge, who appears to me to be in a dying state, fancies a little sea air may do him good. I shall therefore take the *Ocean* with us, that he may have her to himself. Mr Dunkin will likewise accompany us, that the sick gentleman may have proper medical assistance. Mr Grey has all his books and papers packed up, and he will proceed on board the *Amy* this evening, with Mr Wakerell. . . .

' For the last week my evenings have been employed

in visiting the huts of some of the leading men among the Nova Scotians, to charge them to pay attention to Mr Dawes, and not to suffer those of an unruly spirit to trouble him. I have also desired Mr Dawes to be upon his guard in his conduct towards the settlers, but I shall transcribe the substance of my letter to him. Feeling life extremely uncertain, and seeing people dying around me almost daily, I thought it prudent to state what occurred to me in almost every trifling affair relating to the colony, as a guide to Mr Dawes, should anything happen to me during my absence. . . .

‘Extract from letter to Mr Dawes :—

“With respect to our own people, they are very difficult to be managed, which you will not wonder at, when you consider how the generality of them have been treated from their infancy. As you may probably not be acquainted with every circumstance, I will endeavour, as briefly as I can, to inform you. You must know, then, that these people were formerly slaves in America, and during their servitude many of them were treated with the greatest barbarity. In consequence of the war in America, and a proclamation from the British army offering freedom to any slave who would desert from his master and join the British troops, the present colonists, with several others, took every opportunity of leaving their oppressors, in hopes of finding a happy asylum under the

protection of the British army. At the conclusion of the war, from their fidelity and bravery, the English nation were determined to reward them for their services, and put themselves to an enormous expense in transporting them and their families from the American provinces to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Upon their arrival, they were promised a certain quantity of land and provisions for three years, with every other encouragement, such as implemènts of husbandry, a musket each, and various other things, for the purchase of which Government actually paid. When I tell you that upwards of three thousand people embarked for Nova Scotia, you will be surprised to hear that not three hundred got their promises performed; and that, although I brought with me twelve hundred people, yet the majority of those who remained in America are at this moment working upon the lands of white men in a species of slavery; for they are obliged to cultivate the ground of another man, while he pays them by allowing them part of the produce—say, a few bushels of potatoes half-yearly, when they have had more right to the ground than the man who claimed it. . . .

“As soon as the blacksmiths' and carpenters' shops are erected in the great yard you have wattled in, I think it would not be amiss to select a few boys, and to bind them as apprentices to the different trades. One of the captains named has had my permission to take one of the *natives* as an apprentice, and I have

promised him, if he pays attention to the boy and behaves well to him, that I will maintain him for the first year. I am willing to grant the same indulgence to others to a certain extent, as an inducement to industry. If John Gray would take two boys as bricklayers, I would maintain them, provided you give a good account of his treatment and attention to them. . . .”

‘*October 11th.* When the storekeeper was instructed not to give credit to the people beyond a certain sum, he was not forbidden to issue out to them any quantity of articles they might be able to *pay for*. This has led to some inconvenience. There seems to be a general spirit for commercial pursuits throughout the colony, and the natives, and those of the Nova Scotians who have saved a little money, appear to be dealing beyond what we could have expected. The consequence is that, in their little speculations, they make a great profit; their demands upon the storehouse appear to increase daily, and are the means of introducing into the colony a quantity of liquor, highly prejudicial to the morals of the place. It is much to be desired that the people should get upon their lands as soon as possible, for, unless the spirit of trade, which ensures gain and laziness to the settlers, is superseded by the more useful one of agriculture, it will not only be injurious to

the company, but very detrimental to the morals and happiness of the public. . . .

'We are now tormented with ants which in great numbers penetrate the houses and swarm over everything. At these times, crickets, cockroaches, spiders, etc., are driven out of their crevices and jump about the floor in a distressing situation amongst their enemies. The large black ants conquer every living animal, and devour it, unless it escapes by flight, but the red ants, which swarm in trees like wasps, are their fatal enemies. A few of the red ants put a host of the others to flight in a moment. As it is impossible to turn these swarms of black ants either to the right or to the left, when the settlers see that their course is directed through their houses, they have recourse to fire or scalding water with which they attack them as they are pouring along the ground like a rivulet.

'*October 20th.* As one of the gentlemen was going out of his house this afternoon, he heard something falling from the thatch, and on turning round saw a green snake about six feet long, and two or three fingers thick, winding deliberately along the floor. He called for help, but the snake escaped. This snake had been frightened up into the roof by the ants, but being closely pursued by them, he was obliged to descend. . . .

'The settlers begin to be successful in raising

poultry, pigs, etc., and if we go on as we have done for the last fortnight, we may expect a tolerable supply of these articles, with eggs in abundance. Mr Pepys and his men are making great progress in laying out the lots of land. He certainly is doing his work in a masterly way, and seems to understand it perfectly. The other departments are making progress, and I find, as the people and officers are employed, more unanimity prevails in the colony. . . .

'These few days past we have been visited by Canba, a Mandingo Marraboo (priest), and his family, of Porto Logo. This nation is as strict in Mahometanism as the Turks themselves. Canba imagines that this place ranks next in holiness to Mecca and Medina, since no slave lives or is sold here! For this reason he performs his religious ceremonies in the same manner he would do at either of those places, by kissing the ground on which he sits repeatedly and devoutly, praying on a goat's skin. I had a long conversation with this man, who speaks tolerably good English, and at some future period hope to make use of him and his influence,* to get information from the interior of Africa, by sending two or three intelligent Nova Scotians with him on his next visit to Timbuctoo or Haussa, and keeping his wife

* Mahometan priests have the privilege of passing through contending armies without molestation.

and children in the colony as a kind of security for their safe return. I hinted such an idea to him, promising a sum of money for conducting those I might wish to send, and double the sum if he brought them back safe. He readily fell in with my plan. Probably great good might be derived from sending one of the gentlemen with this priest, but his chance of being able to bear the fatigue and inconvenience of such a journey would be much against him, and more real good might be derived from sending one of the settlers, whose habits and constitution would be more suited to the hardships of the undertaking. I am satisfied the directors have erred in attempting too much at first, for information respecting the interior of Africa and civilisation in general must only be expected by very gradual means. . . .

'Sunday, November 4th. Divine service in the morning. In the afternoon Mr Horne, Mr Dawes and myself, with several officers, and a number of the Nova Scotians, went up with the tide to Granville Town, when Mr Horne performed divine service there to a large congregation. In the evening we returned by moonlight, the weather calm and serene, all the company in the boats joining in singing hymns and praises to God for the mercies bestowed upon us, and for the blessings likely to arise to the poor pagan inhabitants of

this unhappy country. Many of the Nova Scotian women have fine voices, and sing the hymns with great feeling. . . .

'November 6th. The colony gains strength daily. Poultry abounds about every house. About a dozen fishing boats are employed daily, which furnishes a good supply; but these boats enable the people to board strange ships, go to Bunce Island, and occasionally visit Gambia Island, where they are supplied with rum, which I am sorry to find is now sought after by many of the colonists, who were sparing in the use of it when we first arrived in this country. This may be attributed to their not having had their lands to occupy their time, and to the bad example set them at the commencement of the colony; but it is an evil gaining ground, and must be checked. . . .

'November 13th. This morning I went on one of the adjacent hills to see how far Mr Pepys had cleared, and as many of the people had drawn for their lots of land, I gave to several of them their grants. We dined on the hill, which I named "*Directors' Hill,*" and from thence enjoyed the richest prospect over the sea, river, and country. Indeed, it is too beautiful for me to describe. It cost us much labour to ascend the hill, on account of its craggy steepness. On our way we went down to



FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *November 10, 1792.*

a brook to take some luncheon, and refresh ourselves. This spot was enchanting. The brook was obstructed by large rocks, and in one place the water spread over a flat piece of rock in the most romantic manner. Above this the rocks formed cascades, which, seen through some trees, had a most beautiful effect. The whole of this day was dedicated to rejoicing, and I had much conversation with many of the people, but particularly with those who attended me to the top of the hill, relative to the prospects of happiness then before them, and how much it would depend upon themselves, whether they and their children were happy in their new situation, and whether this settlement would have a beneficial influence over the surrounding neighbourhood. When dinner was announced, I proceeded with several of the officers to the tent. Previous to my setting off upon this expedition, I had given directions to have the guns prepared at the fort, as well as on board the company's ships, to take up the salute I intended to fire, after I had given the first toast after dinner. Having finished our repast, the people attending me, amounting to more than sixty men (employed in laying out the lots of land), being prepared with their muskets loaded, I gave the following toast:—"The Sierra Leone Company, and success to their virtuous exertions; and may we, the inhabitants of Free Town and Granville Town, be the instruments under

Providence of spreading the blessings of Christian knowledge through this unenlightened and unhappy country."

'As soon as I had given this toast, the people round the tent fired three distinct volleys, and all present gave three hearty cheers. When this was ended, the fort took up the salute, and the inhabitants of Free Town gave three cheers, and afterwards each ship in the company's service did the same, which had a beautiful effect. The fort and the ships in the river having their colours flying. The thing altogether was well conducted, and I have no doubt made an impression upon the whole neighbourhood. I take every opportunity of showing the natives the armed power we possess, by firing salutes upon particular occasions, and when I wish to show the head people attention. I know it has been attended with great advantage to us, and the rejoicing of this day will not be lost upon them. In the evening other toasts were given, particularly ONE, attended with rapturous cheering, firing, etc. . . .

'*November 14th.* All the European cattle are dead, except one calf. Asses thrive better here. Mr Watt, whom I lately sent to examine the land as far up as Gambia Island, gives but a moderate account of it as to the cultivation of sugar, but he reports it very good for cotton and indigo. I also sent him over to examine the land on

the Bullom shore, on the other side of the river. This, he reports, is calculated to answer every purpose, and he speaks of the soil, and his reception with rapture. I shall take an early opportunity of making ourselves better acquainted with the country and inhabitants on the Bullom side.' . . .

'Numerous complaints have been made to me to-day from the people who received their lots of land on the 13th instant, informing me of various inconveniences. Some told me they had drawn their lots at a distance from their intimate friends, and others, that their land was all rocky and not fit for cultivation. I have tried to reconcile them all, by telling those who have actually drawn an unproductive lot, that I will endeavour to make it up with an additional piece elsewhere; and those who are separated from their friends, that I will allow of an exchange, if it can be done consistently. I feel it a duty I owe to the settlers to do what I can to meet their wishes, if they are not whimsically made. It is attended probably with a little additional trouble, but it has its effect in the end. . . .

'*November 16th.* Busy in getting everything in order, preparatory to my leaving the colony. It is my constant business of an evening to go about to the meeting-houses of the settlers and inculcate

in their minds an affection towards Mr Dawes, who, though a worthy and skilful man, has not as yet gained their confidence. He appears too serious and formal—which is not the manner best calculated to win the affection of men who have been deceived through life, and who are suspicious to a great degree of the conduct of white men in general. . . .

'*November 21st.* This morning anchored the *Felicity* with despatches from London. Cloudy, cool morning. Thermometer 88 degrees—hazy on the mountains and all round the horizon. My friend, Captain Wickham, who commands the *Felicity*, was directed to call at Gambia for cattle, and he has brought us a supply of different sorts. I have received a long and beautiful letter from Mr Thornton, replying to my various complaints on different subjects, particularly as to the management of the directors in forming the original government; and although he has in many instances justified their conduct to my satisfaction, yet he has not entirely done so in all. But of this I am fully convinced, that the directors, in all they have done, have been guided by the purest motives. In the public letter, they inform this government that they are about to send out buildings of various descriptions by the *Sierre Leone Packet*, expected to sail about this time, which will preclude our going on with the

storehouse in Susan's Bay. They have also passed a resolution permitting me to return to Europe, if I think the colony can be left in safety, and in that case (as a compliment to me) they forbid any other person coming home in the same vessel. A more decided dismissal of Falconbridge has been sent by this conveyance. The *Felicity's* cargo does not appear to be well selected, considering our wants; she has brought out an immense number of *garden watering pots*, which seem to occasion a smile from everyone. . . .

'Wrote to Captain Pattison to request him to send Mr Grey an account of every article that has been expended *for my use* out of the cargo under his charge, begging him to specify the quantities, and also, if he had purchased any goods for me at the retail shop, to send an account of the money and what was bought with it, to enable Mr Grey to make out my account before I quit the colony. . . .

'*November 23rd.* This evening Mr Dawes and Mr Watt returned from the Bullom shore, having agreed to rent a square mile of land for 100 bars per annum of the Bullom King, whose name is Naimbanna, a friend of our good old king of the same name. The people there are desirous that we should settle amongst them. A house is to be built for Mr Watt, and the king to find him as

many grumettas or labourers as he may want. The soil is tolerably adapted for sugar; a trial will be made, and if it answers we are promised more ground. . . .

'Sunday, November 25th. Divine service. Mr Horne pointed out to-day in his sermon the practical duties of Christianity, and enforced his arguments with great energy. Our black preachers require instruction. They have had their use in keeping the people together, and it has been principally through them, that I have had so much influence over the minds of the others. I am continually telling Mr Horne that he could be more profitably employed in giving up a portion of his time to their instruction, than by going amongst the natives who do not understand English. I wish I could induce him to think so himself. . . .

'We have now learnt the reason why European cattle, goats and pigs will not live here to graze at large. A tree grows about the settlement which produces a small fruit resembling a plum, the pulp of which may be eaten with safety, but the kernel and leaves are a mortal poison, and used by the inhabitants to poison each other; cattle and goats will eat the leaves, and pigs the kernels. . . .

'I have made a point of visiting the settlers on

shore every evening, and have taken the streets regularly, so that people expect me and stay at home when they think their street will be visited. My sole view in these visits is to converse with every individual in his turn, and to endeavour to impress upon the minds of the whole colony favourable ideas respecting Mr Dawes, for some of them have been prejudiced against him, not being acquainted with his real disposition. These poor people, *suspicious* in the *highest degree*, mistake the *serious* and *sedate* conduct of this gentleman for pride and want of feeling towards them, and from their ignorance cannot be prevailed upon to believe that he has their interest at heart. Most sincerely do I hope the colonists will be induced to show Mr Dawes more attention, and place more confidence in him, and also that he will endeavour to unbend a little, and try to show his good intentions by a little more conciliation. . . .

‘As the time approaches for my leaving the colony, I cannot but be anxious for its well-doing after I am gone, and seeing the prevalence of drunkenness and other disorders in Free Town, I have, for the last ten days, employed myself in putting to paper what I consider will be good and wholesome advice for the colonists, and purpose, with the permission of Mr Horne, to occupy his pulpit to-morrow, that I may deliver to them all the best advice in my power as to their future conduct, and

take leave of them generally. I have given notice on the storehouse door, and by other public announcements, of my intention of addressing them to-morrow. . . .

'December 16th Sunday. Although I have been accustomed to read the prayers and a sermon for many months, yet the idea of taking a public leave of the whole colony has excited sensations which I cannot describe, and I felt a dread of ascending the pulpit which I had never felt before; but as I considered it a duty, I could not but embrace the last opportunity in my power of admonishing them and giving them some wholesome advice. The chapel or place of worship was as full as it could well be, and those who could not get in sat on the outside under an awning. Mr Horne read the prayers and selected hymns suitable to the occasion, which were sung with great feeling and had a great effect upon the congregation.* I thought it my duty to be very plain with them, I pointed out their faults with mildness, but without disguise. Many of them felt stung by the truth, and there were several who could not stand it and went away. Some, of them, I fear, are too far gone to be reclaimed, until they have received a long lesson in the school of adversity. They have enjoyed more prosperity than they were ever accustomed to

* The Nova Scotians, both men and women, are considered good singers, and they are in general admired by all who hear them.

before, it has come upon them too suddenly, and it has been too much for them to bear with humility. They were almost naked when they were in Nova Scotia, and in the most deplorable condition, and now they are well clothed, but for want of having their lands to go upon when we first arrived, together with the confusion existing from the want of a steady government, they became lazy, and, in consequence, were soon corrupted by the evil insinuations of abandoned persons. Although some few left the chapel, yet I hope they were all benefited by my discourse, and many, very many, felt greatly affected. Mr Horne preached in the afternoon, and in equally strong colours pointed out their vices, and the consequences likely to attend them, unless there was a steady amendment. In the course of the day I received a letter from one of the Nova Scotians, which I think justice to him requires me to record. I shall therefore transcribe it, particularly as the feeling which dictated it was not confined to himself; for upon my quitting the chapel, numbers crowded to shake hands with me, and to thank me for the good advice I had given them.

“FREE TOWN, *December 16th, 1792.*

“HONNERE BEL SIR,—I reprov'd of your sermon very much. I am very much oblig to your honer for your good advice this day of our Lord, and I hope it will pleas the God of heaven to bliss you safe over the see

to your home, and I hope it will pleas God to bring you safe here agin to rule over ous all. Sir, I hope Mr Clarkson won't frown on all for this bad behavyer this day of leaving the church, as for my part I love the and fear the, and am sorry to part from the. I hope from the bottom of my heart that God will blis you for ever, for your goodness to ous all.—I remain your humble servant,
ELY ACKIM."

'Went by appointment to take leave of King Naimbanna, accompanied by Mr Dawes. The king had prepared a dinner and received me with great cordiality. We passed a pleasant day, it was particularly so to me, for I felt convinced of the king's kind intentions towards us, and it is my private opinion, that the happy thought of sending out his son's picture, which I am told is an exact likeness, has done more in our favour than the most sanguine of us could have expected. The king expressed his delight at the picture, and often, when he looked at it, I perceived the tears in his eyes. He had sent for one of the Mahometan priests to meet me, and had also prepared a charm to protect me safely over the sea, which he must have purchased off one of the priests. He gave it me with great tenderness, and expressed his regret at my leaving the country, but trusted that what he had given me would ensure my safe return to Africa. He asked me for my picture, and assured me he would be a good friend to Mr Dawes and the

Sierra Leone Company. The priest who was present wrote me an additional charm and gave it me himself. After many reciprocal acts of kindness, I took my leave both of the king and old queen, with the others of his household, and it was easy to perceive their feelings on the occasion. The king made me a present of a fat bullock, which I propose for Christmas Day's dinner for the colony. . . .

'As I expected this to be the last Sunday I should be in the colony, I felt my spirits a little depressed, for my anxiety is great for the well-doing of the settlement. With respect to Africa, I see no difficulties, as I feel confident I could always keep friends with the natives; and as to the climate, it certainly appears to me as good as that of the West Indies. Imprudent people will suffer in climates of this kind, but a man of an even temper, with his mind occupied and his bodily labours not excessive, may do well here. The management of the Nova Scotians is what I most dread. I know some of the officers (particularly Mr P——) have considered my conduct as too mild, and that in many instances I have not been sufficiently firm, to compel them to do what is right. But he and others who may think so are much mistaken. The accomplishment of the views of the Sierra Leone Company will, in a great measure, depend upon the *management* of the population entrusted to them. They are the sinews of the state. The peculiarities of their character, and their differ-

ent situations in life are well known, and they therefore require all the qualifications of a Christian to win them to their duty. I know from experience that they may be led to agree to any proposition, if time is allowed them to understand that it is correct; and the best part of the community will support the government against the bad, if their confidence is gained by a just and honourable conduct. . . .

‘It is not possible for me to express my sensations while the list of deaths was being read. It brought to my recollection such scenes of horror and distress, such complicated misery, and at the same time such effusions of gratitude, for having been preserved through so severe a visitation, that my spirits were so depressed, I could not recover myself for the whole day. I find, of the original white people who arrived at the commencement of the colony to the present time, we have lost sixty-one out of ninety-three, just two-thirds of the whole. Of the Nova Scotians we lost on the voyage sixty-five, and since our arrival to this day one hundred and one, making the whole loss of Nova Scotians since we left Halifax to amount to one hundred and sixty-six, about one-seventh of the whole. With respect to the loss of the Nova Scotians, I do not consider it so great as might have been expected, from the situation in which many of them were placed, not having any effective shelter during the heavy rains, and all the medical gentlemen being so ill as not

to be able to do common justice to them. Added to this, the articles sent out for their nourishment, although ample in quantity, were, from neglect in packing, and other causes, so damaged, as to be in many instances not fit for use. However, when I reflect upon all that has passed, I am most truly thankful that it has pleased God to preserve those that remain, and that the colony at this time is getting so healthy. . . .

'No one can have an idea how much the impositions on the company have affected me, not only with respect to the inconvenience and disappointment it occasions us, but it gives me such a bad opinion of the management at home, which, if continued, must end in ruin. Sometimes an officer will observe to me, that in all companies at their commencement irregularities and impositions will occur, and are not to be avoided. I only know that, when I had the fitting out of fifteen vessels, I not only inspected their outfit, but examined every article of provisions. I was blamed by some of my best friends at the time for being so minute, when so much was to be done. My reply was, I am going to cross the sea with a cargo of *human beings*, I am going to a country where I cannot go to a store to recruit any stock, therefore, as I am limited to three months' provisions, I am determined to see that what I take is really good, as the government pays the best price for it. . . .

'The people of the colony having contributed to

my stock of provisions for the voyage, by one giving me an egg or eggs, another a chicken, another pigs, and other various kinds of vegetables, fruit, etc., I could not resist the pleasure of once more calling from house to house to take leave, and press upon them the necessity of putting confidence in their officers, and conducting themselves properly and gratefully to the Sierra Leone Company, as the only means of extending the blessing of civilization to their unhappy brethren of this large continent. The expressions of gratitude, affection and respect uttered by the whole colony was more than I could bear; and when many of the poor widows expressed their gratification they had felt in being allowed to add their little mite to my sea stock, by giving me an egg each, I could not refrain from tears. All I required of them in return for what little service I had done them was, that they should act in such a way as to do me credit, and themselves and their posterity a lasting benefit. . . .

‘Having taken leave of all the officers, at three o’clock, I ordered the *Felicity* to be got under weigh. As soon as the anchor was out of the ground, the fort began to salute, and having fired fifteen guns, all the officers and people (for the whole colony was assembled) waved their hats and handkerchiefs, and gave three hearty cheers. The *Amy* and *York* continued saluting till an accident occurred on board

the *Amy*, occasioned by one of the men looking into the gun after it was loaded, and as it had not been well spunged out, it took fire and blew him overboard. All endeavours were made to save him, but in vain. This deplorable accident, the whole of which I had seen myself, so affected me, that I could not allow the salute to be returned, neither would I suffer the *Felicity* to proceed to sea, but desired she might be quietly dropped down with the tide, until she got a few miles from the settlement, where we anchored for the night, in order to show a concern and a respect appropriate to the solemn occasion. . . .

‘The *Felicity* being now under weigh, and the officers who had accompanied me thus far from the colony, having left her, we saluted them with six guns and proceeded to sea. I found I could not recover my spirits for some time, and when I reflected upon the kindness and gratitude shown to me by the settlers generally, I could not but feel the greatest anxiety for their well doing, hoping that I might live to see the colony in a flourishing state, calculated to answer all the intentions for which it was formed. For the first nine days we experienced calms and very light airs, principally against us; we had then variable weather, and after a pleasant passage of six weeks, considering the time of year, we arrived at Dartmouth, where I landed on Tuesday, the 10th February, and

on the following day wrote a letter to Mr Thornton and to each of the directors, the copy of which is as follows:—

““ DARTMOUTH, *Wednesday, 11th February 1793.*

““ MY DEAR SIR,—It has pleased God to permit me once more to land safe and in perfect health on my native shore. It gives me great pleasure to inform you, that I left the colony on the 31st December last in perfect health; I believe not one person was dangerously ill. The fine weather had commenced, and to make short, I believe all the difficulties of forming a new colony were at an end. Our loss from the time we left America to the day we sailed has not been so great as I had reason to expect. I believe (but as I have not got the exact accounts out of my trunk, I cannot speak to a certainty) that we had when I left the colony upwards of 1025 of the Nova Scotians, including the births. If you have not sent out provisions by the Sierra Leone Packet, your colony will be in great distress; we had about one week's provision left when I quitted Sierra Leone. The *Felicity* can be ready for sea in four days after her arrival. I have put into her some camwood, ivory, gum, etc., as ballast, as I did not think it safe to cross the sea in her at this time of the year with a full cargo. I have

now only time, as the post is going out, to transcribe myself, most affectionately and sincerely yours,

“JOHN CLARKSON.

“To Henry Thornton, Esq.”

‘Soon after I sent my letters off, I proceeded with my valuable friend and secretary, Mr J. Beckett, to London, and arrived there on the 13th February. As we drove through Piccadilly, we called upon an old friend of mine, and after hearing that my family were all well, we proceeded to Old Palace Yard, to call upon Mr Wilberforce. The cordial and affectionate way in which I was received by him was very gratifying, and I had the pleasure of finding him in better health than when I left England. Having stayed with him a short time, we next proceeded to King’s Arms Yard, Coleman Street, to see Mr Thornton, when he obligingly asked me to take up my quarters at his house. I soon after had an opportunity of seeing all the directors, and was most kindly, as well as affectionately received, by them all, and thus my mission closed.

‘The following extracts from M. Afzelius’ letter brings the news of the colony down to September 3, 1793:—

“The climate is very unlike that of Europe, but by no means bad, much less dangerous than many imagine. There is a sort of acid in the air, which

has a bad effect on European constitutions. Leather moulds and spoils, iron and steel rust, and are corroded, silver itself turns black; veneered and glued works fall to pieces, and this as well in the dry as in the wet season. However, with a good constitution, prudent diet, guarding against sun and rain, and, in case of indisposition, immediately using efficacious remedies, suppressing all strong passions, such as chagrin, discontent, etc. (for in hot climates the mind appears to have a stronger influence over the body than in cold), there is no doubt but that you may live as long, as well, and as happy here as in Europe, having good houses, conveniences, etc.

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'Mr Macaulay, the second in council, who arrived a week or two after your departure, is a very clever and sensible man, an elegant writer of great application, and, besides, just of the same turn of mind as Mr Dawes. Thus they live together upon the most intimate terms, and this harmony I consider as very beneficent to the colony. The old town is enlarged, and already entirely built. The new one is also laid out upon a more extensive plan, and goes so far as to the nearest hill, where a fortification is to be erected. A great number of new buildings are raised, somewhat better than the former, but many are still remaining in their old spots, and will probably not be removed before the next dry season. When we came away, both Europeans and settlers were re-

markably healthy; and I believe there are scarcely ten sick persons in the whole colony. The fowls have increased amazingly; the goats and hogs are pretty numerous. Muscovy and common ducks have bred several times, particularly the former; but the sheep, turkeys and geese, seem not to thrive so well, except the Chinese geese, as being natives of a hotter climate. They have had many young, and are, besides, a more delicate eating than our common geese. By several vessels sent on purpose up and down the coast, there have been introduced a great number of cattle in the colony, many of which are still alive, going about and grazing in the fields and savannahs. They grow often very fat, and I have been eating in new Free Town as good beef-steak as I ever tasted in old England. The bullocks are already used to carry home timber and wood from the mountains. The fifth part of the country or farm lots are now laid out; but of these there is scarcely a fourth part fit to be cultivated, the soil being only stones, cliffs and rocks; the owners of which, no wonder, bitterly complain of their having been deceived. Some of the settlers who have got fertile farms nearest the town have thither removed their houses, and thus the Savoy Point will soon be inhabited. On the other side, between Free Town and King Jemmy's, there is also a new settlement, consisting of five or six families, who have bought their ground from the king. My garden now is in a fine

order, filled with African fruit trees and European garden plants. I was grieved to leave it just in the rising of its glory, and I feared it should be neglected, but both Mr Dawes and Mr Macauley promised me solemnly that great care should be taken of everything in it. . . .'

*Extracts of Governor Clarkson's Farewell Sermon
and Concluding Prayer.*

'Liberty! Liberty, is one of the greatest blessings to a human being, if practised as it ought to be; and the greatest curse when it operates otherwise. The meaning of the word liberty is to be free; but obedient to the laws of your country, particularly when those laws are enacted for the general happiness of mankind. If we had no laws for our guide, there would be no such thing as living in this world. Every man of strength would oppress the weak, and in short, nothing but murders, theft, and everything that may be termed wicked, would be daily practised by people who wish to be considered as Christians, and who expect the reward which Christianity offers to all those who practise it sincerely.

'But how can a man be a Christian if he is a drunkard, a fornicator, a thief, an adulterer, an extortioner? or if he does not in every respect act up to the principles of his religion? Give me leave to remind you of the duties of a Christian. The first

duty is to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and to love your neighbour as yourself ; to do to every man, whom you may have occasion to deal with, in a manner you would wish him to do to you in the same circumstances ; to be merciful upon every occasion, either as a private man or in a public capacity, to those whose situation may sometimes entitle you to be their judge ; to be grateful, to be obedient, industrious, slow to anger, and ready to forgive every man his trespasses against you, knowing that your heavenly Father is merciful, and will, if you ask in sincerity, forgive you your trespasses ; and, in short, to let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven. If you will practise your Christian duties with sincerity, I will promise you not only happiness in this world, but to all eternity. . . .

'I have mentioned, that one of the duties of a Christian is to be industrious, because by being industrious he gives himself an opportunity of being just. You must consider that God in His wisdom, for some wise purpose unknown to us, has ordained different ranks of society. Some men are born rich, others poor, others cripples, others are afflicted with various diseases, but *Heaven is open to all*. Some men are born to be rulers over others, to be their instructors and advisers, and others are created for a more laborious employment ; but you must all re-

collect, that according to our various employments, we are bound to give an account of our actions. Where much is given, much is required ; and I must confess that the humble labourer, who retires in the evening to rest his wearied limbs, and partakes of his humble fare with a grateful heart, and a perfect resignation to the will of Heaven, that man's situation I pronounce to be an enviable one. Believe me, the rich man who never thinks of anything but riot and dissipation, has not half the enjoyment of a grateful peasant. He cannot bear to be alone, fearing at some intervals he may be induced to reflect upon his situation as a man, knowing that as much has been given to him more will be required of him. I say, he dare not reflect, and I likewise say, that the reflections of a sincere Christian are more gratifying than any enjoyment this world can produce. . . .

'You will now fully understand the motives that induced his majesty to put the nation to such an expense as he has done on your accounts ; and likewise the motives of the Sierra Leone Company, in putting themselves to double, if not five times, the expense of government ; but fearing you should not, I will explain it. In the first place, what induced Government? I say, gratitude to you for your services to them during the late war. They knew you had boldly stood forth to defend *their* cause, and they were determined to perform one of their Christian duties to you for having assisted them, by

showing you they were grateful. What induced the Sierra Leone Company to stand your friends, and to make you the offers they have done? and to put themselves to such immense expenses on your account? I must tell you it was their duty as Christians that induced them. They, as I have mentioned before, had heard of your afflictions, and as God had been bountiful to them, not only in worldly riches, but what is still of greater consequence, in endowing them with a share of heavenly grace, they boldly stood forward in hopes of making their conduct pleasing to their Creator and gratifying to themselves, "by doing to others as they would have wished men to have done by them," had they been in your situation. This was one of their inducements relative to you, but they had another of still greater consequence, which was to enable you to be the instruments under Providence of spreading the light of Christian knowledge through this unenlightened and unhappy country, so that the fate of millions now existing, groaning under the severity of barbarism, possessed of the same feelings as ourselves, and millions yet unborn, may be made not only happy now, but happy to all eternity, by the good example of a few individuals. . . .

'I must now bid you farewell, and may the Lord bless you and keep you, may His face shine upon you, and may He be gracious unto you; may He lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace.'

Concluding Prayer.

‘O Lord, I beseech Thee favourably to hear the prayer of him who wishes to be Thy servant, and pardon him for presuming to address Thee from this sacred place. O God, I know my own infirmity and unworthiness, and I know Thine abundant mercies to those who wish to be guided by Thy will. Support me, O Lord, with Thy heavenly grace, and so enable me to conduct myself through this earthly life, that my actions may be consistent with the words I have uttered this day. Thou knowest that I am now about to depart from this place, and to leave the people whom it has pleased Thee to entrust to my care. Guide them, O merciful God, in the paths of truth, and let not a few wicked men among us draw down Thy vengeance upon this colony. Ingraft into their hearts a proper sense of duty, and enable them through Thy grace to conduct themselves as Christians, that they may not come to Thy house without that pleasing emotion which every grateful man must feel when paying adoration to the Author of life. But I have great reason to fear, O Lord, that many who frequent Thy church do not approach Thy presence as becomes them, and that they may partly be compared to the Scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites. Pardon, O God, their infirmities; and as thou knowest their weakness, from the manner in which they have formerly been treated, and the little opportunity they have had of knowing Thy will and getting

acquainted with the merits of Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, look down upon them with an eye of mercy, and suffer them not to incur Thy displeasure, after they have had an opportunity of being instructed in the ways of Thy Commandments.

‘Bless, O Lord, the inhabitants of this vast continent ; and incline their hearts towards us, that they may more readily listen to our advice and doctrines, and that we may conduct ourselves towards them so as to convince them of the happiness we enjoy under Thy almighty protection. Banish from this colony, O Lord, all heathenish superstition, and let the inhabitants know that Thou art the only true God, in whom we live and move and have our being. If these people who profess Thy religion will not be assured of Thy superior power, convince them, O God, of Thine anger for their profession without their practice ; for Thou knowest I brought them here in hopes of making them and their families happy, both in this world and to all eternity. But I fear they may not be governed by my advice, and that they may ruin themselves and their children for ever by their perverse and ignorant behaviour. I entreat Thee not to let their evil example affect the great cause in which we have embarked, for I would rather see this place in ashes, and every wicked person destroyed, than that the millions we have now an opportunity of bringing to the light and knowledge

of Thy holy religion should, from the wickedness of a few individuals, still continue in their accustomed darkness and barbarism. Thou knowest that I have universally talked of their apparent virtue and goodness, and have praised Thy name, for having permitted me to be the servant employed in so great and glorious a cause. If I have been deceived, I am sorry for it, and may Thy will be done; but I implore Thee to accept the sincerity of my intentions and my best endeavours to improve the talent committed to my care. Only pardon the infirmity of my nature, and I will trust to Thy mercy.

‘Should any person have a wicked thought in his heart, or do anything knowingly to disturb the peace and comfort of this our colony, let him be rooted out, O God, from off the face of the earth; but have mercy upon him hereafter.

‘Were I to utter all that my heart now indicates, no time would be sufficient for my praise and thanksgiving for all the mercies Thou hast vouchsafed to show me; but as thou art acquainted with every secret of my heart, accept my thoughts for thanks. I have no words left to express my gratitude and resignation to Thy will. I entreat Thee, O God, if nothing I can say will convince these people of Thy power and goodness, make use of me, in any way Thou pleasest, to make an atonement for their guilt. This is an awful, and I fear too presumptuous, a request; yet if it should be Thy will that I should

lay down my life for the cause I have embarked in, assist me, O Lord, with Thy support, that I may resign it in such a manner as to convince these unbelieving people that thou art God indeed. May the hearts of this colony, O Lord, imbibe the spirit of meekness, gentleness and truth; and may they henceforth live in unity and godly love, following as far as the weakness of their mortal natures will admit, that most excellent and faultless pattern, which thou hast given us in Thy Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.'



GOVERNOR CLARKSON.

CHAPTER VI

GLEANINGS FROM THE COMPANY'S REPORTS AND OTHER RECORDS

1791-1801

'They ought to be had in remembrance.'

THE following account of King Naimbanna's son, who was sent to England in 1791, for the purpose of being more fully instructed in the Christian religion and in the ways of civilisation, and who died as his ship the *Naimbanna* entered Free Town Harbour in July 1793, belongs to about the same period as Governor Clarkson's Diary, and is far too important to be omitted from our collection of Sierra Leone incidents of a hundred years ago.*

The record of an African youth, who, in the earliest days of the colony, manifested not only that impressibility of temperament, and those emotions in

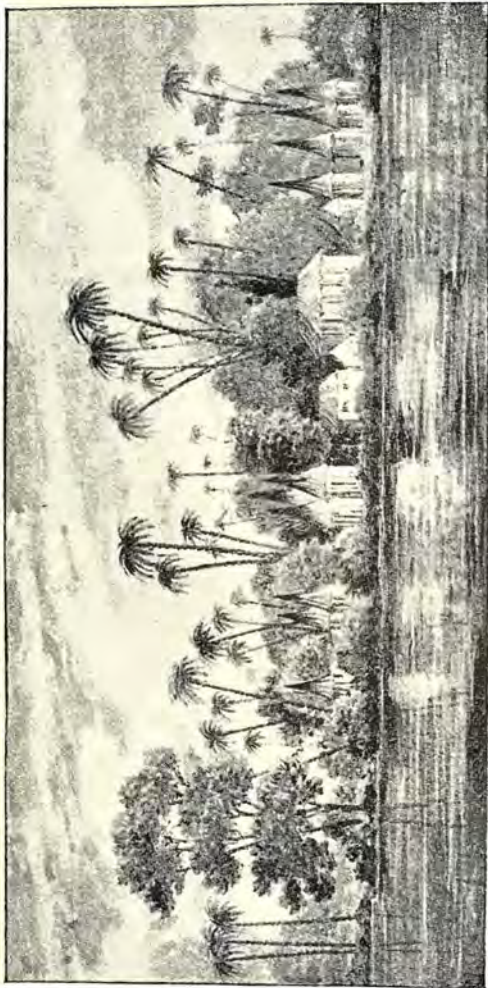
* This account was found in a little book, bearing date 1810, and entitled, *True Stories of Young Persons distinguished for Virtue and Piety who died in Early Life*. The series begins with 'Edward VI.,' and closes with 'Sir William Jones.' The book is the property of an African missionary, Rev. N. M. Bull, of the Sierra Leone Church Missions; and by his kindness we are enabled to copy the chapter here.

spiritual things that we expect to find, but at the same time exhibited strong convictions and instant readiness to act upon those convictions at all costs, is a refutation of much that is carelessly and untruly said about the African's receptivity. But we have much more than this to notice in this interesting chapter. We follow this youth, as his conscience, enlightened by Holy Scripture, is brought to face the polygamy question; we mark that recoil from profanity, and that desire for his own people to be taught what he had learnt, which are so sure a sign of God's grace in the heart; and, in the honest and straight dealing shown forth in his last will and testament, we see works evidencing faith in a most telling manner. And it only brings his rapid spiritual growth out into stronger relief, when we witness the barbarous surroundings of his sad funeral on the Bullom shore. This brief record ought to encourage workers for Africa and Africans to persevere!

'NAIMBANNA.

'When the Sierra Leone Company were first settled, they endeavoured to bring over to their friendship all the petty African princes in their neighbourhood. Among others, they applied to a chief of the name of Naimbanna, who was remarkable for a good disposition and an acute understanding. He easily saw that the intention of the company was friendly to

Africa, and entered into amity with them. They spoke to him about the slave trade, and gave him reasons for wishing to have it abolished. He was convinced of its vileness ; and declared that not one of his subjects should ever go into slavery again. By degrees they began to talk to him about religion. But he was rather wary on that head. It seems he had formed some prejudices against Christianity. Finding, however, that the factory contained a good sort of people, and that they lived happily among themselves, he began to think more favourably of their religion. But he was still backward either in receiving it himself, or in making it the religion of his country. He was well convinced of the barbarous state of his own people, on a comparison with Europeans, and wished for nothing more than a reformation among them, especially in religion. But as he found there were several kinds of religion in the world, he wished to know which was the best, before he introduced any of them. To ascertain this point as well as he could, he took the following method. He sent one of his sons into Turkey among the Mahometans ; a second into Portugal among the Papists ; and a third he recommended to the Sierra Leone Company, desiring they would send him into England, to be there instructed in the religion of the country. By the report of his sons, it appears, he meant to be directed in the choice of a national religion. Of the two former of these young men we



ROBANNA ISLAND, AND THE VILLAGE OF KING NAIMBANNA.

have no particulars, only that one of them became very vicious. The last mentioned, though I believe the eldest, bore his father's name Naimbanna. The Sierra Leone Company received the charge of him with great pleasure, believing that nothing could have a better effect in promoting their benevolent schemes, than making him a good Christian. Young Naimbanna was a perfect African in his form. He was black, had woolly hair, thick lips, and that bluntness of feature with which the African face is commonly marked. While he was with the company, he seemed a well-disposed, tractable youth; but when opposed, he was impatient, fierce, and subject to violent passions. In the first ship that sailed, he was sent to England; where he arrived in the year 1791. We may imagine with what astonishment he surveyed every object that came before him: but his curiosity, in prudent hands, became from the first the medium of useful instruction. During his voyage he had acquired some knowledge of the English language; and though he could not speak it with any degree of fluency, he could understand much of what he heard spoken, which greatly facilitated his learning it, when he applied to it in a more regular way. The difficulty of learning to speak and read, being in a great degree subdued, he was put upon the grand point for which he was sent into England; that of being instructed in the Christian religion. The gentlemen to whose care he had been recommended, alternately took him under their pro-

tection, and each gave up his whole time to him, faithfully discharging the trust which he had voluntarily, and without any emolument, undertaken. Naimbanna was first convinced that the Bible is the Word of God; the most material parts of which, of the Old Testament as well as of the New, were explained to him. The great necessity of a Saviour, from the sinfulness of man, was pointed out; the end and design of Christianity, its doctrines, its precepts, and its sanctions, were all made intelligible to him. With a clearness of understanding which astonished those who took the care of instructing him, he made these divine truths familiar to him. He received the Gospel with joy, and carried it home to his heart, as the means of happiness both in this world and the next. His love for reading the Scriptures, and hearing them read, was such, that he was never tired of the exercise. Every other part of learning that he was put upon, as arithmetic, for instance, was heavy work with him, and he soon began to complain of fatigue; but even when he was most fatigued, if he was asked to read in the Bible, he was always ready, and generally expressed his readiness by some emotions of joy. In short, he considered the Bible as the rule which was to direct his life; and he made a real use of every piece of instruction which he obtained from it. This was evident in all his actions. If his behaviour were at any time wrong, and a passage of Scripture were shown to him, which forbade such

behaviour, whatever it was, he instantly complied with the rule he received. Of this there were many instances. One related to dress. He had a little vanity about him ; was fond of finery ; admired it in other people, and was always ready to adorn himself. His kind instructors told him these were childish inclinations ; that decency and propriety of dress are pleasing, but that foppery is disgusting. Above all, they told him that the Christian is ordered to be clothed with humility, and to put on the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Such passages, whenever they were suggested to him, checked all the little vanities of his heart, and made him ashamed of what he had before just so eagerly desired. The irritable passions, where lay his weakest side, were conquered in the same way. His friends once carried him to the House of Commons to hear a debate on the slave-trade, which Colonel Tarleton defended with some warmth. When Naimbanna came out of the House, he exclaimed with great vehemence and indignation, that he would kill that man wherever he met him, for he told stories of his country. He told people that his countrymen would not work ; and that was a great story. His countrymen would work ; but England would not buy work ; they would buy only men. His friends told him he should not be so angry with Colonel Tarleton, for perhaps he had been misinformed, and knew no better. Besides, they told him, that, at any rate, he had no right to

kill him, for the Almighty says, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." This calmed him in a moment; and he never afterwards expressed the least indignation at Colonel Tarleton; but would have been ready to have shown him any friendly office, if it had fallen in his way. At another time, when he saw a drayman using his horse ill, he fired at it exceedingly, and declared he would get a gun and shoot that fellow directly. He would always, he said, carry a gun about him to kill such sort of people, for they deserved to be killed. But his anger was presently assuaged by this, or some similar passage from Scripture, "Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Among the difficulties in which his new religion involved him, one respected his wives. He had married three; but he clearly saw that the New Testament allowed only one. What should he do with the other two? Then, again, if he should repudiate two of them, which should he retain? In justice, he thought he should keep her whom he had married first. But she was not the wife of his affections. He loved his second wife best. In short, he showed so much tenderness of conscience on this, and on every other point, that he seemed anxious about nothing but to know what his religion required him to do. When he could determine the rectitude of an action, he set an example to Christians, by showing he thought there was no difficulty in the

performance. What resolutions he formed respecting his wives I never heard. It is certain, however, that while he continued in England, he showed no sign in any instance of infidelity to his African engagements. With regard to liquor, which is a great temptation to an African, he was from the first perfectly sober. He said his father had ordered him, when he came into England, never to drink more at one time than a single glass of wine; and he considered his father's injunction as sacred. On this head, therefore, all the instruction which he wanted was, to turn his temperance into a Christian virtue, by practising it with a sincere desire to please God. In the gay scenes which often presented themselves to his view he never mixed. His friends were very solicitous to keep him from all dissipation, that might have corrupted the beautiful simplicity of mind, which was so characteristic in him; though, indeed he never showed a desire to join in any diversion which they did not entirely approve. Dancing assemblies were the only meetings of amusement for which he seemed to have the least inclination. But though his friends were unwilling to trust him in any gay promiscuous meetings of that kind, they were very ready to indulge him in a dance at home; and he enjoyed the exercise with alacrity, jumping and capering, after the manner of his country, with an agility which seemed too violent for anybody but himself. He was fond of riding on

horseback ; but when he got upon a horse, it was difficult to govern his desire of rapid motion. He had now been a year and a half in England, and had been carefully instructed in the Christian religion, which he well understood. He was therefore baptized, and only waited for the first opportunity of going home, which did not happen until about five or six months afterwards. In the meantime, two great points were the burthens of his thoughts, and gave him much distress. The first related to his father, whose death he heard had happened about a year after he left the country. The great cause of his solicitude was his uncertainty whether his father had died a Christian. He knew he had been well disposed to Christianity, but he had never heard whether he had fully embraced it. His other difficulty regarded himself. He had now attained the end at which he had aimed. He had been instructed in a religion which, he was convinced, would promote the happiness of his people, if it could be established among them. But how was that to be done? With regard to himself, he had had wise and learned men to instruct him. But what could his abilities do in such a work? Especially considering the wild and savage manners of his countrymen. In every light the greatness of the attempt perplexed him. With a mind distressed by these difficulties, he took an affectionate leave of his kind friends in England, and embarked for Africa in one

of the company's ships, which was named after him the *Naimbanna*. Though he had shown great affection for his own country and relations, yet the kindnesses which he had received from his friends in England had impressed him strongly; and it was not without a great struggle that he broke away from them at last. The distress he felt was the greater, as the society he mixed in at sea was very different from that which he had left behind. The profligate manners and licentious language of the ship's company shocked him exceedingly. The purity of his mind could not bear it; he had hoped that, in a Christian country, he should always have found himself among Christians; but he was greatly disappointed. The company he was in appeared to him as ignorant and uninformed as his own savage countrymen, and much less innocent in their manners. At length the oaths, and abominable conversation which he continually heard, disgusted him so much, that he complained to the captain of the ship, and desired him to put a stop to so indecent language. The captain endeavoured to check it, but with little effect, which gave Naimbanna new distress. But still the great burthen of his mind was, the difficulty which he foresaw in his attempt to introduce Christianity among his countrymen. Many were the schemes he thought of; but insuperable obstacles seemed to arise on every side. All this perplexity which his active and generous mind underwent, re-

coiled upon himself. His thoughts were continually on the stretch, and, as it was supposed, at length occasioned a fever, which seized him when his voyage was nearly at an end. His malady increasing was attended with a delirium, which left him only few lucid intervals. In these his mind always shone out full of religious hope and patient resignation to the will of God. During one of these intervals, he told Mr Graham, a fellow passenger, with whom he was most intimate, that he began to think he should be called away before he had an opportunity to tell his mother of the mercies of God towards him, and of his obligations to the Sierra Leone Company. He then desired him to take pen and ink and write his will. The will, as follows, was written in the presence of Captain Wooles, and of James Cato, a black servant, who attended Naimbanna. It was afterwards regretted that Mr Graham had not written the will exactly in the language which Naimbanna dictated, instead of giving it a legal cast.

“ON BOARD THE ‘NAIMBANNA,’ *July 14, 1793.*

“I, Henry Granville Naimbanna, having been for several days very unwell, and being apprehensive that I may not reach my friends, have communicated the underwritten in the presence of the subscribers. It is my will and desire that my brother Bartholomew do pay to the Sierra Leone Company thirteen tons of rice, or the value thereof, being in consideration of

the sums expended by the said company on my account. And, likewise, that my said brother shall pay the sum of fifty pounds sterling to Henry Thornton, Esq., for money advanced by him on my account. It is my will, also, that my brother Bartholomew shall possess all my estates, real and personal, till my son Lewis shall be of age; and that he shall deliver unto my said son all that he receives from me for him; and that he shall always endeavour to be on a good understanding with the Sierra Leone Company. I particularly request him, as far as he can, to oppose the slave trade, and that nothing injurious may be imputed to the Sierra Leone Company by any evil-minded men, whose interest may be to oppose that worthy company. I here declare, in the presence of that God in whom I place my trust, that, during my stay in England, I always enjoyed very good health, and received the greatest kindness from all those whose care I was under, and that, at my leaving England, I was in perfect health. It is likewise my request that my brother will send to the Sugee country for the cows that belonged to my father, and that he will present three of them to the governor and council of the Sierra Leone Company; and that if he do not find that number of cows, that he will purchase three others and give them in my name. I further desire that my brother will pay James Dean Cato, who attended me as my servant, the sum of five bars."

‘ When Mr Graham had written thus far, Naimbanna complained of fatigue, and said he would finish his will after he had taken a little rest. But his fever came on with increased violence, and his delirium scarcely ever left him afterwards. In this will we see the workings of his generous mind, which seems chiefly to have been intent on two things—the remuneration of his friends (though they would not accept his kind legacies), and the prevention of any mischief befalling the company from his dying in their hands. It is probable, if he had finished his will, he would have added other legacies, for several English gentlemen had been very kind to him, as well as Mr Thornton. The night after Naimbanna had made his will, the vessel, though close on the African coast, durst not attempt to land, as the wind was contrary, and there was danger of running on the Scarcies Bank. The next morning, however, though the wind was still contrary, Mr Graham went off to the settlement in an open boat to procure medical aid ; but when the physician came on board the poor youth was only just alive, and in that state he was carried to the settlement the next morning, July the 17th, when the ship came to an anchor. On the first account of Naimbanna’s illness, an express was sent to inform his friends at Robanna, and soon after he landed, his mother, brothers, sister, and other relatives came to the settlement. His wives, it is probable, lived in some distant part, as they are not mentioned.

The distracted looks of his mother, and the wildness of his sister's grief, affected everyone. His cousin Henry, an ingenuous youth, who stood among them, attracted the attention of all by the solemn sorrow of his countenance, which seemed to discover a heart full of tenderness and woe. In the meantime, the dying youth appeared every moment drawing nearer the close of life. His voice failing more and more, the little he said was with difficulty understood. Once or twice those around him caught hold of something like our Saviour's words, "Many are called but few are chosen." About an hour before he died, his voice wholly failed. He was awhile restless and uneasy, till, turning his head on his pillow, he found an easier posture, and lay perfectly quiet. About seven o'clock in the evening of the day on which he was brought on shore, he expired without a groan. When his mother and other relations found his breath was gone, their shrieks and agonizing cries were distressing beyond measure. Instantly, in a kind of frantic madness, they snatched up his body, hurried it into a canoe, and went off with it to Robanna. Some of the gentlemen of the factory immediately followed in boats with a coffin. When the corpse was laid decently into it, Mr Horne, the clergyman, read the funeral service over it, amidst a number of people, and finished with an extempore prayer. The ceremony was conducted with so much solemnity, and performed in so affecting a manner, that the impression

was communicated through the whole ignorant crowd. They drew closer and closer as Mr Horne continued to speak, and though they understood not a syllable of what he said, they listened to him with great attention, and bore witness, with every mark of sorrow, to the powers of sympathy. After the ceremony was over, the gentlemen of the factory retired to their boats, leaving the corpse, as his friends desired, to be buried according to the custom of the country. We mix our griefs with theirs, and shut up, in the inscrutable counsels of God, all inquiries into the reasons why so invaluable a life was permitted to be cut off, just at the time of its greatest probable utility. In Naimbanna's pocket-book were found, after his death, two little notes, which show the great sensibility of his mind in religious matters. They relate to a circumstance already taken notice of—the disgust which he took at the behaviour of the ship's company. The first seems to have been written soon after he embarked. "I shall take care of this company which I now fallen into; for they swear good deal, and talk all manner of wickedness—and filthy. All these things—can I be able to resist this temptation? No, I cannot; but the Lord will deliver me." The other memorandum was probably written after he had complained to the captain. "*June 28, 1793.*—I have this day declared that, if Sierra Leone's vessels should be like to *Naimbanna*, or have a company like her, I will never think of coming to England again,

though I have friends there as dear to me as the last words my father spoke when he gave up the ghost."'

It will interest the present inhabitants of Sierra Leone to read some short account of the capture, plunder, and burning of Free Town by the French in 1794, the year following Naimbanna's death. For the little colony was soon called upon to share in the consequences of a quarrel with France, which had involved England and France in war. Mr Zachary Macaulay seems to have been the governor at the time.

It was on the evening of the 27th September, 1794, that the colony was alarmed by the firing of two heavy guns at sea. By daylight next morning some seven or eight sail were counted standing in towards the land. English colours were now observed, but a few shots over the town soon belied the colours, and it was seen that the colony had to deal with a French fleet. Resistance was felt to be useless. The English flag at Government House was immediately struck, a flag of truce was waved, but remained for a long time unheeded. Firing only ceased when the ships were hailed, and an assurance had been given that no resistance would be offered. How is it possible adequately to describe the desolations that followed?

A desperate slave captain, whom the governor, a short time previously, had been compelled to oppose,

had thrown in his lot with the French, and was evidently active as their guide. This man lost no time in proceeding to Government House, and presenting a pistol at the governor's head. Vain were all efforts to induce the French commodore to restrain his men. Pillaging and destruction immediately commenced. It was useless for the governor to emphasize either the philanthropic character of the settlement, or the fact that the French had no quarrel with the Africans. The commodore stated that it would be as much as his life was worth to call off his men. Free Town soon exhibited a distressing appearance. Some Frenchmen were to be seen carrying off the company's goods on their backs, others carousing round a cask of wine. All houses were filled with Frenchmen, destroying whatever they could not use. In the governor's yard alone, fourteen dozen fowls were killed, and in Free Town generally, some twelve hundred hogs were destroyed. The company's account books and library were scattered and defaced, and any book that had the least appearance of a Bible was torn to pieces and trampled on. In the botanist's house, plants, seeds, dried birds and insects, drawings, books, and papers were scattered in heaps on the floor.

In the offices the copying and printing presses were destroyed, all the company's telescopes, barometers, thermometers, and an electrical machine were broken to pieces. All the company's servants

had meanwhile fled into the woods, where several died of hunger and hardship.

The next step taken by the enemy was to burn several of the chief buildings, one or two settlers' houses, and some of the company's shipping. The church was then desecrated, the books torn, and the pulpit and desk smashed to pieces. The chemist's shop and every medicine in it was then destroyed. Next came the burning of all the rest of the buildings, of the church, a range of shops, three settlers' houses by the waterside, three more vessels, and all the small boats that could be found. The greatest blow of all was perhaps the capture of the *Harpy*, which unfortunately hove in sight from England while the French fleet still lay at anchor in Free Town Harbour. She had goods on board to the value of £10,000. Not even her despatches were allowed to be delivered. Her English passengers were completely plundered. The company's chaplain, who came out in her, was deprived of all his private papers; three Africans forfeited all their English presents. A plant hatch, containing many tropical plants from the king's collection at Kew, was destroyed, and an under-gardener of the king died shortly after of a sickness contracted at this period. The French commodore at length thought fit to depart, having not only captured all supplies, but having also bequeathed to a famine-stricken settlement the care of no less than 120 Europeans whom

he had taken from various ships. These unfortunates he duly committed to the governor's care! It will not be matter for surprise that three weeks later the scarcity and the strain had produced a universal sickness. No medicines were left in the colony, and the governor, in his own illness, refused to take some bark, because he knew so little was left for others. Although the 120 who were landed by the French were never without at least a meal of rice per diem, 80 out of the whole number died at this time. The total pecuniary loss sustained by the colony on this occasion amounted to some £55,000! There appears to have been something so deliberate, so destructive, and so diabolical in this raid, that we prefer to think with the directors, in their report that the commander of this squadron *may not* have received any regular commission from the French Convention. If, as may be the case, this attack was inspired and stimulated by slave traders, and was an attempt to wreck the anti-slavery enterprise, we must regard the incident as a part of the price that had to be paid (for which the French war was an excuse) for daring to fight this unholy traffic in flesh and blood on its own ground. Thank God the ground was maintained, the battle has been fought and won, and a clear knowledge of how much it has cost in human life and treasure, and of the noble principles and motives that inspired those who won the victory, are essential to those who occupy the ground to-day, if they are to make a

right use of the advantages gained for further progress and development. It will be seen in a later chapter that such a disaster is not likely to occur again so long as Great Britain is able to maintain her colonial empire.

Three other incidents only connected with the start of this colony remain to be noticed. They will show that nothing was left unattempted that seemed calculated to make this enterprise a success. When Mr Macaulay, the governor, returned to England in 1799, he brought with him twenty-one boys and four girls for purposes of education. Several of these were children of chiefs. They had previously been taught in the schools of the Sierra Leone Company. But the governor felt that complete removal from native influences was necessary, if teaching was to answer its purpose.

The directors duly took charge of these young people. Six of their number, together with the rector of the parish in which they were placed, formed a committee of superintendence. Mr Zachary Macaulay, as secretary, which post he took on his retirement from the governorship, undertook to examine and report upon their progress from time to time. A suitable schoolmaster was appointed, who, with his wife, occupied the same house with the children. Reading, writing and arithmetic, the Holy Scriptures, and such arts and industries as seemed likely to be useful in their country, were taught. A

considerable sum was raised by special subscription to effect these objects, and many notable names appear in the contribution list. We commend the methods adopted a hundred years ago, as delivering African children from the dangers otherwise incident to their education in England.

The prospect of the stability and permanence of the colony was increased about this time by measures taken by Government for its protection, and by the aid of a grant of £4000 per annum, voted in Parliament towards the expenses of its civil establishment. The grant of a charter of justice was at this time also obtained. Under this charter the whole tract, commonly known as the Sierra Leone Peninsula, was created one independent colony by the name of the Colony of Sierra Leone. And it was also ordained that there should be within the town of Free Town a body politic and corporate, by the name of the mayor and aldermen of Free Town. That Thomas Cox should be first mayor, and George Ross, Alexander Smith, and Peregrine Thomas the first aldermen (three in number), and that the governor and council should yearly, on the first Monday in September, elect one of the aldermen to be mayor for one year.

The last mention of enterprise and progress in connection with the start of this colony shall be that of the first *Sierra Leone Gazette*; we have seen a prospectus of this publication, dated at Thornton Hill, Sierra Leone, 1801. All persons are invited to en-

courage an undertaking set on foot for the purpose of promoting civil and moral instruction, and to advance the progress of tropical cultivation, by furnishing extracts from the most approved writers on the subject. The publication was also to give the requisite degree of publicity to the laws and regulations of the colony, as well as to public and private events. Its issue was to be twice a month, and the charge four cents a copy.

In view of the altogether excessive expenditure of the Sierra Leone Company in connection with the settlement, the directors very properly observed, that 'they must leave the event of success, after all their endeavours, to the supreme disposal of Him who can disappoint utterly, if He pleases, the most favourite schemes of men, *can obstruct and suspend for awhile their accomplishment*, or can crown them, if He sees fit, with the most signal and unexpected success.'

On the transfer of the Colony of Sierra Leone to the British Government, the company's directors published the following statement, which satisfactorily demonstrated the success of the company in the attainment of its most important objects, and was calculated to convince every proprietor that his money had been expended in a noble purpose:—

'However great may have been the company's loss in a pecuniary view, the directors are unwilling

to admit that there has been a total failure in their main objects, or that their capital has been expended without effect. It must afford satisfaction to reflect that the company should both have conceived and attempted to execute those plans of beneficence which led to the institution of the colony; and that they should have continued to pursue them for so many years, in the face of opposition, disappointment and loss; in spite of severe calamities arising from European as well as African wars, and much turbulence on the part of the colonists. The proprietors have the further satisfaction of knowing that the company have contributed to the abolition of the slave trade, by exposing its real nature before the view of a hesitating legislature, and detecting the artifices and misrepresentations by which the persons engaged in it laboured to delude the public.

‘The company have communicated the benefits flowing from a knowledge of letters, and from Christian instructions to hundreds of negroes on the coast of Africa; and, by a careful education in this country, they have elevated the character of several of the children of African chiefs, and directed their minds to objects of the very first importance to their countrymen. They have ascertained that the cultivation of every valuable article of tropical export may be carried on in Africa; that Africans, in a state of freedom, are susceptible of the same motives to industry and laborious exertion which influence the

natives of Europe ; and that some African chiefs are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend, and sufficiently patriotic to encourage schemes of improvement. They have demonstrated that negroes may be governed by the same mild laws which are found consistent with the maintenance of rational liberty even in this kingdom ; and that they may be safely and advantageously entrusted with the administration of those laws, not only as jurors, but also as judicial assessors.

‘ They have, in some measure retrieved the credit of the British, it may be added of the Christian name, on the Continent of Africa, and have convinced its inhabitants that there are Englishmen who are actuated by very different motives from those of self-interest, and who desire nothing so much as their improvement and happiness.

‘ To conclude, they have established, in a central part of Africa, a colony, which appears to be now provided with adequate means both of defence and subsistence ; which, by the blessing of Providence, *may become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilisation, and religious improvement to the inhabitants of that continent ; and which may hereafter repay to Great Britain the benefits she shall have communicated, by opening a continually increasing market for those manufactures which are now no longer secure of their accustomed vent on the Continent of Europe.* The

directors are persuaded that they only express the general feeling of the proprietary, when they say that they cannot prevail upon themselves to consider these effects, as an insignificant return for any pecuniary sacrifices which have been incurred for their attainment.'*

We have now recorded the various incidents of about a hundred years ago, that seem to us most important to be noticed in connection with the foundation of this colony. The reader may obtain more detailed information on all these subjects by reference to the published reports of the company. The selection here made is amply sufficient for the object in view. No history of development under Crown Government can be attempted in these pages. But if the reader can be persuaded to accompany us further, he will see, as well as we can paint it, the Sierra Leone of 1894, and the situation that has been created there by the events, efforts, and experiences of a hundred years. If this picture, however, is to be intelligible, some account must first be given of the work of the Church Missionary Society in connection with this colony.

* From a volume entitled, *Missionary Records, West Africa*. Religious Tract Society, 1836, in the possession of Rev. N. J. Cole, Regent Parsonage, Sierra Leone. Copied with his kind permission.

CHAPTER VII

C.M.S. ENTERPRISE

‘Who through faith . . . wrought righteousness.’

ANY account of Sierra Leone that ignored the work of the Church Missionary Society would be utterly incomplete. The correct order has, however, been observed. It was not till 1799 that this society was founded. The same influences that caused its title to read, ‘For Africa and the East,’ no doubt led to the selection of this settlement as the first field of its missionary endeavour. The leading members of the Sierra Leone Company were among the founders of the new society. William Wilberforce was invited to become its first President, and Henry Thornton was its first Treasurer. This, and much more that is interesting, will be sure to be brought to light when the C.M.S. presently publishes its story of a hundred years. It is, however, very evident that the awakening conscience of the

public, under the influence of Wilberforce's crusade in the Commons, would entirely account for Africa standing first and foremost as the most urgent field for evangelistic work. And it is even more evident that, in selecting Sierra Leone and its neighbourhood as their first missionary field, the new society was distinctly relieving the Sierra Leone Company of a great spiritual responsibility, and was making the best possible use of the start that had been made in 1787. We have already pointed out that, in 1808, this company, for very good reasons, withdrew in favour of the British Crown ; but we prefer to regard this noble company as never having really withdrawn. We would fain look upon the C.M.S. as their true spiritual successors. That society, numbering on its first committees leading members of the company, has abundantly vindicated for itself a claim to be a *Sierra Leone Company*, and it will be seen, by any who care to investigate them, that its spiritual principles in 1894 are exactly those enunciated by Governor Clarkson in 1792.

It was not, however, to Sierra Leone that the first C.M.S. missionaries were sent. Here, indeed, they first landed, and here, for a few months, most excellent and helpful work among the settlers was done by them. But the Rio Pongo, about 120 miles north-west of this colony, witnessed the first missionary efforts of this society. That was in the



HENRY THORNTON, M.P.

From a Portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A.

year 1804. It is impossible not to admire the splendid courage with which those first missionaries entered upon and persevered in a death grapple, not only with the climate, but with European and African slave dealers. It was not long before it became evident that it would not be possible to make headway against vested interests in such an unprotected region.

Destruction of mission property by fire was a constant experience. In spite of continual denial, the missionary was associated in the minds of the all-powerful slave dealers with the British Government and with British men-of-war. It was therefore natural that, when the Society received the pressing invitation from the Governor of Sierra Leone, referred to in the letter at the early part of the next chapter, it should seriously consider the advisability of transferring its missionaries to the new colony. Great events had been happening since the foundation of the society. Parliament had declared the slave trade illegal. This declaration had given unlooked-for importance to Sierra Leone, which would now, under the Crown, receive constant additions to its freed population. We are not surprised, therefore, at the very reasonable and wise decision of the C.M.S. Committee, to come within this protected area, and minister to the utter need and helplessness of a rapidly-increasing population.

Here, then, we would briefly trace some of the dif-

difficult and heroic steps by which evangelistic work under the C.M.S. led up to the spiritual developments to be witnessed in this colony at the present time. No more difficult or discouraging field could have been selected for a start. Sierra Leone was to test the faith, and hope, and love of this Society to the uttermost; and an enthusiasm for missions to the heathen that could survive decades of disaster in this climate, is deservedly honoured and trusted to-day. The story has so often been told, that it would be rash to attempt much detail in this chapter. A few salient points only need to be kept in view.

The work of the new missionaries lay in the various villages or centres into which the newly landed rescued Africans were grouped. Here the most utterly elementary work awaited them. Without drawing too literal a picture, it can be imagined what a jack-at-all-trades such a missionary needed to be. And when we remember that these first missionaries were Germans, with mostly English wives, and that they had to sit down in the midst of a very Babel of tongues and dialects, when we consider how engrossing must have been the care of these constant importations, and how urgent must have been the necessity of supplying shelter from rain and sun as each fresh ship arrived (to say nothing of the spiritual work), we appreciate something of the difficulties that beset those noble pioneers.

And when, moreover, we remember that this society and its committee were at this time almost without experience of tropical countries and the laws of health there; when we mark the inexperience of the missionaries themselves, and recall all we have read of the utterly undeveloped condition of the colony, and the absence of the most ordinary necessaries of life, we are not surprised to find that so few were able to survive long in such a trying and hitherto unknown climate. We have never been able to arrive at very exact statistics, but it is not wide of the mark to compute that not less than 100 C.M.S. missionaries of both sexes have died in this colony, or in connection with this mission to Sierra Leone. The work that required to be done had little adventure about it. Secure under a settled government, it needed only time and a due succession of men and women workers to realise excellent results. But when a new contingent of say six fresh missionaries is within a few weeks or months reduced to one, and when the fort has frequently to be held by an overworked, overstrained party of two or three, it can be imagined how the work must suffer and endurance be tried. This happened again and again in those early days.* But the C.M.S. Committee never looked back. By the

* 'Many of the missionaries and teachers were also obliged to return to England, so that, at the time of the publication of the Report of the Church Missionary Society in the year 1835, there remained only *three missionaries and two catechists*. The only female remaining was the

time that the century had half run out, it was found that a sufficiently important spiritual work existed to justify the creation of a Bishopric of Sierra Leone. Had the Church of England been as much alive to her *ecclesiastical* responsibilities, as her handmaid had been in her own *evangelistic* department, Sierra Leone would not have had to wait so long, to her loss, for this necessary development. This event took place in 1852, at the close of which year Bishop Vidal arrived in Sierra Leone. Very pathetic consequences attended this new departure. The three first Bishops (Vidal, Weeks and Bowen) had all died at their post before one decade had run out, and the society were more and more set upon the withdrawal of all their missionaries, and the establishment of a native pastorate. The two succeeding Bishops (Dr Beckles and Dr Cheetham) were mainly instrumental in carrying out this measure, and it will be our duty when, in another chapter, we draw the contrast between the present time and a hundred years ago, to discuss this institution, to give information as to its growth, and to recommend such modifications or amendments as further and fuller experience would suggest.

It can easily be understood from what has been

daughter of Mr Nyländer. These only remained in Africa of *one hundred and nine labourers* which the Church Missionary Society had sent out during thirty years.'—From *Missionary Records, West Africa, Religious Tract Society, 1836.*

said, that it is impossible to turn over a page of Sierra Leone history without being brought face to face with C.M.S. effort and influence there. And not only is the church there to-day the direct result of its labours, but many indirect evidences are to be observed in the various callings and professions, and in the growing intelligence and prosperity that are to be witnessed on every side. When this has been said, and said with a hearty good-will, and a strong conviction, we shall not be thought hypercritical when we come presently to speak of desiderata, which were either imperfectly recognised in the part, or which altered and developed circumstances render important now. The C.M.S. has not even now given up Sierra Leone. Its college, its grammar school, its boarding school for girls are still in direct connection with the Society, and two of them are mainly officered by Europeans. The Society, also, through its English local secretary, retains much influence in the native church, and it also has a small mission in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony.

LIST OF CLERGYMEN OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, WHO HAVE SERVED IN SIERRA LEONE, WITH DATES FROM THE BOOK OF GOVERNMENT ORDINANCES, COMPILED BY ALGERNON MONTAGUE, ESQ., AND PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

No.	Date	Name	Mission Station	Close of Connection
1	Mar. 8, 1804	Rev. Melchior Renner (Wurtemberg)	1818. Leopold (Sierra Leone) 1820. Kent (Sierra Leone)	Died at Sierra Leone Sep. 9, 1821
2	Mar. 8, 1804	Rev. Peter Hartwig (Prussia)	.....	Died in Africa Mar. 1, 1815
3	May 15, 1806	Rev. Gustavus Reinhold, Nyländer (Poland)	Acting Gov.- Chaplain till 1812, Bullom Shore 1812, Kissy 1818	Died May 23, 1825
4	May 15, 1806	Rev. Leopold Butscher (Swabia)	1814. Institution (Sierra Leone)	Died July 17, 1817
5	May 15, 1806	Rev. John Gottfried (Prasse, Lusatia)	1816. Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died Jan. 23, 1809
6	July 10, 1809	Rev. Charles Frederick Christian Wenzel (Silesia)	1816. Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died Aug. 1, 1816
7	July 10, 1809	Rev. John Charles Bar- nett (Silesia)		Died Feb. 2, 1810
8	Nov. 20, 1811	Rev. John Godfrey Wil- helm (Alsace)	1815. Rio Pon- gas	Died Apr. 25, 1834
9	Nov. 20, 1811	Rev. Jonathan Solomon Klein (Wurtemberg)	.....	1821
10	Dec. 1, 1812	John Quast (Hanover)		Died Mar. 9, 1813
11	Dec. 1, 1812	Conrad Henry Meissner (Hanover)		Died June 14, 1814
12	Dec. 1, 1812	Herman Meyer (Bremen)	Bullom Shore	Died Sep. 12, 1813

No.	Date	Name	Mission Station	Close of Connection
13	Jan. 5, 1815	Rev. John Christopher Sperhacken (Germany)		Died Oct. 1815
14	Jan. 5, 1815	Robert Hughes (England)		Mar. 30, 1818
15	June 22, 1815	Rev. John Henry Schulge (Prussia)	Sierra Leone	Died Oct. 7, 1815
16	Mar. 17, 1816	Rev. Augustin Bernard William Johnson (Hanover)	Regent (Sierra Leone)	Died May 3, 1823
17	Mar. 17, 1816	Rev. Henry During (Hanover)	Gloucester (Sierra Leone)	Died at Sea, Sep. 1823
18	Mar. 17, 1816	Christopher Jost (Germany)	Bullom Shore	Died June 28, 1816
19	Mar. 17, 1816	John Horton (England)	Leicester (Sierra Leone)	Mar. 1818
20	Jan. 14, 1817	John Brereton Cates (England)	Wilberforce (Sierra Leone)	July 27, 1819
21	Jan. 14, 1817	David Brennand (England)	Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died
22	Nov. 19, 1817	Rev. Chas. Henry Decker (Germany)	Wilberforce (Sierra Leone)	Nov. 1822
23	Nov. 20, 1818	George Stringer Bull (England)	Principal of Institution	1820
24	Nov. 20, 1818	Thomas Morgan (England)	Free Town and Regent	1819
25	Nov. 20, 1818	Christopher Taylor (England)	Charlotte (Sierra Leone)	Died July 31, 1825
26	Jan. 29, 1819	Thomas Jesty (England)	Free Town	Died Sep. 1819
27	Jan. 29, 1819	Henry Barrett (England)	Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died May 10, 1819
28	Jan. 5, 1820	James Lisk (England)	Hastings and Regent (Sierra Leone)	Apr. 1830
29	Jan. 5, 1820	Robert Beckley (England)	Free Town Kissy and Kent (Sierra Leone)	Apr. 1826
30	Dec. 4, 1820	Rev. Jas. Norman (England)	.....	1826
31	Dec. 20, 1820	Rev. Thos. Davey (England)	Leopold (Sierra Leone)	Dec. 9, 1830
32	Oct. 3, 1822	Rev. Geo. Emanuel Wm. Metzger (Wurtemberg)	Wilberforce, Kissy, Wellington (Sierra Leone)	Apr. 7, 1833

No.	Date	Name	Mission Station	Close of Connection
33	Oct. 3, 1822	Philip Vaughan (England)		Died Nov. 25, 1823
34	Nov. 8, 1822	Rev. Chas. William Beckhauer (Saxony)	.....	Died June 28, 1823
35	Nov. 8, 1822	Rev. John Gerber (Switzerland)	Leopold, Bananas and Waterloo (Sierra Leone)	Feb. 18, 1832
36	Nov. 8, 1822	Rev. William Henry Schemel (Wurtemberg)	.....	Died Apr. 25, 1823
37	Nov. 8, 1822	James Bunyer (England)		Died Apr. 20, 1823
38	Oct. 6, 1823	John Pope (England)		Died Mar. 30, 1824
39	Nov. 3, 1823	Rev. John Raban (England)	.....	July 26, 1836
40	Nov. 3, 1823	Rev. Henry Brooks (England)	Regent (Sierra Leone)	Died May 3, 1825
41	Nov. 3, 1824	Rev. Charles Knight (England)	.....	Died Mar. 20, 1825
42	Nov. 3, 1824	James Coney (England)	.....	1825
43	Nov. 3, 1824	John Pierce (England)	.....	1827
44	Nov. 3, 1824	Rev. John William Weeks (England)	Regent (afterwards Bishop of Sierra Leone)	Died Mar. 25, 1857
45	Jan. 12, 1826	Rev. Wm. Keeling Betts (England)	.....	Apr. 16, 1834
46	Jan. 12, 1826	Rev. Alfred Scholding (England)		Died Sep. 26, 1826
47	Oct. 16, 1826	Frederick Gatesman (England)	Leopold (Sierra Leone)	Died Apr. 23, 1827
48	Jan. 9, 1827	Rev. Charles Lewis Frederick Hansel (Bavaria)	Institution (Free Town)	Oct. 23, 1835
49	Oct. 14, 1827	Rev. Ebenezer Collins	Kissy and Hastings (Sierra Leone)	Mar. 31, 1841
50	Nov. 18, 1827	Edmund Boston (England)	Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died June 8, 1830
51	Nov. 18, 1827	Thomas Heighway (England)	York (Sierra Leone)	Died Jan. 8, 1828
52	Oct. 12, 1829	Rev. John Murrell (England)	.....	June 24, 1830
53	Oct. 12, 1829	Henry Graham (England)		1832

No.	Date.	Name.	Mission Station.	Close of Connection.
54	Oct. 12, 1829	Rev. John Warburton (England)	Kissy and Gloucester (Sierra Leone)	May 4, 1850
55	Oct. 27, 1830	Rev. William Young (England)	Kissy, Waterloo, Kent, Tombu, Russel, and Padema Road, Free Town	Apl. 7, 1858
56	Oct. 27, 1830	William Tubb (England)	.....	Died June 2, 1831
57	Oct. 27, 1830	Richard Lloyd (England)	Regent (Sierra Leone)	Feb. 18, 1832
58	Nov. 6, 1831	John Rogers (England)	Gloucester (Sierra Leone)	Died May 12, 1832
59	Oct. 12, 1832	Rev. James Frederick Schön (Germany)	Kent, Fourah Bay, Kissy Koad, Free Town, Gloucester	1853
60	Oct. 12, 1832	Rev. Geo. Adam Kissling (Germany)	Kissy and Fourah Bay Institution	1842
61	Oct. 12, 1832	Thomas Bates (England)	.....	Died Jan. 1833
62	Oct. 12, 1832	Edward Gillespie (Ireland)		Died Oct. 10, 1834
63	Nov. 25, 1833	Rev. Benj. Yate Ashwell (England)		June 12, 1835
64	Dec. 5, 1835	Christian Frederick Schlenker (Wurtemberg)	Kissy and Port Lokhoh	Mar. 11, 1851
65	Dec. 5, 1835	Walter Crowley (England)	.....	May 6, 1838
66	Oct. 26, 1836	Rev. John Ulric Graf (Germany)	Hastings (Sierra Leone)	Mar. 22, 1855
67	Oct. 26, 1836	Rev. Henry Townsend (England)	Kissy and Kent (Sierra Leone) (later Yoruba country)	Oct. 22, 1843
68	Oct. 31, 1837	Rev. Frederick Bultmann (Bremen)	Wellington and Kent (Sierra Leone)	1860

No.	Date.	Name.	Mission Station.	Close of Connection.
69	Oct. 31, 1837	Rev. James Beale (England)	Bathurst and Free Town	Died Dec. 17, 1856, at Lagos
70	Oct. 31, 1837	Rev. Thomas Peyton (England)	Hastings and Waterloo, also Principal C. M. S. Grammar School (Sierra Leone)	Died June 15, 1853
71	Oct. 31, 1837	Rev. Isaac Smith (England)	Kissy, Bathurst and Waterloo (Sierra Leone)	Oct. 12, 1853
72	Oct. 31, 1837	Henry Plumer Stedman (England)	Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Jan. 17, 1840
73	Nov. 25, 1839	James R. White (England)	.....	Died Feb. 11, 1840
74	Nov. 25, 1839	Rev. Nathanael Denton (England)	Kissy and Regent (Sierra Leone) Timni 1840	Mar. 2, 1855
75	Nov. 25, 1839	Wm. Isaac Murphy (Scotland)	.....	Died May 11, 1840
76	Nov. 3, 1840	John Ilott (England)		1842
77	Dec. 16, 1840	Rev. Niels Christian Hastrup (Denmark)		Died Aug. 24, 1849
78	Dec. 16, 1840	Rev. Henry David Schmidt (Wurtemberg)	Kissy and Port Lokkoh	1858
79	Mar. 15, 1841	Rev. John Christian Miller	Hastings and Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Dec. 20, 1847
80	Oct. 29, 1841	Rev. Henry Rhodes (England)	Wilberforce and Kissy Road (Free Town)	June 19, 1859
81	Oct. 29, 1841	Rev. Christian Theophilus Frey (Wurtemberg)	Kent and Waterloo (Sierra Leone)	Died Apl. 23, 1857
82	Oct. 29, 1841	Rev. Charles Andrew Gollmer (Wurtemberg)	Bathurst (Sierra Leone) and Yoruba country	1843

No.	Date.	Name.	Mission Station.	Close of Connection.
83	Oct. 29, 1841	John Reynolds (England)	.....	Died Dec. 27, 1841
84	Oct. 23, 1843	Rev. Christian Frederick Ehemann (Wurtemberg)	Regent, York, and Fourah Bay Coll.	Died Jan. 27, 1860
85	Oct. 29, 1845	William Parkin (England)	Gloucester (Sierra Leone)	Dec. 10, 1847
86	Feb. 11, 1846	Fredk. W. H. Davies (England)	Kissy, Bathurst and York (Sierra Leone)	Died June 1850
87	Nov. 10, 1848	Rev. John Conirad Clemens (Switzerland)	Kissy Road, Free Town, Bathurst and Kissy (Sierra Leone)	Died June 25, 1850
88	Oct. 8, 1847	John N. Ashwood (Dr) (England)	.....	Died Apr. 21, 1860
89	Nov. 10, 1847	Rev. Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle (Wurtemberg)		Jan. 20, 1855
90	Jan. 9, 1851	James Jacob Huber (Germany)	.....	1853
91	Dec. 16, 1851	Rev. Edward Dicker (England)	Kissy, Bathurst and Kissy Road (Sierra Leone)	June 23, 1855
92	Sep. 24, 1852	Rev. Charles Augustus Reichardt (Wurtemberg)	Regent and Fourah Bay Coll.	Died 1882
93	Dec. 5, 1852	George A. Allen (England)	.....	1853
94	Sept. 24, 1853	Coleman N. Hammond (Ireland)	Kissy	1855
95	Oct. 24, 1855	Wm. Henry Charpentier (England)	Kissy	1856
96	Oct. 24, 1855	Rev. John Milward (England)	Principal C. M. S. Grammar School, Free Town)	Died July 19, 1859
97	Oct. 24, 1857	Rev. George Rogers Caiger (England)	Wilberforce and Pademba Road, Free Town	Died Jan. 27, 1860

No.	Date	Name	Mission Station	Close of Connection
98	Oct. 24, 1857	Rev. James Hamilton (England)	Waterloo, Fourah Bay Coll., later C. M. S. Sec- retary on Niger, and Archdeacon of Lagos	
99	Nov. 26, 1857	Rev. Samuel Black (Ireland)	Fourah Bay Coll. and Kissy	June 19, 1859
100	Nov. 25, 1857	Rev. Charles Knodler (Wurtemberg)	Kissy, Wilber- force and Quiah Mis- sion Sierra Leone	
101	Nov. 25, 1857	Henry Bockstall (Wort- emburg)	Kissy	
102	Dec. 24, 1857	Rev. Lancelot Nichol- son (England)	Sec. C. M. S. Grammar School, also Pademba Rd. Free Town	
103	Oct. 24, 1858	Rev. Alfred Menzies (Jamaica)	Wilberforce, Waterloo, Sierra Leone	Nov. 21, 1859.
104	Oct. 24, 1858	John Alcock (England)		July 20, 1859
105	Oct. 24, 1858	Thomas Harrison (Eng- land)		
106	Dec. 24, 1859	Rev. Chas. Henry Brierley (England)	Aberdeen and Charlotte (Sierra Leone)	Dead
107	Dec. 24, 1859	James Henry Ashcroft (England)	.....	.....
108	Dec. 24, 1859	Rev. Thomas Oldham (England)	Pademba Road, Free Town	.....
109	Nov. 24, 1860	Rev. Michael St Jack- son (England)	.....	June 21, 1861
110	Jan. 24, 1861	Rev. Henry Chas. Burns (England)	Pademba Road, Free Town	1867
111	Oct. 24, 1866	Rev. H. J. Allcock, (Eng- land)	Fourah Bay College	
112	Dec. 1868	Rev. James Beale, son of the one named above	Quiah Mission	1869
113		Rev. J. A. Lamb	Sec. C. M. S., Free Town	Died at Lagos 1883

N.B.—Since the above compilation, the following are, or have been, engaged in C.M.S. work in connection with Sierra Leone:—

No.	Date	Name	Mission Station	Close of Connection
		Rev. Metcalf Sunter	Principal of Fourah Bay College, Late H.M. Inspector of Schools	Died 1893
		Rev. J. A. Alley	Port Lokkoh Mission	Still at work
	1885	Rev. Frank Nevill	Principal Fourah Bay College	Died Nov. 1889
	1887	Rev. H. M ^c . C. E. Price,	Late Vice-Principal	Now in Japan
	1890	Rev. William J. Humphrey	Principal Fourah Bay College, now in residence	
...	1889	Rev. Edward Leversuch	Acting Vice-Principal	
...	1893	T. E. Alvarez	Vice-Principal Fourah Bay Coll.	

EUROPEAN LADY MISSIONARIES SENT OUT BY C.M.S. TO SIERRA LEONE FOR THE TRAINING OF AFRICAN GIRLS.

No.	Name	Country	Date of Arrival	Remarks
1	Miss Mary Bouffler	England	Jan. 5, 1804	Died Nov. 27, 1820
2	Miss Hannah Johnson	Hanover	Jan. 5, 1804	Married Robert Beckley 1822
3	Miss Hannah Nyländer	Africa	Sep. 6, 1831	Died Oct. 8, 1839
4	Miss Elizabeth Nyländer	Africa	Sep. 6, 1831	Died Nov. 1837
5	Miss Ann C. Morris	England	Apr. 22, 1843	Died Jan. 1856
6	Miss E. Phillips	England	Apr. 22, 1843	Died April 1845
7	Miss Dietrich	Germany	Apr. 22, 1843	Died May 9, 1844
8	Miss M. S. Hehlen	Germany	Nov. 1, 1846	Connection closed 1865
9	Miss Julia E. Sass	England	Nov. 10, 1848	Left for England finally 1862, died in London about 1891
10	Miss W. Eschemaier	Germany	Nov. 10, 1848	Married Rev. H. D. Schmidt 1848
11	Miss M. E. Wilkinson	England	Dec. 1, 1853	Connection closed, Feb. 28, 1857

No.	Name.	Country	Date of Arrival	Remarks
12	Miss Babette Bleuler	Wurtemberg	Dec. 24, 1856	Married Rev. J. Hamilton (now Archdeacon Hamilton) 1861
13	Miss Eliza König	Germany	Oct. 24, 1858	Married Rev. C. Knodler, 1862,
14	Miss M. R. Bywater	England	Dec. 24, 1858	Connection closed 1864, married Rev. H. Brierley 7
15	Miss Annie Freymuth	Ireland	Nov. 24, 1860	Connection closed 1865
16	Miss Elizabeth Adcock	England	Jan. 24, 1864	Connection closed 1867
17	Miss Jane Caspari	England	Oct. 24, 1865	Went to Japan C.M.S. Mission
18	Miss Gould	England	Nov. 1870	Left for England
19	Miss H. E. Thomas	England		Left for England 1872
20	Miss Catharine Ilott	England	1871	Died at Free Town, July 27, 1873
21	Miss Catharine Caiger	England	Dec. 1872	Left for England June 1874
22	Miss Mary Shoard	England	May 16, 1876	Now resides in England

N.B.—Since the above compilation, the following Ladies are, or have been, engaged in this work, now centred in the 'Annie Walsh Memorial School,' Free Town :—

23	Miss Ansell	England		After a few years' work she married in England
24	Mrs Burton	England	.....	Now in America
25	Miss Bisset	Scotland	.....	Still at work (1893)
26	Miss Nevill	England		Acted as Lady Principal at times, now in India
27	Miss Henderson	England		Retired and died recently
28	Miss Dunkley	England	.....	The present Lady Principal (1893)
29	Miss Williams	England		Retired 1894.
30	Miss Long	England		Recently arrived 1894.
31	Miss Thornewell	England		Working at Port Lokkoh

CHAPTER VIII

RELICS

‘Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following.’

THE title of this chapter has been suggested by a story told in our hearing once by the late Archbishop Tait, on a London platform. It is impossible to give it as he spoke it, but the following is its purport:—His Grace told how that Merle d’Aubigné, the historian of the Reformation, was going the usual round of ecclesiastical sight-seeing in Rome, how he was treated to the ordinary spectacle of relics, and also to the astonishing stories connected with them, and how, after having been satiated with exhibitions of bones, garments, and other effects of saints and martyrs of the early church, a happy thought came to d’Aubigné, and he startled his guide considerably by assuring him that all these relics were as nothing in comparison with some that were in his own possession,—that he owned, for instance, relics of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles, which had a very peculiar efficacy, as being calculated to convey their very mind and thought to those who viewed them—that, in short, he possessed their very sayings and writings.

The moral needs little pointing. If the Church cannot do without the inspired relics of recorded thoughts, and words and acts of her first founders, neither can she afford to ignore the spirit-taught convictions of her ancient or modern builders. And, if a knowledge of church history in general is calculated to beget appreciation of work done, to show up mistakes made, and to guard against their repetition ; if words of faith, words of hope, and deeds of self-sacrifice come as an inspiration to us still from martyr fires and lonely dungeons, no less, in their own limited sphere, are our humble Sierra Leone relics fitted to help and guide those who work for and in the West African churches to-day.

The reader will have seen, on a preceding page, the list of missionaries to this colony and neighbourhood since 1804, together with the date of their decease or return to England. Some fifty years ago, Rev. Samuel A. Walker, Rector of Gallo, Meath, in the Church of Ireland, undertook to write an account of these devoted men and women, and their mission to Sierra Leone. For this purpose, he had access to all the C.M.S. records that bore on the subject. Two large volumes of most painstaking research were the result. As a permanent record of the Sierra Leone mission for the first fifty years, they are invaluable. But the bulky character of the volumes, and their exuberance of detail, are altogether against their ever becoming anything more than books of reference. The conviction, moreover, grows on the mind, as we

read, that the men and women, by whose death-beds we are called upon in every few pages to stand, were pioneers and proto-martyrs in an attempt to live under physical laws of which people then had very little knowledge, and in circumstances for which few aids existed, such as are easily obtainable to-day. And so we come to the conclusion, that the long details of disaster to missionaries and their wives, many of the latter of whom appear to have died at the time of child-birth, are unnecessarily depressing. We think, moreover, that while it is important that the dark background should always be kept in view, —the horrors of kidnapping, of the middle passage, and the misery of the condition of the newly rescued —yet, taking into consideration the fact that these circumstances were by no means the original lot of these people, but were brought on them by the greed of both black and white traders, it is altogether unnecessary to parade them in constant and hideous detail before the eyes of the present generation. Looking back from this distance, we can see how the Almighty has overruled all for good ; and it is with the view of demonstrating this, and to let all who are interested in the progress made during the first hundred years, see for themselves *what some of the builders thought, and felt, and said as they builded*, that we venture on the following selections from Mr Walker's volumes, which are kindly lent from the Fourah Bay College Library, in this colony :—

We shall make the visit of Mr Bickersteth, father of the present Bishop of Exeter, in 1816, our general starting-point, and shall record, under each succeeding year, any circumstances or dicta that seem best to illustrate that year:—

‘1816. It would appear,’ says Mr Walker, ‘from Mr Bickersteth’s report, that the only steps taken by the C.M.S. up to this date for the occupation of the colony, was the erection of the Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain, in the year 1815, and the supply of the office of Government Chaplain by one of their missionaries since the year 1806, when Mr Nyländer, with their permission, undertook the duties of resident minister to the colony, and continued to discharge them until the 1st October 1812, when he removed to the Bullom Shore, and was succeeded by Mr Butscher the following year.’ . . . Eleven hundred acres of land had been granted to the society on Leicester Mountain side, and, ‘at Mr Bickersteth’s departure, there were about 350 children of both sexes enjoying the advantages of this excellent asylum. The boys were for the most part instructed in different trades, as carpenters, sawyers, masons, and shingle-makers; and the girls in such occupations as were suited to their sex and condition; and, above all, every effort was made to lead them to a saving knowledge of the divine truths of the Gospel.’

The general principle acted upon was, ‘that they

should be employed half the day in work and half the day at school.'

'A second great means of spiritual improvement for the colony, which now occupied the attention of the Society, was its division into parishes, according to a plan formed by Governor MacCarthy, who, as will be seen in the following letter, had expressed to Mr Bickersteth his disapproval of the Society's exertions at a distance from Sierra Leone, while such an obvious and promising field of usefulness presented itself within the colony.'

Early in February, the following letter was addressed by Governor M'Carthy to the Secretary :—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIERRA LEONE,
February 7, 1816.

'SIR,—Mr Z. Macaulay having mentioned in his letter that he was authorised by you to state that a chaplain had been appointed for Sierra Leone, who would probably leave England in two or three weeks, and that he would be accompanied by schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, intended to teach the captured youth, I beg leave to assure you they will all meet with a hearty welcome. I had from Earl Bathurst the notification of the appointment of the chaplain.

'Since my last of the 16th August, the Rev. Messrs Wenzel and Renner were here.

'I was extremely sorry to understand, from latter, that the natives near their settlements had set fire to the thatch covering of the mud house erected for the purpose of a Church.

'I cannot help regretting that my suggestion, in 1814, to employ these zealous gentlemen in the civilisation of the settlers and captured negroes of this peninsula, did not meet with your ideas on the subject. I entertain considerable doubts of the probability of operating any improvement in

either of the rivers near Sierra Leone, so long as we have not factories there, supported by military force.

‘We have a considerable population both in the town and in the villages allotted to the captured negroes. Want of Europeans to superintend any establishment of that description operates against all our endeavours. Some progress has certainly been made within these few months at two or three of the villages. At the principal one, I have begun to erect a substantial chapel, and the captured people themselves have erected a mud house at another, and this example will be followed by a third. Mr Butscher and the Rev. Mr Davies, of the Wesleyan Society, encourage their exertions by reading prayers to them. These people are extremely zealous to be taught the Christian religion, and I am confident that, if a clergyman were settled with them, in the course of a year or two, material progress would be made in their civilisation.

‘I forwarded to Mr Macaulay a sketch of a plan which I conceive would, in a few years, accomplish the grand object in view—of rendering these people happy, and a model to their own country; and from thence we might, with fair prospect of success, extend gradually our views in the interior, step by step; but to operate any good we want Europeans, and none are better calculated for the object than clergymen.—I have the honour to remain, with sincere esteem, sir, your obed. humble servant, C. MACCARTHY.’

‘1817. On the 9th of January 1817 was laid the foundation stone of a new church at Free Town (St George’s*). The Rev. W. Garnon read part of the eighth chapter of the First Book of Kings, in which the dedication of the temple by Solomon was recorded, and applied it to the occasion. The Governor, assisted by the chaplain and some other gentlemen,

* This church became a cathedral in 1852, and was consecrated by Bishop Vidal in 1853.

having laid the stone, delivered an appropriate address. The 100th Psalm was then sung by the whole assembly, and the guns of the fort fired a salute in honour of an event, from which the most important and permanent advantages were anticipated for the colony.'

1819. Here is a bird's-eye view of the brightest period of Rev. W. A. B. Johnson's work at Regent. 'At ten o'clock,' wrote Mr Jesty, a C.M.S. missionary, recently arrived in the colony, 'I saw a sight which at once astonished and delighted me. The bell at the church rang for divine service, on which Mr Johnson's well-regulated schools of boys and girls walked two and two to the church. The girls, extremely clean, and dressed entirely in white, in striking contrast with their arms and faces. The boys, equally clean, were dressed in white trousers and scarlet jackets. The clothing of boys and girls is supplied by Government. It is true there is a bell in the steeple of the church, but it is of little use in Regent's Town, for the church is generally filled half-an-hour before the bell tolls. The greatest attention is paid during the service. Indeed, I witnessed, for the first time, a Christian congregation in a heathen land—a people "fearing God and working righteousness." The tear of godly sorrow rolled down many a coloured cheek.

'At three o'clock in the afternoon there was again

a very full attendance, so that scarce an individual was to be seen about the town.

‘The formation of a missionary association at Regent’s Town at the close of 1817’ (which may be said to be the parent of the ‘Sierra Leone Church Missions’ of the present day) ‘further exemplifies the nature and extent of the work going on there.’

During this same year (1819) we obtain the following glimpse, through Mr Nyländer’s journal, of the new station at Kissy, to which he had removed from Bullom:—‘Here are about 500 people, young and old, on rations from Government, and, of course, under my immediate care. About 450 more live in scattered huts near Kissy, and the Timmanees and Bulloms are in our neighbourhood, so that, if a missionary were not so confined by the care and management of the affairs of the settlement, he might make himself useful in visiting all the places in the vicinity.’

Another item of extension seems to fall under this year, for we read, ‘The Governor considered it expedient, in consequence of the arrival of native troops to be disbanded, and of the continual accession of those liberated from captivity, to form four additional settlements—three of them, Waterloo, Hastings and Wellington, on the eastern side of the colony, towards the mainland, and the remaining one, York, near Cape Shilling. A fifth, Kent, in the parish of St Edward, had previously been formed.’

Here follows, what we may call an epitaph, unconsciously composed, by one of the most successful of the workers in those early days, who died at his post:—

1820. 'Numbering,' says Mr Nyländer, 'the years that I have spent in Africa, I find this to be the fifteenth Christmas that I have seen here. While about thirty of our number, younger than myself, and apparently more useful, have been carried to their graves during this period, I have been variously employed in the vineyard of my Lord. I have taught A B C to many who are now taller than myself. I have endeavoured, I trust, to make known Jesus Christ and Him crucified wherever I have had an opportunity. I have also attempted to translate portions of the New Testament; but always guided, like the blind, in a way that I know not—yet, I believe, with an unerring hand. I have sown in tears, labouring in hope, encouraging myself with this, that God's word would never return void, but never saw any fruit of all my labours till of late, when I had, and still have, cause to believe that some of the people under my care have experienced a real change of their hearts which they show by their conduct.'

1823. A terribly vivid impression of the sort of scourge to which this colony was liable then (*and, without due attention to sanitary matters, would be liable to-day*), is furnished by the following letter of

Mr Vaughan, a C.M.S. missionary, to his home committee. Writing under date June 18, 1823, he says :—

‘The following is the number of Europeans who have died since my arrival in the colony on December 3d of last year:—In the month of December, seven; January, two; February, nine; March, eleven; April, twelve; May, twenty-four; and up to date, in this month of June, twelve; *total, seventy-seven*. Among this unhappy number I have buried three medical men—Andrew Kennis, M.D.; Philip Duigan, M.D.; and James Pemberhaken, M.D., who all died within twelve days; and also three of our council, one of whom, Edward Fitzgerald, Chief Justice, was only three days ill. Very few of the Europeans who have recently died have fallen victims to the fever of the country. *The medical men have not ascertained the character of the disease*. Almost all die of the black vomit, and very few that have died have had more than three or four days’ illness.’ *

Under such circumstances as these, the C.M.S. Committee felt it to be incumbent on them, first, to ascertain, if possible, the *cause* of such a great destruction of human life; and, secondly, to use means to avert for the future so grievous a calamity. A medical committee of inquiry was appointed in

* This was undoubtedly the yellow fever, and in the ignorance of the the doctors as to character and treatment, the mortality is greatly explained.—E.D.

London, and the following is a part of their report. After consultation with the best obtainable authorities, 'they proceed to suggest a plan of sanitary regulations and precautions, such as, it is stated, was found completely successful during the preceding four years in the West Indies, and especially in the islands of Barbadoes, Tobago, and Antigua. There is, hence, great reason to hope that the adoption of a similar plan of sanitary regulations and precautions on the western coast of Africa may be attended with somewhat similar benefit, and that the C.M.S. may have the heartfelt gratification of beholding its great and unwearied work of faith and labour of love permitted to continue, and even go on to perfection, without being associated with the distressing train of calamities with which it has had so long to contend.'

The following testimony has, if we may judge from results, been somewhat lost sight of, by those responsible for sanitary matters in this colony. Sir George Collier, Commodore on the West Coast, testified that 'the negro town of Regent, in the Sierra Leone mountains, is more healthy than any other spot; and I am therefore of opinion that, whether used for such an object or not, yet, hereabouts, the Governor should be allowed to retain as much ground as would be necessary for a convalescent hospital and garden; for, if European

health is to be restored in this colony, it must, in my belief, be near the Sierra Leone mountains.'

1825. We pass on to the history of the year 1825, and, at its dawn, find that the West Africa Mission still laboured under stagnation and distress. The fact could not be concealed, that, owing to the deficiency of teachers, the colony was retrograding fearfully in spiritual things. The few missionaries who were left exerted themselves to the uttermost of their powers, physical and mental; but it was not by occasional and uncertain services that the infant church was to be preserved from those aberrations incidental to youth and inexperience. The few faithful men who yet stood in the gap beheld with keen regret the process of deterioration which had begun, and they continued to cry aloud for help against the flood of ungodliness which they saw advancing with rapid pace. Too much they feared to say of the unfavourable change that was taking place, lest the hearts of friends at home might be discouraged, and yet they wished to report faithfully of the dangers which threatened the mission.

In a letter at this time, a missionary writes thus:—

'I feel that my letters should contain, if practicable, matter for the *encouragement* of the Christian public at home; but, at the same time, I have no inclination to raise expectations in the minds of

my fellow-Christians, which, in course of time, are subject to die of disappointment—I would rather learn to endure disappointment myself.’

Under the above date we have the following uncanny hint as to the progress towards completion of St George’s Church :—

‘A new church had been begun, but its progress was impeded by various circumstances, and, in its unfinished state, *it was made use of by the people as a market for the sale of agricultural produce*; in fact, to mark the degeneracy of the period, God’s house was converted into “a house of merchandise.”’

1827. Under this date we have an interesting allusion to the work of Wesleyan missionaries.

Mr Betts, in deploring his almost entire preoccupation by merely official engagements, as a clergyman in Free Town, and, contrasting his employments with the more spiritual avocations of the Wesleyans, is led to write thus:—

‘These gentlemen proceed on the principle of not knowing anything but to preach Christ and Him crucified. They are resolved to engage in nothing which shall at all divert them from visiting their people and preaching constantly, while the rector of Free Town sinks in the estimation of the more discerning Africans, who are not able to account for it, that he does not engage in the same evangelical duties. He has no time to visit the hospitals, the jail, and the abodes

of sickness, vice and misery. He has no time for social intercourse with his hearers; nor, by constantly going among them, to evince that he is their spiritual father and affectionate minister. The Wesleyan missionaries have such time, and spend it incessantly in these labours of love; and what is the consequence? They have neat and crowded chapels, built in great measure by the voluntary contributions of an affectionate people, whose hearts are attached to their ministers, and open, through the winning influence of the private attention which they receive from them, to the public instruction which those ministers impart. I rejoice in the good which I trust they are doing. I bid them God-speed. But I lament at the same time that we are not in possession of like advantages.'

Mr Haensel expresses similar feelings, while he writes:—

'We are surrounded with difficulties, spending our time and strength in performing parochial duties; the Wesleyan missionaries add chapel to chapel—collect congregation after congregation, within such a distance as they can conveniently visit; appoint exhorters, as fit men offer; keep Sunday-schools; visit the prisoners and the sick in the jail and hospital; receive the sheep of their own flock in their houses, and become intimately acquainted with them, and admit to the ordinances such as they believe to be lively members of Christ's church.'

. . . 'Such testimony to fellow-labourers in the same field,' Mr Walker truly says, 'is honourable to both denominations.'

1828. 'The interesting ceremony of opening St George's Church, Free Town, took place on the 13th of January in this year (1828). The Rev. Thomas Davey read prayers, and the Rev. C. L. F. Haensel preached on the occasion from Ezra vi. 16. The following Sunday Mr Davey preached from Isaiah lv. verses 10 and 11. These clergymen undertook to preach on alternate Sundays until a chaplain should be appointed. At first the congregation, including the military and school children, amounted to 600. Soon after, however, this number was considerably diminished. When the rains commenced, the military were withdrawn, and some of the young natives ceased to attend. At the setting in of the dry weather the attendance amounted to about 300.'

Mr Haensel writes thus on the subject:—'Free Town has received an immense benefit by the church being opened. We hear the church bell now every Sabbath, and have, if not a complete nor showy, yet a decent place of worship. I am delighted to see every Sunday a good many benches filled with well-dressed and seemingly attentive young natives, probably of the better class of mechanics, or a step higher. . . . On the 11th June, divine service was held in the church at the request

of the Chief Justice and the other Commissioners, previous to the opening of the Quarter Sessions, a great many coloured men, besides a considerable number of Europeans, attended this assize sermon—the first ever preached in this colony within our knowledge.’

1829. The following estimate of the situation in this year is afforded by a missionary journal:—

‘On comparing the population of the settlements under our charge, with the attendance at public worship, we perceive that about one-fourth of the inhabitants are in the habit of attending divine service on Sundays.

‘We may fairly assume that all these are ready to take the Christian name, and will desire to be sworn on the Holy Scriptures, if they have to take an oath in a court of justice. And even this proportion would, no doubt, be much increased *if we were to lower our standard of requirements in those whom we admit to the church.* The fact is, that the idolatrous superstition of the African tribes has in it so little that is fixed and exclusive, that it will comfort itself with, or even give way to, any new superstition or outward rite that may be plausibly offered. We are, indeed, strongly inclined to believe that the whole of the heathen population of the colony would press to the baptismal font, *if we would receive them there on an understanding that baptism is of all greeces* the best!*’

* A grec-gree is an African charm.—ED.

The same journal, after dealing with other matters, concludes thus:—‘We feel that this account of the state of the people to whom we are sent, differs considerably from the general opinion of our friends in England, but we have thought it our duty to give a plain tale. . . . This mission has been established only about fourteen years. In consequence of illness and deaths, it has had to contend with numerous interruptions to the measures which were, from time to time, put in progress. The many changes in the agents for carrying on the work have hitherto rendered it impracticable for them to come to anything like a uniform plan of proceeding. The insufficiency of their number for the work before them, has, up to this time, frequently prevented them from assisting each other with help in seasons of difficulty, and with advice in matters of perplexity. Let all this be well weighed, and let it be taken into consideration, that they have been men frail and fallible, and the charitable Christian will wonder that so much good has been done, rather than feel surprised that no more should have been effected.’

‘There were hindrances,’ writes Mr Walker, under this date, ‘to the success of the Sierra Leone Mission in late years that lay deeper than the surface—hindrances that, to a great extent, grew out of the frequent changes which death and disease had made in the pastoral superintendence of the villages, and in the regular supply of labour. Inexperience in the

peculiarities of the native character was evidently one of the most fruitful sources of failure; and, as the only remedy for this was long and familiar intercourse with the natives, a constant succession of new teachers perpetuated the evil, and continually neutralized the efforts of the society in Africa. We have before observed, that the principle of the success which attended the honoured labours of Johnson, Düring and Taylor was, accommodation of manners and language to the people under instruction. Overlooking this, we fear, the society's missionaries in Africa exhausted their strength and patience in the attempt to correct trifling singularities, which it would have been wiser for them to take into their calculation, and, in enforcing adaptation to a *European standard, which*, they should have remembered, *it was the work of centuries to raise to its present level.* Failure in their injudicious object frequently aggravated the mischief, by engendering a temper and demeanour irreconcilable with the spirit of the religion which they intended to represent. The peevishness of unsuccessful struggle with what they considered a dogged adherence to barbarous manners and practices, was often the occasion of humiliation and regret, and, with the candour of Christian sincerity, *the error was openly acknowledged and deplored.* All that the mission wanted, together with that blessing which is promised to every genuine Christian effort, was, labourers, *with minds acclimated,*

if we may so say, *to the intellectual latitude of the region where their lot was cast.*'

That some of the more thoughtful missionaries themselves saw the necessity for this, is clearly indicated in a letter from Rev. John Raban, who twice attempted to work in Sierra Leone, but was at last compelled to come away. 'The grand thing at which I aim is *simplicity*, and those who have sincerely aimed at this, even in England, will testify that it is not easy of attainment. Yet in Sierra Leone, where its attainment is far more difficult, its importance is increased in a tenfold degree. I believe that I speak the decided sentiments of my brethren, as well as of myself, when I say that it is not possible to be too plain, if only vulgar and incorrect expressions be avoided. It is on this principle that I endeavour to act in all my addresses, whether to a smaller or a larger assembly. We want simple prayers for children; hymns both for them and for the adults of the same description; simple catechisms, similar to Watts' first set, but a little more comprehensive; a dictionary of words, drawn up in as easy a language as possible; a simple and concise grammar, etc. The idea has been suggested of simplifying our admirable Liturgy itself. Let not the wish be considered as presumptuous or unreasonable. It arises from no want of regard for those excellent formularies, but from a painful conviction that their style, sober and chastened as it is, rises *far above the level of general comprehension in these early stages.*'

This would seem to be borne out by some observations of Mr Warburton at Bathurst about this time. 'The people,' said he, 'appear to be attentive to the house of God; but, when questioned whether they understand what is said, their reply is "*a little bit*," an answer calculated to keep one humble.'

1837. Fifty years had now passed away since the formation of the Sierra Leone Company and the sending out of the first settlers. It has been necessary to pass over many years of good work and real progress without a word, our object being, not merely to *record*, but to search for relics likely to interest and help the church of the present day. During this year two missionaries, Messrs Collins and Croley, proceeded for change of air to the Banana and Plaintain Islands, a little to the south of the Peninsula of Sierra Leone, and within easy reach of it. In a journal, written at the Bananas, it is interesting to be reminded of the African adventures of the Rev. John Newton, whose remains, it will be remembered, have only lately (1893) been removed from St Mary Woolnoth's in London, to the churchyard of Olney. Thus Mr Collins writes:—

'Every one conversant with the writings and history of the Rev. John Newton, remembers that it was on the Plaintain Island that he was fifteen months in captivity, an object of pity and compassion to the meanest slave. Referring to Mr Newton's narrative, it appears that the Bananas was the first place on

which he was thrown, as one shipwrecked, with little more than the clothes on his back. The Bananas are represented in Mr Newton's narrative as being, in his time, the centre of the white men's residence, by whom, no doubt, he was subsequently removed to the Plaintains—the scenes of those grievous mortifications and sufferings which he was called to pass through, and which are so feelingly referred to in his narrative.' Passing over to the Plaintains, the journal proceeds:—'Among other inquiries, I did not forget John Newton, and was pleased to find that, although it is ninety years since he was a wanderer on this island, his name and history have not been forgotten. It appears that, at the Kittim River, which is about 150 miles from the Plaintains, and which is particularly referred to in Mr Newton's narrative as being the place at which he was finally liberated from his captivity, the old people well remember the circumstance of the ship's calling in and taking Mr Newton away. From Mr Newton, we were naturally led to inquire about the lime trees planted by him, and to which no small degree of interest has been attached. We were pleased to find they were still in existence. The late Rev. W. B. Johnson mentions having visited these trees in October 1820, when, he says, he found they had been cut down, but he saw the trunk of one, from which new branches had shot forth. These trees, though possessing the appearance of extreme age, are yet green and flourishing. . . . On this solitary spot it

was that Mr Newton passed many a sorrowful day, beguiling his hours with Barrow's *Euclid*, the only book in his possession. While walking along the shore, it afforded me a peculiar pleasure to imagine I had trodden the spot where Mr Newton, in his captivity, lightened his sorrows by drawing diagrams with a stick upon the sand. Mr Newton mentions his going in the night to wash his only shirt upon the rocks, and putting it on his back to dry. In so small a place, there can be little difficulty in fancying the spot he visited for the purpose, which, no doubt, was upon the rocks near this house.'

No one who knows the marvellous manner in which this man eventually came to be one of the Evangelical leaders in our church in the last century ; no one who has read of his splendid services in London and Olney at a time of great spiritual deadness ; no one who has been helped by his hymns and other writings, will grudge the space given to the above details of his godless and miserable days on this coast, which John Newton, in his epitaph, composed by his own hand, has desired should never be forgotten.

1839. 'The missionaries were at this time particularly embarrassed by the vast additions which had been made to the population of the colony. During the preceding three years, no fewer than 13,000 fresh arrivals had been registered in Sierra Leone, 'and this does not include,' wrote Mr Kissling, 'hundreds, nay

thousands,' who have been emancipated, but were registered in the West Indies, nor upwards of 200 who were brought here a few weeks ago from the British island of Bahamas, and are now as free as any of their brethren. *Such an increase of our population,*' he adds, *'has of course a retrograding influence on the state of civilisation, and the spread of gospel truth in the colony.'*

It will be interesting to note, how the destruction of Gibraltar chapel by a hurricane led to the building of the very important church (Holy Trinity, Kissy Road) which took its place.

We quote Mr Kissling again :—

'The overthrow of the society's chapel at Gibraltar Town, Free Town, caused no small alarm. The hurricane came on so suddenly, that the children had no time to get out. It shifted from one quarter to another, and brought the building level with the ground, while nearly 100 children were within it. There were a number of new strong benches in the chapel, and the children, being thrown on the floor, were by this means preserved from being crushed—the posts and beams resting on the benches, and the children being underneath. What a gracious Providence that not one was killed! not one seriously wounded!'

The overthrow of the old chapel under such circumstances no doubt furthered the scheme for erecting a more commodious one. The chief part

of the expense ultimately devolved on the C.M.S., and here, in Mr Kissling's words, is the account of the stone laying :—

‘On the 2d of January (1839), the foundation stone of the mission church was laid. Almost all the members of the mission were present, it being the day of our monthly prayer-meeting at Free Town. We first sang a psalm, and then offered up some appropriate collects from the Prayer Book, imploring the Lord's protection in raising the building, and the manifestation of His power and grace on the souls of those who should worship there. After this, His Excellency Governor Doherty performed the customary ceremony, which was followed by singing another psalm adapted for the occasion. There was no show or display whatever. His Excellency returned with us to the house of Mr Beale, and spent about half-an-hour in kind and useful conversation. “This is now,” wrote Mr Warburton, “the third new church begun at the expense of C.M.S.”’

The Rev. J. U. Graf at Hastings had also reached the church building stage.—‘I had the pleasure,’ he writes, ‘of laying the foundation stone of a new place of worship for the C.M.S., in which divine service and a school is to be kept. A great number of people had met on the spot with marked interest. The children marched out of their school and placed themselves around the foundation; then followed the infants, singing one of their little hymns, and, after the

corner-stone had been laid, a hymn was sung by all. A collection was made, to which the school children were not the last in contributing, for their collection, which was made separately, amounted to almost half of that of the adults.'

'The missionaries took care,' we are informed, 'that the value of our incomparable church liturgy should be early impressed on the minds of the children, by whom they required the responses of that service to be reverently and softly repeated in school. This they did without the aid of a book, and many who joined in them could not read, having learnt them by constant attendance at church.'

1840. Here we have a sample of the sort of work that a Monday morning usually brought in a Sierra Leone parish in the missionary days. The words are those of Rev. E. Collier:—

'As soon as the missionary shows himself in his piazza in the morning, his work commences; for there he finds, especially on a Monday morning, a large number of applicants awaiting his appearance. The first party consists perhaps of a number of sick children, applying to be excused attendance at school. Of these you dispose in the best manner you can. Some are soon set to rights by the administration of some trifling medicine, while others are not so readily cured, having perhaps some stubborn ulcer, which requires constant atten-

tion. Having got through this class of applicants, another party present themselves, consisting of parents bringing their children for admittance into the school—a process which gives some exercise to the lungs. A third party, who are not admitted until half-past eight, when the first bell is rung for school, now come forward, for the purchase of school books, Bibles, prayer books, slates, pencils, copy books, pens, paper, etc. A fourth party are now waiting upon you, well dressed, having come for the purpose of getting married. These are sent over to the church to await your attendance. This ceremony having been gone through—which, there being ten or twelve couples to marry, is no inconsiderable task—the schoolmaster presents, perhaps, a string of unruly boys and girls, who have been behaving badly the previous day at church, upon which follows a lecture, or something more formidable. Returning to your house, you find the married parties assembled, waiting upon you for their marriage certificates, for which we charge eighteenpence, which goes into the fund for building and repairing our churches and schoolhouses. Not unfrequently, amusing scenes are witnessed on these occasions. Once, after marrying a couple, upon my presenting them with the certificate, the eighteenpence was not forthcoming, when an altercation ensued below, and it turned out that the man entrusted with the money had expended it in the purchase of rum, which was to be consumed at the approaching

festivity! Finding that they could not muster money to meet the demand, one of the company stripped off his shirt, and offered it as a pledge!

1841. 'On the 22d of February, the foundation of a new church was laid at Gloucester, the ceremony being merely attended by the workman and children. The building was completed on the 12th August, and opened next day for Divine service, when Rev. D. F. Morgan preached to a very large congregation.'

A new church, built by Government, was opened at Charlotte also in August 3d of this year. Although the rain was pouring down very heavily, yet the church was quite full.

Mr Beale writes of this effort:—'It is worthy of notice, that the people have contributed to its erection a large amount in free labour. They have carried many hundred loads of sand and lime from Free Town, a distance of seven miles of mountain road. Every man in the village has gone more than twenty times. Though the day was not favourable, between 600 and 700 people were present, and I could not help rejoicing with them, as they have always had such a poor place to worship in—so small, that half the people could not get in, and the place so confined, that I scarcely ever went to take service without feeling the bad effects of it. Now, however, they have a good stone church, with a gallery 70 ft.

by 30, which is likely to stand for many years to come.'

'Mr Young, at Waterloo, regrets that he cannot speak of the efficiency of the girls in his schools as satisfactorily as he can of that of the boys, and he ascribes this to the want, which was very much felt, of a *female native agency* in the colony; and he expresses a hope, which was responded to by many, that an institution would shortly be opened in Sierra Leone for the moral and spiritual benefit of native females.' Thus we see the need first showing itself, which was presently to be met, and is now fully met, by the '*Annie Walsh Memorial School*.'

1842. The experiment of the Niger Expedition in 1841 had emphasised a conviction, which the C.M.S. had long entertained, viz., that European constitutions are but ill-adapted for enduring much fatigue in the African climate, and a new impetus was at this time given to the training and development of native agency. 'This brings us to notice the Christian institution at Fourah Bay, which the committee now decided to place on a more efficient footing, by increasing the number of students, raising the standard of education, appointing a second clerical tutor; and erecting a much larger building for the accommodation of the students. . . . The past has been an eventful year in the annals of this institution; in that it has put forth the first promise

of its future usefulness in the cause of God in this colony, and to Africa at large. A native, who was formerly educated by the society, and for sometime was a teacher there, has been sent to England to be ordained a minister of our venerable church. He has been the first-fruits of missionary efforts in this country as regards the ministry, and your committee hope that he is the harbinger of what God is about to accomplish in this degraded land by her own sons.

Here is an interesting little episode in connection with church building that falls within this year. We quote from Mr Gollmer :—

September 12th. A bell was heard this morning, as on Saturday evening last, over all Bathurst. I inquired the cause, and was told that it was to assemble the people in the market-place, in order to ask them whether they were willing to make a collection for a new church. Some of the principal persons at Bathurst had mentioned the subject to me previously, but I was not aware of their further proceedings. Being interested in the matter, I went to the market-place myself, where I found a great number assembled. Four of the principal inhabitants of Bathurst, having raised themselves on a butcher's table, one of them addressed the assembly in the following manner :—“ My country people, God brought we in this land, and here I was taught the word God, which can do good to my soul. The white people (missionaries) come here, not on account of money,

but to teach good fashion. Now, my country people, we come together this morning about the church palaver. This school-house there cannot do much longer, and then, by-and-bye, we no get a church. We sit down with our children, and have no place for worship God. Suppose we can try for do something; we can die, and our children can worship there, and can say our fathers have done this. The Church Missionary Society will help we, but we must try for help them; and if we put money, the missionaries all can put money, and so, by-and-by, we get a church." . . . All the people, who were assembled, agreed to make a collection, which it is thought will be comparatively considerable.'

Another, and a most important movement, whose influences have been already far-reaching and productive, is indicated in the following extract. It is from the pen of Mr Beale:—

'*March 26, 1842.* Some influential Akus accosted me as I walked along the streets of this busy town, and said, "Sir, we have sent letters to all the ministers, and are going to make collections in every village to send to the society, to beg the gentlemen, if they will be so kind, to send missionaries to our country." I said, "I am glad to hear that, and I have no doubt they will grant your request." They said, "We sorry for our country people too much, they no have the Gospel." I told them that was a matter for prayer, as well as liberality, and then God would surely open

the way and incline His people's hearts toward their benighted land. Their prayers, they said, should not be wanting.'

To prayers, the Akus added performances, as Mr Davies, catechist, tells us:—

'*April 4.* A meeting was held in the church at Kissy, notice having been previously given, that it would be considered how a missionary might be sent, at no distant period, to the Aku country. The meeting was fully attended, and, as soon as the subject in contemplation was fully understood, numbers came forward to subscribe for such a blessed enterprise. Many even of our schoolboys, whose parents are Akus, put their names down, and subscribed their coppers.'*

1843. This year is distinguished in the annals of the Sierra Leone Church by . . . the admission of a native, Samuel Adjai Crowther, to holy orders. . . . The Bishop of London, by whom he was received and treated with marked kindness and cordiality, admitted him to the holy order of Deacons on Sunday the 11th of June. He received Priest's orders on the 1st of October at the hands of the same prelate. Samuel Crowther, torn from his country and kindred in early life, and consigned to the hold of a Portuguese slaver, but providentially rescued by a British cruiser, and carried into Sierra Leone, where he received his

* This was the beginning of this Church in the Yoruba country.—ED.

Christian training in the schools of the C.M.S., was now a Presbyter of the Church of England and Ireland.*

‘The colony of Sierra Leone,’ continues Mr Walker, ‘was rather a missionary school than a mission. Scholars were supplied by a providential appropriation of human iniquity to Divine purposes from about forty different sections of the African family, and now, after a protracted † (?) pupilage several of those were retiring from the seminary, bearing with them their moral and intellectual acquirements, to form the nuclei of religion and civilisation in the countries to which they returned. Yet, much in this way could not be expected from merely the lay members of the church, if left to form an ecclesiastical system for themselves; nor, indeed, did those most desirous of returning to their fatherland, disguise their apprehensions of the evils which must attend their want of that spiritual discipline to which they had been accustomed, and those religious ordinances by which their Christian principles were upheld and strengthened, in the midst of heathenish customs sanctioned and commended by affectionate friends and relatives.’

The coincidence of Samuel Crowther’s ordination being contemporaneous with this movement, was felt

* And was destined to be, from 1864-1891, the first Bishop of the Niger.—ED.

† Scarcely ‘protracted’! We rather doubt whether, in all the circumstances, the pupilage was long enough.—ED.

to be distinctly providential; and so it came to pass that 'the first fruits of the African ministry at once assumed a position marked out for him by the All-Wise, and most strikingly adapted to the elucidation of the grand problem, with a view to which the Sierra Leone Mission had been formed—the creation of a native ministry suited to the spiritual and physical circumstances of Africa.'

Under this year, we have the erection of another new church to chronicle in an important part of Sierra Leone. Mr Young of Waterloo writes:—

'*August 9.* Our new church is a substantial stone building, 80 ft. by 30 ft. It will afford comfortable seats for 600 persons and upwards, on the ground floor (all free sittings), and a gallery is erected at the the west end, which will contain between 200 and 300 children. I now felt amply repaid for all my toil, deprivations, and solicitude during its erection, since our labours are no longer hindered for want of a proper place of worship, and we are no longer compelled to shift our position on a rainy day, to save ourselves from the droppings of a dilapidated grass-house. It is the sixth place of worship in the mission, erected at the expense of the Society. It will cost about £900.'

1844. This year registers two important steps in the direction of education. We give them in Mr Walker's words:—

‘Two objects which the committee had for some time contemplated, for the better carrying out of their plans, as regarded a native agency, were this year accomplished. One of them was the establishment of a grammar school, as an intermediate step between the village schools and the Christian Institution. In this school it was proposed to give a sound religious and general education to boys and youths who had received some previous training in the lower schools. Those who, after being trained in the grammar school, gave proof of suitable dispositions and qualifications, were to be transferred to the Christian Institution, to receive there such further training as should fit them for native teachers; while others educated in the grammar school would pass into different stations of life, where, it was hoped, their Christian training would enable them to exert a salutary influence on the social circles with which they might become connected. . . . Suitable premises for the grammar school were procured in Regency Square, Free Town; and the school was commenced under Rev. T. Peyton in March 1845. One other object effected this year was the establishment of *an institution for the training of females exclusively*. The want of a special provision for imparting a higher degree of education to those promising native girls, drawn from the village schools, who might afterwards be employed as teachers and school-mistresses, had long been felt in the Mission. This institution

was opened at Regent, under the care of Miss Morris.'

We find *the Governor of the colony* thus expressing himself, on the above subject, in a despatch to the Home Government :—

'Boarding-schools for the education of children of both sexes have been established under the auspices of C.M.S., and, so far, the scheme promises well. It will, at no remote date, be the means of establishing a new, most important, and influential grade in the society of Sierra Leone, among which the husbands, the wives, and the domestic intercourse of the middle classes of England, will, for the first time, find representatives in Africa. It may be taken as neither an unfair nor unfavourable criterion of the position in the social scale at which the people have arrived, that these establishments are at length acknowledged to have become necessary, and that the pecuniary means of many of the more industrious and successful of the people, are now such as to enable them to avail themselves of the advantages which they afford.'

1845. It was early in this year that the new building at Fourah Bay, which is now known as Fourah Bay College, was commenced.

'The first stone,' says the forty-fifth Report of C.M.S., 'was laid on the 5th of February by His Excellency Lieut.-Governor Fergusson. The missionaries met to-

gether for prayer at the house of the Rev. J. F. Schön, and afterwards proceeded to Fourah Bay. When the ceremony was concluded, the Lieut.-Governor addressed the assembly, but he was unable to repress his feelings when he referred to the fact, that, on the very spot where they were preparing to erect a building, from whence it was hoped that spiritual freedom would be imparted to many Africans, there stood forty years ago a slave factory.*

It is only right that, while indulging the above anticipations in connection with education, we should appreciate the difficulties of the situation. Two extracts from Mr Walker's book may sufficiently indicate some of these :—'Africans,' says one of long experience in African affairs, 'are very fond of becoming headmen and teachers, and, if in any way lifted up by others, they commonly rise so high in their estimation of themselves, that in the end they too frequently prove useless. Youths educated in England, who have appeared promising, rose high when noticed by others, and fell. Youths of ability should therefore be gradually and cautiously brought forward.'

'The scholars improved in knowledge,' writes

* If the Governor is correctly reported, he is not correct as to his dates, for, ever since 1787, it has been impossible for there to have been a slave factory on this spot. No doubt, however, he is correct as to his facts.—ED.

This property was the late Governor Turner's estate, and was purchased by the missionaries for £320 in the year 1828. It is an unrivalled position for privacy, for salubrity, and other conveniences. It is about two miles from Free Town.—ED.

Mr Haensel in 1831, 'but I find that, at the very time when I most anxiously begin to look for growth in grace, they become fond of fine clothes, conceited, and stubborn, and regard me as an enemy, because I discourage profession unattended by corresponding practice.'

In order that our readers may fully realise the late period up to which the unsettling immigrations continued, to which allusion has so frequently been made, we give this, the only account we furnish, of a party which landed in this year (1845):—'In going,' writes the Rev. C. F. Frey, 'from Kissy to Free Town, I met with a scene of misery, which made such an impression on my mind, that I shall scarcely ever forget it. About four hundred rescued Africans, old and young, of both sexes, were proceeding towards Kissy hospital. They had just come from the slave vessel, and were in a most heartrending condition. Some, not being able to walk, were carried, while others supported themselves by sticks, looking, from the starvation they had endured on board, more like human skeletons than living beings. I have since been informed that, within a short time, about a hundred of them died. What crime had these poor creatures committed that they should be thus treated? It was "the love of money," truly called the root of all evil, in those who are called civilised people, which had brought them into this condition. . . . If Christians in Europe could have but one peep

into such misery, they would more frequently pray for the propagation of the Gospel of Peace in Africa.'

An allusion comes in, suitably in this place, to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, whose devotion to the cause of Africa seems to have been fully appreciated in this colony. Besides the following effort, of which we can give only a brief mention, the bust of this noble servant of God was placed in St George's Cathedral, Free Town, as a permanent memorial.

'Among the matters of general interest in this year may be mentioned a subscription, set on foot throughout the different villages, towards defraying the expenses of a monument to the lamented Sir T. Fowell Buxton, in Westminster Abbey.'

We have, under this head, the following indications of cheerful readiness in giving :—

'£1, 10s.,' writes Mr Warburton from two country villages, 'seems a small sum, but it was given feelingly and cheerfully. "Master," says one of them, "we like that man, he do us good. Suppose we have more, we can give more, but we no have so much." The Rev. J. Smith, in handing over £3, 8s. 3d. from two other villages, said it was given with the greatest cheerfulness: "True, master," said one at the meeting he had held, "that man was the best friend black man ever had; thank God, thank God for that!"'

The Free Town Sunday School seems to have given £2, 10s.

We have no knowledge of the full amount sent from the colony.

Another church building effort now claims a few words from us :—

‘On the 10th of November was laid the foundation stone of a new church at Kent, where, for several years, the members of the church had worshipped in a miserable building, which Mr Haastrup, in his journal, describes as not only very uncomfortable, but also extremely indecent. “In fact,” he says, “it looks more like a cow-house than a church, but I was not surprised when I heard that it was erected several years ago, at the expense of £5.” So dissatisfied were the inhabitants with this state of things, that, we are informed, many of them were thinking of removing to some other village which enjoyed, as they thought, more C.M.S. favour than Kent! Mr Haastrup informs us that the church is situated on a delightful spot.’

All who are interested in the now vastly *more* emphasised ‘liquor traffic question’ will thank God for the two following instances, and pray that there may be many to emulate the examples set us half a century ago. We are glad to see Regent, of whose faith and profession in the early days we heard so much, now bringing forth the fruit of good works :—

‘As an evidence of the godly discipline which Mr Denton was enabled to exercise over his flock, we may mention his successful exertions to obviate the

mischief with which Regent was threatened from the opening of a rum shop in the town, by a colony-born youth, who had hired for the purpose the cellar of one of the communicants.

‘Mr Denton, finding that the proper licence had been obtained, and that the opening of the shop could not be prevented, thought that, at least, he might *persuade his people not to purchase the rum*. He accordingly sent for his class leaders, pointed out to them the evil, and requested them earnestly to caution the people. “In my intercourse,” writes Mr Denton, “with the people among my own classes, and in my discourses, I failed not to say all I possibly could against it, and I was glad to find, in a few days, that the whole town was as much opposed to it as myself. Considerable interest prevailed on the subject for a fortnight, and, as a proof how deeply it was felt, I may mention that, in all their benefit companies, a fine was imposed on any of their members who should be detected purchasing rum at that shop. The communicant, who, for love of money, let him the cellar, gave him notice, at my request, to quit at the expiration of three months; but the young man has long since left the town, and the shop has been closed. We think,” continues Mr Walker, “we hear many a minister in Christian Britain exclaiming, ‘Oh, that we possessed so salutary a control over the conduct of *our* people.’”’

The second instance is the following :—

John Langley was a highly-respected citizen of Free Town, having been recaptured and brought to the colony in 1816. He attained, it appears, to some of the highest offices amongst his fellow-citizens, and was a successful merchant. We are glad to record from Mr Walker's pen, a circumstance which proved the sincerity of his Christian profession, and his growing conscientiousness in things relating to God. Being the proprietor of a shop in which spirituous liquors were retailed, he conceived that it was inconsistent with his Christian character to carry on that soul-destroying, though profitable business, and sent orders to his wife to discontinue the sale of rum, though his licence, for which he paid annually thirty pounds sterling, would not expire for some months.*

We obtain an important insight into the care with which candidates were admitted to baptism, and light is also thrown on their subsequent training, in the following account of the work of one whose good influence is still felt in Sierra Leone. Again we quote Mr Walker:—

'The subject of admitting candidates to baptism seems most properly to have drawn forth all Mr Graf's energies of mind and body. He would not accept the clearest expression of scripture views, unless thoroughly satisfied on the point of personal character, and hence he made himself intimately

* The cost of a licence is now more than twice that amount.—ED.

acquainted with the individual history of every communicant and candidate under his care, and exercised the strictest discipline in admitting them to the ordinances of the church.' With his sentiments on this subject we most heartily concur. 'If,' he says, 'the church be, as considered by some, a kind of spiritual or ecclesiastical *hospital*, which flourishes in proportion to the number of patients it admits, then I confess having used considerable strictness; but if the church be a "*company of faithful men*," or if this be the standard to be aimed at, I believe, in that case, I have acted with considerable kindness and liberality.' Mr Graf and his excellent wife set their faces like a flint against the love of dress, so prominent in the African character, and which is continually intruding itself into the schools, and especially into the churches of the colony, in spite of every effort of the missionaries to exclude it. Mr Graf took a great interest in the girls' school, where every species of useful sewing was taught, his notion being, that 'what most concerns the African is that he should be *usefully minded*; as in sewing, so in dress, I banish all finery from the school. I also stick,' he adds, 'to the rule, that tidiness and cleanliness are next to godliness, and therefore am in the habit, generally once a week, of reviewing the children at school, and sending home all dirty and broken clothes to be mended at the sewing school, whereby the girls get another useful lesson, *viz.*, mending.'

We close these 'Relics' with two or three quotations from the life of Bishop Bowen, the third Bishop of Sierra Leone, whose brief career, with that of his devoted wife, daughter of the late Dean Butler of Peterborough, and sister of the present Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, left a lasting impression for good on the diocese. It would appear that seldom has Sierra Leone had brighter promise of blessing than in the united devotion of Bishop and Mrs Bowen; but she did not survive the birth of her first child (still-born), and he did not survive her more than a very few months. Before coming to the immediate present, we shall take a glimpse of things as he saw them in 1858. In a letter to the Rev. Henry Venn he writes:—

'There is a great need of men acquainted with the African languages. I think each missionary ought to know one. The Aku is much spoken here by a large number of the people, and is much better understood than the English. They were much gratified when Townsend and Crowther preached in Aku. There are a large number of Fulahs for whom we are doing nothing, and though these are Mohammedans, they know very little of Arabic, and few can translate the Koran. Two only of those I have met could converse freely, though of course there may be many others.

'Another fact is the very small acquaintance of the adults with the English language, and the sad gibber-

ish spoken by many who have passed through our schools. There are many causes for this : the carelessness of the negro mind, the influence of the native mind and language on the English, giving rise to the corrupt dialect as spoken by the original negro settlers from Nova Scotia, which has been perpetuated here ; but one slight cause, I think, is the defective English of many of our teachers, the bad pronunciation of the German being exaggerated by the negro. I earnestly pray, for the sake not only of the Queen's English, but for the facility of being understood in preaching the Gospel to the masses, who have not much education, that you will send us English schoolmasters. It is true the rising generation is improving, but still they are very imperfectly acquainted with the English language.'

And, again, in another letter to the same, dated February 14th, 1859, and within a short time of his death :—

'I hope they will organise the school committee while I am away (in the Yoruba country), and fully ventilate the school and college question. We must not have too many professors in the latter. We do not want the young men to be taught to preach so much as to understand visiting, and possess a knowledge of the native language. You should have seen the Moslems, in Fourah Bay Road, listening to Hinderer preaching in Aku yesterday (Sunday) evening. They cannot understand English or Arabic, and

the grown gentlemen of the colony like to forget the native languages, but I hope they are now paying more attention to them. . . . Alcock collected about one hundred Timnehs yesterday, and as many the Sunday before. They seemed attentive, though I fear he reckons too much on their knowing a little English.'

The following quotation will bring the 'Missionary period,' of which we have been making a rapid and necessarily imperfect sketch, into direct contrast with the pastorate stage, an allusion to which, in another chapter, will bring our church history up to date. We quote once more from the 'Life of Bishop Bowen,' where, under the heading 'In Memoriam,' we find 'a brief notice of one of those works, which, it is hoped, will long follow him who now rests from his labours, in the land of his brief but active episcopate.'

'Each successive Bishop of Sierra Leone has earnestly desired to see this long-established mission begin to pass into a self-supporting church, supplied with its own native ministers. Bishop Bowen was engaged, at the time of his death in organising a scheme for carrying out this much-desired object. Though he was not permitted to see its accomplishment, the result has proved that the time for it was fully come. His successor, Bishop Beckles,* has, through the blessing of God upon his zealous efforts,

* It should be stated that Bishop Beckles took also the wise step of effecting the purchase of the house and grounds, now known as Bishop's Court, for the See. This house was greatly improved, at his own expense, by his successor, Bishop Cheetham.—ED.

been able, within the first year of his episcopate, to transfer no less than nine churches, with all their responsibilities, to the native pastorate.* . . . Several of the friends of Bishop Bowen, both at home and abroad (including a large number of Europeans and natives in his West African Diocese), were desirous of raising some lasting missionary memorial of his self-sacrificing life and labours in the cause of missions in various parts of the world, and, under the above-mentioned circumstances, they thought they could not do so more suitably than by collecting a sum of money, under the title of "Bishop Bowen's Memorial Fund," to *assist* in this great work of establishing the native pastorate in Sierra Leone on a self-supporting basis.

'The amount at present raised is about £900, but it is hoped that it will reach £1000, so that there may be an annual income from the funds of £50.†

'On the recommendation of Bishop Beckles, Wellington, one of the nine districts above mentioned, has been selected to receive the *first* benefit of this fund, which *assists* the contributions of parishioners on the spot, in strict accordance with the original plan. At present there is only a school-room in the district, but the Bishop is about to erect a new church, to be called the "Memorial

* This work was developed and mainly worked out (other churches and parishes being transferred) in the episcopate of Bishop Cheetham.—ED.

† This annual sum continues to be a great help to the Sierra Leone Church.—ED.

Church," and is now raising the necessary funds for its completion.

‘Thus the late excellent Bishop Bowen, though dead, may yet speak, for generations to come, by the mouth of many a minister from among Africa’s own sons, that gospel of a Redeemer’s love, which is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth.’

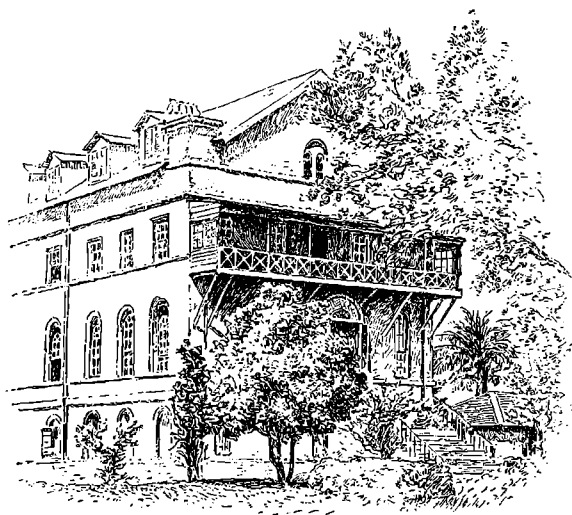
Perhaps the above system of collation scarcely brings out into sufficient prominence the utter want of continuity that prevailed throughout the forty or fifty years that we have now covered. It is not realised, for instance, how soon the pen that wrote many of these extracts was for ever laid aside, at any rate in this colony. We therefore propose, in one more quotation, from a pamphlet, entitled, *Sierra Leone Vindicated*, by Mr Macaulay, to show that this want of continuity was widely felt, and extended to every department, and fully explains the slow progress that this colony, considering all that has been done for it, has made :—

‘The colony has been grievously injured by the want of a systematic plan or rule for its government. Every governor has been left to follow his own plans, however crude and undigested, and no two succeeding governors have ever pursued the same course. This remark applies more particularly to the management of the liberated Africans. Mr Ludlam pursued the system of apprenticing them. Mr Thompson set

that aside, and turned them loose in the colony, without any other superintendence than its general police. Captain Columbine employed them on the public works, or apprenticed them. Colonel Maxwell, after delivering over to the persons appointed to receive them, all the men fit for His Majesty's service, apprenticed a part of the remainder, and then commenced forming villages with those that could not be disposed of. Sir Charles MacCarthy gave up apprenticing, except in particular cases, and adopted the plan of forming them into villages, under such civil superintendence and religious instruction as he could comand, keeping the youths and children in schools, or making mechanics of them ; neglecting, perhaps, too much, in his successful attempt to make them orderly and quiet citizens, the equally desirable object of making them industrious agriculturists and growers of exportable produce. General Turner dissolved, in a great measure, the schools and institutions for mechanics, and threw the people more on their own resources ; but did not afford—indeed he did not possess, the means of duly superintending their settlement and progress, or of directing their energies.'

We wish we could say that *the literal relics* of our first three bishops, and of the noble army of missionaries, are treasured in this colony as they should be. The fact is, our cemeteries are abominably kept, if they can be said to be kept at all. Reverent attention to the resting-places of the departed seems almost

wholly absent. And yet two of the older Free Town cemeteries, being now no longer used, could so easily be made pleasant places of pious and pleasant resort. We hope a better time is coming, and that the perusal of these literary relics will lead not only to a truer knowledge of our church history, but to a more loving care for the last resting-places of those *who made the history*, thus imitating the pious custom of older Christian lands.



FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

CHAPTER IX

SIERRA LEONE IN 1894. THE TEMNE PEOPLE AND THE KROOMEN

‘We humbly beseech thee for all sorts and conditions of men.’

IT is very truly said, that no two people ever see quite alike, and, in venturing to point out facts, and to express views about the present, it is inevitable that the point of view taken should appear to some to be out of focus. The aim of the writer, however, is to state facts that have come under his own observation, and impressions which he has formed in the environment of those facts. Inquiry, and even controversy, are not only lawful but expedient, and will be regarded as distinctly complimentary. But it is earnestly hoped that credit may be given for a *desire* to be candid and truthful, and fair and kind. It is strongly felt that anything less than the truth will make this little work useless for the purpose it aims to serve. But it will be a keen disappointment if a single word should seem unkindly or unsympathetic towards those African people whom the writer aims to help.

Sierra Leone in 1894 is not only the result of those

immigrations from over the sea, which have been duly recorded, but it also now embraces amongst its settled inhabitants many of the peoples of the surrounding tribes who have been drawn, whether for purposes of trade or for safety, to sit down under the Union Jack. This class of settler is daily becoming a more and more important factor in the colony. This will be readily understood when it is stated, that Mohammedans and Pagans now number not far short of one-half the population. Much is said about the settlement being now a hundred years old, but little is said, and less is realised, of the unsettlement caused by so many successive immigrations into the colony, of peoples with different histories, different characteristics, and tribal feelings. When it is considered that immigrations on a large scale continued down to near the middle of this century, and that country people are still coming in, it will be understood that the colony cannot yet have settled down into anything like a community, and that the very phases we shall presently record, are merely processes of development towards something more final and fixed.

Any account of Sierra Leone in the present day would be incomplete, which failed to give some sort of description of the people from whom the colony was originally purchased, and who still live around and within it. We propose to devote this chapter, therefore, to whatever we have been able to glean

about the Temne* people, their superstitions and customs; and we shall describe the sort of contact we have, not only with them, but with other tribes in and around this colony, together with the general influence of their presence amongst us. By this means we shall hope to bring our life, as we live it, more distinctly before those who do not know West Africa.

Religion, government, trade, every sort of enterprise, has suffered fatally on this branded coast, from opinions formed in England, which unfortunately are too often found not to fit the situation as it really exists out here.

The administration of African affairs is ever passing into new hands in the old country, and there is real danger to many an enterprise, from the crude impressions of those for the moment in power, who do their best to master the subject, say, amid the sorry environments of a London fog! Blue Books, no doubt, contain much that should save people from making mistakes, but Blue Books are not popular reading, but rather serve as books of reference for the few. For this reason we will endeavour to be very elementary and detailed in this chapter; and we shall try to aid those who desire to see native life and movement in this part of Africa, as it has come under our observation. Let those whose education is more advanced, at once skip these pages, and we, for our part, will endeavour, for the time being, to forget their

* Called 'Timmany' by Governor Clarkson.

existence! In another chapter we shall approach the colony from the sea. Let us now gradually approach it from the interior.

What does the English reader expect to find there? Perhaps it will be best described, first, by negatives. There is nothing, to our mind, more pathetic, than the fact that, go where you will in this region, you will find nothing, absolutely nothing, in the way of monument, tablet or scroll, connecting these people with their past. There are no ruins that can be pointed out as telling of some bygone events in their history—nothing by which their progress can be registered. A mud house, covered with thatch, is the most substantial fabric to be seen, and even that will melt away under the heavy rains, when once the sheltering roof is removed. We are tempted to say that these people seem to have been saying ‘Joko’ to one another in all their generations! * This is a word we remember to have constantly heard in the Yoruba country as one of their many salutations. It means ‘Sit down,’ and it is an injunction which is always obeyed in Africa, whenever circumstances will permit. Now, if the English mind fails to understand the lethargy and indolence implied by this word, let it try to imagine the effect upon us of settlement in these latitudes for a few

* Another constant salutation is, ‘Softly, softly,’ which means, ‘Don’t exert yourself too much!’ We have heard it most kindly spoken to over-zealous Europeans given to spurts.—ED.

generations. The process would doubtless mean extinction, but survivors would no longer be at a loss to comprehend *some* of the causes of English energy and African supineness. Have we not here an indication—if there is anything in the argument from design—that the two races were made to be complements to each other? Backward Africa *needs* British energy and enterprise. The people of the country, left to themselves, will not lift a finger except to procure food and shelter—a process requiring little sustained effort—but they can be, and are, made to work if only their education is rightly directed. (See the concluding chapter.) And the directing hand of English energy *can*, with due attention to obvious laws of health, work in these climates.

On the other hand, we cannot handle the country without the African, and work does not hurt him. It is amazing what he can endure bareheaded all day long in the heat of the sun. It is amazing what he can carry, and if you will only be fair and straight and considerate, though firm, with him, give him his regular chop* and wages, give him fair time for sleep and rest, you have an instrument very cheerfully willing to carry out all you ought to plan for an African day.

But we must go on with our negatives. If there are no indications of a past, is there anything in the

* The common word on the West Coast for any meal.

present aspect of the country—the towns and the villages—that would suggest an improvement now commencing? We answer, ‘nothing.’ We think of a very large town in the interior of Yoruba country, where perhaps 100,000 live together within the same mud-built city walls. But when we inquired whether any sense of clanship or citizenship bound them together, we were informed that it was a common dread of a common enemy—the Dahomians—that formed this town,* that its inhabitants had no sense of fellow-citizenship, but that mutual distrust reigned supreme.

You may learn much about the African by his roads. They are not roads, but the narrowest possible footpaths, cut often through solid bush, and so winding and circuitous that you constantly find yourself retracing your steps. A straight road is contrary to the genius of the people. And when we mark how helplessly unfortified their towns and villages are, we come to understand the precaution that anticipates the approach of an enemy, and takes good care that he shall come circuitously, and in single file.

War is, alas, a very common event in Africa. But even this they manage, for the most part, in a sitting posture. Open warfare, face to face, is, we believe, very unusual. The enemy has merely to sit down and blockade certain roads and cut off

* Abeokuta.

supplies. This will be followed, sooner or later, by a palaver, and sometimes peace is the result. Not always. For until our Lagos Government, under Sir Gilbert Carter, was empowered in 1892 to deal with the matter effectively, passive hostilities, ruinous to trade, continued for very many years between the tribes of Yoruba land. We remember a much respected missionary of the C.M.S., the Rev. J. B. Wood, who has been not very far short of forty years in the country, having once endeavoured to act as peace-maker between those rival camps. For about a fortnight he was permitted to use his good offices, for they fully trusted him, and they knew he was their unselfish friend, but although every condition he proposed was considered, modified and fully agreed to by both sides, the whole thing fell to the ground, because neither party believed that the other would carry out its part of the agreement.

There are many other negatives to be mentioned. For instance, those who followed the fortunes of Mr Stanley's party through Darkest Africa, could see at a glance how easy it must be to starve in the bush; how few trees or roots known to be good for food are met with; how difficult is the matter of portorage; how easy it is to be separated, after you have taken most careful precautions, from your commissariat; and how completely the science of thieving has been mastered, to your discomfiture, by your boys. It is indeed a huge undeveloped bush country! As to what lies

beneath it, or even on its surface, we have scarcely yet begun to have an adequate idea. The first thing that attracted our attention on the face of this continent was the African himself, and all other developments stood still while we traded *in* him. Then we caught sight of the elephant, and we nearly exterminated him. The next thing we saw was the palm tree, and we traded, and still very lucratively trade, in palm oil, and it appears to show no sign of failing. We have found excellent rubber, and magnificent logs of timber. We are planting coffee. We shall, no doubt, find much more to support our conviction, that Africa is now our principal unworked field and storehouse, and market for English goods, but we shall not find it without industry and capital. Roads! Roads!! Roads!!! These are the urgent need, and the sooner we have them (railways and trams, if possible), the sooner will this backward country begin to be opened up. Thus it will be seen that, if we are set down in some inland village, within even a few miles of Sierra Leone, we shall find a very elementary condition of things, and cannot depend on the resources of the country for chop, or for portorage, or for comfortable shelter, unless some mission station or trading factory has been planted there.

Coming now to the *positive* condition of this interior country, we should like first to say a word about the wonderful freshness and greenness of tropical Africa in general. We are sure that nothing

astonishes the new-comer more than this everlasting freshness under a withering sun. This applies, of course, only to trees and other shrubs whose roots go deep in the ground. Herbs, grasses, and all plants spring up in the rainy season with wonderful rapidity, but they wither and die in the dry season, unless most carefully watered. Perhaps the principal product in the Temne country is rice. Fields of it are constantly met with. The kola nut also flourishes well, and forms a valuable article of export.

Let us now look in upon a Temne village in such a country as we have described, and, after a glance at the surroundings, say something about the people. One of those endless, narrow, winding foot-paths that we know so well, which seemed as though it led nowhere, has just widened a little, and here we are at the entrance of a village. We use the English word, but it is as far as can be conceived from the English reality. Without any order or plan, in a clearing of the bush, some thatched mud huts are grouped together. One or two show some little superiority, perhaps, to the rest. A little attempt at style, a few pillars supporting the piazza roof will perhaps indicate the headman's house. A little narrow path around the houses will be the way we must proceed as we pass on. A patch of cassada growing near, a few banana trees huddled together, with all the refuse of the village thrown round their roots, perhaps a patch of yams, which grow very

prettily on tall sticks, not unlike the Kentish hops—these meet the eye amongst the groups of huts. A few fowls and goats will probably be squatted about the doorways, and, in the best-looking piazza, with its mud or cow-dung floor, visible under the low thatched roof, will be observed the inevitable hammock, and the headman or some other *man* (*never woman*) lying at full length. To make the scene complete, the female part of the establishment must be pointed out, in various degrees of nudity, either beating corn, pounding rice or palm-kernels, grating cassada, or attending vigorously to some other household duty outside in the yard. Although we have sketched an unusually prosperous-looking little village—this at least is true of all—that poverty, anxious, carping care as to whence the next meal is to come, such as taxes the nerve power of many a householder in England, is unknown to the easy-going African as we have seen him.

A full account of the traditions and beliefs of the Temne people was published, some thirty years ago, by the Rev. C. F. Schlenker,* a C.M.S. missionary, who, as will be seen from our list, laboured for a great many years in this country. His linguistic work was most successful, and he left very valuable translations in the Temne language. He tells us that

* *A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables, and Proverbs.* By the Rev. C. F. Schlenker. London, 1861. A book full of valuable hints for all who may be called to labour among this people.

the people themselves say that the name is derived from "o-tem" an old man, and "ne," himself; the singular reason being given, that they believe the Temne nation will ever exist.

The Temne country reaches from about $11^{\circ} 15'$ to $13^{\circ} 10'$ W. long., and from $8^{\circ} 15'$ to $9^{\circ} 6'$ N. lat. It is difficult to compute the population. Mr Schenkler estimated them about forty years ago at 100,000. But the Temne language is understood in the neighbouring districts, and in the Bullom country—the low land on the other side of the Rokelle, opposite Free Town, the river here being six miles wide.

The principal tribes in his day were the Eastern Temnes, the Western Temnes, the Mabanta Temnes, and the Quiah Temnes. The two latter tribes are on the right bank of the river Rokelle. The Port Lokkoh territory belongs to the western part of the Temne country, which borders on the Bullom on the west. The Union Jack was hoisted at Port Lokkoh in 1893, and a large part of Quiah is also included in the colony. The only C.M.S. mission now left within 1000 miles of Sierra Leone has its headquarters at this town. It is called in Temne, '*Bake Loko*'—'*Wharf of the Lokkohs*'—and is situated at the very top of the Rokelle river or estuary, some 60 miles from Free Town. The Lokkohs, it must be explained, are a people quite distinct. They have their own language or dialect. They formerly inhabited this town, but were driven away by the Temnes towards

the north-east, where they are now living between the Temne and Limba countries.

Another people seem to have preceded the Temnes at Port Lokkoh. They were the Baka people. Bey Farma, the Conqueror, seems to have expelled them. They went down to Sierra Leone, and from thence up to the Isles de Los, where their descendants are said to be still living.

In the traditions which Mr Schlenker took down from the lips of one of the oldest Temne men at Port Lokkoh, it is certain that Mohammedan ideas must have become insensibly mixed up. But though this may explain some of the elements of truth contained in them, much is evidently not from that source. There is a singular mingling of the grotesque and the poetical in these traditions. They say that when God made the world, He set it on the head of a giant; that the trees, the grass, and all things that grow upon the earth are the hair of the head of this giant, and all living creatures are the creeping things in his head. His movements are the cause of earthquakes, and when he falls down and dies the world will come to an end, and everything in it will perish; but that, after a long time, God will make a new world. They tell how, in the beginning, He made only one pair of human beings, a male and female, giving them first rice, and afterwards flesh to eat; and teaching them which animals were not fit to be eaten. Afterwards he showed them all

kinds of medicines and all sorts of tools, a hoe and a digger, an axe and a billhook; and gave them fire. They were naked and had no clothes.

Of the four first children that were born, a boy and a girl were white, and a boy and a girl were black. These God separated, placing the white by the water side, and giving them all things necessary to get money and become gentlemen; and putting the black children in the country, on hills and in forests, and teaching them to make grass-houses and mud-houses, and to do all laborious work. Afterwards, as they increased, He divided the countries among them.

In the beginning, men lived to a great age, to 600 or 800 years, and then a servant was sent, first to give a man warning, and afterwards to fetch him, when he had bidden farewell to his friends. He did not die, but was brought to God by His servant. But at a certain time, a man was born who was wicked and violent. He became a great man, and had much money and many slaves and cattle. He cared for no one, but did what he pleased and troubled his people. This man brought death into the world. For when God sent for him, he refused to come, and beat the many messengers who came for him. Then God sent two messengers who should 'bring him away softly.' These were Sickness and Death; and ever since that time, God has given power to sickness and death that they may walk about in the whole world, lest another man should

arise and act as this one did. He taught the people also how to bury the dead ; and, as death is terrible, and the people were afraid, He sent them a drum and a cymbal and liquor, and said, 'Let them go and make a wailing, and drink liquor, that they may be drunk, and dance, and be no more afraid.'

Of a resurrection of the dead, the Temnes have no idea, but they believe in some kind of retribution after death, and that all men will go to Hades when they die, and remain there for ever, some in a happy and some in an unhappy state, according to their behaviour here. They also believe that they will get their slaves again in Hades, if they tie a rope round their necks when they die, and let the rope reach out of the grave, fastening it to a stick. They say, however, that some men escape from the grave by a sort of transmigration, such, for instance, as have been unjustly put to death, and live in a far country in great wealth—it is always a far country! They believe also that a child which has died may be born again in a natural way.

It may be said that they believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, whom they call K'urūmasába, but they do not worship him, thinking that though he created the world, he does not care about it, or the concerns of men. The objects of their worship are the Krifis, or tutelary spirits, whom they seek to propitiate by many sacrifices. We frequently meet with a small hut at the entrance of a town, dedicated

to the Krifi, before whom they set food at certain times; and who, they say, can only be seen by the sorcerers. They have stones in their houses taken from the graves of relatives—never from those of strangers—and these stones they look upon as representatives of the Krifis, and they call them the shadows of the dead. They never use the name Krifi of the spirit of a man, but it is likely, nevertheless, that the Krifis are deified ancestors. They are more dreaded than revered, and it is in fact a kind of demon-worship.

The Temnes believe that, by witchcraft a man may turn himself into an animal, and, in that form, may injure an enemy. A man was burnt at Port Lokkoh in 1854 for having turned himself into a leopard. Charms are extensively used among them, and they have many words for good and bad luck.

They are accustomed to kill deformed children after their birth. It is not the parents who do this, but men told off for the purpose. It is said to be done secretly at night, by strangling or burning, no one else being present. They think, no doubt, that a deformed child would not only be unlucky itself, but bring ill-luck to the family. Certainly one seldom sees a deformed child among the Temnes.

They have two secret societies, the Bondo for women, and the Porro for men. Any one expelled from one of these societies, is cut off from all communication with others.

We have reason to believe that, with slight modification, these observations, made forty years ago, give an accurate account of the beliefs of the Temne, and neighbouring tribes in the present day.

In selecting the Temne people for special consideration, we are actuated by a desire to give an impulse to our very inadequate mission work in that country. We would draw public attention to their case. We feel that those whom we will roughly describe as Naimbanna's people, have a peculiar claim on us as we follow the fortunes of Sierra Leone. We saw him and his associates selling us the land a hundred years ago; we marked his desire that his people should profit, in the best sense of the word, from contact with the white man; we saw the hopes he fondly centred in the son who went to England, and whose bright but brief course there we have chronicled in a previous chapter; and we think it is a reproach to us that such very slender efforts have as yet been made to win them to a truer knowledge and a happier faith than their traditions show them to possess.

Before we come inside the colony from the interior, as we promised, we have one other people specially to deal with, who have been connected with the colony from a very early date, and who are entirely different from any other West African people, and, without reference to whom, neither Sierra Leone nor West Africa can be at all well understood. We introduce them by a quotation from Mr Walker's book,

The following was written about the Kroo people in the year 1847:—

‘ Besides the original settlers, and the Europeans, and liberated Africans, natives of a district of the Grain Coast, between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, called Kroo Country, are found in considerable numbers in the colony, especially at Free Town. These Kroomen are a singular race, constituting the boatmen, labourers, out-of-door servants and cooks of the colony. Strongly attached to their native country, which they seldom or never utterly abandon, they migrate to all parts of the coast in search of employment, intent only on gain, and that for the sake of future respectability and independence in their own land, to which their thoughts and energies are ever directed. They are very industrious, and are much attached to the English, in whom they have the greatest confidence. The Krooman arrives in the colony young, and apprentices himself to a Kroo master, for whom he labours for two or three years, and then sets up on his own account, taking apprentices in his turn and receiving their wages. A Krooman’s wages are about twenty shillings a month, almost all of which he saves, and between his savings and what he can safely steal—honesty not being among his virtues—he has accumulated, at the age of forty, about thirty pounds, which he lays out in marketable articles, and returns home to purchase a number of wives, in the possession of which Kroo respectability consists, and

spends the remainder of his days in the practice of his native customs.

‘Kroomen are eminently superstitious and ignorant ; nor will they generally submit to be instructed, as, whatever might be their own inclinations on the subject, they dare not bring back with them to their country any of white man’s learning, or they would fall a sacrifice to the bigoted notions of their countrymen. Hence the missionaries have almost entirely failed to make any impression on this singular race, who, to the number of about a thousand, inhabit a suburb of Free Town (Kroo Town), with not a woman amongst them, as they always leave their wives and children behind them in their own country under the care of the Pines or native magistrates, and one-half of their earnings is claimed by their king or chief for the care and expense of their families during their absence. The Kroo men are seldom very tall, but they are well made, vigorous and active. Generally speaking, they wear no clothing, except a piece of cloth folded round their loins. A few, however, wear clothing in Sierra Leone ; and they often bring home with them old hats and jackets which they are allowed to wear in their own country in the rainy season, when they are extremely sensitive to cold. They are very fond of adopting English names, such as “Pipe of Tobacco,” “Flying-Fish,” “Bottle of Beer,” “Mashed Potatoes,” “Bubble and Squeak,” and other strange sobriquets of the same

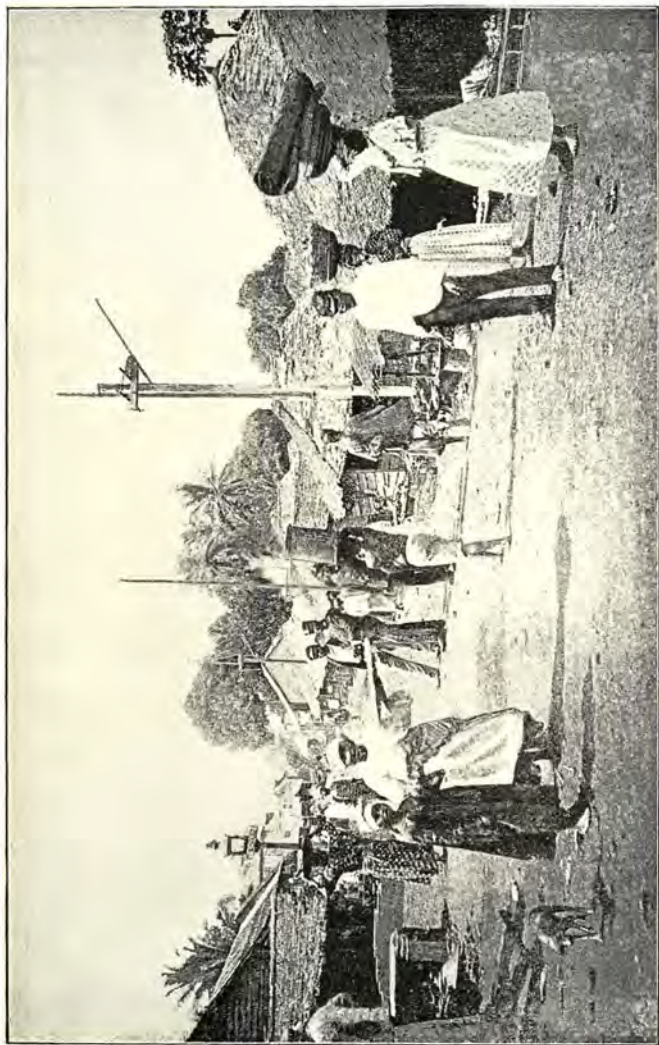
character, which, from frequent use, soon cease to be ridiculous.

'The distinguishing external mark of a Kroo man is a broad black line running from the forehead down the face, along the ridge of the nose and continuing through the upper and lower lip and chin, and the barb of an arrow represented on each side of the temple. The body is also generally tattooed in a fanciful manner.

'To the credit of the Kroomen it must be mentioned, that they are not permitted by their laws to engage in the slave trade; yet the temptations of Europeans and others sometimes prevail to secure their agency in this atrocious traffic.'

The concluding words of the above quotation remind us of how much has happened since the year 1847. We therefore propose to bring this account of the Kroo boy up to date, by writing of him as we ourselves have known him since 1883.

The Kroo man has been superseded in Sierra Leone itself, as a servant and jack-at-all-trades, by the people of the immediate vicinity. But Kroo Town is still an important division of Free Town. It retains certain privileges of local control. It commands a view of all ships arriving in the harbour, and the Kroo man holds himself in readiness, with his gang of followers, to join his favourite captain as he comes in from Liverpool. Whatever may have been the case fifty years ago, Kroo women undoubtedly live in this



KRUO TOWN, SIERRA LEONE.

township now, and probably other women too. The same love of country survives, but Sierra Leone has become a second home to many. Here they join and are paid off from war ships, and mail and other steamers. But if our readers wish to see Kroo life on the coast, they must leave Sierra Leone with us, in one of our steamships bound for the many ports that now are growing to considerable importance along the line of the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. Within about two days we shall fire our gun and blow our whistle at various points well known to captains along the Kroo coast for boys.* Naked figures soon appear vigorously paddling their frail canoes over big waves, and presently a perfect babel prevails alongside. A head man or two, with an immense ivory bracelet, or some other badge of long service, climbs on board, and it soon becomes apparent that a merchant has sent up *Book* † from Cape Coast, Accra, Lagos or the Niger, for a hundred Kroo boys to come down in the first steamer. A sovereign a head for the slenderest possible accommodation is paid by the employer. The arrangement is quickly made, and very soon the party have made themselves comfortable in their 'happy-go-lucky' fashion, on the after-poop or some other portion of the deck. In two or three hours, we have stopped at another favourite

* A term applied on this coast to any of the male sex, from a child to an old man.—ED.

† The native expression for a letter or order.—ED.

hunting ground, where some fifty more are gleaned, until, in a day or two, we have known the decks to swarm with some four hundred of these noisy but cheerful people, who talk from daylight to the moment they fall asleep, and whose excitement rises to fever heat as chop time approaches, and the huge rice pots are seen being borne along the deck to be set down in the midst of the various gangs.

These people seldom consent to remain away from their country longer than a year (twelve moons), and it is certainly pleasing, as our ship returns up the coast towards Sierra Leone, to watch their anxious looks landwards as the ship approaches '*we country*,' as they affectionately designate it. At such times, their great dread is lest they should be compelled to land at some point at which fighting is going on, or, indeed, any place other than their own native town, for they would be at once robbed of all their earnings. And that captain is always remembered by them who keeps his word, and, at some little inconvenience, lands them at their own place.

If the embarkation was exciting, what shall we say of the exit? When the ship is seen drawing close to a Kroo village, coming up coast, it is quickly understood that she has passengers, and in a very short time a perfect fleet of canoes surround us. How they manage to sort themselves out, passes our comprehension, but somehow or other, in half-an-hour, the exodus, of say a hundred, is completed to the great

relief of all on board. Their luggage, consisting of all they have come by honestly and dishonestly during their tour of service, a sad quantity of 'trade-*rum*' and gin (which they *will* have)—if all this cannot be got into the canoes dry, then it must be thrown into the water, and swum for. A dive from the ship's side into the water, and a swim to their canoe is a favourite manner of disembarkation for many. If the frail bark is over-weighted, these amphibious people can tread the water until she is righted, and bale out again, and all this goes on in the midst of a babel of sound, which the captain, having, in his opinion, given them time enough, has intensified by signalling 'full speed ahead,' and all is quickly over until the next discharge. Fearlessly they ride over the big green waves towards the beach, to meet their relatives once more, and, we doubt not, hold a perfect carnival of debauchery that evening on shore, with their rum and their gin.

We have often looked with deep sympathy on these deck cargoes, during many voyages to and from the Gold Coast and Lagos. Those who travel seem as barbarous and heathenish as ever, but we know some are being got hold of, and won, in Sierra Leone and Lagos, and we must hope that the missions in their country, which are all American, are making more impression than formerly on their homes.

The Kroo coast is very dangerous for ships. It has never, we believe, been properly surveyed, and

sunken rocks have wrecked several of our mail steamers in recent years.

It is not a comfortable reflection, as we look at this mob on our decks (which can be kept in very fair order, so long as we are masters of the situation), that if the ship should chance to strike on one of these sunken rocks, and become unmanageable, they would rise to a man and seize all they could lay hands on, cut the very rings off our fingers, if they could get them in no other way, and generally loot the ship. And even if we escaped safe to land, our only chance of keeping the very clothes on our back, would be the proximity of some white man's factory or mission station.

Little has yet been done to Christianise these interesting, hard-working, cheerful, but ignorant and greedy people, who have so long hung on to the skirts of civilisation. Two instances are selected out of many to illustrate their feelings towards one another. The first is the case of a youth, in all respects a bright, cheerful and apparently domesticated servant to a firm in the Niger Delta. Hearing one day that his brother had been killed in the Kroo country, he came to his master, knelt down and said, "Please master, let me for go my country *one time*?"* On being asked why in such a sudden hurry, and before he had finished his engagement, he said, 'They go kill my brudder, and I no fit for sit down this place till I go kill *three* persons.'

Or look, for our second instance, at a gang about

* Immediately.

to land at their own town. One of their number is sick with dysentery. They tell the captain,—‘ We no want that man ; he go die.’ They ask, however, for his boxes. The captain replied,—‘ You will take that man, or you will go *without* his boxes ;’ and with great care, the sick man was lowered in a horizontal position, and laid lengthways in the canoe. But they were not to be done ! No sooner had they got a short distance from the ship, than, either because they wanted more room to sit down, or because they did not choose to take a sick man on shore, they were seen to take him by the head and feet, and sling him into the sea !

Is it right that so little attempt should be made to civilise and Christianise a people whose labour Europeans so largely employ ? Cannot these boys be encouraged, at the various factories, in a night-school or Sunday morning class, to pick up a little useful knowledge ?

We know what African merchants will say ; but we would point out, that it is impossible to stop the tide of civilisation that is flowing steadily in, even upon the Kroo boy. The good old Church Catechism will surely do him no harm. It effectually secures against the tendency of a little knowledge, so-called, to take people out of their place, for it teaches a man to do his ‘ duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call him.’ The fear of God in his heart is what not only the employed but the em-

ployer wants, for it insures that a man will walk through this world before God, and be honest. If something like this, in a very simple way, could be done at the various coast centres of labour, and if something like a Kroo boys' home could be established in Sierra Leone, with all sorts of departments for useful teaching—spiritual, moral, sanitary, technical—we are certain it would be only a right recognition of the undoubted fact, that the splendid cargoes of palm oil, etc., that weekly go from this coast, could never have been shipped, and the ships themselves could never have been worked, without Kroo boy labour. We think, moreover, that common wisdom and common sense suggest that something of this sort would probably pay. When we see European firms glad to pay a sovereign a head for these boys' passages every season, and then to pay their way home again in so short a time, and when we find that Kroo boys can obtain employment on these easy terms, without any difficulty whatever, it becomes obvious to us, that the labour question on this coast is one of considerable difficulty, and that it is important to look to conditions of future supply. This rough-and-ready material has hitherto been made use of without any sense of responsibility, and without any regard to its proper conservation and evolution; and we think it is well worth the consideration of shipowners and employers of labour whether (we again repeat it) a large and spacious

home farm in Sierra Leone—a sort of Miss Weston's Seamen's Rest—would not, *under European management*, be an excellent centre for teaching them many



KROO TOWN BAY.

useful things, not for their souls only, but also for their bodies. If the Liberian Government are really serious in demanding two dollars a head for every Kroo boy that leaves the country, it will not prove difficult to draw many towards Sierra Leone. They might, with a little care, be there fitted to become the permanent West Coast blue-jackets and stevedores; and, with a little wise discipline and reasonable leave, they would very possibly consent to bring their families to them, instead of going for such long periods to vegetate and deteriorate in their own country.

CHAPTER X

SIERRA LEONE IN 1894. THE MIXED MULTITUDE

WE propose now to come inside the colony proper. Let us approach by the Rokelle River from Port Lokkoh. This is, properly speaking, only an arm of the sea, affording navigable water for boats some sixty miles inland from the coast. If the tide is with us, we may hope to compass the journey by canoe in two tides, but if fortunate enough, as sometimes, to procure a steam launch, in six or seven hours. We are now going 'ro-Kamp' (to the camp), as the Temnes call the journey 'to Free Town.' It was so named by them, because the first settlers when they arrived made a camp near the shore. They have thus adopted our word. If you have been on one West African river (those parts, at least, within 100 miles of the coast), you have been on all. Mangroves, in one continuous line, meet the eye at every bend, relieved at times by a few acres of solid ground, on which some trading station is situated. There are several small hamlets, too, on the way. Ro Bomp, Ro Tumbo, Tasso Island, with their factories or mission stations, are always ready with



OUTSKIRTS OF FREE TOWN.



ON THE BEACH NEAR "KING TOM."

offers of hospitality, as we pass up and down. But this time, we must pass them by. Bunce Island is next passed, once so famous for its slave baracoons; but now in ruins, and overgrown with bush. And now opens out a view that mere coasters never see—the land-side of the beautiful mountainous peninsula of Sierra Leone, standing in magnificent outline against the open sea! A strong sea-breeze usually meets us at this point—most reviving after our river journey, and we require all the force of the tide to be with us to make headway against the big waves that are now coming in from the ocean. Away on our left, nestling prettily on the lowest slopes of the hills, are Hastings, Wellington, and Kissy—all interesting parishes of the Sierra Leone church. Passing by them, we decide, instead of taking a long pull to Free Town, to land at Cline's Town wharf, two miles east of the city,* and do the rest on foot. Scores of other canoes, large and small, are lying about us on the beach. They have brought down produce of various kinds from up country. Other wharves, nearer the city, will be much more crowded until the afternoon tide gives the signal for going up river again.

Watch these country people as they land, some for the first time, and start, with their long neat and heavy bundles of rice or other produce, for town.

* This term seems correct enough on an approach from the bush, but, as will be seen in a later chapter, *not so* from the other direction.

You can see, by their very walk—one behind the other—that they have never been accustomed to broad avenues like the Fourah Bay Road. As they make their way to some merchant's stores to barter for cloth, or rum, or gin, let us pass on with them, and see what is to be seen on the way. We have not gone very many yards from this wharf before we come to a small wooden building belonging to the C.M.S., and used as a college chapel, mission-room, and day and Sunday school. It is known as Cline Town Chapel, and we are glad to know that it will shortly be superseded by the 'Bishop Crowther Memorial Church,' near the same spot. A few steps further on, and, on our right, down a long avenue toward the water-side, is Fourah Bay College, to which allusion is made elsewhere. For isolation, sea-breezes and health, its situation is as good as any in the colony, and far better than any in Free Town. Passing on, we come next to one of the main Mohammedan quarters of Free Town at Fourah Bay itself. These people, it will be seen from the census statistics, are a very important factor in the population. The leading men amongst them appear to be Akus, *i.e.*, from the Yoruba country, but not exclusively so. Some are Foulahs, and live in Foulah Town, another division of the city. They now possess a fair-sized mosque,*

* An important looking one is also being built as we write at Fourah Bay.

and they have shown of late years a marked tendency to assert themselves, and also to increase.

While thankfully acknowledging the fact, that the leading Mohammedans are always on our side in any agitation in respect of limiting or controlling the liquor traffic, yet we cannot but feel that their presence, in such large numbers, in the midst of our colony, is a distinct danger to an imperfectly developed Christian society. We are disposed to believe that the words of their Koran are only a fetish and a charm to the rank-and-file of their adherents, that great superstition prevails amongst them, and is propagated by them. We often see various words of the Koran being sewn up as charms for sale, and alas! they have been bought by some of our nominal Christians. We have reason to believe that medicine-men from among their number keep alive in the community many hurtful superstitions, and so retard not only true religion, but also true medical science, and so long as this higher-grade heathenism, while complacently congratulating itself that it knows God, makes such ample provision for the lusts of the flesh now and (as it thinks) hereafter, and grows fat by feeding on such a community as ours, we are not likely to win them to our way of thinking.

On the other hand, there are many country people

who would be classed as Mohammedans, who engage themselves as our servants, mainly for outdoor work, but they are so simple and unsophisticated that, without a thought, they will come in, of their own accord, to our family worship, and soon be heard repeating 'Our Father,' etc., with the rest of the household. These, it is evident, can be won, and some little attempt is now being made, by night schools and other means, to reach people of this class. The Mohammedans, no doubt, largely engage in trade, but they appear to belong rather to the leisured class, and are chiefly conspicuous in the street by fine loose robes, which do not suggest hard work.

Passing towards town, another two or three hundred yards brings us to the grounds of Bishop's Court, on our right hand. They are about seven acres in extent, and, like the college, slope down to the waterside. The house and property belong to the *Colonial Bishopric's Fund*, and constitute a valuable piece of church property. Whether from this, or the college promontory, the view of Free Town Harbour and the sea is very fine. On our right, again, as we pass westwards, and within the Bishop's Court property, is the Princess Christian Cottage Hospital; and we have heard enough of heathen thoughts about sickness, and the superstitions, and charms and medicines of the country, to be very thankful for the work our English sisters, doctor, and probationers are doing there.*

* See a later chapter.—ED.



BISHOP'S COURT, SIERRA LEONE.

And now the town begins, and the streets become crowded. We crush against people with every sort of article carried on their heads, from a prayer-book to a huge case. We see every sort of architecture, from the thatched cabin to the big stone warehouse or private mansion. We stumble over ginger put on the sides of the streets to dry, or a few mangoes, bananas and pine apples, behind which some vendor is squatting. Nothing strikes us so much as the constant collisions along these streets. No one seems to walk circumspectly, and certainly no one willingly moves for another. A bicycle and a pony trap, in the late afternoon, will succeed in maintaining a fair pace without accidents, but not without much shouting, and sounding of bells. It is very amusing to us, when we have occasion to stop in the street, either to speak to a person or adjust something that has got wrong, to see the passers-by immediately stop and gather round. They diligently observe all we say or do, and when we move on, so do they.* At a point where the Fourah Bay Road runs into Kissy Street we will, nevertheless, venture one of these pauses and look around us. Looking eastward along the attractive-looking road to Kissy, we see Holy Trinity Church and parsonage, now under the Venerable Archdeacon Robbin, an African clergyman. This church has quite the largest, and, as it would probably be called, the most fashionable congregation in

* This remark, of course, applies only to the street population.—ED.

Free Town, and is now in urgent need of enlargement. Whoever occupies such a post as this, has a possible position of commanding influence in the colony. Immediately opposite, and standing away from the road in its own grounds, and on a rising eminence, stands the C.M.S. 'Annie Walsh Memorial School,' to which allusion has been made elsewhere. The English ladies in charge of this admirable institution, with their African colleagues, are aiming to give a thoroughly practical training to African girls of the better sort, and the anxiety of parents to place their children under their care shows that, in their opinion, the effort is a success.

Looking westward, whither our road lies, we catch a pretty view of Tower Hill, which forms a beautiful mound in the midst of Free Town, very much as the Calton Hill or the Castle Hill does in Edinburgh (may we be forgiven the comparison). We should weary the reader if we asked him to go with us to the other end of this extensive town, where the C.M.S. Grammar School is endeavouring to give a similar higher training to boys. Every school, whether elementary or high, as we pass them by, is quite full, and yet the streets swarm with children, for there is no such thing as compulsory education. And all about us, sitting down and eyeing our possessions, taking a job when they can get one, at other times stealing, are these country people, who are coming amongst us in such increasing numbers, and for

whom there is as yet no adequate provision. If it be asked, to what extent do the older residents mix with these people? the answer is, that the latter form a class for the most part below them. They are their servants. Illicit connection there may be, but not inter-marriage. Sometimes a large party of superior-looking natives will arrive in the town from the interior countries, whose object is an interview with the governor. They sit down in some quarter, keep to themselves, have their interview, and return. It is very much the same with those who come to trade. At present the native Christians, as a body, cannot be said to be zealous for the conversion of their less favoured countrymen; and nothing approaching to the love and self-denial of those who first brought the Gospel from England to Sierra Leone has, in our opinion, as yet been manifested here. The names of devoted men and women, who have given their lives for the planting of the Gospel among these good people, *may* be 'household words,' and we hope they are, but we have not, we fear, been sufficiently far within those precincts to hear. We have noticed, indeed, a caustic tendency to speak of so-and-so as '*of blessed memory*,' when the writer or speaker is a *laudator temporis acti*, at the expense of the policies and circumstances of the present; but we have not heard our African friends converse sufficiently either about the missionary work of the past, or of the workers, or of their own personal reminiscences and

private histories, for us to be in a position to report, as we have once and again been asked to do, on these points. Perhaps the mention of this felt want may prove suggestive in some quarters.

With the possible exception of the professional classes, trade is, for the present, the great infatuation. Money is spoken of in Sierra Leone trade as, not a means to an end, but as 'the life.' We fear that with many it is the same in church matters. From the countryman up to the successful African merchant, all seem to be born traders. Some Africans are sufficiently substantial to be in a position to lend thousands of pounds for some government or other undertaking. The art of trading, as practised by the countryman, seems to require for success in it an utter indifference to the flight of time, and great shrewdness. He has, of course, many prices; and it seems to be quite a matter of course, that the first few sums named for a given article will be cancelled one by one, until the moment comes when the vendor indignantly packs up his wares and walks away. But even then it is not finished. A little further patience, and he will probably be back again and take your price. All this ignorance of our standards, of the true value of our goods, and of their own, imposes on us Christians a solemn responsibility *to be straight and true*. Thus trading, which is an honourable way of making a livelihood, if carried on in the fear of God, and the love of our neighbour, may become a means



STREET SCENE IN FREE TOWN.



A SHOP IN FREE TOWN.

of diffusing the principles of the kingdom of God. We remember an English missionary to West Africa, who once greatly shocked an excellent and devoted London clergyman, who had himself spent much of his fortune on Africa, by asserting that, in Africa, one had to look on every man as a rogue and a thief until he was proved to be honest! This statement greatly distressed the clergyman in question, who thought it a most unchristian sentiment; and the missionary at last pacified him by saying that, if spared to return, he would try the opposite plan. Alas! he was compelled to report as the result, that, as he mildly put it, 'various articles of his property had been borrowed by the natives, which they had forgotten to return!'

As we pass along the streets of Free Town, brushing against these natives from the interior, we must try to remember that it is not our roads only that astonish them, but far more—the utter and sudden absence of restraint. They have passed from the sphere of native law, which, no doubt, grew out of the circumstances of their town, and suited the situation, to that of British law, which grew out of British circumstances, and is brought to this young community like an article of ready-made clothing. Is it a wonder if the clothes do not fit? Is it a wonder that kings and chiefs around Sierra Leone,* instead of wishing their people to come and see how well

* This is a well-known fact.

we do things, dread for them to come to this colony on account of the danger to their morals! No doubt our well-known position on the slavery question has something to do with this; but when we consider that adultery, being a social inconvenience with them, is very severely punished, and with us it is not punished at all; and that a man who steals, probably loses his hand in their country, but, with us, the British law affords him a good chance of escape, this reluctance is easily understood. In passing into this colony, they pass into a liberty which to them is licence, and, even if, as of course often happens, they soon find themselves in a gaol, the accommodation, the food, the attention, the industrial employment—watering the governor's garden, mending roads, or making mats in a shady quadrangle—this is all so unlike what they have been accustomed to call *punishment*, that they are sorry when the time is up to go out into the cold world and begin again to shift for themselves. Surely it was not want of Christian charity, but rather a true diagnosis of the dark and heathenish condition in which these people have always lived, that made the missionary arrive at the conclusion stated above. Unless he takes that view, he knows he will never make a true start, for he will never have a true basis. And such a view is not only consistent with the deepest love and truest pity, but it is a grand safeguard against disappointment. People come to this country and



KISSY STREET, FREE TOWN.

expect to find in heathendom, and on its borders loving affection, gratitude, honesty, and truth; and they unreasonably brand the poor people as hopeless material the first time their advances are coldly met, their confidence is misplaced, or gratitude for some act of kindness is not forthcoming. Englishmen too readily forget to trace these grand principles to their true source. That source is Christ, and only as any of us—English or African—have received of His spirit, or, at least, lived long amidst those in whom His spirit works, will these beautiful features of character be found.

We have known Englishmen on this coast, who have taken native boys into their service and actually given them the keys of all they possessed. Sometimes all has gone well, but at other times disaster has been the natural result.

Sir Herbert Edwardes used to say in India that, in dealing with native races, he acted on the principle of *hoping for the best while preparing for the worst*. That 'worst' is always most to be dreaded in that dangerous period between the probably wrong and severe restraints of native law and the gradual growth of that Christian moral sense and fear of God, which is the best security, in white or black, for loyal obedience to British law.

Here, then, are these people, whom we have now followed half through Free Town, this mixed multitude of camp followers, who not only walk our streets, but

who get into our houses,—it is easy to say the African Christians must elevate them and improve them. We hope they will. But let us for a moment look at the other side. Think how we in England have been far removed from heathenism for centuries, and how, in that isolation (some 3000 miles from the nearest heathen shore), we have been able, for a long period, to rear our race in all that is true, lovely and of good report. Think, by contrast, of the Sierra Leone or Lagos householder who desires, as a Christian, to build up true family life, and to bring up his children in the fear of God and in Christian purity, honesty and truth. Their very kitchens and yards are full of these people. Their streets, as we saw, are full of them; and much is seen and heard by these young people every day that is most regrettable. All know how easy is the ‘*down grade*,’ and if, as is notoriously the case, the Englishman abroad, with all his previous advantages, often falls a victim to degrading influences, we would bespeak the sympathy of our readers for our African fellow-Christians, and we ask them to take note, that it is not easy to build up Christian churches on the frontiers of Christendom and on the confines of a too long neglected heathendom.

We have moralised so long in the midst of Free Town, that we have almost forgotten our lionising. Instead of walking further through these streets, let

us turn now towards the hills, and, passing round Tower Hill and past the prettily-situated cemetery, recently closed, let us take to our hammocks and begin the ascent. The boys, on a hint from us, reverse the hammock, so that we not only sit more comfortably while the road is so steep, but we catch lovely peeps as we mount up higher and higher. Let us take the military road by Heddle's Farm. This is one of two capital roads recently made. It winds very prettily round the hills, past a very pretty waterfall, and presently we find ourselves (900 feet up) in the midst of a perfect village of excellent military dwellings, from a guard room to officers' mess room and hospital. All this has sprung up during the last ten years, and must have cost many thousands of pounds. The West India Regiment is stationed partly at Tower Hill and partly here. We soon reach Havelock Plateau,* from whence, as we pause to look, the view both seawards and landwards is truly magnificent: Free Town lies beneath and around. Africa, for a hundred miles or more, is seen in clear weather, stretched out before us. Silver streams running in and out, and high mountains far away in the interior, meet the eye, and the better and cooler air makes us wish that our daily work lay up in these parts.

Continuing our hammock ride we soon quit the

* We shrewdly suspect that this is the hill that was named Director's Hill in the days of the Sierra Leone Company (*see Diary*).—Alas for continuity!—ED.

military camp on the back side, and pass along, still gently ascending, towards Leicester. This is one of our mountain villages, within the parish of Gloucester. It is a perfect garden. All along the mountain road that runs up through the village, are orange trees, often full of blossom and fruit at the same time, coffee shrubs in great numbers, mango trees, alligator pear trees, limes and pine-apples everywhere ; and, in the hollow just below the village, among the water-courses, are market-gardens, where French beans, cucumbers, tomatoes, onions, lettuce and cabbages are grown by the villagers for the Free Town market. There is indeed a very inadequate supply, because there is not enough persevering toil. The country folk come out of their little cottages to see us pass, and give us, 'How do, sa? how missis, sa?' to which we duly reply, and the next word is, 'Thank ee, sa ; good day, sa,' and it will soon be telegraphed, African fashion, all over the mountain district, that Mr So-and-So has come up to the sanatorium on Leicester Mountain. For thither indeed we are bound. The last bit of ascent is very steep indeed, and then we alight at the C.M.S. Sanatorium. This is a very plain wooden structure on a stone foundation, that was built some seven years ago, and has been ever since a boon to the heated and weary worker. The elevation is about 1500 feet above the sea level, and all that was said about the view from the Military Camp may be said with greater emphasis of this.



A PEEP OF FREE TOWN FROM THE HILLS.



THE RAVINE AT KISSY ROAD.

The superiority of the air to that of Free Town is most marked. Blankets are in requisition at night, and it is possible to spend a good part of each day up here without being in a bath of perspiration.

As we are not invalids, however, let us, while we are about it, mount some 400 feet higher, and stand on the bare summit of Leicester Peak, and see what is on the other side. There, straight below us, nestling beautifully in its mountain valley, is Regent Village, with its fine white church and parsonage, standing out well on a slight eminence; on the opposite side of the valley, just above Regent, is Sugar Loaf, its wooded sides rising to nearly 3000 feet. Slightly to the left is the village of Gloucester, nestling amongst a garden of fruit trees, its church and parsonage also a prominent feature. Summit after summit rises in the distance; but we know very little about them. Turning round and looking in the direction from which we ascended, first Free Town stretched out beneath, then the beautiful sea, and the Isles de Los, some seventy miles northward, and a wider view of African Continental landscape than we had at the Military Camp. These hillsides, we are glad to note, are beginning to be cultivated much more. And we hope the day will soon come when the colony will know the true value, for health and other purposes, of its highland. Some very pretty small deer are found in these mountains, and we have sometimes had presents of excellent venison from an African hunter;

but this is not a pursuit that finds favour with many. Leopards have been seen quite near this sanatorium on the look out for a stray fowl or duck. All sorts of stories reach us sometimes about huge monkeys, of the size of gorillas, in the mountains, and even of elephants; but only in one case has an elephant story been verified.

Within easy reach of Leicester are the villages of Regent and Gloucester, which we saw from the peak, and also Bathurst and Charlotte—all of them parishes of the Sierra Leone church, and to which allusion has been made in the chapter on Relics. These villages are not so thickly peopled as in the missionary days, as the young folk naturally go to town for employment, and ultimately settle there. The tie that binds them to their mountain home is evidently a strong one, however, for on Sunday the churches are as full as ever. We will conclude this chapter by a description of a modern Sierra Leone church service. We confess to a fear that the loud and hearty responses, for which Sierra Leone was once so famous, are becoming less and less usual, and now that music is asserting itself so loudly, those who are responsible must see to it that the old abuse of *parson and clerk** shall not now degenerate into the new abuse of *parson and choir*! Everything is an abuse that silences the general congregation; and what are called 'services'

* It must, in fairness to Sierra Leone, be confessed that this ancient abuse was never known here.

and difficult music have much to answer for in this direction. The clergy can guide this evolution if they choose, and we venture, at the expense of being thought egotistical, to tell our readers about our service at St George's Cathedral, to which, in its diocesan relations, allusion is made elsewhere. From having been an entirely plain service, conducted amidst the oppressive surroundings of deep galleries along the three sides, and high pews, it had become, immediately after its restoration by Governor Havelock, very much too ornate. Although the African has been apparently satisfied with the monotonous tom-tom for unknown ages, he no sooner hears our English Church music than he most decidedly takes to it. Without any teaching, he will quickly and naturally take his part in the singing, and understand harmony perfectly well. This is not to say he needs no training. He needs it much, and repays it fairly well. One of his great ambitions will be to possess a harmonium, and by hook or by crook he will learn to play it. You will be sure to hear the Sunday hymn tunes, if they were of a taking character, being hummed or whistled during the week about the streets. Such talent, of course, needs to be wisely directed in church matters, or sad indeed will be the result. It was our opinion that things were attempted in our cathedral, in anthem and service, beyond the power of choir and congregation, and unedifying to both. But being untaught in music, and having then

no chaplain who could help, a very desultory state of things existed for some time. We know not whether our views will commend themselves to our readers but looking at this cathedral as giving the key-note to a native pastorate in this new land, we felt there were some features of the English cathedral service which certainly need not be reproduced. For instance, we declined to allow either intoning or monotoning by the clergyman, as utterly forced and unnatural. The only apology we have been ever able to obtain for it in England is, that the voice carries better in an immense space and under a high vaulted roof. We have neither, and so we gladly dispense with what is to us an objectionable artificiality in the worship of Almighty God. We considered that the confession should be said in a humble voice, as directed, and that the singing of it, however beautiful, was neither expressive of confession, nor spiritually helpful. We decided that, wherever the Lord's Prayer occurred in the service, it should be said and not sung. We felt we could understand creeds being sung; but, nevertheless, we preferred to have them loudly *said*. But, with these exceptions, we allow, under capable direction, full latitude to the musical talent of the choir and congregation. The responses, versicles, amens, the psalms (in the evening), bright hymns, an anthem once a month, and on high festivals—these are all rendered with increasing correctness, not only by the choir, but by

our large congregation. And we consider our method of reserving our burst of praise until after confession, absolution and prayer, as we sing, 'And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise,' is more in accordance with the idea of the Prayer-Book, than the weary sing-song from beginning to end which prevails in some churches that we know in England. Our choir is surpliced, as is the case in the other city churches; but we know none of the ecclesiastical distinctions of 'high,' 'low,' and 'broad' that prevail elsewhere, and we trust such confusing distinctions will not be allowed to intrude themselves into Sierra Leone. We divide our services in such a way as to avoid weariness in such a climate; but we must confess to a great regret that our predecessors, when first they built these churches, insisted on frequenting them between eleven and one o'clock on Sunday—the very hottest and weariest portion of the African day, and certainly no time for sitting dressed up, and mostly in constrained positions, and worshipping withal! We hope the day will come when the Sierra Leone churches will have a more reasonable forenoon hour, as at Lagos, where, by the special wish of the African pastorate, the hour is now eight o'clock.*

The great ambition of the cathedral clergy at present is a peal of bells and a *real organ*. If the former can be had and used without being an annoy-

* This hour was adopted in the cathedral from Easter Day of this present year.

ance to the neighbourhood, and the latter without overdoing us with music, may their ambition be realised. We say so the more because our cathedral is, as we have shown elsewhere, endeavouring to do its duty well towards the pastorate, and also our Church missions. These, and similar spiritual forces standing first, we would encourage as reverent and beautiful a service as possible, expressive of the spiritual aspirations of the congregation, subject only to such modifications as we have sketched above.

We know we carry many with us when we close this chapter, with a prayer that this central church, with her fourteen satellites through this colony, may ever remain, amongst the mixed multitudes whom we have been trying to describe, 'a witness and keeper of holy writ,' a candlestick from which the true light will ever shine, 'a congregation of faithful men, wherein the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered,' and also be a nursery, not only of many souls for heaven, but also of many sons and daughters destined to go forth as Christ's witnesses in backward Africa—and this may she loyally, loving, patiently do—

‘Until He come!’

CHAPTER XI

SIERRA LEONE IN 1894.—GENERAL APPEARANCE— — CLIMATE — GOVERNMENT — MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

‘According to this time it shall be said . . . What hath
God wrought?’

LET us now look at Sierra Leone from another side, and try to see it with the eyes of a traveller approaching it from the sea.

It is impossible not be impressed with the general appearance of this colony. A peninsula, mountainous throughout, about twenty-six miles long and twelve broad, standing out to sea from a perfect pancake flatness of coast line, cannot but be a striking feature. A harbour of such depth and capacity that the finest fleet in the world can lie safely at anchor, a landing (almost unique on the west coast) free from the dangers and inconveniencies of a heavy surf—these points must ever make Free Town, its capital, important as a seaport. The wonderful vegetation that clothes the country up to the very tops of the highest hills has already been mentioned. Almost every kind of tropical fruit grows here, and that with little aid from cultivation; and Sierra

Leone is the well-known market-garden for passing ships. The thought at once arises in the reader's mind, as he notices this not unattractive description, 'What about the climate? and why has a place so favourably situated, been so fatal to Europeans in the past, that it is still known as "The White Man's Grave?"'

The answer to this question involves grave responsibility, and is most important in its bearing on the ends for which this book is sent forth.

Sierra Leone, it has been seen, was a colonising experiment at a time when little was known about the tropics, or how to adapt ourselves to them, or of the diseases peculiar to them. It has been pointed out how many avoidable, but then unperceived, mistakes were made a hundred years ago. But these facts cannot explain all the heavy mortality that has occurred in this colony, and the conclusion must inevitably be drawn, that the climate is not friendly to the European constitution. We are convinced, however, that much may be done by way of adaptation. Facts prove that health and strength may be successfully maintained for excellent work, and therefore a few further words, suggested by experience, may not be out of place.

Every newcomer to this part of Africa will almost certainly have a seasoning of African fever. And any imprudence or sudden check of perspiration is likely to bring it on from time to time. But this

fever is very simple, and well understood, so long as there are no complications, and the treatment adopted tends to relieve the system much when the attack has passed away. It is a fever that rapidly finds out the weak places in the system; and those who will live longest, and work best in Africa, are not so much the strong and robust, and full-blooded, perhaps, as those who, though not altogether as vigorous as might be wished, are yet sound in wind and limb. The desiderata for health in these parts are, that people should learn to adapt themselves to the country; never attempt to do work by spurts, never overtire or exhaust the frame, and avoid irregularity or insufficiency in taking food. Whatever tends to lower the system, invites the climate to assert its injurious influences. Steady, quiet work from day to day, regular rest at night, a quiet noon-tide hour for rest and reading or sleep, a little food at frequent intervals, the maintenance, as far as possible, of a quiet mind—these are not only *advisable* here, as everywhere else, but they would appear to be essential to any long stay in the country. The African climate is blamed for much of which it is not guilty. Neglect of sanitary matters brings a very speedy nemesis under an equatorial sun, and it is to be feared that much preventable disease is generated by the very natural ignorance of the country people on these subjects.

It is popularly said, and said with too much truth, that 'the climate is carried about in a black bottle,'

for it cannot be denied, that excessive drinking has slain, and continues to slay, many Europeans along this coast. Sad instances are constantly coming to light, which go to prove how destructive this baneful habit is. This is no country for reformed drunkards who have suddenly become total abstainers ; but the climate demands great moderation in all things, and his own experience justifies the writer in strongly holding that people get on far better here without these exciting and heating beverages. There is, then, no reason whatever why English men and women should not do excellent work in this part of Africa. They must be content to recruit their energies in their own country from time to time, they will never successfully *colonise* or *settle*, but there is much that they can contribute towards the planting of 'peace and happiness, truth and righteousness, religion and piety' in regions where such principles are only beginning to be known. Such a work can be done, and is being done. The only difficulty is, that the labourers are so few. And so long as Sierra Leone is erroneously supposed to be a dark dismal African swamp, and 'the white man's grave ;' so long as good and excellent people, who will *cheer* a regiment going to Ashanti, put on a face of horror the moment they hear of anyone, near akin to them, being appointed to labour in Sierra Leone ; so long will it be impossible to persuade our best men and women to give to its native churches the helping hand they urgently require. Much has been said

about the *deaths* that have occurred in Sierra Leone, but nothing has been said of the *survivals*. A careful list of governors, officials, merchants, and missionaries *who have weathered the climate* would perhaps throw an improved light upon the situation. And it will certainly glorify God to believe, and act more than we are prone to do on the belief, that 'in His hand are *all the corners of the earth.*'

It will continue to be true that English people will lose much vigour of body and nerve in these places; that they will never be quite at their best; that very unusual attention must be given to health; and that too lengthy a residence on the coast seems to be a mistake both for the worker and the work; but it has been very clearly demonstrated, and we hope this chapter may assist thereto, that much good work can be done by them in this part of Africa, and certainly in a colony so favourably situated as Sierra Leone.

It continues to be a Crown colony. Not many years ago it was felt to be not impossible that some day it might find itself transferred to some other power by way of settling some national dispute. Uneasy rumours to such an effect have at times been current, and the more so, as the British Government has been well known not to be infatuated with its West African possessions. But this fear has been set at rest during the past ten years, by the decision to make Sierra Leone an Imperial coaling station, and by the consequent fortification of the colony at the cost of many

thousands of pounds. This was another most important step in the direction of permanence which the Sierra Leone Company could not foresee, but which is an additional justification of the selection they made.

A small corps of Royal Artillery and Engineers, a battalion of the West India Regiment, and an increasing force of Home and Frontier Police all tend to indicate that the position is thought worth retaining. The growth of the colony from the peninsula to the borders of Liberia, the recent acquisition of Port Loko and adjacent country, and the apparent disposition of Government to cultivate friendly relations with interior tribes, all tend to show that the situation is thought worth extending. And, if French enterprise has not already made it impossible, Sierra Leone will eventually be the emporium for a large interior trade, extending even to the sources of the Niger.

When the abundant arrangements for efficiency, made by the Sierra Leone Company a hundred years ago, are borne in mind, it is difficult to be satisfied with the progress of Sierra Leone as a colony. Two facts will go far to account for this, namely,—the obvious immaturity of its African population, and the short tenure of office on the part of Europeans, none of whom reside a day after their business is done or their leave is due. The one will account for the fact, that no general sense of citizenship has hitherto been realised, and no readiness has therefore been as yet

manifested to bear any burden of taxation whereby to meet its responsibilities.

The other will explain that want of continuity which is ever so fatal to progress. It is understood that the municipal idea which was launched in 1794 is to be realised in 1894, with this suggestive difference, that then it was European throughout, now it is African, and is to depend upon some system of local taxation. It is obvious that, until this sense of citizenship is fully awakened and makes itself felt, the Government will do as little as possible in those departments that are felt rightly and properly to fall within the jurisdiction of a municipality. Roads, lights, increased water supply, sanitation, and many other necessities, await this municipality. In a situation where nature is so kind and helpful, Free Town could have been, long ere this, the cleanest, best-drained and best-watered town on the African sea-board, and better health would have been the happy result. It is difficult to understand how it is that so little amelioration has been attempted during more than fourscore years of Crown administration, but we suppose we shall be told that Sierra Leone has been a philanthropic effort and not an ordinarily developed colony, and that philanthropy costs money.

The streets of Free Town continue as formerly to be filled, as we have already described, with interior peoples, bringing their rice, skins, rubber, ivory, nuts or curios, either to sell for cash or to exchange for

cloth, rum, gin and gunpowder. And the revenue of the colony is now some £80,000 per annum. The population by the last census returns was 74,000. The governor is assisted in his administration by a legislative and an executive council. The judicial department is under an English chief justice, with an African queen's advocate, an English police magistrate, and master of the court and an African bar. In all the departments, whether the secretariat, the medical, customs or police, although Europeans preside, the African community furnishes all the clerks and under officials, and excellent employment and useful training thus await the educated young men of the colony.

It is obvious that there can be no immemorial usage in a colony but a hundred years old, whose inhabitants have been drawn thither at so many different dates; and it should also be understood that, as the people are not even a community yet, no custom or usage is necessarily common to all.*

A study of the people in Free Town streets, where Africans are to be seen in every stage of dress and undress, from the masher to the stark-naked country boy, from the over-dressed female to her far too scantily covered country sister, will at once indicate to the observer the crude character of the settlement.

The appearance of Free Town and its well-arranged

* Several local associations exist for the forming of a public opinion amongst Africans on the temperance question, and progress is being made.

streets (for which it appears to be indebted to its first governor), lying along the northern base of the Sierra Leone mountains, with its shops and dwelling-houses sloping down to the waterside, is distinctly pleasing when seen from the deck of the ship. But a nearer view is not quite so satisfactory. The unpaved and grass-grown streets, the absence of sidewalks, the open gutters, the poor arrangements for lighting, the inattention to sanitary matters, of which one's nose gives at times a painful reminder, suggests, at first sight, a very *laissez faire régime*, and makes one long for the coming municipality, in the hope that it will soon have greater results to show. A longer acquaintance with the country, however; a few visits into the impenetrable African bush; a slight acquaintance with the desultoriness of African labour; and a personal experience of the difficulties created by the climate, will tend in time to beget a truer appreciation of progress made. Locomotion is the great difficulty; as in Africa, generally, so also in this colony.

Horses do not thrive. Mules and bullocks and donkeys are scarcely known, and therefore wheel traffic is very uncommon. Trucks for heavy merchandise are little used, but all sort of loads are carried on people's heads. The hammock and the chair are the only means of street locomotion. The hammock is usually made of African grasses, is swung on poles, and rests on four men's heads. It

is at present the only possible vehicle through many parts of the country. The cheerfulness and alacrity of the carriers soon satisfy the traveller that he is not much of a burden, and it is possible to enjoy a hammock ride. The Sedan chair, mostly of American make, requires one or two men to draw it, and depends for its comfort on the state of the streets, which is usually very bad indeed.

The commonest sight on the wharf and on the head of the countryman, as he wends his way out of the town where he has been selling his rice, is a demijohn of rum or a green case of gin, and it is a sight full of sad augury for the future.

It is somewhat startling, by way of contrast, to see in orderly march, along these streets so full of uncivilised humanity, now a procession of well-dressed young ladies belonging to the C.M.S. High School for Girls (the Annie Walsh Memorial), or of the C.M.S. Grammar School for boys, with their excellent band, or some school treat or temperance *fête*, with their resplendent banners and inevitable drumming. These are sights, on the other hand, full of happy augury for the future, and they tell of real work steadily going forward.

Then, again, one will very often meet a wedding procession emerging from one of Free Town's many churches or chapels, and, as everybody here knows, or is related to, everybody, a wedding is a largely patronised institution in this city, and every other

engagement, it seems, must yield thereto. Here it is most grotesque to see the surging crowd of scantily-clothed country folk rushing to the sight, and so bringing out into bolder relief the latest wedding fashions of the West End of London—from the artificial orange-blossom bouquet to the white satin slipper. What is believed to be English custom is most closely imitated. Silk hats, with all their head-aching results, are most scrupulously worn; and the incessant tom-tom, as it accompanies the festivities throughout the day, is a reminder of how rapid the development from pure native custom has been.

Another institution largely patronised is the funeral. People seem always ready for one. Funeral robes—black for adults, white for the young—seem to be kept in readiness for these occasions, and they are apparently attended without any particular reference to the degree of regard for the deceased. The rules of 'Friendly Societies' no doubt have something to do with this. We have known even a servant boy fined half-a-crown for non-attendance.

Such mutual distrust still prevails amongst the people, that no one seems ever supposed to have died a natural death. It is hard to say that poisoning is actually attempted on any large scale. Certainly it is widely feared. Nothing goes to prove this so much as the fact that people do not eat in one another's houses, except at a large spread, when there is safety in numbers. Thus real fellowship is

hindered. There are funeral customs, and also marriage customs, which we are sure a clearer view of the gospel will make our people reject. Their common sense, it is to be hoped, will soon rebel against the unwisdom of spending their all on the wedding festivities, and there are more signs of a right view in these respects.

The great desideratum in the social life of the colony is the sanctity of the marriage relationship, and the creation and maintenance of home and family life. There are plain signs here and there of the beginnings of this; but the comparative absence of the ideas of love and fellowship from the marriage tie, utterly wrong views about the relative duties of husband and wife, tend to encourage concubinage, and this degrades woman from her true place, becomes the fruitful source of strife and disunion, and children dragged up under these circumstances are apt to see and hear much that is most unfortunate.

Europeans have often confused the situation still more by their conduct, and those who can read between the lines will see that there is much in Free Town society that is a great anxiety to those who have the well-being of the people at heart, and who know that evils appear to be tolerated in this place that surely tend to eat out the very life and energy of any people.

The occupation of the people of all classes seems, as has already been said, to be trading. The female

sex, to their own deterioration, lead the way. Manual trades, such as carpentering, cabinet-making, building, etc., are most imperfectly understood and there seems to be no high standard of technical attainment in the colony at which would-be proficient can aim. The medium of communication is supposed to be English throughout the colony, and when education has made better progress, this will be realised; but at present a miserable *patois*, commonly known as 'pidgin' English, does duty for the real thing, and a lazy indulgence in it is not only keeping the people back, but it is a fruitful parent of some of those palavers and misunderstandings of which there are so many in this backward land.

It is difficult to deal with the characteristics of a people of so many different tribes, and perhaps more need not be said than this: that the educated people of Sierra Leone are proud of the progress their race has been permitted to make during this century; that they are keen to give their children a better start than they themselves had; that the best and most worthy amongst them are well aware of the weaknesses peculiar to the race in its present stage of development—weaknesses, let us remember, for which the white races are more responsible than they are willing to acknowledge. And the conclusion we would draw from a consideration of the circumstances detailed in this chapter is, that the stronger and more advanced race are *debtors* to this people who, with

their sad legacy of woes, are now so generally coming into contact with what is called civilisation. And much may be done by example and by precept to correct whatever is hurtful, and to awaken and direct the energies of all alike towards the amelioration of that dark interior country, whose woes and whose wrongs can almost be *heard* and *felt* by those who have ears to hear and hearts to feel, on the very borders of this favoured colony.

Copied from 'The Statesman's Year Book,' 1893.

Sierra Leone, including the Island of Sherbro and much adjoining territory, extends from the Scarcies River to the North, to the border of Liberia in the South—180 miles.

Sierra Leone proper has 400 square miles; population (census 1891), 74,835, of whom 224 are whites.

Protestants, 40,790; Roman Catholics, 571; Moham-medans, 7,396; the rest Pagans.

STATISTICS OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT.

Area Square Miles.	Population (Estimated).	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.
15,000	180,000	£89,869	£77,965	£50,000
Total Imports.	Total Exports.	Imports from United Kingdom.	Exports to United Kingdom.	Tonnage entered and cleared.
£453,378	£477,656	£345,031	£281,294	842,523

CHAPTER XII

SIERRA LEONE IN 1894—ITS CHRISTIANITY

‘Strengthen, O God, that which Thou hast wrought for us.’

THIS is a difficult subject. It will be impossible to deal with it so as to please all readers. But truth is the first object, and to speak it responsibly, and in love is the writer’s aim.

This is the proper place for recognising the work of the Wesleyan body, of the Methodist Free Church, and other smaller bodies. The Wesleyans appear to have laboured here from the year 1811, and the fact that their denomination embraces a large portion of the population, and many of the most prosperous in the community, is due to much noble and devoted work. The Free Church is a more recent importation, and we fully recognise its energetic endeavours. The Lady Huntingdon connection seems to have had its day, and on its foundation the American Methodist Episcopal Churches are making themselves felt. Since 1864 the Church of Rome has been represented in the colony. It has its pro-cathedral, a mission in Sherbro, a convent school under six Sisters of Mercy

in Freetown, and it numbered, by the late census (1891) between five and six hundred adherents. There is a superintending priest resident at Free Town, assisted by two others of that order.

It will not be thought unnatural, if now we turn from the mere mention of these Christian bodies to speak of the Church of England in Sierra Leone, as we see it to-day; and then, as the title of our chapter demands, of the general Christianity of the colony.

The Church of England in Sierra Leone has a cathedral, and some sixteen parishes or districts throughout Free Town and the colony. The cathedral was one of those churches which were built by an agreement, to which allusion has been made, in the year 1822. It was then known as St George's Church. Upon the creation of the Bishopric, it became a cathedral, and is so cited in the royal letters-patent. The building contains within it so many memorial tablets, that it is almost possible to read a history of the colony on its walls. The colonial chaplain* has charge of the services under the bishop or dean; and there are signs that this cathedral is beginning to realise its important relation to the church and diocese in very hopeful ways. A canon-missioner † is attached to the chapter for the development of the spiritual life of the diocese.

* The Rev. Canon Spain (an African clergyman).

† The Rev. Canon J. Taylor Smith.

The churches, parsonages and schools throughout the colony are nearly all of them the property of the Church Missionary Society. Their missionaries built and occupied them, and they are now granted by lease to the Sierra Leone Church Committee for the use of the native pastorate. The mission stage began practically to develop into the native pastorate stage in 1861; and the last decade has witnessed the realisation of the entire local support of these churches, as well as the settlement of a constitution, by the rules of which all parties, bishop, clergy and laity, are equally bound. The Sierra Leone Church has its own elementary schools in each parish or district; and it has also a missionary society, by which it seeks to evangelise the neighbouring Bullom and Quiah countries. The Church Council, which assists the Bishop in administration, the Church Committee which has charge of the buildings and funds, the Church School Board and the Patronage Board, are all elected by the pastors and by communicants, the Bishop and the C.M.S. being represented by their own nominees. The constitution provides for five year appointments to the various pastorates. These appointments are renewable for another five years, but the Patronage Board may, if the interests of the church so require, change a clergyman's district at any time within that period, and all removal expenses are borne by the Central Church Committee. It would appear

that the outward and visible organisation of this church is not only adapted to the circumstances of the colony and people, but that it furnishes a much appreciated sphere for clerical and lay co-operation in Christian work ; and it is felt that there is just that latitude for adaption to African needs which makes it capable of much hopeful development in days to come. Before passing on to the wider subject of the Christianity of the colony, a prejudiced writer may be pardoned for praising a little the system and forms of his own church. There is something so suitable to a people without any previous literature of their own, in our Book of Common Prayer, that we are not surprised to find other Protestant bodies largely imitating our method in this respect. The terse and expressive petitions in the collects, the selected scriptures, the creeds, the suffrages, the canticles, instead of being intricate, are found most easy and helpful ; and they keep before our African Christians true standards of faith and prayer and praise, and so, as an educating medium alone, our Book of Common Prayer is found most helpful, and produces an unusually congregational response. There will, of course, be cases of parrot-like repetition ; there will be a peculiar liability to hypocrisy and cant, but we incline to think that any forms are open to such abuse, and that the balance is greatly in favour of such forms as ours in the hand of a church that

is to do missionary work amongst the hitherto unevangelised races of mankind. The thought of the constant repetition of the Ten Commandments, with responsive prayers for mercy and grace, in so many of our pastorates on Sundays and other Holy days, is always a satisfaction to those who realise that the process by which the moral sense of these people is to be quickened, must be by 'line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little.'

When we come to deal with the *Christianity* of this colony, we are aware that we are on very delicate ground.

Perhaps it will be better to deal with English people first. But here the field is so limited, and those we have known, even during eleven years, are so few in comparison with the people of the country, that it is difficult not to seem to deal in personalities. The truth, however, must be stated, that only a limited number of those of our countrymen who come to these West Coast colonies, appear to wish to be known as our fellow-Christians. This is a very great loss. It introduces much unnecessary confusion into our work amongst people of other races, and it ought not to be dismissed without an effort to arrive at some explanation. The fact is, that so long as we English people are at home, surrounded and supported by the scaffolding of Christian public opinion, association and church machinery,

we scarcely realise our true standing ; but when we go abroad to the very frontiers of Christendom, to lands where there is absolutely no public opinion on the side of right and truth and purity, where a few isolated missionaries are perhaps diligently and most imperfectly nursing it into active life, it is there that we are immediately put to the test, and unless we have ' the root of the matter ' in us, we soon discover that, without that scaffolding, we cannot stand ; everything in this elementary region suggests unbending and compromise, and, if we do not learn the ways of the heathen, we learn ways that are not Christian.

When, as sometimes happens, a man is a Christian indeed, he co-operates in every possible way, and renders help that is help indeed, because of its obviously unprofessional character. But too often this happens: English people are the result, as to character, of English Christianity. Independently of personal conviction, they have insensibly and indirectly developed much Christian character. There will be seen, therefore, at times, some strange contradictions about them. Side by side with indulgence in some wrong appetite, there will be, let us say, utter and outspoken abhorrence of a lie, of other underhand ways, and of many of those immoral practices which are usually the besetting tendency of the newly evangelised.

There thus arises in the minds of these English folk a cynical indifference to evangelisation, which

is only too apt to develop into active hostility. Native youths, calling themselves educated Christians, have used their slender stock of knowledge to forge and cheat and steal, and therefore these men will say all education is a mistake. Heathen country boys have not yet learnt to handle these dangerous tools, and therefore we are told that they are best left as they are. Such rejoinders as these are constantly being thrown at the Christian worker in places where civilisation and heathenism come into direct contact, as in this colony. In all arguments of this character, a vote of censure is implied on all missionary work, and there is something at first sight so plausible in them, that it is most important to consider what there is to be said on the other side. And thus we are led to deal with the Christianity of the greater number in this colony.

We venture to say, at once, that those only can apprehend the laws and workings of the kingdom of God who are themselves subject to its principles. The missionary of the Cross may fairly be supposed to fulfil this condition. He has not only made a study of the possibilities of the Gospel, but he has some experience of its power in his own case and that of others. He, moreover, studies the native language, and thereby the native people. And although lookers-on may think they see most of the game, they have not considered, as the missionary has, the terrible disabilities created by centuries of

evil inheritance, the crudeness of the material that has to be worked upon, the vastness of the chasm between the principles of Christianity and the superstition, craft, cunning, falsehood and cruelty that each generation of these people has hitherto drunk in, we will say, with its mother's milk. The missionary does not limit the power of the Spirit of God. He rejoices when he sees one and another having a *will* to turn their back on wrong and do right. If he is not careful, indeed, he will mistake a precociousness in appropriating Christian forms for spiritual progress, but daily experience will remind him, in the language of one of his own church's articles, that 'much infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate.' He will often be pained, but never surprised or discouraged, at the slow growth of the moral sense, and that will often seem to outsiders to be *gross hypocrisy*, which he knows to be only *non-realisation*. He will come to recognise that, in the case of a hitherto bullied and brow-beaten race, generations, perhaps, must pass before power and influence and rule are likely to be generally exercised in an impartial and balanced manner.

When we come to consider *methods*, we shall be open to criticism, but we think there is no question as to who understands the situation best: the merchant, who resides in these lands for his own advantage, and who merely wishes to use Africans as so many hands in his factory or shop; or the missionary,

who resides there for the permanent development and wellbeing, now and for ever, of those who have been, to a great extent through European greed hitherto, so handicapped in the race of life. But lest it should appear that a blind and partial apology is being made for Sierra Leone Christianity, and lest we should seem to conceal facts that have come under our actual observation, it is now necessary to write as fairly as possible of the degree in which 'Christianity may be said to be in possession' in this colony.

The recent census (1891) discloses the startling fact that, in a population now amounting to some 74,000, Mohammedans and Pagans, as we have already pointed out, number not far short of one-half. Let it be clearly understood, that this does not mean any falling away from the churches. It is owing to the influx of country people, with which, however, the churches are scarcely attempting, as yet, to grapple. We do not believe that, when the native pastorate was established, it was realised that there would be such urgent necessity for aggressive work within the colony. And there appears at present but little hope that the pastorate, unaided, will be in a position to cope with the situation thus created. But when Mohammedans and heathen are sitting down in this settlement, making charms and selling them to Christian people, when their 'medicine-men' are resorted to on every critical occasion, when old customs that have been formally disowned are paraded

before eyes, for which they have an inherited fascination, there must be danger of no ordinary kind to an infant Christianity so situated. And when these allurements are more aggressive than the forces opposed to them, the situation becomes critical. Such a situation, we hesitate not to say, exists in the Sierra Leone of 1894. And until strong convictions take hold of some more amongst our native clergy and laity, making them willing to be conspicuous, to be separate, to bear odium and reproach for their convictions, until evidence is thus afforded that the claims of Christ are fully admitted, there can be no advance. It is not *preaching* that is so much needed now as *leadership*. An Englishman somewhat fails at this point, because all his ways are apt to be called 'English fashion.'

Side by side with this unaggressiveness is what may be called a sort of religious worldliness. We may best describe it in this way: While the Englishman, who is very worldly in his habits, will ignore the church, and not wish to be thought a communicant, with our Africans it is, at present, at least, absolutely the reverse. Church membership is not the guarantee of character that it is, perhaps, in England. This seems, no doubt, to cast a slur on church discipline, but it must be stated. It must, moreover, be confessed that the voluntary principle by which these churches are maintained, is peculiarly liable to the danger of severity towards the *poor*



COUNTRY ROAD IN "KING TOM."



STREET SCENE IN FREE TOWN.

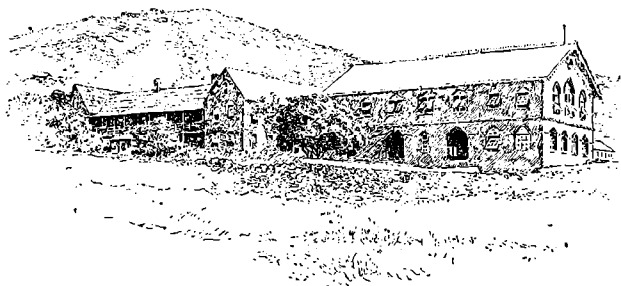
offender and leniency to the *rich*. And it is also noticeable that where, as in Free Town, there are dissipations and attractions of a worldly character, there is no observable tendency, as yet, on the part of any to keep apart from that sort of thing, in order to give themselves up more completely to the cultivation of the spiritual life. We judge no one. We merely mention facts, to enable those who do not know our colony to understand better the extent and depth of religious conviction. But while this is the case, there are signs that leaders in the church, leaders in society, leaders in resistance to hurtful customs, who can show a 'clean bill of health' themselves, are not only tolerated, but welcomed by the Sierra Leone people. Such a tribute will our Africans willingly pay to virtue, and in this fact there is no little hope for the race.*

From all that has been said, it will be seen to be no slight responsibility to have brought these Africans, as we see them in this colony, to their present stage of evolution. It is difficult for those who have not lived amongst them to realise the imperfect perspective, and the confusion of ideas that must inevitably be the result of their late contact with civilisation. Missionaries were sent out in the early days, and easily persuaded the settlers in this colony to become adherents

* We can also unhesitatingly say, that our Africans have too deep a sense that there is a spiritual sphere, to be very liable to the infidel propaganda of the day.

of a Christianity that was associated with so evident a philanthropy. Their children and grandchildren, who have appropriated our language, and dress, and forms of religion, and some of our habits, appeal to us to-day, with even more force than their ancestors, to develop and guide aright those faculties which the Word and Spirit of God have quickened.

With this brief word of summary we would bring these sketches and contrasts to a close. Sure we are that any attempt at evangelisation in Western Africa that neglects to make use of this excellent basis, or that ignores the possibilities of Sierra Leone, will miss its mark. If the Government have thought well to make it a permanent coaling station for Imperial purposes, no less must we continue to make it more and more a basis for operations in connection with the Kingdom of Christ. For such a basis, the many advantages of its situation give excellent promise.



THE ANNIE WALSU MEMORIAL SCHOOL.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME PERSONAL MEMORANDA

‘I stir up . . . by way of remembrance.’

IT may assist others to maintain the succession which has been so worthily inaugurated by good men and true in the past, if some personal experiences, and some local ideas can be recorded, by way of bringing this work actually up to date. They must indeed be limited to those circumstances that will not interfere with the rules of good taste, nor injuriously affect the reputations of living men. Within these limits we believe some facts of general interest can be gleaned.

Readers of this book will like to know something about the voyage to Sierra Leone, and with this interesting subject we propose to begin.

Nothing illustrates the progress that has been made during a hundred years, better than the vast improvement in the means of locomotion. Let the reader glance at our picture of the Sierra Leone Company's ships in 1792, and then let him look at some of our West African mail steamers that go out of Liver-

pool every Saturday, and let him remember the six weeks' passages of those sailing craft, and note that the voyage can be made now in twelve days or a fortnight, and he will be thankful that he lives in the year of grace 1894.

Let us imagine ourselves on the splendid Liverpool landing-stage some Saturday morning at about eleven o'clock. It is no imagination to us. It has often been a painful reality. The weekly mail steamer for West African ports is about to start, and her tender is just leaving the stage. It is impossible to tell who is going and who is not, of the great crowd on the deck of this tender. We are soon alongside the mail boat. The process of identifying luggage, the hopes and fears as to the acquisition of a cabin to ourselves, or, failing that, of agreeable companions in those narrow circumstances—all these cares, with last words and last looks to relations and friends, who have come to see us off, claim the first attention on reaching our ship. And when the last warning bell has gone, and all communication with the shore, except through the pilot, is at an end, we have leisure to observe our surroundings. We scan with a natural interest the size and appearance of our ship, and also the faces of those who are to be our companions for so many days. A word first about the ship. We must not compare her with those great floating ocean hotels that are steaming down the Mersey abreast of us, and beside which we feel so small. But as we look

at our comfortable midship saloon, lighted by electricity, at the spacious saloon deck, the ladies' deck room, the smoke-room, the lavatories and the general good proportions of the vessel, we recall the far inferior ships of these two lines that we travelled by in 1883; and we are glad to be told that ships of this class are rapidly replacing the old ones, and thus introducing far more comfort and convenience into the voyage to the West African Coast. The two companies are the 'African' and 'British and African.' Their rates are £18, 10s. for the passage to Sierra Leone, and £15 for a *return* ticket to the islands. There are few who have not been kindly aided by these lines in Sierra Leone and various isolated coast ports, by gifts of ice and other comforts in times of sickness, and their weekly mail bag is a most helpful aid in enduring a difficult climate.

Shall we here confess to a shrewd suspicion, that we are somewhat indebted for these improvements to Madeira and the Canaries, and the growing passenger traffic with those islands? May be, we consider that the needs of those who travel farthest were too long neglected, and yet were most worth considering, from a financial point of view. But let that pass. Whatever may have been the influences at work, the results are most satisfactory, and we must remember to set those results against the 'doubling up' process that goes on when we have to take up island passengers on the way home!

At the present rate, we shall not be surprised to see a well-known newspaper heading introduced ere long into the sailing advertisements of West African mail steamers (at any rate in the dry season, which corresponds with the English winter)—‘*Sea Voyages for Health’s Sake!*’

The best place for most people for two or three days, while the Irish Channel and the Bay of Biscay are being passed, is the berth or bunk, and we scarcely know or care who is on board, until, by Tuesday morning, we come on deck in genial sunshine, and are told that we have skirted the borders of the Bay (for we do not pass through it), and are running along within about two days of Madeira. No one who has not left England in the midst of November fog and gloom can realise what it is to arrive in Madeira, and see under a lovely still blue sky camelias azaleas, geraniums, and roses in full and luxuriant bloom. Madeira is always a popular stopping place for the traveller to and from the coast. It has been a very kind and restful place to us. Since 1887, the Episcopal superintendence of Church of England congregations in this island, the Canaries, Azores, and part of Morocco has been committed, as an honorary work, to the writer. It has brought him into contact with the English residents in a very pleasant manner, and the visit, every two years or so, is a pleasant recreation from West African work. The chaplaincy in Madeira is maintained by the residents (assisted by

visitors) in a very worthy manner, and as there is no endowment, it would be evidently very helpful towards permanency, if those who so constantly benefit by the wonderful climate, and are helped by the ministrations of the chaplain, would see that a chaplaincy-house is acquired for his use. Very kind and practical sympathy is shown by the Church of England in Madeira, with the greater needs of the Church in Sierra Leone. As we steam away from the Bay of Funchal, after a day spent on shore, the ship wears a distinctly more cheerful aspect! The saloon has every available vase filled with flowers, the deck is dotted everywhere with those light and pretty wicker-work sofas, tables and chairs of every shape, for which Madeira is so deservedly famous, and the dessert is varied by, perhaps, strawberries, grapes, bananas, and figs. The furniture is most popular with residents on the West Coast, and is always in great demand.

Twenty-four to thirty hours easily bring us, steering south to the Island of Teneriffe, and we anchor at Santa Cruz, the capital city of the Canary group. There is no time for anything like a journey to the Peak, or to Orotava, for the ship will sail in six or eight hours, but a drive can be had to Laguna, some 2000 feet above the sea. We have seen an excellent work built up since 1887 in Orotava, on the north side of this island. The Rev. Adolphus Lindon of Madeira, who is honorary chaplain to the bishop for these islands, has thrown himself very heartily into the

work, and it is hoped that the whole group may presently become a sort of archdeaconry. The visitor at Orotava will now find a beautiful church, adorned with many loving and valuable memorials, a comfortable parsonage by its side, a resident chaplain, and a growing English community. The road from Santa Cruz to this place is magnificent, and the drive takes about four or five hours. Santa Cruz is not as yet much more than a point of arrival and departure for the English. But its situation has certain advantages which Orotava has not, and a small plot of ground has already been bought for a possible church in the near future. A chaplain is usually resident here for the winter months. With this brief information we must pass on.

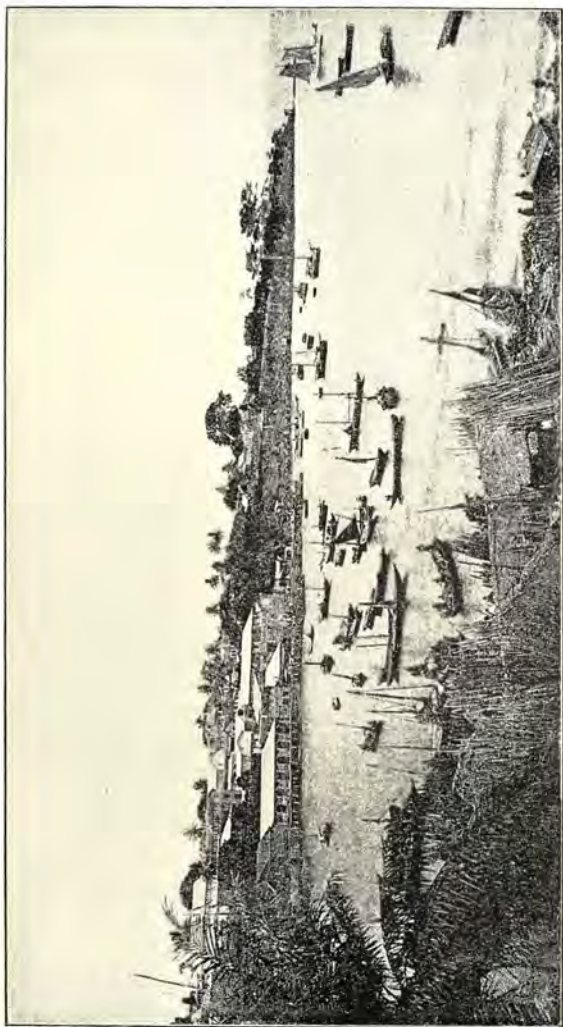
Five hours' steaming bring us to Las Palmas, the chief city of the island of Grand Canary. We have seen its commercial importance as a coaling station, and as a place of export for bananas, etc., for the English markets, vastly increased. The greater wisdom of the Spanish authorities in the matter of customs has no doubt given these islands a considerable advantage over Madeira of late years. The number of ships always coaling, the breakwater, which has not even yet reached its full limit, the steam tramway from the port to the city, the increasing hotel accommodation—all go to indicate that Grand Canary is daily growing in importance. The church is here also abreast of the times. Holy Trinity was

completed and opened for divine worship on Easter Day in 1893, and the British residents, with very little assistance, thus far, from visitors, maintain a resident chaplain. Here also, the roads up into the mountains and along by the sea are excellent, and, if the drivers were not so hard on their horses, we would say that the driving is very pleasant. We regret to have to record one recent introduction into this island, and also that of Teneriffe, which will certainly not elevate the inhabitants. We have lately seen two bull-rings erected, one in Las Palmas, and the other in Santa Cruz, which we regard as a bad sign and a deteriorating influence. And now, as the passengers for the island leave us, we begin to realise that our destination is the West Coast of Africa. Ten years ago, on the day we left the islands, we cut ourselves off from telegraphic communication with the rest of the world. Not so now. And, although it continues to be a very expensive luxury, we have felt distinctly less 'out of it' since that wonderful wire tied us to the heart of things. Now begins (shall we be believed?) the best and brightest part of the voyage, of which the unfortunates who had to land at Madeira and the Canaries as yet know nothing. For five days and a half we steam steadily south. When the north-east trades blow freshly, as they mostly do, the increasing heat of the sun is most delightfully tempered nearly all the way. And, with a brilliant moon at night, life on deck, day and night,

becomes a real enjoyment. We do admit that the nights in the cabin from the time Cape Verde is passed become rather overpowering. The sea voyage usually does so much for those who have been enervated by the West African climate, that, on arrival in England, the improved looks (caused mainly no doubt by the sun and air) often excite considerable surprise.

Passing by Goree and Dakar, which are the ports for these mail steamers, in alternate weeks, which call at the Gambia Colony, we anchor, at the end of the fifth day from Grand Canary, at the Isles de Los. These islands, very healthily situated, are a part of the colony of Sierra Leone; but it is the French trade at Conakry—the one of the group which is *not* English—that draws our steamers thither. After discharging cargo all day to the most unmusical tune of the steam winch, we weigh anchor, and go 'slow ahead' so as to reach Free Town, Sierra Leone, by daylight on the following morning. A previous chapter has described the very beautiful appearance of this colony as it is approached from the sea.

When we first arrived—in March 1883—we were put into a boat at Cape Sierra Leone, from a Hamburg rum, gin and gunpowder ship—the *Senegal*—as she was not calling at Free Town. Entirely unexpected, we landed at the Government wharf, and asked for a hotel. A year or two later, we should have asked in vain; but at that time there was one kept, we believe, by a Frenchman. It was called the West Africa Hotel,



SUSAN'S BAY, SIERRA LEONE.

and such very imperfect accommodation as it afforded we made immediate use of. A fair beginning has now been attempted by African enterprise, but a good, well-placed, well-kept hotel is still much to be desired ; and if the ' sea voyages for health's sake ' are to come off, such a convenience must be soon provided.

We had not been seated at our breakfast five minutes before Captain Jackson, private secretary to Governor (now Sir Arthur) Havelock, appeared, with a most kindly invitation from Government House, and he added, that chairs would be immediately in attendance, and that the Governor breakfasted at ten o'clock. This put an entirely new complexion on affairs, and it can be imagined what a relief it was—a relief whose memory will ever be with us—to be transferred from the bareness of that hotel, which encouraged in us a natural feeling of strangeness and isolation, to the refinement and brightness with which the Havelocks had surrounded themselves.

Conversations on shipboard do not always tend to brighten anticipation of Western Africa. Old coasters are sometimes tempted to draw the long bow ; but, indeed, it is clear, from what has been stated in previous chapters, that naked facts have usually been black enough. At the saloon table, for instance, you hear, as we have once heard, a conversation like this : ' Do you remember Brown, who came out two voyages ago ? ' Answer—' Yes.' ' Ah, well ! he's dead, poor fellow, and his wife returned to England, and died

as the ship went in to Liverpool.' Presently someone asks about Jones. 'Ah, poor fellow, he had a terrible fever, and got frightened, and went home; and they say he will never have his health again.' Next day, someone will venture to ask about Robinson. 'Oh! didn't you know? He went out in this very ship, and only lived six months.' And so on. Sometimes, alas! this kind of conversation has so worked upon the minds of young men going out for the first time, that a nervousness is developed which is the first step to another breakdown! *We* certainly expected to have this African fever as soon as we landed! Facts, certainly, should not be concealed; but there does seem to be room for more kindly consideration in this matter, and we hope old coasters will come to regard their longer experience as a talent in trust for the benefit of their fellow-sufferers, and they ought, in all fairness, not to neglect to state that there are many 'saving clauses.'

To give another instance. A very excellent sermon was preached by a venerable clergyman at the consecration of the writer as bishop, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. But such is the utterly bad name which every geography continues to give this colony, that, when the preacher spoke very solemnly of the heroism that had been manifested, and would still be required on the part of those who go to Sierra Leone, and proceeded to mention the number of deaths there had been in that climate during a given number of years, it is not surprising that

an old Oxford friend should go out of the chapel, saying, 'Ah, well, we have seen the last of Ingham!'

We have been told, and we vouch for the correctness of the story, that a young fellow, still in the mission field, was, in due course, called upon to attend on his committee and be informed as to his destination as a missionary. It was not his wish to be sent to West Africa, but he accepted the decision of the committee as God's call and will. On his way home he met a clergyman, who must have had much to do with arranging men's spheres of work. He came up quite cheerfully, rubbing his hands and saying,—'Well, Mr So-and-so, and to what part of the world are you being sent?' The reply was,—'To West Africa.' Instantaneously changing his tone, and looking very solemn, with a deep-drawn sigh, he said,—'God help you, dear fellow. *May* you have your health. I *hope* you will get on, *but it is* a difficult climate.' Now all this is perfectly true, but why not send that young man on his way with a bright and cheerful view of the situation, even if it is a bad one! That missionary will never forget that deep-drawn sigh, but Africa has not killed him yet.—D.G.

The following is an illustration of the proverb about 'giving a dog a bad name.' On one occasion, some years ago, the writer was travelling on the North-Western Railway. His small box, with the words 'Bishop of Sierra Leone' painted on the top was visible

slightly from underneath the seat. An elderly lady in the same carriage, catching sight of the title, was quite seriously affected, and she could not help saying as she left the train, 'Ah, that's a bad place, I *am* sorry for you.' It set one thinking, that, had the title been Bishop of Bathurst, or Lagos, or Accra, none of which places have the natural advantages of Sierra Leone, no sympathy would have been forthcoming from this good lady. In the light of this incident, the reader will comprehend the suggestion made by the writer at one of the social gatherings in Sierra Leone in the jubilee and centenary year. 'What a good thing it would be to request Her Majesty to mark the occasion by changing the name of this colony.' It is, we hope, unnecessary to state that this was not a serious proposal. Every chapter of this book goes to show the moral loss there would be in such a change. But the rejoinders that the remark called forth may be worth quoting. Said an officer,—'I'm afraid that might come in time to affect the leave system.' Said a merchant,—'And it might bring *us* more competition.' There is obviously much in a name.

To return from our digression. We can only desire for others, who come to this coast for the first time, such a kindly reception as we had at Government House, Sierra Leone, and such hospitality as was accorded us by Sir Arthur and Lady Havelock. To some extent, each one can do a little towards letting the new-comer down gently, and first impressions are lasting.

Governor Havelock was not very long in Sierra Leone. A West Indian, and then a South African governorship soon led to that of Ceylon, but while he was with us, his high tone and example as a Christian and a Churchman were a great power, and produced a marked impression on the people.

We remember a remark he made when once distributing the prizes at the C.M.S. Grammar School. He put his finger upon a weak point in all our African schools—the development of the memory rather at the expense of such studies as tend to strengthen and guide the reasoning faculties. This witness is true. Everything is much too mechanical, and education is often thought complete, when no love of reading, for its own sake, has been engendered, and little power of sustained thinking. This matter after nearly ten years still needs more attention. Sir Arthur could never understand why missionary bodies did not practise more concentration, but seemed to prefer starved missions in many isolated districts to strong centres within a small area. The answer would, no doubt, be, that missionary bodies endeavour to follow in the wake of God's providence; but it is impossible not to regret that, with Sierra Leone as such an excellent base, extension, on a large scale, from that base, was not the policy adopted many years ago. Arguing from what has occurred in Uganda, we are sure that the French would never have had a chance of circumventing us,

had English missionaries been quietly working a couple of hundred miles in the immediate background of Sierra Leone for the last half century. This is said, not from a political standpoint, but because we find, to our sorrow, that in those missions which the writer superintends in French territory (the Rio Pongo*), we are now forbidden to keep any school open whose teaching is not in the French language, and conducted in the French '*esprit*.'

We are plainly told that English educationalists are usually a hostile influence to French plans, which have for their object the bringing of the African tribes into the citizenship of the French Republic.

The epidemic of 1884 was our first serious trouble. Our excellent colonial chaplain, Mr Sparks, who had only been out nine months, died of a malignant kind of fever at Bishop's Court, and several Europeans in our small community of whites, and also a number of Africans, died at this time. It was a sad and depressing beginning, and brought to mind all the dismal prophecies of friends a year before. We believe, however, Governor Havelock stated that enough abominations were afterwards discovered to exist in the heart and centre of Free Town, to account

* The Rio Pongo Mission is a most interesting and important effort on the part of the West Indian Churches, whose membership is so largely African, to do its duty to Africa. The effort is now subsidised in England, and it is to be hoped that this mission will draw many Africans of moral and spiritual stature back from the West Indies to their fatherland.

for a worse epidemic still. As an illustration of the utter neglect of sanitation, it may be mentioned that the writer has, several times since that epidemic, had occasion to officiate in the old Free Town cemetery, on the south side of Tower Hill Barracks. It has now, happily, been closed. But on the occasions alluded to, the recently turned-up soil was so horribly offensive, that it was most difficult to read the service. It was not reassuring to discover that this was owing to the fact, that comparatively recent graves were being constantly dug up, *new* ground in that cemetery being only ground not buried in for half-a-dozen years and less! Yet hither, custom, and every right and sympathetic feeling, would bring crowds on the occasion of every funeral, and it is a marvel that even more sickness did not result. The colonial surgeon (Dr Ross) has done much, during his term of office, to secure some improvement in these and kindred matters, and he appears to be of opinion, that most of the deaths of Europeans (and there have not been many) since he came, some seven years ago, have been owing to causes quite unconnected with the climate.

As an illustration of the difficulties under which Government is carried on, it may be mentioned that, in ten years, we can count no less than twelve governors or acting governors of Sierra Leone, and that some of the acting men have administered two or three times! This will show at a glance

how difficult it must be to ensure that continuity in the working out of any given policy, upon which its success must so largely depend.

Governor Hennessy was before our time. He will always be remembered as the governor who remitted the house and land tax, and a day, the 22d August, is still, by a considerable section of the community, kept in his honour. Another governor is now re-introducing taxation in, we believe, a less objectionable form, and it is associated with the reconstitution of Free Town as a municipal city,* and an African mayor, we hope, will soon be dispensing hospitalities, and, what is more to the point, leading the way in some urgently needed improvements.

Among the brightest incidents during our term of service thus far, may be mentioned the combined celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, and the centenary of the colony in 1887, to which allusion has been made in the introductory chapter. An important feature in that celebration, and most appropriate to the occasion, was the opening by his Excellency Sir James Hay, on Jubilee Day, of the new Wilberforce Memorial Hall. This building has been erected, we understand, out of the balance left over from the Wilberforce monument in Westminster Abbey, supplemented by a few hundreds raised in Sierra Leone. As this is the only public meeting-place in the colony that is not a church or a school room, the hall is used

* See Chapter xi.

for every kind of purpose, from a ball to a prayer meeting. The other rooms are useful as library, reading, and committee rooms. As there is no sustentation fund, we look to the colony to make the constant care of this conspicuous and useful building a labour of honour, of gratitude, and of love. This deteriorating climate has made some attention already necessary.

While on the subject of memorials, it will not be deemed too egotistical if we refer to a church memorial erected in St George's Cathedral in 1892. It is the first of the kind in the colony, and has taken the form of a really beautiful stained glass cast window,* under which a handsome brass-plate has the following interesting and eloquent inscription :

THE FOUR CENTRAL LIGHTS OF THIS WINDOW ARE ERECTED
IN THANKFUL MEMORY OF THE FIRST THREE BISHOPS OF SIERRA
LEONE,

BISHOPS VIDAL, WEEKS, AND BOWEN, 1852-1859,

AND OF

THE FIRST BISHOP OF THE NIGER, SAMUEL ADJAI CROWTHER,
1864-1891.

AND OF

THE PIONEER WORK (since 1804) OF DEVOTED C.M.S. MISSIONARIES,
A GREAT NUMBER OF WHOM DIED IN THIS COLONY.

'They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'

REV. xiv. 13.

BY THE UNITED EFFORTS OF MEMBERS OF THIS CONGREGATION
AND OTHERS.

E. G. INGHAM, D.D., *Bishop.*

J. TAYLOR SMITH and SAMUEL SPAIN, *Canons.*

N. E. BROWNE, } *Wardens.*

N. J. SPAIN, }

E. W. COLE, *Cathedral Clerk.*

Dedicated St Barnabas' Day, 1892.

* From the studio of Messrs Suffling & Co., Edgware Road, W.

The other four compartments in the window were given by private persons. Sir James Hay, for instance, has a brass-plate under one, given as a thank-offering for God's mercies to him in Western Africa.

We should like, amongst our reminiscences, to encourage woman's work in Sierra Leone, by recording that, in the same year (1892), Mrs Ingham (wife of the writer, who is throughout an essential part of the frequently-recurring 'we') was able, by the kind and liberal help of many friends, to complete the Cottage Hospital, to which allusion has been made in our brief preface. It should be mentioned, that this and several other diocesan works were started in the Bishop's Court working party of African ladies, who have been very steady in their co-operation in all good works.

In order to encourage African women of the educated classes to come forward to be trained as nurses, H.R.H. Princess Christian has graciously given her name to this building, and she has been pleased to say, that it is a great gratification to her to be thus associated with such a work on the African coast. We have been taught by experience to dread new undertakings in Sierra Leone, where so many have had a premature end, but we would hope that this medical mission will become not only a valuable auxiliary in missionary work, but tend to relieve also some of the disabilities of the climate. '*Noblesse oblige*' will also be something of a motive, now

that so gracious a name has been given to the institution.

These reminiscences would not be complete without some allusion to *African thought*, which is now quite capable of expressing itself, and is making itself felt in several quarters.

A book was lately written by an African, occupying an important position on the West Coast, in which he points out what he believes to be the malformation and shortcomings of his people, and he advocates what is called miscegenation as the remedy for these so-called defects. We scarcely remember ever to have read a more unwise or painful set of arguments; and we are glad to believe that the great body of educated Africans are not with him in his theories. We would give far different counsel to those who may be disposed to listen to our advice. With Lawyer Lewis (a distinguished African of Sierra Leone), in his centenary oration, we cordially agree, that all newer and weaker races have risen by imitation; but he would agree with us that it must not be slavish imitation, and certainly not the obliteration of distinctions that God, in His providence, would seem to have ordained. It is high time for the Africans, who number amongst themselves quite as many good-looking people as other races, to oppose any miserable and misguided tendency to apologise for their colour. What is there wrong about it? So far from there being any need for

apology, it is more than time for a greater conservatism to obtain in their appropriation of English ways and habits. Some of these ways are by no means to be recommended, even to English people, while others are hopelessly unsuited to Africa and her people. We are confident that a truer view of the situation will be created as true education spreads, and that our repatriated fellow-citizens will have more and more reason to thank God that they are not in a false position, as so many of their race in America, and even in the West Indies, seem to be ; but that they are in their own land, with absolutely nothing to hinder their working out their true destiny and development. The dangerous feature of the book referred to (if any are so weak as to be influenced by it) is this, that honourable marriages of Africans with Africans would be discouraged, and illicit miscegenation with other races be in vogue. But we have too much confidence in the common sense of the race to have any real fear of such a dreadful mistake being made.

We remember holding a conversation a few years ago with an African thinker of repute in Sierra Leone ; and there was a point that came under discussion that may well claim a place in this chapter.

This gentleman affirmed that the Christian churches are living in a fool's paradise, if they think to raise Africa at once to the Christian standard of morality ; that organised hypocrisy will be the certain result of

enforcing that standard, and that licensed polygamy would undoubtedly be replaced by secret concubinage. He said that some writer had brought out a book, in which he marked off certain zones within which monogamy will not live, and that the greater part of Africa was within that zone. He pleaded for a period of preparation for Christianity to be granted to the race, such as the Jewish system afforded to the emancipated Israelites. He thought that either Mohammedanism must be that intermediate step, or that the Church should lower her standard slightly, so as to stoop the better to lift them up! We asked him whether he would expect us to confuse the standards of Christendom in order to do the African race this alleged service? And he said he thought we should! The only answer that it was possible to give, and that, most sorrowfully, we did give, was this: The Church of Christ is not likely to lower its flag on the subject of this aspect of morality for the first time at the close of the nineteenth century. We are not commanded to propagate the faith at any price. Loyalty to Christ, and the purity of our religion, are far more dear to us than even world-wide evangelisation on "down grade" principles.'

But here again we decline to regard this gentleman as representing true African thought; and yet, unfortunately, while as yet no writer has appeared on the other side, these views are spreading, and it is possible they may be extending more widely than

the writer knows. For instance, another African gentleman of position has been to London, has attended the Foundling Chapel service, has seen the irregularities of London streets, and is led to regard these deformities as *results* of English Christianity. He would regard this state of things as indicating that, what he calls the English fashion of marriage is a failure, *and he would plead for this aspect of the moral question to be excluded from our teaching in Africa!*

We must not be impatient at the obvious want of reason in these conclusions. Such pleadings must not be roughly handled. They must be met. These good people, who, in their imperfect acquaintance with European ways, as yet 'see men as trees walking,' must be patiently dealt with. They must be reasoned with, and told that these evils which they have noticed are the natural revolt against the higher standard, which nevertheless generally obtains. The explanation of that revolt is human nature. They must be shown a few English, German, American *homes*. They must be made to see for themselves the marvellous sanctity and purity of those homes, from the home of our gracious Sovereign to that of the peasant who has the fear of God in his heart. They must be pointed to the fact that monogamic nations are the foremost nations on this earth. They must be shown that Christian public opinion, so far from sanctioning the evils referred to, has erected barriers against them, has provided refuges for the fallen and sinned

against, of which the Foundling Hospital is one, and that the names of efforts to maintain a high Christian standard, in such a country as England, are legion. And then, we trust, they will come to see that this is not an English standard, but Christ's standard for all who embrace His Gospel, and that this standard will serve their race better than any such short-sighted compromise as they would recommend. It is by Divine decree that the net contains bad and good, and that wheat and tares must grow together till the harvest; and the corrective to be applied is, not the compromise of God's good wheat, but patient, sometimes tearful sowing of more and more of the good seed of the kingdom, which can grow and develop Godwards, even in the soil of Africa. The assertion of some such views as those we have now dealt with is almost certain to be made in these African churches when once they become autonomous. May they be able to stand the test!

It has sometimes occurred to the writer, that there has been a real danger to the African peoples in the fact, that for now more than a hundred years their wrongs have brought them so prominently before the civilised world. The agitation rendered necessary to effect the righting of a great wrong has, perhaps insensibly, tended to give a fictitious importance to the people, and to develop a self-consciousness that is regrettable. This may or may not be so, but it often looks like it. If we may say a word to young Afri-

cans, to whom the heart cannot but go out in warm sympathy, it shall be this :—

‘Be very true to your own selves. If, in comparison with those with whom you are now being brought into contact, you honestly believe you are backward, then lose no time, yield to no false pride, take a back seat until you are called to a front one. Far better do this than live a life of miserable, hollow pretence. One lie acted upon will need another to cover it, and your whole life be in danger of becoming one long falsehood. It is no disgrace to you that you have had a very late start, that others were more than a thousand years before you, ay, and even hindered you, in the march of civilisation. It stands to reason that some of those advanced races have something that they can contribute to your progress. Some of them have the grace to desire to render that help. Do you then have the humility and the grace to be receptive and teachable. Keep in your place. Retain your individuality. Check any natural tendency to become light-headed by surface acquirements. Be well-ballasted and well-balanced, and from that level, which you have had grace and common-sense to find, an ample sphere is open to you for the exercise of all your faculties in this land and in this day.’

CHAPTER XIV

‘THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER’

IT is impossible for the reader to have followed us through this brief sketch of a century's progress in Sierra Leone, without being impressed with the Christian philanthropy which was not only the parent of this movement, but which has fostered it up to the present time. We believe it has been demonstrated in these pages, that the enterprise of 1787 has borne permanent and unexpected fruit.

Sierra Leone, as a trading centre, may not yet have realised early expectation ; but as a refuge and asylum and settlement for the oppressed, and as a place of permanent strategic importance, it must ever be prized by the Crown. And whenever it becomes important to bring, say, the sources of the Niger nearer to Europe, this colony is the possible base of a very important railway communication with the interior. Then the advantages of its position and its excellent harbour will be fully realised.

In any estimate of general results, the overflow

from this colony should not be left out of sight. The Sierra Leone Company of 1787 was not only the parent of the Crown colony of Sierra Leone, but the Gambia, Gold Coast, and Lagos colonies of to-day may be shown to be also its logical results. Within the past ten years the Royal Niger Company and the Niger Coast Protectorate witness to still further enterprise in the same direction. We wish it could always be said that the spirit in which our company did its work animates the enterprises of to-day. Money, it is to be feared, is the prime consideration, but a sense of responsibility undoubtedly exists towards the native tribes in and around the colonies and protectorates now in process of formation. Sierra Leone settlers are to be found to-day engaged in trade or filling some post of responsibility in all these districts. With too many of them, it has been a premature emigration, and the usual result of isolation and separation from the motives and restraints of a home pastorate has frequently followed. This testimony to the memory of his early training, however, the Sierra Leonean is ever ready to give — that his earnest efforts, wherever he goes to trade, are usually directed to the erection of a church for the supply of the means of grace. Let it not be rashly taken for granted that this is always designed to act as a blind to an imperfect morality, but rather let us assume that, having had some experience of

the helps and restraints of a church, he would fain have one within his reach.

And what shall we say of commercial results during the century? Verily, that nothing short of a gigantic revolution has been taking place! Instead of its life-blood, the country has been long giving us its palm oil in such quantities, that English, French, and German steamers are every few days calling at Sierra Leone, outward bound, with full cargoes of European goods to exchange for it; and returning home by this colony again, loaded up to the very deck for the English and Continental markets. Rubber, ground nuts, African woods, skins, ivory, coffee in smaller quantities, are, and will be, increasingly exported. Sierra Leone will ere long supply London and Liverpool with its excellently-flavoured pine apples. But for the rum and gin and gunpowder, which tend to the gendering of a worse bondage than of yore, we would emphatically bid God-speed to the trade that has displaced the traffic in flesh and blood. If only these colonies can become strong enough in public opinion to protect themselves against the drink traffic; if only a few more substantial African merchants can see their way to refuse to import spirits into their country; if only Government will become fully alive to the importance of saving the native tribes from further contamination and enfeeblement in this respect, it is not even now too late to erect a barrier against these

noxious liquors. Temperance societies are not idle ; and we have never met an African who sold these drinks who did not long from his heart for some other and more satisfactory means of making a living.

It is now time to draw a few conclusions from our hundred years' study, with particular reference to the people of the colony whose fortunes we have been endeavouring to trace.

We say deliberately, and without fear of contradiction, 'the game has been worth the candle.' We say it, not only in view of the facts above indicated, but in view of the security and comfort and happiness that have come thereby to a large and still increasing number of Africans who are daily showing, as has been pointed out, a practical appreciation of the Union Jack, and rejoice to sit down under its shadow.

It is difficult to write of the progress of the people themselves without, on the one hand, encouraging an undue self-satisfaction, that is apt to be a failing amongst them, or, on the other hand, giving offence.

There is much to be very thankful for. More progress would have been observable, as has been already indicated, but for the unsettlement caused by the constant immigrations ; and if children and fools, as they say, should never be allowed to see a work half finished, let us be careful not to judge too hastily by what we may at present observe in a people who are by no means of one original tribe or language, who are, however, in process of forma-

tion into one people, and who are passing through phases, sometimes unlovely ones, towards a more final development.

But if this is so (and we think it has been demonstrated), how far from completed our work must be, how important that the methods adopted should be such as to meet the case!

It is a noticeable fact, that, while the Sierra Leonean has been content to follow the flag, he has not shown any tendency as yet to settle in the bush, and bring the land under cultivation. No doubt the obvious dangers to life and liberty will partially account for this; but his own unreadiness for the bush, his own ignorance of those arts by which alone he can handle his country, have also much to do with it. And here we are brought face to face with a very great defect in his training. With this we propose very briefly to deal. It is impossible not to regret that the C. M. S. were unable to develop in the schools of this colony some accurate knowledge of manual trades. The results in aptitude for interior missionary work, in energy, perseverance, and common sense, would have been enormous. We counsel a return to their methods of instruction on Leicester mountains in 1816 (see pp. 212, 213), and we welcome some recent resolutions of the Society in this particular direction.

Experience is daily proving to those who have eyes to see, that the very peculiar past history of this race

demands special consideration on the part of those who aspire to educate them. Any failure, for instance, to realise the irresponsibility of the lot of the slave, the utter bareness of his surroundings, the licence into which liberty would tend to degenerate, or the disgust at manual labour that would naturally characterise the newly emancipated, would be fatal to the adoption of suitable methods of training. When the missionary receives under his care a youth who has been living under the patriarchal system of domestic slavery, and whose fathers before him were slaves, when he puts a cloth on his body, and a book in one hand, he should, unless he courts failure, put a tool in the other. This may seem a bold statement, but it will bear investigation. The other plan has been abundantly tried, and what is the result? Not only does the constant hammering at the brain, of which this raw youth must now become a victim, produce an unbalanced development, but the precocious memory that will characterise him, is a deceptive gauge of progress made, and, like much precociousness elsewhere, the results are disappointing in after life. For this reason, a successfully-passed examination on paper is not the test in Africa that it is in England. Many facts, it is true, have been poured in, many doctrines taught, but all has been theory and nothing has been reasoned out. Can it be wondered at if the youth thus educated (?) is uplifted with an altogether incorrect impression of his

literary fitness for any post under the sun, or that he looks down on all those arts that depend more particularly upon the training of the body as degrading? Can we be surprised that the very last thing he thinks of is the development of his country or making his father's village better than he found it—and thus his want of accuracy, want of perseverance and skill, and all that goes to make a man master of any situation, remain uncorrected, and put him altogether out of the running? We are convinced that there is a more excellent way, and we regret it has not more generally approved itself to those who have done such good work in other respects in this part of Africa. Other bodies, and notably the Roman Catholics, seem to be far ahead of us in this respect. How far they fail in developing the minds and consciences of the Africans we will not here discuss; but their systems of technical training are thoroughly worthy of imitation.* The Germans also are supposed to be ahead of us; but their technical departments that we have seen on the coast, do not meet our view of the necessities of the case; and their trading missions are obviously beside the mark.

The amendment we would press upon the attention of our educationalists is simply this: that every

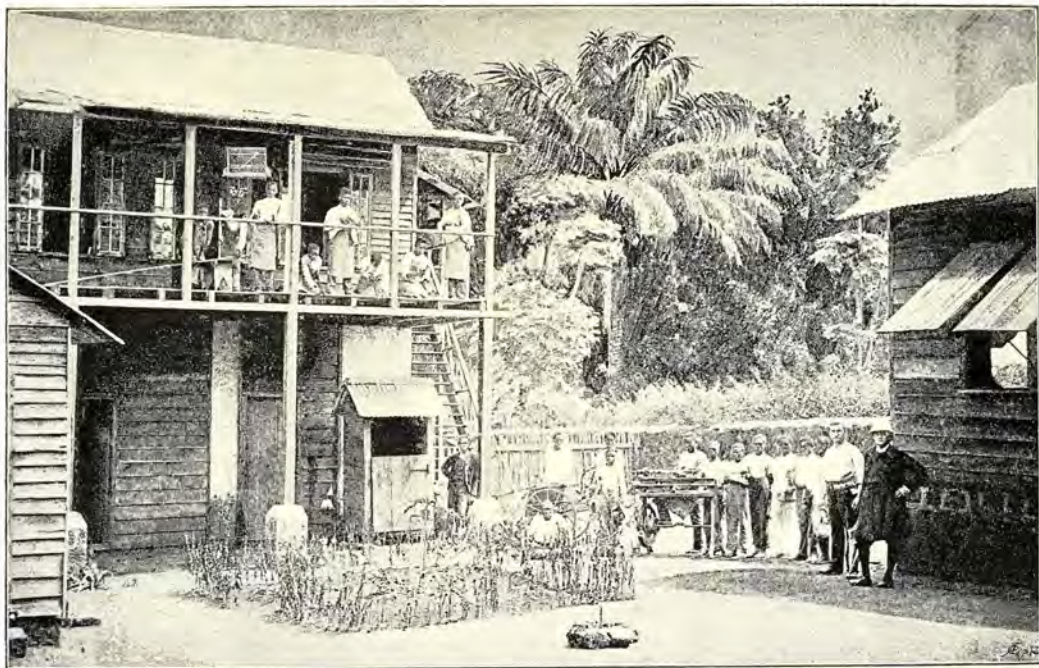
* Sir Francis de Winton, whose knowledge of Africa is so general, kindly talked this matter over with the writer when in Sierra Leone. He spoke warmly of the Roman Missions on the south-west coast, and urged us to have more common sense in our methods.

elementary or higher grade school should have its technical department, however small; that it should be under a well-trained European Christian mechanic, who should have some three or four manual trades in his fingers; *that this should be definite Christian work*, that the technical class should be as compulsory, as much a part of the school curriculum as the Scripture or the grammar lesson; that every boy should have a course of training in carpentering, turning, forging, etc., quite irrespective of the particular post for which he is being trained. It is evident that the break thus created in the monotonous round of daily study must be a great relief, and tend to quicken apprehension, and there is abundant room for these classes in the school *régime* of each day.*

The very fact that there is so little originality in the people, and such a tendency to indolence and want of thrift; the very fact that the country around Sierra Leone, and even the greater part of the colony itself, is in just as wild and undeveloped a condition as when Clarkson landed his Nova Scotian settlers; these are plain indications that there must be something defective in a training which has had so one-sided an effect.

We have rejoiced in the fact that Africans seem so physically fitted to evangelise Africa, and we have

* It is hoped to start a Diocesan Technical School in the Bishop's Court grounds this year. An excellent and capable man has offered to be its first Principal. But £1500 is needed for buildings. The curriculum that will obtain is sketched above.



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL SCHOOL ; BOYS BUILDING A VERANDAH.

created native churches : but these churches will continue to sit down in the midst of the resources of civilisation, until their members learn how to walk through their country, and sit down in it.

It will be asserted that such a department in each school will create an impossible burden on the church fund, and undoubtedly technical masters and also tools cost money, but there is reason to suppose that, in our colonies at least, Government would certainly encourage any *bona fide* attempt to deal with this question, and Government is no doubt waiting to see which of us will have the enterprise to begin. If we would from earliest years correct false ideas about manliness and labour ; if we would teach invaluable practical lessons of thoroughness, accuracy, aptitude, and skill ; if we would demonstrate the value of time and talent ; if we would furnish to our boys that occupation and interest, that will tend to divert them from immoral practices, we shall begin without further delay to make technical training an essential factor in every college and school. But where are the teachers to be found ? The answer to this question may not please some aspirants to what is technically called 'the ministry.' But a short word is wanted on this subject, and it must be spoken. It must be obvious to any who have had to do with church work, that there is a supposed respectability about the clerical collar or white tie that acts as a fascination to young men, who, through no fault of

their own, have not had the requisite advantages of culture for the kind of ministry that is thus represented. It is no doubt to some extent the fault of the Church, that she has not emphasised the calling of the Christian mechanic as a ministry of great importance in itself. Anyone who knows Equatorial Africa will advocate such a ministry there. And we earnestly plead, not only that young men be specially trained in this direction, but also that, when a young fellow of the calling of Alexander Mackay of Uganda, volunteers for missionary work, he be exhorted, in the calling wherein he is called, therein to abide with God; and we venture to assert that, with God's blessing, he will be able to do a grand work for God, both by example and by precept, in this backward land. Africa will always need men of theological standing, of linguistic powers, and she must have her preachers and her students, but the rank and file of her missionaries need to be men somewhat of the type we have spoken of, full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith, set apart indeed for a most important diaconate, but not 'ordained' in the sense that is generally understood by the term. And when the masses of England generally awake to their great duty in the matter of the evangelisation of the world, let us hope that many will be allowed, through our missionary societies, to introduce into Africa the gospel of the carpenter's shop. The need is greater, the helplessness of the people more

painful, than it has been at all possible to picture. We venture to predict, from remarks of chiefs that we ourselves have heard, that no mission schools are likely to be patronised by them for their sons, unless the training is such as to keep them in touch with their own country, and immediate surroundings, and there are signs here and there that the demand will, ere long, ensure the supply, and Africans be less at a discount in the general scramble that is going on for their country.

Undoubtedly, the enforced adoption of the English language by all who have settled in this colony, is also a very great reason why there has been so little progress made in the spread of its influence towards the interior. Unusually distracting circumstances in connection with administration have hindered the writer from setting the example, and one of his chief regrets is, that he did not immediately on arrival set to work to master at least one of the neighbouring languages.* The knowledge of the people, and the influence thus acquired, are inconceivable, and it will be difficult to have any patience with the aspiration of Africans for the acquisition of dead languages, until they have taken the trouble to master such an invaluable living classic as English, and also acquired, as they can so easily do, one of the languages spoken by tribes bordering on the colony,

* A beginning was made with 'Temne' last year, however, and the study has been very interesting.

whose representatives are sure to be seen any day by the score in the Free Town streets.

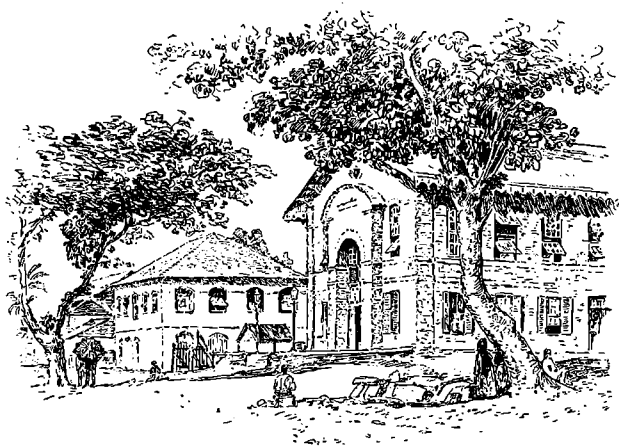
An African pastorate will always be the very best possible sequel to a successfully-worked missionary district, and there only needs to be a good succession of such as some of those who already are worthily occupying important positions, for this to be realised. But it is very clear that the English brother is urgently needed for co-operation in evangelisation, and also in education, theological, intellectual and technical. It would seem, moreover, that the African churches would be wise, until society is more formed, and unity and community more realised, not unduly to hasten the moment for actual self-government in spiritual matters; and even when they do, to seek for leaders who will not be amenable to local influences and relationships, nor in any way embarrassed by previous local association. A painful and not unnatural sensitiveness as to capacity has undoubtedly had much to do with demands for independence that have been made from time to time. Not want of capacity, but sad and debilitating past circumstances, over which these people have had no control, should lead those who know them fairly well to discourage any undue haste in the full development of churches that are becoming each year, under a co-operative principle, more established in the affection and the confidence of the people.

The Nova Scotians, we have seen, could never

believe that Governor Clarkson was ever going to give them their lots of land, and truly the delays were as trying as they were unforeseen. But every pledge was in good time most faithfully performed. To-day there are a few who profess similar doubts as to the ultimate destination of church property held in trust by the C.M.S. But we can point now to an unbroken apostolic succession of devoted and heroic words and works spreading over more than a hundred years. Not by a hair's-breadth has the purpose to brighten the lot of the African by the Gospel, and by civilisation, been diverted by any circumstances whatever since Granville Sharp's bright thought in 1787. And if such progress as has here been chronicled has been realised during a period when the African has been very much like the clay in the hands of the potter, as to his helplessness, what may not be hoped for now when co-operation between the races is a realised possibility? Is it also a probability? We trust that a study, such as these pages invite, will demonstrate its duty and its necessity. But we fear that circumstances will be always arising to hinder and to check it; circumstances arising from race feeling, and kept alive by the mutual fault of both races, unless a more powerful motive intervene. Those motives are to be found in *a Common Christianity*, in one faith, one hope, one love. And we are convinced that peculiarities of race or colour are powerless to work anything but good, are powerless to

hinder truest fellowship in the presence of a united faith in the Son of God, who is also *Son of Man*—in the presence of the great hope God's word inspires, and where His own Spirit of Love has possessed those 'who profess and call themselves Christians.'

It has been with an intense desire to register progress made, to account for some inadequate results, and to indicate possible paths of truer evolution, that the writer has ventured to describe Sierra Leone and its circumstances, and its people as he sees them to-day *after a hundred years*.



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