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SIERRA LEONE:

THE

PRINCIPAL BRITISH COLONY ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

BY WILLIAM WHITAKER SHREEVE,

SIX YEARS RESIDENT, AND LATE ACTING FIRST WRITER TO HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS UNDER THE SLAVE TRADE SUPPRESSION TREATIES, MIXED COURTS, SECRETARY'S AND CROWN OFFICES, MERCHANTS' SERVICE IN THE COLONY, ETC. ETC.

AFRICA! "Mysterious are the ways of Providence! How wonderful the contemplation, for what future purpose is this great division of the earth reserved, so stored by nature with all that is useful to man—so capable of being made more so by man's industry, yet so comparatively inutile from the savageness of its inhabitants, the ferocity and number of its beasts and reptiles, and inhospitable clime to those not 'to the manner born:' for, until some great revolution in nature, or some great and gradual human exertion takes place, it must ever prove the 'white man's grave.'"—*Page* 2.

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DEDICATION.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY COLONEL GEORGE MACDONALD,

LATE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, AND NOW GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND OF DOMINICA, IN THE WEST INDIES, ETC., ETC.

SIR—It is with the greatest humility and the sincerest feelings of respect that I presume to dedicate to your Excellency these brief pages on a Colony over which your Excellency so ably presided as Governor in the years 1842-3 and 1844. In taking this liberty, it would ill become one so humble as myself to eulogise or flatter that just course of policy which gave satisfaction to all, from the first to last; but I feel I should not only be wanting in due respect, but of gratitude, were I for one moment to conceal from your Excellency the deep regret that appeared to pervade the bosom of all, when your Excellency's departure became fully known; yet more, when it was announced that your Excellency had afterwards accepted the government of Dominica, thus precluding the probability of your Excellency's return. Sanguine, I must confess, were the hopes that had been formed of the future welfare and prosperity of that settlement, when were seen such high-minded and unswerving acts of justice in rule infused throughout the acts of the Executive; but, alas! for its welfare, no sooner had we witnessed the seeds of good government germinate into a living existence, than your Excellency's departure again plunged its affairs into a chaos of difficulties, and retrogression followed in their sad course. Our cherished hopes became destroyed, and a lethargic slumber ran through its vital interests.

Sierra Leone!—a settlement formed for the freedom of man—of the African, on his native soil, appears to be ruled over by an evil star, and doomed to an ever fitfulness of change and disaster; for, in tracing its history but a short six years back, we find that gallant officer, Colonel Doherty, relinquishing office at the moment he was steadily and safely promoting its welfare. He, in turn, was succeeded by the African's friend, the late ever-to-be-lamented Sir John Jeremie, whose useful and praiseworthy career was suddenly cut short by death ere his measures were perfected, and entailed upon the Colony an interregnum, replete with uncertainty and instability of government, a third time; when our hopes were once more brightened by the assumption of office in the person of your Excellency: but so soon, alas! were they doomed to sink into the gloom of disappointment. Fatal, indeed, to its welfare was it when it ceased to be governed by one whose wisdom and justice in council shone not less brilliant than does those heroic deeds of valour and bravery which will ever remain emblazoned on England's brightest page of martial history, where, on the ever-memorable plains of Waterloo, a Macdonald fought under the living Hero* of a hundred battles, against the world's Disturber,† and victoriously ensured nations' peace. That the reward of the brave may be your portion, and that your Excellency may be yet spared many years to enjoy those laurels gained in near forty years' service to your country, is the fervent prayer of

Your Excellency's most obedient,
and obliged servant,
WILLIAM WHITAKER SHREEVE.

London, October, 1847.

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* Wellington. † Napoleon.

SIERRA LEONE,

&c. &c.

PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

The coast of Africa, though of considerable importance to Europeans for ages past, has of late years become of increased interest by the philanthropy of Great Britain having been so energetically directed towards the civilisation of the natives, and the annihilation of that inhuman traffic of the blood and sinews of our fellow-creatures. This is, indeed, but a just retribution for the wrongs to which she was at one time a party, when the heart-sickening trade of living human flesh, and worse, if possible, of human feelings, was legalised by the Governments of Europe—alas! not even excepting the Land of Freedom. But although Britain has not only redeemed herself from this foul blot, but enlisted other nations in the cause of Abolition, it is to be lamented that faithless Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, are still as resolutely engaged in the infamous pursuit as before our benevolent exertions were called into action; and that the unlawfulness of its character renders it more profitable, and consequently more persevered in, than when sanctioned—because the greater the difficulty in obtaining an article for market, the higher the price. Even (now, December 1845,) the captured piratical sharp-sailing vessels come teeming with their human cargoes into the harbour of Sierra Leone, exhibiting scenes equally disgusting as horrible, arising from the cupidity and infamy of the dealers in God's creatures, whose grade in the scale of humanity, being more their fate than fault,

should rather claim protection from commiseration than be visited with the most appalling oppression.

Africa, like all countries where Christianity has not penetrated, or where it progresses but slowly, is doomed to the darkness of pagan superstition, or of idolatrous rites—or, at best, it substitutes the Koran for the Bible, and, consequently, polygamy, lust, licentiousness, and all the vices "that flesh is heir to," demoralise and enervate not only the natives themselves, but unfortunately too often infect those whose profession and education should protect society from at least a profligate exposure of enormities, the concealment of which would render hypocrisy a virtue.

Wherever we proceed through this fertile land—whether over its stupendous mountains or its fruitful valleys, we find the same cloud enveloping all, whether in the neglect of the cultivation of the soil or of the mind; and it is a melancholy fact, that those who could do much for both, by fertilising the latter, are too deeply impregnated themselves with the curse of gain, not rather to discourage improvement where ignorance secures their advantage.

"Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer cloud,
Without our special wonder?"

Mysterious are the ways of Providence! How wonderful the contemplation, for what future purpose is this great division of the earth reserved, so stored by nature with all that is useful to man—so capable of being made more so by man's industry, yet so comparatively inutile from the savageness of its inhabitants, the ferocity and number of its beasts and reptiles, and inhospitable clime, to those not "to the manner born:" for, until some great revolution in nature or some great and gradual human exertion takes place, it must ever prove the "white man's grave," of which we have many lamentable proofs in the deaths of so many worthy and adventurous spirits who have fallen victims to research and humanity—Park, Peddie, Buchardt, Lander, Lang, Clapperton, Denham, Cooper, Thompson, &c. &c. &c.—all fallen through ferocity, treachery, or climate; and had they escaped any one of these

assailants, it is most probable it would have been only to be overtaken by another. The ill-fated expedition to the Niger in 1841 is further corroboration of this assertion, and truly may it be said that "Africa's shores are paved with the white man's bones, and its grave-yards filled with monuments of lost exertions;" but as Christians we should and *must* persevere. To perish in opening a path for millions to walk through from darkness into light, is as good a work as man can die in; and the pioneers who have the first and heaviest labour will, no doubt, receive the greatest reward: but what this toil is, none can appreciate but those by whom it has been witnessed. It is a melancholy truth, however, that the hearts of all are not equally devoted to the work: religion in Africa, as well as in other places not quite so hot, is too often a mere trade, and not at all times the worst of worldly speculations.

COLONY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD GENERALLY.

THE population of Sierra Leone, from its heterogeneous composition, is sufficient to puzzle minute statistical arrangement. Here are sojourners from every quarter of the world, whilst Africa appears to have contributed a specimen of every nation and tribe, from the north and east of Senegal to the south of Benguela, and the interior to the Desert of Sahara, with sprinklings from *recesses* still further off, undreamt of in the philosophy of the school-room—unpronounceable and inapproachable holes and corners, except by the sable locaters themselves—kings who eat their enemies to make sure of them, or queens *in puris naturalibus*—princes decorated with human skulls, which have been earned in as glorious a cause as any military medal—princesses bedaubed with human fat and ochre to captivate their Othellos—and ebony LL.D.s, so learned in the black art, that they believe the white man to be the devil, and a ship a living animal—*cum multis aliis*, of all shapes, sizes, ages, and denominations, making by the confusion of their languages the Colony a perfect Babel, particularly upon the arrival of a slaver. The inhabitants of Aku, Ebo, Cossos, Calabar, and from the neighbourhood of Benin and Biaffra South, bear the character of being savage and sanguinary, and are eternally at war with the neighbouring nations; nor are their dispositions amended much in a state of freedom, several unfortunate illustrations of which are well authenticated in the Colony.

Some years since an Ebo murdered his employer, a Maroon, whilst in bed: the criminal was tried, condemned, and executed by being burned at the pile, (this happened out of the jurisdiction of our Government,) but the Ebos and Maroons in the Colony became enraged with each other, and had it not been for the prompt measures of the Executive an awful massacre would have ensued, as they even requested the Governor's

permission to fight it out in the town. This anecdote is related merely to show that the fear of British power alone keeps them from falling back into their original animosities and bloodshed; nor is there a doubt that were England to give up the Colony to the natives, but a very short time would elapse before it would become the theatre of slaughter, and that the very liberated party would sell the captured to the identical dealers from whom the victors themselves had been released: their broils and battles might not commence with this intention, but such would be the sequel, making a fine harvest for the Mahommedan, Mandingo, and Timmannee slavers.

The original settlers were from Nova Scotia, who had to endure all the hardships of colonisation, amongst which was the very trying ordeal of extreme change of climate. There are few, if any, of the first settlers now in the Colony, and not many of their descendants. They are an orderly and respectable class of persons. In habits and manners they most resemble the Europeans, have commodious and well-built chapels and schools, and are extremely industrious. The Maroons colonised here from Jamaica after the Maroon war, and, like the original settlers, are entitled to much respect, many of them filling situations as writers in the public offices.

These two classes are those whom Staff-Surgeon Fergusson, late Governor, so unjustly and illiberally decries in his letter to Mr. Buxton, published in his "Remedy for the Slave Trade," page 368. But as many of my readers may not have read that excellent work, I shall here copy a portion of the letter referred to, viz.:—

"Much money, as well as much paternal care and encouragement, were lavished on the infant Colony of Sierra Leone; but matters were so mismanaged in the outset of the undertaking, especially in the breach of faith with the Nova Scotia settlers, refusing to allot to them the quantities of land for which they had previously stipulated, that distrust and discontent, neglect of agriculture, and inveterate habits of idleness, became general."

"After a lapse of some years, an accession was made to the Colony of numbers, but by no means of moral strength, in a body of Maroons, who were sent from Jamaica after the Maroon war. They had been for

many years the only body of free blacks in the Island of Jamaica. Indolent and averse to agriculture in their native land, their habits were by no means changed by the Transatlantic voyage; nor have they, in fact, studied to acquire habits of industry until this day. Thus, agriculture and the useful arts received no aid whatever from such elements as the Sierra Leone Company had as yet employed in furtherance of their benevolent designs."

Here is a rich specimen of slander and utter disregard of truth, and by a black man, a native himself of Jamaica, and countryman of the very persons whom he libels—nay, probably a blood relation to many of them; his colour and place of birth warrant the supposition, nor is the insinuation offensively intended, as in case he reject the heraldic honours of the Maroon, he is placed in the dilemma of adopting those of the slave, not improbably exported, "when the trade was law," from the very Colony from whence, "as Governor," he maligns his brother blacks and countrymen. This Governor appeared to have forgotten that all the public buildings which do honour to the Colony are the result of their knowledge of the useful arts, and the improvements up to this day are made by their industry, yet it is asserted that "the useful arts have received no aid from them." He of all men should have been most aware that the only coloured men capable of holding appointments in the public and mercantile offices are the settlers and Maroons, and that there is scarcely one Liberated African in the Colony so qualified for filling any public situation. Their places of worship and schools refute the charge; and though they are not much inclined to agriculture, their disinclination does not proceed from indolence, but an ambition for higher pursuits, and through the conviction that were they to have made it an absorbing consideration for maintenance, they would not have reaped the fruit of their labour, and thus they abandoned it, satisfying themselves with the cultivation of a sufficiency for home consumption.

I cannot see why the Doctor, though a deceased Governor, should be allowed to repudiate a justly-respected class of men to whom he might have referred with advantage for lessons on morality, their possession of which he denies in this clause of his libel:—"An accession was made

to the Colony of numbers, but by no means of *moral* strength, of a body of Maroons." How every Sierra Leonean must laugh at this, coming from such a source!—the late Governor having been the last who should have agitated the question. But we must not now press too keenly upon so sore a spot, though *De mortuis nil nisi verum* would be a very justifiable improvement of the celebrated "*nil nisi bonum.*"

The Kroomen are another race of free people, who are not slaves at home, nor do they carry on the trade abroad. They are natives of the Grain Coast and its neighbourhood. They are a remarkably fine race, and are chiefly employed on board the English cruisers as sailors, their hardihood and courage being found equal to any emergency on sea or land. Merchants are also desirous to have them in their stores; and they have lately been introduced into the Police with good effect. Occasionally they give dinners to the Europeans, being excellent cooks, concocters of dishes of which the most fastidious alderman might partake. Upon a late occasion, the Governor presided as an invited guest, surrounded (as our *Morning Post* would have said, if we had one) by all the rank, fashion, and distinguished talent of the Colony.

The Marabouts, or Bookmen, as sometimes called, are to be found amongst the Soosoos, Mandingos, and Timmanees, and almost in every part of the interior. They are more learned than the others, having a knowledge of Arabic characters, and can expound the Koran—whence they obtain the name of Bookmen or Mooriemen. They are the fortune-tellers of the country, dignified with the name of prophets; nor need we wonder that their divinations and fooleries obtain credit where superstition is religion, when it is remembered how much such impostors are encouraged nearer to St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

These jugglers in destiny pretend to possess the power of making or marring the fortunes of man, by their Arabic book of fate, or by describing characters on the ground in a layer of sand. One character is to make "Massa" a high gentleman, to ride a white horse; another, to bestow plenty of money, &c., &c., everything pleasing of course. If the reward be satisfactory, the whole is wound up with desiring you to pull Sadakah, meaning, make a sacrifice, which consists of cloth, a fowl, or knife, according to the wants of the soothsayer; for ask him to whom the Sadakah is to be given, and you will invariably hear, to himself,

which shows that he is not the greater fool of the two. Should the Sadakah be made with a good grace, he calls you his "good friend," and says you "hold him good!" and becomes an uninvited daily visitor at your house, sometimes complimenting with a written scrap to be worn about the person, or washing an Arabic sentence from a board, bottles it off, with directions to wash your face with it every day to ensure the success of his prophecies:—failure after failure requires Sadakah after Sadakah, until even credulity grows sceptical, and the bubble bursts. In compliance with the importunity of a Joloff lady who implicitly believed in their mysteries, the author consulted Monsieur Joppa, one of the most distinguished Marabout schemers, concealing from him that he had made a memorandum of the day and hour on which the prophecies were to be realised; the golden promises of which having all "vanished into thin air," upon questioning the prophet as to their non-fulfilment, he coolly and commiseratingly exclaimed, "Ah! white man no believe Sadakah!" Yet, conscious that the "white man" had found "black man" out, he avoided me upon all occasions, and shortly betook himself to the Timmanee country, as a more successful field of operation. The Joloff lady, however, was not convinced by my simple stratagem, and still believes in Sadakah!

The Joloffs are an interesting race, with pleasing countenances and well-proportioned figures. The costume of the females is particularly striking and elegant, and when the women are grouped the effect is worthy of the artist. Some are of a black cast, and others of the different shades of the Mulatto and Mustee. They are passionately fond of the dances peculiar to their nation, and as "practice makes perfect," there are many who are proficients. A Joloff lady, who for upwards of twenty years has reigned supreme in Sierra Leone and Gambia, may represent those of the superior order: her dress is at all times gay and well disposed—a variegated silk conical turban, ornamented with a profusion of jewelled studs; massive gold chains around her neck, and gold bars on her arms, wrists, and ancles, with ponderous and valuable earrings weighing down the ears, occasionally sparkling through the long black hair which hangs thickly platted on each side. Her gown, or what we should call so, is a splendid-pattern pagne, or wrapper, gracefully folded round her body, with muslin shoulder slips; long and

massive strings of beads twisted round the waist, acting the double purpose of a zone and bustle, or *caudal*, which, with beautifully-ornamented shoes and silk stockings, complete the picture as well as my memory serves, without pretending to the minutiæ of a Regent-street milliner. It is not to be imagined, however, that natives in general make so splendid an appearance as here described, few being troubled with a more expensive wardrobe than a *pagne*, or cloth, round the waist, and brought between the legs, the ends hanging in lappets before and behind: sometimes the luxury of hat and shoes is added, but not in all cases, though many, even of the poorer classes, are better clothed; for, as use is second nature, this primitive state is a matter of little consideration to the native, and the settler's eye and feelings soon become unconsciously indifferent, and God has so tempered the weather to the "shorn lamb" that the less closely sheared are often more jealous than commiserative. Fashion is a tyrant here, as well as in more northern latitudes, and though it does extend a little mercy in consideration of the climate, it is not always as indulgent as could be wished. They are, however, extremely fond of ornaments, and many wear a profusion of beads on their necks, waists, wrists, and ankles.

The dances and songs of these mixed and rude people, as may be easily supposed, are not of such a character as to endanger the profession of a Taglioni or Grisi, should the leading negro *artiste*, or *prima donna*, appear in London or Paris; but not being skilled in gallopades, quadrilles, or polkas, I shall not attempt a description of the most fashionable steps and figures, fearing that I might lead some of my fair readers astray in their practice; yet I may venture to assert that many of their most admired ballets are not peculiar for the modesty of the leading movements. The accompanying instruments are rude drums, some hollowed out from the trunk of a tree, and others made of calabashes, resembling kettle-drums, which are beaten and rattled with stunning violence, whilst the multitude join their voices to the wild and savage din, until the dancers work themselves into frenzy, jumping, twisting, and posturising, with a comical flexibility, which to them is the "poetry of motion."

Their songs are generally sentimental and improvisatorial, frequently evincing tenderness of feeling. The character is Ossianic; nor does

it appear that they have any idea of rhythm. Joy and sorrow, love and hatred, are all expressed in song. The infant is welcomed into existence with a chorus, progresses through life with a *capriccio*, dies with an air, and is buried, as he commenced, with a chorus; nor does the grand finale close the concert, as the memory of the departed prolongs the strain until the performers themselves are shuffled from the stage, to receive in turn and in tune similar honours to those which they had so liberally bestowed.

It is customary upon the death of an African for the relatives and friends to congregate at the house of the deceased. The more religious visitors engage in singing and prayer; while the less reflective indulge in careless frivolity, increased by ardent spirits. After the funeral, these unbecoming excesses are continued for seven days, which is called a wake: indeed, a funeral is looked upon as an opportunity for revelling in all kinds of indulgences. These practices are, however, declining, owing to a recent declaration from the missionaries, viz, :—

"Nothing can be more contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and nothing can be more calculated to hinder its progress, than the pagan and heathen customs that still prevail in the Colony. It is a cause of deep regret to all who are wishful to see the spread of religion, that these 'works of darkness' annually rob the Church of Christ of some hundreds of its members; and to overcome these evils in some measure, we are, as a Wesleyan body, determined to lift up our voices against all such devilish customs and practices. We publicly enter our protest, and declare that no person connected with our societies shall have anything to do with wakes, dances, peppermen, or any other native practice or superstition, and that any person guilty of the above will be forthwith excluded."

There are two burial-grounds, the Old and New. The former is crammed to repletion, and the latter over-fattened with the dead; yet both are daily clamouring, with their thousand mouths, with the cry of "Give! give!" whilst the climate liberally supplies the victims!

AFRICAN NATIVE KINGS AND CHIEFS.

The most friendly as well as the most enlightened of the Mahommedan kings, adjacent to the Colony, was "Alimamee Dalla Mahommedoo," King of the Bulloms, who died in 1841. The same year, and shortly after the demise of Sir John Jeremie, he was succeeded by his nephew, Alimamee Amarah Fundi Moodie, a young man of much intelligence and on equally good terms with our Government. It is more my object to treat of the uncle than the nephew, as he was, in every respect, a notable person, and had a long and eventful reign. Dalla Mahommedoo formerly resided in Free-town, in a private capacity, during the Government of Zachariah Macauley. His character was always that of a crafty and subtle man, continually forming intrigues and private cabals among the Mandingoes and Soosoos, not only of the country, but in the Colony, the tendency of which was greatly to unsettle the state of the latter, no doubt with the ultimate view of acquiring it.

These intrigues, in process of time, became a source of great annoyance to the Colonial Government, and the consequence was, that Dalla Mahommedoo had peremptory notice to quit within twenty-four hours; when he went to the Bullom shore, on the opposite side of the Sierra Leone River, and there formed a town on the water side, which he called Madina, probably from the birthplace of Mahomet.

Continuing his connection with the Colony, he contracted for timber and other native produce, receiving English goods in payment, and by such means became possessed of wealth and influence in the interior. His connection with the Colony and water-side location gave advantages over the inland chiefs, which were still increased by a superior natural intelligence and a knowledge of the English manners and language, all of which he employed in the aggrandisement of wealth and territory. Thus, though but a refugee amongst the Mandingoes, he became a

powerful ruler, and dictated terms to the neighbouring chiefs, who, upon any political or other important questions, consulted him, and disputes were referred from afar to Madina for adjudication, the parties always retiring satisfied with his decisions, and yet more so with the abundant presents with which he dismissed the appellants.

I paid a visit of three days, accompanied by a friend, to Dalla Mahommedoo, who honoured us by sending a canoe with several of his sons to carry us to his town. On arriving, a message was sent to his *Majesty* to say that the English strangers had come, and he gave orders that we were immediately to be introduced. The usual compliments being concluded with his invariable question to strangers—"Any arrivals from England?" he personally conducted us to the house set apart for visitors, which is built of mud, with two bedrooms and a hall in the centre, conical roof, and covered with grass. Here we were beset by men, women, and children to see "white man," or, as they say in Mandingo, "*Fooratoo tobbabo*" (fine white man); but quickly dispersing them, we strolled into the town and visited the yard appropriated to the King's wives, amongst whom we made some presents; and his Majesty was more amused than offended at our curiosity. Upon return to our lodgings dinner awaited us, *à l'Anglaise*, knives, silver forks, spoons, covered tureens, and plates; two fine roasted fowls were served, saturated with Mandingo butter, with a huge bowl of admirably cooked rice, accompanied by a couple of bottles of excellent wine. The King did not dine with us, it not according with the Mahomedan religion for one of the faithful to eat in company with Christians. The evening was enlivened by the dancing girls, and general hilarity was maintained throughout the town, the Secretary for the *Home Department* politely intimating that any of the amiable dancers were at our service; whilst they, unconscious of the unceremonious disposal of their favours, were footing it gaily on the "light fantastic toe," with all the violent contortions of maniacs, covered from head to foot with beads; they shook their rattling calabashes in wild and persevering rivalry until compelled to desist from exhaustion, their exertions being rewarded by the shrieks and clapping of hands of the audience.

Our three days' visit being concluded, having had the honour of seeing his Majesty every day, he forwarded us home in a canoe rowed by ten of

his sons, with presents of rice, oranges, sheep, fowls, &c., &c. Madina is situated close to the water side; the houses are of mud, conically roofed and thatched with grass; the town is fortified with a large mud wall, having embrasures for cannon and small arms, mounted with six large guns planted before the stranger's house, and commanding the landing-place. The *palace* is a two-storied house, the only one in the town that rises to that dignity.

Many incidents of the old King are related. On one occasion the neighbouring chiefs became alarmed at his growing power, and resolved to attack the town; but when about to commence hostilities he invited them to a banquet, at which he made a great display of his wealth, and when the plates were removed, each guest, to his astonishment, found a silver dollar under that on which he had dined, with five dollars for their King. His policy and liberality changed enemies into friends, and, as they departed with other gifts of greater value, they totally abandoned their hostile intentions. Mahommadoo died 25th of August, 1841, and is interred in the centre of his mud metropolis. Dalla Mahommadoo was succeeded by his nephew, Amarah Fundi Moodie, who adopts the policy of his uncle, and is much respected by the English and all who visit him. With him, also, I have had the pleasure to be a guest for a more lengthened period of fourteen days (1844), and having, during my visit, received every kindness and attention, as well as his kind influence on a momentous and important occasion, I cannot withhold expressing my heartfelt thanks, and add, that there is not a more enlighted Mahomedan King with such friendly feelings and dispositions towards the English Government on the western coast of Africa. Shortly after the death of the old man, some of the Timmanee chiefs made war for the succession, but were defeated by Amarah; and from the friendly intercourse which he maintains with the Colonists, it is not probable that further aggressions will be made upon his territory.

The *Ali Karlish* of Port Logo, is the head of the Timannees, and being Emperor, as the name implies, has many chiefs under him, He is usually chosen from the chiefs at a general assembly, the Governor of Sierra Leone having the greatest influence.

The present Ali Karlish was formerly Naminna Moodie, at whose coronation Sir John Jeremie caught the fever, of which he died in the

Colony. He is old and crafty, but not nearly so useful or trustworthy to the Colony as the King of Bullom.

African Princesses.—The following will show how Princesses are disposed of in Africa, which, upon a little reflection, will be found not to differ very materially from the constrained disposal of royal hands in more civilised regions. For a native king or chief to present an European with a daughter, or other female, is the greatest mark of friendship. The King can bestow the daughter of any subject, and the alliance with a white man is a matter of pride, as, after reception, when the King says, "My good friend!" he becomes one of the family.

The custom is to send a small present to show that the earnestness of the applicant when chosen may be made from some hundreds. More presents are then made to the King and family of the girl. The intended is then clothed—dances made, and all sort of jollification indulged. The gentleman retains his spouse only so long as he likes, and the lady remains constant until she *changes her mind;* though, should her elopement be against family interests, she is made to return, should her "*fooratoo tobabbo*" (white man) please to receive her.

The finest of the Mahomedan girls are amongst the Timannees, of whom Soogoo, a daughter of Ali Karlish, may answer as a sample.

This girl, who was given as a wife to Ali's friend, was of small stature but beautifully formed, and jet black, with an intelligent eye and brow, and teeth like pearls, which set off the whole. When she arrived at the Colony, under the care of her brother and the secretary, or bearer of the keys, she could not speak a word of English, and her wardrobe consisted merely of a head handkerchief, and two fathoms of blue print as a *pagne* or wrapper; nor did she wear shoes or stockings; her skin was well polished with palm oil, and it was with difficulty that she was ultimately persuaded to substitute pomatum and eau de cologne, or lavender water, to supply which became a formidable item in personal expenses, as her *little highness* was carelessly lavish; besides which, her maids of honour had to be supplied, two little sooty dames, who assumed all the European consequence of my lady's maid.

A great luxury with these girls is to repose under the shade of orange or other trees, plaiting each other's hair, and cracking something *more* than jokes until they drop off to sleep. They are also very partial to

beads, rings, and all European finery; Soogoo, however, would never adopt the European gown, remarking that perhaps she could not always get one, and then her country people would laugh at her: upon one occasion after she had been provided with beads, rings, and dresses, her imperial highness took French leave in a canoe which she and her little maid of honour managed to guide to their own country. His Majesty, her pa, however, made her quickly retrace her course, with propitiatory presents of fowls, rice, and palm oil; but the cupidity of some of her female friends had despoiled her of every article of finery, so that she *came to hand* a second time with little more than a fig-leaf. At length, wearied out by swarms of royal visitors, covetous relatives, and Soogoo's *questionability*, it was proposed that the *Emperor* should have his daughter back, to which he reluctantly acceded, and *madame* was shortly after married, according to the Timannee rites, to a chief of great rank, whom she has blessed with a black heir, with a fair chance (in days to come) of being the Ali Karlish, as the imperial dignity is elective, and the pickaninny boasts royal blood.

Though black, or white, if king he be,
Whether of France or Fiddle-di-dee,
Thousands he'll find to bend the knee,
And kiss the toe of sovereignty!

The fastidious reader must not condemn too hastily those apparently immoral compliances with national habits; in fact, there is not the most distant idea of immorality attached to such *quasi* matrimonial arrangements, and the pretty little Soogoo, for instance, returned to her father's halls as untainted in the estimation of the Timmanee aristocracy as the most virtuous widow; decidedly more so than a *fashionable divorcée*, and particularly when they have been the white man's friend, who is always considered something great by the Africans. They serve him with pride, and looking with astonishment upon his ingenuity and talent, they say, "white man God man," an expressive term for their admiration. The steam-vessel excites and appals them; they call it the smoke ship, and whilst gazing at it with astonishment, exclaim, "Ah! ha! white man *savez* (know) something past other man, black man no *ting*; white man's tail better than black man's head." The English are in particularly good odour, not only from being their liberators, but from

their national disposition to frank dealing and benevolent feeling, so strikingly observable above all other nations, with which they come in contact. They detest the Spanish and Portuguese, and are not at all fond of the French or Americans.

In proportion as the intellect of a people is naturally degraded or unenlightened, so are women undervalued, except for their physical services; and Africa forms no exception to this general rule, consequently some of the most laborious tasks are imposed upon them, whilst the men look carelessly on, frequently without offering a hand, as it is only where women cannot be employod that their lords are found in occupation.

The old and young of the *fairer sex* are really the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" domestically, and we may add, bearers of head-crushing and neck-breaking burdens that would stagger a London porter. It is wonderful the distance that they will trudge through the country, with children tied on their backs, and heavy *blys* or baskets-full of articles for market poised upon their heads, under the influence of a burning sun, from which a baker's oven would be a *cool retreat;* poor willing beings, how they do

Swelter and broil,
And melt into oil,
Whilst they gabble and toil.

The general character of the African is docile and tractable; and when the finer feelings are engaged, affectionate, yet when roused by real or imaginary wrongs or disappointments, they are vindictive, and frequently resort to vegetable poisons through revenge. Their passions are impulsive, and hence "the Romeos and Juliets" are but too often well typified by

"The inconstant moon,
That monthly changes in her circled orb."

But we need not travel to Africa to discover the imperfections of human nature. Whether we remain at home, or explore the deserts "from Indus to the Pole;" wherever man is found there also are his permanent sins and sorrows, and his transient virtues and happinesses.

Education, as may be easily credited, advances but slowly, yet not disheartenlngly. Many of the natives can read and write, particularly the junior branches of families. Those who locate in the Colony ad-

vanced in life, or recaptured slaves, cannot be expected to accomplish much. The first great difficulty required to be overcome is the English language, in the pronunciation of which even those who are initiated early seldom attain a proficiency; and in places apart from the Colony the Mahomedans are invariably the instructors, who, generally ignorant themselves, cannot be expected to impart any great amount of knowledge. However, they are "wondrous wise" amongst their kind, and are superstitiously respected, being readers and expounders of the Koran. Their mode of teaching is as follows:—

At night, or dusk, the boys light a large fire in the centre of the town, around which they all sit, each with a wooden board, on which are written scraps from the Koran, which they repeat aloud. It is no great burthen for "one small head to carry all" that even the professors know, yet, little as it may be, it is thought too much to encumber the ladies with, as women are never allowed to be participators in literary pursuits, being reserved for (as literature stands) the more useful study of domestic economy, at which they physically drudge; whilst the men loll in their hammocks, or hold palavers (conversations), all "sound and fury signifying nothing," or wash, and pray in the mosques aloud many times in the day. The pens are slit reeds, and the ink is made from the leaves of a wild berry.

The huts are of mud, and shaped somewhat in the form of a sugar-loaf; the interior is of very humble pretension, and would be a greater puzzle for George Robins's puff than the finest mansion in England. The sleeping couches are solid masses of mud, of which cheap and convenient article the tables and chairs are also composed; these, however, are frequently highly and handsomely ornamented with ingenious carving. The floors of the meaner class are mud and cow-dung, well mixed, which after a little becomes as solid as brick, and can be very easily distinguished from the gales of Arabia; yet the inhabitants pique themselves on the richness of the effluvium—the *louder* the smell, the more genteel; to which, with everything else that the hut contains, you are heartily welcomed.

The natives of all classes are extremely partial to tobacco, particularly as snuff ground with the Lubi (an alkali from leaves), of which, however, the nose is not always the recipient, as it is deposited between the

teeth and under lip; so taken, it discolours them, and is intoxicating. When a belle means to honour her beau with a labial salutation, she washes her mouth—a very desirable observance.

African Horses, or rather ponies, are generally well formed, and sometimes vicious; they are sold from £10 to £25. English horses seldom live long, whilst mares stand the climate better: there are not half a dozen in the Colony.

Bullocks in abundance from the surrounding country, and are good; they bring from 10 to 15 dollars each, the dollar 4s. 2d. The cow is never slaughtered, and seldom milked, as the calves are always reared.

Goats are very numerous, and used for their milk, which sells for one penny per wine-glass, or one shilling a quart. Price from six to eight shillings each.

Hogs in swarms, killed for pork.

Sheep numerous, from six to eight shillings. The coat is a kind of hair; and English sheep, after shedding their wool, have it replaced by a coat of hair.

Fowls plentiful, about 8s. 8d. per dozen. They are smaller than the English breed.

Dogs.—The African dog is small; and English dogs soon lose their ferocity, becoming lazy, dull, and short-lived.

Pigeons, wild and tame, in abundance.

Turkeys, wild and tame, with ducks and geese, plentiful; the latter, from England, thrive well.

Birds of beautiful plumage, but not songsters. Parrots, plenty from Cape Coast, from 10s. to 20s. each.

Wild Beasts.—Elephants, bullocks, lions, leopards, deer, monkeys, baboons, &c. To become personally acquainted with these in a state of nature, the interior must be visited, as they never appear in or immediately about the Colony. Leopards have occasionally been seen, yet seldom. The rivers abound in places with crocodiles and snakes; and reptiles of all kinds are frequent in the bush, &c. The shores and bay swarm with "sea attorneys."

Grass is long and straight, from three to four feet high, with a blade of an inch or more in breadth—a kind of brake. English grass is sown for plats in gardens and lawns, &c. &c.

Fruit.—Almost every kind of tropical fruit is to be had in abundance, of the finest quality, viz., oranges, limes, mangoes, guavas, granadilloes, golden apples, plums, grapes, pines, sour sop, sweet sop, bananas, plantains, &c. &c., with several European kinds, which succeed admirably.

Flowers are plentiful and beautiful; but, not being a botanist, I cannot attempt a particular description.

The Vegetable kingdom includes almost all the European kinds, together with the tropical.

The Colonial Villages are divided into three districts—the mountain, eastern, and western. The eastern district is governed by a resident manager and sub-manager. The mountain district comprises the villages of Aberdeen, Wilberforce, Regent, Bathurst, Gloucester, and Charlotte; the eastern district, Waterloo, Hastings, Wellington, and Kissey; the western district, York, Kent, Bananas, Hamilton, and Goderich.

Since the new arrangements in the liberated African department, the management of the different districts do not command much attention, and is very properly left to the missionaries and Government schools.

The villages are entirely of an agricultural character, and the produce is brought to town for sale. They are occasionally the residence of persons from town, for the recovery of health. Kent and Bananas, on the sea shore, are in the greatest estimation. The houses, or rather huts, in all the African villages, are much of the same character as those described above, the African Wrens and Barrys having simplified the architectural orders into the *diabolic*, from which the pepper-castors of Trafalgar-square are an evident plagiarism.

These village edifices, like those of the towns, are of the everlasting wattles and mud, and from the continual wood fires the roofs are as deeply dyed as the inmates' faces, with accumulated soot, which is constantly dropping on your clothes and food.

The natural philosopher would find one of these habitations a most accommodating residence, the innumerable supply of all creeping things saving him the trouble of toiling through the sun to furnish his museum. Cockroaches uncountable, red and black ants *ad lib*, musquitos in phalanxes, scorpions at discretion, centipedes with as many paws as Briareus, all equally affectionate in their nocturnal attentions, literally devouring you with love. Pleasant! rather!

Good reader, if you can procure a slice of bread and butter in merry old England, remain at home, and thank Heaven when the fleas bite you.

The Island of Bananas is generally the resort of invalids, who shortly become invigorated by the sea air. It contains a large Government house, the residence of the manager. The island is about four or five miles long, half a mile broad, and in some places mountainous. It yields abundance of fowls, eggs, yams, &c., and was formerly the property of the Clevelands and Caulkers, native chiefs; and when the slave trade was legal, the resort of vessels from Liverpool and other places was considerable. It came into the possession of an English merchant in payment of a debt due by the Caulkers, and was rented by him to the Government as a residence for liberated Africans; but the manager having been withdrawn, it would appear to be of little consideration at present.

In the burying-ground there is a gravestone upwards of a hundred years old, bearing date 1742, upon which the inscription to some young man from Liverpool, whose name I forget, is as legible as if cut but yesterday.

FREE TOWN.

The Colonial capital presents a most picturesque scene, from the custom of washing and painting the houses of light and gaudy colours, which, in the dry season, from the cheerfulness of the appearance, dissipates the impression of mortality with which the climate terrifies the new comer.

A long sand-bank stretches across the entrance of the harbour, or rather estuary, and it must be approached on the south point, on which is Carpenter's rock, to be seen at low water but covered at high, which ships safely avoid by taking a wide berth when they come to good anchorage off the town. The only danger to be apprehended is during the Tornado season, when such is its violence that ships are frequently driven from their anchors and compelled to put to sea to avoid being dashed to pieces.

The appearance of the Colony from sea is particularly marked by a high-peaked mountain, which, from its conical shape, is commonly called the "sugar-loaf," in the neighbourhood of which are three other hills of minor attraction. The most elevated is frequently seen far above the clouds, and may be descried at the distance of thirty or forty miles, perhaps more, long before the low land, on which the town is situated, appears.

The town was judiciously laid out, on the formation of the Colony, at the foot of a hill declining to the bay; the streets are at right angles, apparently with a view to ventilation, and as giving the readiest outlet to the heavy rains, sweeping off all accumulated and offensive matter. From the custom of the regular inhabitants and natives residing so much apart from each other, Free Town has been split into marked divisions, such as the Settlers' Town, Maroon Town, Foulah Town, Soldiers'

Town, and so on. These locations, however, are not insisted upon by the authorities, nor are persons prohibited from residing where they please.

The houses of the Europeans are generally well built, of a stone foundation and wood elevations, with open piazzas, and many of the respectable Africans have similar residences. The poorer class have mud huts, thatched with grass, but such are fast upon the decline, the liability of the thatching to take fire being against the general interest.

The first buildings which attract attention, upon landing, are the barracks or garrison, situated on Barrack-hill, under the mountain's brow, and consisting of a three-story building appropriated to the officers and attendants' apartments—they are very capacious and convenient; there are also two square buildings with open piazzas for the private soldiers and Ordnance-office, all of which are surrounded with a well-built fortification, sentries being always at the gates to guard against surprise.

A gun is fired at five o'clock every morning at the outward gate, and at eight in the evening, for the purpose of calling the inhabitants to their various duties, and of announcing the hour of rest.

Within the garrison yard is a long signal-staff, and on a vessel being descried at sea, a gun is fired, and a flag hoisted, as follows: if from the northward, the flag is red; if from the southward, it is white. If a brig, the signal is a black ball beneath the flag; if a ship, the ball is above. On a hill southwest of the town, called Signal-hill, there is a similar flag-staff to that in the garrison, and between both an intercourse of signals.

Midway between the garrison and town is Fort Thornton, the seat of the Governor, a neat house one story high, and indented into the south side of the fort, on which are placed nine cannons of moderate calibre, and one long piece, the whole commanding the town and harbour. A flag-staff on the fort hoists the British flag, and occasionally the private one of the Governor. Salutes are fired upon the arrival of men-of-war in the harbour, and in commemoration of national events. There is also one mortar, but it is seldom or ever used. The fortification of Fort Thornton would not prove very efficient against an experienced commander, however formidable it might be against an attack from the natives. Some years since (before its present improved condition) its

subjugation was attempted by the Timmanees, the aborigines of the Colony, and with such valour that the commandant was compelled to resort to the stratagem of attacking them with a barrel of rum instead of gunpowder. In the thick of the battle, a cask was rolled through the gate, when instantly the assailants threw down their arms, and, becoming intoxicated, lost the day; this circumstance, though not vouched for by the historian, is by no means improbable, as the natives still refer to it, in the remark, "Ha! white man too cunning."

The next building of *temporal* importance is St. George's Church, built with a red argillaceous stone, peculiar to the Colony; the steeple is square, with two clocks, one of which only tells the progress of the enemy, as old Time is not very flatteringly designated in Africa as well as in more enlightened quarters of the globe. The whole has a very pleasing appearance, and the interior is commodious and well fitted with galleries, pulpit, and communion, &c. Several marble tablets arrest the attention of the visitor, recording the deaths of Governors and officers of the Colony. One to the memory of an officer who escaped from the visible death of Waterloo to be conquered by the invisible foe of the climate, needs no epitaph, beyond the statement of the incident, to remind the reader that an enemy hovers around against whom courage availeth nought.

An African Joloff Belle.—*Character of the Celebrated African Joloff Lady, Madame Maria Paul Benisté.*—This lady, who I have already alluded to in my description of African dress, is a Joloff, of French mulatto extraction, and native of Senegal; she stands pre-eminently the first of her caste, in heart, appearance, and importance, possesses property by descent in the Gambia, where she mostly resides, spending occasionally seasons in Sierra Leone.

Her home, wherever it be found, is open to the rich and poor, and her personal attention to the unfortunate, an honour to her sex, of which many have had ample proofs. With these qualities, she is fond of the gaieties of life, dances with a grace which would not disparage a frequenter of Almack's, possesses enlivening conversational powers in several native languages, fluent in French, and lisps English. Were there many like Madame Paul on the western coast of Africa, the European whose fortune prompted him to make one of its Colonies his

home, however he might regret some fairer faces, would soon acknowledge that he had not parted from nobler hearts—

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
A heart in gratitude still turns to thee,
Still to my friend returns with ceaseless pain,
Lest it may ne'er behold such work again;
Type of thy sex, who clung to mercy's side
When friends forsook me and when foes belied!

Lighthouse, Pilotage, and Shipping.—The erection of a light upon an elevated hill or mount called Mount Olive, immediately above the promontory of Cape Murphy, the southern and the only safe entrance to Free-town harbour, would be of incalculable benefit to ships entering the harbour. This would be a safe guide for vessels coming from the northward, westward, or south, inasmuch as it might be approached within a quarter of a mile (keeping clear of Carpenter's rock) with security, and so make the channel. One of the pilots, a black Nova Scotian, a Mr. A. Elliot, who has a farm on that spot, had this in contemplation, and had already prepared a light to be fixed on the top of a long pole, and to be nightly hoisted; but was unsuccessful in his application to the Colonial authorities for permission to erect it, probably from the prudential consideration that, in the hands of a private individual, it might be neglected, and so mislead instead of answering the desired end. Such a desideratum is well worthy the attention of the Colonial authorities; it would not cost much, and, in the hands of paid and stationed officers similar to those at the station on Signal-hill, would accomplish all that could be desired, by conferring a great benefit to the importers to the Colony. It is a wonder that such has not been done long ago. Vessels of any size, from the schooner to the frigate, or man-of-war of the line, can enter and anchor in the harbour. All, however, ought to be very watchful and cautious during the Tornado seasons —April, May, September, and October. These furious gusts come from the north-east down the Sierra Leone river, frequently driving ships from their anchorage; whilst some, to secure themselves, have to put out to sea or drive ashore. The Colonial regulations for pilotage enjoin the pilots to board the vessel westward of the Mount, or deprive them of claim to compensation. Frequently, however, there is great neglect in the compliance of this regulation, and they board them when the channel

is entered, and almost when within safe anchorage, still demanding the pilotage, when litigation ensues. The Colonial pilots are all coloured or black Africans, and not unfrequently combine the professions of fishermen, reverend ministers of the gospel, artisans, &c., &c.; amongst whom stands Mr. A. Elliot, the oldest of the Nova Scotia settlers, deservedly respected by all who know him, a Mr. Jowett, and others. With a few exceptions the African pilots are well acquainted with the rivers and creeks adjacent to the Colony, and are almost invariably employed by timber ships when going up the river for cargoes, and the war cruisers, when on expeditions of moment up the creeks, &c.

The arrival of vessels for African teak timber generally commences about November, and continues to December, January, &c.; when, having some months of the dry season before them, they load with less danger from the malaria and sickness found up the river, arising from mangrove bushes, decayed vegetation, mud, heat, &c., so fatal to the European crews, that instances have been known of the perishing of every white man on board, and the vessel had to be brought down to the harbour by Africans alone, and with difficulty manned by a mixture of men for sea, thus entailing loss to the owner and failure of the object of the voyage. These extreme cases generally happen in the rainy season, from May to October, and often engendered by incautious exposure and an indulgence in spirits to excess by the newly-arrived mariner. Vessels coming for general produce arrive at intervals throughout the year, but at all times the dry season is the best for health. The duty of the captain of the newly-arrived vessel is to go immediately with the consignee, to the secretary's office and enter into a bond for the legality and honesty of her transactions. Having done this, to go to the collector, surrender the ship's papers, which are returned to him on clearance for sea. Homeward bound, the vessel has to take a pilot till she is westward of Cape Murphy and clear of Carpenter's rock. The pilot boat is the usual common one, rowed with four, six, or eight Africans, and occasionally uses a light sail.

Liberated African Department.—This department is situated on the edge of the harbour near the watering tank at King Jemmy; it consists of two large yards, with a residence for the assistant superintendent, and good store-houses for the service of the Africans on their release from

the slave hold—one yard is for the males, the other for the females, with every convenience for cooking and other comforts. On the arrival of a slave vessel with a cargo of these unfortunates, the marshal of the mixed commission courts proceeds on board, and having made his inspection, forwards his report to the Commissioners. The medical officer examines their condition, and if no disease be on board they are immediately landed from the crammed and pestilential slave hold, and placed in the yard of the department. The emaciated and infirm are sorted out, and sent to the Colonial Hospital, at Kissey; and in cases of contagious diseases raging on board, a very common visitation, from the fact of 300 to 400 being packed within a small compass, the vessel is sent to quarantine. The arrival of a cargo of slaves is a peculiar and affecting sight; before their capture it is the policy of the dealers to impress them with a terror of the English, persuading them to believe that they are the most cruel masters, and will exercise unheard-of tyranny over them should they fall into their hands; but how thoroughly is the illusion dispelled, when one of our cruisers carries them into port, where every appliance for their comfort, crowned by freedom, proclaims them to be men and brothers! The suddenness of the change is bewildering, and these children of nature are obliged to refer to superstition for an explanation; some are literally stupified by the transition, whilst others abandon themselves to the wildest enjoyments, shouting, dancing, and singing, until the hills and shores re-echo the gratitude of their hearts for Old England's benefactions. This celebration of freedom lasts many days, and is humanely allowed by the officers of the Colony.

This department, and the treatment of the newly-arrived Africans, have lately undergone a material change. Under the old arrangement, after having been a due time in the yard, the youths were located in the village schools, where, receiving a certain amount of education, they were apprenticed as domestic servants, or to trades; the adults were sent to the villages, where they received an allotment for a farm, implements of agriculture, with provisions and clothing for one year, all found by Government, in which time it was supposed that they would be able to support themselves, under the guidance and management of the managers of their respective districts. This system, however, after a long

trial, with every facility given to them, was found not to have answered; retrogression instead of progression being the result.

The department is now discontinued, managers reduced, and only such retained as are necessary to govern the district under the new arrangement; this original experiment has been succeeded by emigration to the West Indian Colonies (an admirable plan of Lord Stanley); the emancipated are, as heretofore, landed at the department; food and clothing supplied to them; and, after a preparatory period, the uncontrolled choice of emigration, in large and comfortable ships provided by Government, where every attention is provided for them on the passage, and a provision upon their landing; in case they do not wish to emigrate, they are at liberty, by associating with their own countrymen, to remain in the Colony and follow their own desires; emigration, however, is gladly accepted by many, relying so fully upon British sympathy, that all destinations and propositions are faithfully trusted. Several, on the other hand, prefer entering the army, captivated by the allurements of martial pageantry, and in a very short time, from good usage, become perfectly contented, and look upon the freeman of the town with an amusing *sang froid* and contempt, saying—"Me no freeman, me Queenman!" a compliment to the Majesty of England, which probably never reached St. James's. Many grave objections and censures have been urged against the emigration of the newly-emancipated African, and the measures of Government for carrying it out; but this opposition emanates from interested parties in the Colony, especially the Wesleyan missionaries, who spare neither time nor exertion to defeat the project, in their exclusive register, the "Watchman," nominally, but not really, their own—it having been established with far more liberal intentions, and for much more general purposes, than the subscribers are allowed to enjoy. Other opposition comes from parties in England, from a want of local knowledge and experience, so requisite to form a correct judgment of the powers and condition of the African upon his own soil. As to the question of the unalienable rights of freedom there can be no doubt, nor does emigration control it. The African at home, from nature, strengthened by habit and example, is of an indolent disposition, but by a change to another country, where industry is the order of society, he readily devotes his energies to that which he sees adds to the respectability

and comfort of others, and gradually, and often immediately, becomes a regenerated being, in which improved condition he is sustained by the encouragement and advice of superior morality, education, and experience, to any that his most ingenious inquiries can obtain at home.

In Africa such advantages are more confined—a missionary or a teacher, here or there, being all that is afforded; and even were they more numerous, the climate is inimical to the exertion of the European. Whatever good may be imparted, it is comparatively moderate; nay, many who have been converted to Christianity, have reverted to their former habits and belief, and exercised within the very precincts of the missionary's house their idolatrous ceremonies. There are the Ako and Ebo, and many other notions, of the liberated, who have embraced the false religion of the prophet, which, being more congenial to their dispositions, from approximating more closely to their original superstitious impressions, are more easily comprehended, and consequently more readily believed than Christianity; and I am satisfied, whatever their professions may be, and notwithstanding the self-flattering reports of our labourers in the vineyard, that a great number of the liberated lip-Christians are heart-Mahomedans; and no stronger argument can be possibly adduced to prove that emigration must ultimately be beneficial, by transporting the fanatic and superstitious child of nature far from scenes, connexions, and influences which, it is but reasonable to expect, must have an almost insurmountable preponderance; and if there be any chance of overcoming this, it must be by a more general intercourse with total strangers of superior minds and better customs. If Africa is to be regenerated by her own sons, it is only to be accomplished by themselves, their sons and sons' sons becoming the chief agents in the great work of salvation both in soul and body; one well-informed and true native Christian would do more towards reformation amongst his brethren than all the missionary doves that ever took wing to feather their nests in the Colony can accomplish.

Secretary's Office.—This office is in George-street, Free-town, the force of which is composed of the Colonial Secretary, with a salary of £600 per annum, at present Norman William Macdonald, Esq. (lately appointed Governor), and four writers, two coloured and two European, at salaries of £400, £300, £250, and £200 per annum; the building is

large and convenient, with a printing press; and closely connected are the secretary's apartments and council chamber. The secretary, though a gentleman of good birth, much talent, and business habits, has not escaped the ill-will and envy of some of his colleagues; but he may console himself with the adage, "That it is better to be envied than pitied." The other officers it is unnecessary to mention, with the exception of one; so we may close this head with the passing remark, that the son of the late Governor Fergusson, through the affection of his father, holds ONLY *five* appointments, with scarcely sufficient talent for one; nor are his business habits considered the most energetic; this, however, may be fairly questioned by those who witness his exertions on quarter-day, when, particularly at a certain hour, he appears to have six times the claim to most other officials, if we may judge from his drafts upon the exchequer, which we can scarcely believe are honoured merely in compliment of his being a governor's son—but more of this anon.

Mixed Commission Courts.—These Courts are in Gloucester-street, Free-town, and were formerly the residence of the Governor. At present they include the British Commissioners'-office, Registry, &c.

These courts have been successively and ably presided over by Her Majesty's Commissary-Judges, the Hons. W. Smith, H. W. Macaulay, and W. W. Lewis, (the last of whom is now no more,) names honoured and revered in the Colony for the uprightness and justness of their judicial decisions, as well as their private worth.

The present Commissioners are the Hons. M. L. Melville and James Hook, Commissioner of Arbitration, who are allowed a registrar, &c., with £800 a-year, and three writers, with the respective salaries of £375, £260, and £200 per annum. The registry clerks are three: salaries, £200, £150, and £130 per annum.

The salary of Her Majesty's Commissary-Judge is, I believe, about £1,500 a-year, and the Commissioner of Arbitration somewhat less. Other officers are attached to these courts, such as the Marshal, Commissioner of Appraisement and Sale, &c.

The Mixed Commission Courts form a conspicuous feature in the history of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from the circumstance of its being by their fiat that thousands of negroes have obtained their freedom. They are termed mixed, from those nations with which England has treaties

for the abolition of the slave trade having a right to send commissioners to judge in their respective cases. This right, however, has seldom been claimed, except in a few late instances by Spain and Brazil. But it requires little penetration to perceive that they came, not for *abolition*, but to *preserve* vessels engaged in the illegal traffic.

Spain is not to be trusted; and the Brazilian flag, like charity, "covereth a multitude of sins."

The expiration of the Brazilian treaty has already given a powerful impetus to the trade, and the harbour of Sierra Leone has become swarmed with vessels bearing that flag.

This treaty does not, like that with Spain, allow the condemned vessels to be cut up; by it, they must be sold: hence, the same vessels have been known to come in for adjudication several times under a new name, as per example:—

A sharp-sailing Brazilian brigantine, within the year in which she was condemned as a slaver, was purchased by a German house in the Colony, freighted, and sent to Hamburgh, and in a few months returned as a prize with a new name, proving that she must have made a voyage to Brazil, or elsewhere, and was again sold to a slave-dealer. She was then a second time purchased by the same house for £600, and no doubt will make her appearance a third time for adjudication.

The "Atala" is another instance. This vessel was purchased by a Mr. Machado, a Brazilian merchant in the Colony, and fitted out for a voyage to the Leeward coast, but in a few months came back as a prize as the "Eçauador."

Reprehensible as it may be in a foreigner, who is allowed all the privileges in the Colony of a British merchant, to purchase vessels with probably the premeditated intention of selling them to slave-dealers, it is still a greater outrage upon confidence for English subjects to follow such an example; yet that such is notoriously the fact there is no question, for such is within the knowledge of the Government and before the eye of the court; but where is the remedy? Prohibitory laws exist against aiding or abetting in the trade, yet exist in vain. This is a very grave consideration for "the powers that be."

It has cost the nation millions *paid down* to purchase the freedom of the unfortunate in her more extensive Colonies, and will still cost many

annual millions ere her generous intentions are perfected; nor is it unreasonable to expect that so great a revolution, affecting the selfish avarice of nations and individuals, should be consummated without proportionate expense; but it is somewhat wonderful that so insignificant a colonial corner as Sierra Leone should be permitted to harbour, personally or representatively, one person capable of even winking at the paltry schemes that are persevered in to frustrate the grand design.

"There's something rotten in the state of Denmark," which must and will be reformed in time to come, nor is there any reason why that time should not be the present. Procrastination must add to the difficulty.

Another instance is so particular that it must not be omitted. "A slave schooner" was purchased by Daniel Coker, a coloured British merchant in the Colony, for £300. He named it the "Sherbro," and afterwards sold it to his relative, Thomas Caulker, chief of the Plaintain Islands, under a fictitious bill of sale. The chief sold it to the slave-dealers in the neighbourhood of Sea Bar. Shortly after she came into Sierra Leone a prize, with above three hundred slaves on board, and was condemned in the Mixed Commission Court.

Judicial Establishment.—This consists of the Chief Justice, Queen's Advocate, Clerk of the Crown, Sheriff, two Stipendiary Magistrates, and police court, with the usual number of attendants.

The quarter-session is held in the court-house within the gaol, and is presided over by the Chief Justice, Mr. Carr, a coloured gentleman from Trinidad, who, from the appointment of Queen's Advocate, was at once elevated to the bench. He has the character of a resolute and unbending disposition, and is evidently proud of his profession and judicial dignity. However, as the writer will be obliged to expatiate more largely hereafter upon this subject, further comments at present are unnecessary.

The present Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Oldfield, is a singular instance of how far favouritism prevails without any very peculiar talent to authorise its lavishment. This person is Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of Records, Coroner for Free-town, Marshal of the Mixed Commission Court, Providore to the Navy, Court Appraiser and Auctioneer, Consignee, Storekeeper, ground nut-oil manufacturer, and formerly an uncertified surgeon,

the "multum in parvo" of the Colony, and "Caleb Quotem" of all officials.

The Queen's Advocate, Mr. B. C. Pine, is much esteemed for his amiable manners and professional knowledge. His duties are similar to those of the Attorney-General in England; but as his records are *seldom* quite so heavy, the responsibility is somewhat less onerous. He speaks with a hesitation, which, from ingenious management and gentlemanly address, becomes interesting.

The Police Court is presided over by two stipendiary magistrates, the whole salary being £300 per annum; and by a regulation made during the Governship of Colonel Doherty, each sits weekly at half salary. The senior magistrate, Mr. M'Cormack, is one of the oldest residents of the Colony; he was formerly a highly esteemed merchant, and such is the confidence reposed in his sound judgment and moral worth, that the Government find in him a zealous and trusty Commissioner for arranging the differences between the native chiefs on the adjoining rivers. The Inspectorship is held by a Maroon at a salary of £100 a-year; the duties of this situation are too generally known to require comment.

Anglo-African Juries.—The grand juries are usually composed of Europeans and the most respectable Africans—thus amalgamating intelligence and judgment with inferior qualifications; hence, their deliberations are conducted in a sober and orderly manner, and their decisions are generally in consonance with the evidence; but exceptions sometimes do arise, and national prejudices or private animosities occasionally give the black juror a majority, incapable and unaccustomed as they are to listen to nicer appeals of conscience comparatively with their white brethren. This is bad enough, though purity itself in juxta-position with *petit* and *coroner's juries*, the constitution of which must be a source of regret to all who honour this bulwark of British freedom; and to a just judge at the head of that judicial establishment a never-ceasing cause of unmixed dissatisfaction, from the frequent accidentally erroneous, and often intentionally unjust, verdicts.

It would appear, from some of their decisions, that they were habitually indifferent to the solemn obligation of an oath, the sworn evidence being not unfrequently a matter of minor consideration, when in competition with the momentary impulses of their private feelings, particularly when

they have partial or vindictive purposes to indulge, the manifestations of which being expressed by bursts of passion.

Of petit juries there are three pannels entirely composed of *liberated Africans*, who, for want of intelligence, too frequently decide, even in cases of life and death, by a verdict that would greatly astound their lordships in Westminster-hall, if not at first impressed with the idea that it could only be meant as a *black joke*.

When one of their own nation or colour is arraigned for any crime, no matter how deep the complexion, though proven guilty, acquittal in most cases follows as a matter of course; but should a white man come under their *tender mercy*, though evidently innocent, he is condemned! Many instances could be given in corroboration of this, but for the present a trial which recently took place may suffice.

An Okoo man, one Skinner, who, in a civil broil at the village of Waterloo, had killed one man and wounded several, being tried by a jury of Okoos, which he procured by right of challenge, was instantly acquitted and borne back in triumph to the scene of murder. The deliberation of the jurors on this solemn occasion, which was expected to last for four or five hours, was decided in less than *ten minutes*. On entering the jury-room the foreman exclaimed, in words so loud as to be heard outside the room, "*Let's clear him!*" And with a little more hesitation from a more conscientious and considerate juror, they delivered into court a verdict of "Not Guilty," a decision at which even the culprit himself appeared astonished, and a burst of virtuous indignation from many rung through the hall.

When we consider that trial by jury is to the liberated African a blessing of recent adoption, and being unable to eradicate his modes of reparation and punishment, or readily to appreciate the even-handed justice by which our laws are governed, his wild and inconsistent decisions are not so much to be wondered at, as that the Administration should permit such barbarous legislation.

The vindictiveness with which coloured men appear to pounce upon the white man when in their power, may seem but an ungrateful return for all the benefits received; but it must be remembered that the majority of Africans are comparatively in a state of semi-barbarism, and that they have not those nicely distinguishing qualities which govern better society,

to enable them to shake off deeply, and perhaps justly, rooted prejudices against those who for centuries have been their merciless enemies, and amongst whom, with the exception of England, they have even now but few, if any, sincere friends; this observation is to be considered not individually, but nationally. These causes, with an absence of abstracting powers, and that refined sense of conscientiousness and morality which Christianity alone can bestow, render them indiscriminating; and with somewhat better disposition towards those of our own country, they too often confuse them with the general mass. Besides, there are tyrannical and selfish characters produced from English soil as well as that of other countries; and where one rotten sheep is found, the soundness of the whole flock is questioned by those who have so severely suffered by late contagion; and hence, the most enlightened amongst them contemplate the actions and advice of their best friends with, at least, suspicion, whilst the less informed nourish suspicion into dislike, if not hatred. Every African is a Lybian Lavater, with a much simpler, though to him not less profound, physiognomical philosophy than that of the ingenious German. If the face be white, the man is bad! This is the sole index, and it will be a long time before the most "learned Theban" amongst the missionaries will succeed in *palavering* him out of this belief. To this, of course, there are individual exceptions.

Another reprehensible practice, or rather vice, in which many jurors indulge, is ardent spirits, from which may be traced their frequent hasty, vociferous, and unjust decisions; this baneful indulgence is evident to all in court; and upon a late trial at which I was present, a juror (one Ogoo) was so disorderly that the judge was obliged to impose a fine of five pounds, and lock up the bacchanalian until it was paid. Another matter of serious importance, and often fatal to the course of justice, is the common practice of the private communication of interested parties with the jurors upon their retiring to find a verdict; and, again, that of partisans being permitted, through the absence or favouritism of the bailiffs, to eavesdrop at the door of the jury-room, and not only overhear their deliberations, but actually communicate in the native language with those upon whose impartiality, at the moment, perhaps a life depends.

Many other instances of flagrant and incredible errors might be

detailed in evidence of the pernicious and rotten system that prevails; but the great mystery is, how, and for so long a period, such infamy has been permitted; and the astonishment still increases, when we acknowledge the excellent worth of many of the governors—a Jeremie, a Colonel G. Macdonald—who have presided over the Colony, and the honour and ability that have graced the bench in former times. Is it possible that a remonstrance has never been forwarded to the administration at home? And if it has, why does such a state of things still exist? Yet, as the judicial officer is, as in England, independent of the executive, such reformation ought to emanate from the bench; and if so, the omission cannot be charged to the executive of the Colony.

It will be perceived from this sketch that the justice of Sierra Leone is not the same dignified personage that presides over the legislation of Great Britain, and that her Colonial ladyship would be more appropriately represented, like Le Brun's "Revenge," with a poisoned bowl in one hand, and the assassin's knife in the other, than with the sword and balance.

Sir T. F. Buxton, in speaking of the Colony, says, "Besides their natural difficulties, there have been some arising from the system which we have adopted; or rather, in the words of one of the strongest advocates in favour of Sierra Leone, 'In the want of anything like a system or preconcerted plan in the administration of its government;' the whole of its administration, with the exception of its *judicial* system, was left to the chapter of accidents."

This is all very true, with the exception of the "judicial system;" so far from its deserving to be excluded from the charge, were its accidents recorded, arising from the want of system, Sir T. F. Buxton's book would be much too small for the chapter.

Multifarious, unfortunately, are the cases which authorise these statements, and it is to be hoped that they may attract the attention of those who have it in their power to command reform. In concluding this head, it is but fair to admit, that there are many honourable exceptions to the above charge, and that they are of the majority; yet, on the other hand, the infamy adverted to is of too common and dangerous an occurrence to be tolerated in any society under the benevolent and fostering care of Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. Macaulay, formerly Her Majesty's Commissary Judge, in the Mixed Courts in the Colony, says, that as jurymen he would be willing at all times to abide by their verdicts. So would I, generally; but only in cases when their natural prejudices, passions, or private interests were not involved; but these exceptions are too numerous not to make even the liberated African himself to pray for a sweeping reformation. These observations are, I think, sufficient to show the advocates for justice, that perils surround even the most convincing innocence, where *evidence*, or the sacredness of an oath, is, alas! too often of a secondary consideration.

An instance of Mahomedan Laws amongst the Mandingoes.—An anecdote here, within my immediate knowledge, may confirm the necessity of, in some measure, modifying the present jury system; even in the settlement of Sierra Leone, not one in a hundred has the bosom "cleansed of that perilous stuff," Mahomedanism or Paganism, whatever their professions to the contrary; and is any one, with the slightest leaven of the following idea of justice in their composition, a fit member of civilised society, to decide upon the life, liberty, or character of a fellow mortal?

When on a visit to the king of Bullom, Amarah Fendi Moodie, the successor of the old King Dalla Mahommedoo, in 1844, I became acquainted with a Mandingo of considerable notoriety as a "warman" (warrior); he was fully six feet four, powerfully muscular, and ferocious in his countenance; terrible in war, but in peace, peaceful. We were often entertained by his exhibition of the dagger or tatogan exercise, and other military evolutions, in which he was considered a proficient. Upon a subsequent visit, I missed this formidable warrior, and found, on inquiry, that, in a moment of play, he had accidentally wounded another Mandingo, who ultimately died of the cut in the leg, for which the hero was tried and sentenced, according to their notions of justice, to be wounded with the same instrument, to the same extent, and in the very place and form of that which he inflicted, of which he died. When remonstrating against such unreasonable proceedings, and urging the constituents of guilt, wilful, malicious, aforethought, &c., they argued that "life for life," under any circumstance, was just; adding, "He kill man he must die all same." This case is somewhat analogous to

the spirit and intention which have too often guided the decisions or evidence, even in the court of Sierra Leone, to its shame and recorded disgrace; coroners' juries deciding without for one moment regarding the why or wherefore, and petit juries (composed solely of Africans) carried out with the same feeling, as far as the utmost constraining against evidence and justice would permit.

Does not this fact cry to heaven and earth for reformation? Whilst the slave is liberated by the benevolence of England, her own native subjects are bound by the fetters of African superstition and ignorance, through the over-indulged expediency of trusting them with too much, to gratify them with the feeling that they are equally men. This revolution in their state, noble in intention, has become infamous in execution; and all the liberality of Government, religious zeal, or private exertion, that may be brought into the field for the African's happiness, here or hereafter, are so many edifices in the clouds, whilst their breasts are indifferent to that moral conscientiousness which dictates the verdict of a British jury. God forbid that as creatures of His wisdom I should deny that they have it within them, but it requires very different measures from those which have been adopted to draw it forth. Perhaps the best first step would be for the Government to invariably appoint a Judge from home, who would carry with him the justice and unflinching determination of those legislators under whose judgment and experience he has been taught the highest lesson of man to man—justice! justice!

The Medical Department, Civil Establishment, consists of the Head Colonial Surgeon, at a salary of £400 per annum, with allowance for two horses at £40 each. His duty is to attend all the civil officers, gaol hospital, and he controls the Colonial hospital at the village of Kissey, which is under the immediate superintendence of two European Assistant Surgeons, at salaries of £200 each, with £40 allowance for horses.

The Head Colonial Surgeon (at present Dr. Aitkin) makes quarterly tours through all the villages on medical inspection, each village having a small hospital, and African dressers and compounders; but all the difficult cases are immediately sent to Kissey on certificates from Dr. Aitkin, who also attends blacks and whites in town without pay. This is not part of his public duty, but it proceeds entirely from his inherent benevolence. He also attends merchant ships at so much charge upon

the whole, but sometimes merchants think it to their interest to give a certain yearly allowance, sick or not. The medicines are not at the doctor's expense, however, but purchased from the Colonial apothecary, who receives the profit.

Kissey Hospital.—A board sits at this hospital (situated in the village from whence it derives its name, nearly three miles from Free-town) to audit accounts, &c.; it usually consists of the Colonial and Military Surgeons, with two or three officials from town. It has a pharmacopolist, head and assistant African dressers, nurses, &c., and is for both sexes, and for merchant sailors, whose expenses the consignee pays to the Colonial Secretary.

The Head Dresser receives from £75 to £80 per annum, and the Accountant about £80; the Resident Surgeon has a handsome house rent free.

The present Surgeon, Doctor Clarke, of six or seven years' standing, published a book (more of a medical character) on the Colony, when he came home for health in 1844; its sale spoke its merit, as it was immediately bought up, and is not now easily to be got, all the English reviews recommending it so highly that it was purchased with avidity. Yet the missionary clique presiding over the dozy "Watchman" overhauled it unfavourably, of course; a compliment which was spiritedly returned by the author, through the paper published at the American settlement of Monrovia, southward of Sierra Leone, there being no means in the Colony but through the hands of his enemies.

Doctors Aitkin and Clarke would be considered of professional ability in England; but their value is inestimable, situated as they are, from their extensive practice in the diseases incidental to the climate.

The pharmacopolist to whom the dispensation of medicine is entrusted, at a salary of £200 a-year, is a person who has been more fortunate in a longevital success than many kinder predecessors.

> "I do remember an apothecary,"
> Who lends a hand at Charon's ferry,
> Not that he ever shoves one over
> To the Elysian fields of clover,
> By poisons which in time must kill us,
> Like the Hygeans when they pill us;

Nor by prescribing rather little
In boluses of dough and spittle:
But from the simple fact that he, sir,
Is in his heart a thorough squeezer,
Who would refuse (the long and short is)
His friend, though "*in extremis mortis*,"
A dose, unless the cash were posted,
To save him from being quickly ghosted!
So thus it is th' apothecary
Oft lends a hand to Charon's ferry.

Schedule of prices authorised to be charged for medicines by the Colonial Apothecary, 16th February, 1838.

		s.	d.
Alum	per ounce	0	3
Camphor	,,	0	8
Salts { Epsom.	,,	0	1½
Salts { Glauber	,,	0	1
Ointments	,,	0	4
Rhubarb	,,	0	6
Jalap	,,	0	6
Cream of Tartar	,,	0	2
Sulphur	,,	0	2
Copaiba	,,	0	8
Spirits of Nitre	,,	0	6
Tinctures	,,	0	8
Castor oil	,,	0	6
Olive do.	,,	0	6
Gum acacia	,,	0	4
Saltpetre	,,	0	3
Powders	each	0	2
,, with quinine	,,	0	2
Pills generally	,,	0	1
Mixtures	per pint	0	9
,, saline	per quart	0	6
Senna leaf	per ounce	0	6
Quassia	per ounce	0	6
Gentian	,,	0	6
Seidlitz powders	each	0	8
Draughts	,,	0	9
Lotion, such as Gowland's muriate of Ammonia, &c.,	per quart	1	0
Caustic	per drachm	1	0
Blue stone	per ounce	0	4
Lint	,,	0	8
Sticking-plaster	,,	0	3
,, spread,	per yard	3	0
Pill-boxes	each	0	1
Phials	each, from 4d. to	0	6
Gallipots	each	0	2
Blisters	,,	1	0
,, less than 6 inches square		0	8
Leeches	each	0	1½
Loan of clyster syringes	,, (twice)	0	6
Pewter urethra syringes	each	1	0
Flannel bandages	per yard	0	6
Calico rollers	,,	0	4

Other medicines not included in the foregoing list to be sold at an advance of price not exceeding 100 per cent. on the invoice.

Copied at Secretary's Office, 6th December, 1842.

The Market is a handsome square, walled and palisadoed, containing stalls for the traders, the area for vendors of fruit and vegetables, and is

abundantly supplied with every article of useful consumption. Beef sells at 4d., pork at 6d., and mutton at 7d. per lb.; fowls at 6s. to 8s. per dozen; bananas, plantains, and yams, proportionately cheap.

This market was erected at the expense of Government, for the public accommodation, at one penny daily toll for each person exhibiting articles for sale. These tolls average from 20s. to 25s. per diem; there is also a plentiful supply of fish at very moderate prices. The hawkers' stalls are outside, and, being temporary, are removed every evening. The market opens at 6 a.m., and close at 4 p.m.

The noise and chatter of so many different nations, each squabbling and bargaining in its own language, is amusing to a stranger. The women in every respect are the most industrious and active, though many of them have travelled to their morning's work from twenty to thirty miles, several with their pickaninnies, mounted pickaback. They are particularly civil to purchasers addressing them with "How do daddy, tank 'ee," or, "Mammy, how do, tank 'ee." When a dispute arises, which is not unfrequent, they call a council of their own countrymen, and settle the palaver; but if the question cannot be arranged by the umpires, they proceed to the sandy beech, undress, leaving only a cloth about the loins, and fight it out like true Amazons.

The amusements to be enjoyed in Free-town are but few. About three-quarters of a mile from the town to Kissey, is a well laid out race-course, at the expense of the European patrons of the turf, to which every evening may be seen wending their way the official, military, naval, and mercantile Nimrods, white, yellow, and black. The races are held annually in December, and some excellent races are run, patronised by the Governor and European ladies, for whom there is an excellent stand erected. The course is also accommodated with booths and stands for the *canaille*, and, as in more aristocratic meetings, an amusing row is not unfrequently the finish. Billiard-tables, both public and private, are pretty common; and a theatre was lately established under the auspices of Governor Macdonald, but from some cause or other did not prosper.

Theatricals, Freemasonry, and all secret orders, are looked upon by the Africans with fear; they term them devil's-houses, and their attendants they believe have sold themselves to a certain distinguished gentleman, possessing the power of ubiquity, and who, in return, provides them with

all the good things of this world, and promises them a *warm* reception in the next.

Our intellectual and harmless theatricals, instituted for the purpose of dissipating the monotony and *ennui* of a Sierra Leone life, were grossly assailed by the "Watchman," edited by the Wesleyan missionaries, designating it as an unhallowed amusement; a fulmination replete with arrogance and self-condemnation. It would, indeed, have been apropos had the condemned aspirant to histrionic fame retorted by the performance of the "Hypocrite," when they might have found capital studies for Cantwell and Mawworm amongst their denunciators. The divine who would have been represented in the latter character, is well up in the part, if we may judge from the number who have grasped in vain at his skirts for assistance in this life, or aid towards that which is to come.

Parties sometimes amuse themselves with boat-races, and regattas have been dreamt of. At the fall of the year there are subscription balls, and an interchange of such compliments pass between the garrison and gentlemen of the town. A tolerable library exists, which is supplied with books and periodicals from England. There are no reading or news-rooms, which, no doubt, would have been formed but for the lamented death of Sir John Jeremie, in 1841.

Politics, and the more refined branches of literature, are confined to a few, who, having no connexion with the "Watchman" clique, may account for the peculiar dullness of that lunar (quasi lunatic) journal.

It must be confessed that some of those better spirits, together with myself, threw in our mite at its commencement, but the acclimatising fever being less infectious than the stupidity of the editorial conductors, our contributions will be found deeply imbued with the contagion; so, before the disease had rendered us equally lunar, we escaped, pursued by the demoniacal howlings of the irremediably afflicted. Bless me! what extraordinary creatures some of the best meaning societies are represented by, in all quarters of the world, with the exception of Sierra Leone, according to the "Watchman."

A Missionary Exploit, and a Snake in the Grass.—A "merry-making" was held by the native Africans in the neighbourhood of the Wesleyan Missionary Institution at "King Tom's," situate on the brink of the Free-town harbour, which gave offence to one of the preachers, who, in

his zeal, sallied out to disperse the party; but proceeding with too great violence he was resisted, and upon his horses's rein being seized, he drew a knife, or some sharp instrument, and wounded one of the party; the matter, however, was quickly hushed up, by the man's being pe sioned, and the offender shipped off to England. Yet the "Watchman" newspaper, (or more properly it should be termed a mere register), the acknowledged organ of this sect, took no notice of this exploit, whilst it is not wanting in moral courage to slander and calumniate the absent, who have too much in their keeping for their credit or peace of mind.

RELIGION, &c.

The Ecclesiastical Establishment is the most honoured and honourably conducted department in the Colony, being placed under the guidance of persons who are able and willing to fulfil the serious confidence reposed in them.

The Chaplain, with a salary of £500 a-year, presides at St. George's Church, Free-town, and the assistant missionaries are scattered through the various villages. They have a large institution at Fourah Bay, a mile from town, for the education of African youths, and another in the town, as well as numerous schools in other directions. The management of the whole is admirable, and cannot fail to impart a moral and literary training that must fully repay the trouble and expense so willingly bestowed.

The Sectarian Denominations have not that variety which mark secession in England and other countries, being confined to Baptists, Huntingdonians, Calvinists, and Wesleyans; the latter are rather a numerous body; and were it not for the worldly and speculative character of a *leading* member, its operations would be more useful and respected. A preacher of "the Word" should be divested of all such secular engrossments as lead to the suspicion, nay, certainty, that his preaching and practice are at variance. The Shylock who seeks gain by all possible devices, even to demanding his "pound of flesh," is more suited for the Exchange than the pulpit, however skilled he may be in "the painted flourishes of the tongue." If he who possesses two coats, and will not part with one to his naked brother, be unworthy of his Master of whom he is the disciple, what must he be who would deprive his neighbour of his only garment, for the sake of adding to an already overburthened store, forgetful (though he preach of fire) that Africa is not the *hottest* place in creation?

Religion with some is a trade, with others trade is a religion, but to unite the two principles is the consummation of pharisaical hypocrisy.

The Mahomedan religion is very prevalent in Africa, and of the natives those professing it constitute the most respectable and intellectual class; but the greater mass are Pagans who, from the nature of an idolatrous worship, are incomparably more superstitious.

It is astonishing how many human beings with sufficient rationality to distinguish between night and day, or their own species and a tiger or a tree, can indulge in the ridiculous beliefs that beset the various tribes; for though Paganism upon the broad principle is the general religion, yet there are national offshoots from the parent stem which are nurtured with a devotion worthy of a better cause.

As Sierra Leone is the principal Colony on the West African coast, it has the greatest influx of native visitors from the interior, which, together with the liberated negroes from the slavers, introduce a greater variety of religions than probably are to be found congregated in any other place; not that a manifestation is at all times exhibited; nay, their superstitions are frequently concealed, particularly by those who pretend to have been converted, which, however, are discoverable by intimacy and conversation. Nor are these gross superstitions confined to the poorer class; indeed some of the more intelligent and independent in other matters, are the most ignorant and grovelling when their superstitious prejudices are referred to.

Kolloh is a spirit supposed to reside in the neighbourhood of Yangroo, in Western Africa. He lives in the woods and is seldom visible except upon the death of a king or chief, or when persons are interred without the usual ceremony of dancing, feasting, and particularly drinking; he is represented by an oval bamboo basket about three feet long, made to fit a man's shoulders; it is covered with a net and decorated with porcupine quills on the nose; its appearance is frightful, and excites the inhabitants with childish terror. Frequently some man more knowing than the rest, who is short of *cash* or wishes a good entertainment, pretending to "*have a call*," assumes the kolloh, and goes about with it on his head to see if the ceremonies are observed, and very soon contrives to form an African "Almack's," where he presides as master of the ceremonies, ringing a bell concealed within the kolloh, and bran-

dishing his rod of office. It is unnecessary to add that those self-ordained priests are the most hardened and plundering vagabonds in the country.

The word *fetishe* or *fetish* is often heard amongst the negroes from the Portuguese *fetico*, or witchcraft, and means a charm or mode of conducting worship, and is often applied to the representatives of their divinities.

The fetishes of Whidah are the serpent, tall trees, and the sea. The first is the most powerful, and the other two are subordinates. The serpent has a large round head, piercing eyes, short pointed tongue, soleman movement, except when it darts upon its prey, and is then very rapid. Its tail short and sharp, and skin smoothly variegated with elegant colours—it is exceedingly tame and familiar. Priests and priestesses are appointed to its service, and valuable offerings are made to it, which the priesthood most religiously appropriate to themselves; it is invoked in all great difficulties, and as the Whidahens, like wiser people, imagine that many of their little difficulties are great, the serpent, or rather the *serpents*, are enriched.

The inhabitants of Benin believe in an invisible deity, who created heaven and earth; but, because he can only do good, they think it useless to propitiate him. Their devil, or malignant spirit, receives all the honours, which are offered in the sacrifice of men and animals, to satiate his thirst for blood; but they have many other objects of less rational note, such as elephants' teeth, claws, bones, dead men's heads, to which they make daily offerings of boiled yams mixed in palm oil. On great occasions they present a cock, giving the divinity the blood, and reserving the flesh for themselves. Persons of rank give annual feasts to their gods, when great numbers of cattle are offered to the idols, and the priests make each person offer his own sacrifice, in order that they may enjoy the sacerdotal profit without trouble, something on the principle of a plurality of livings.

In Guinea some tribes assemble around a sacred tree, near which they have a table decorated with boughs in the form of crowns, and covered with their best fare, at which they eat and drink in honour of their fetishes. The day is passed in dancing and singing, accompanied by drums and brass instruments, the priest in the centre at an altar, on

which he offers sacrifices, whilst the worshippers congregate around him to hear and witness his incantations. At the conclusion he twists a wisp of straw, and dipping it into a pot of some particular "hell broth," in which there is a serpent, he sprinkles the children, uttering some mummery, and then, performing the same ceremony on the altar, empties the pot, when his assistants close the sacrifice with yells and unintelligible words of applause.

They wash themselves every morning, as an act of devotion, and draw white lines across their faces in honour of the fetish. Their oracles are accomplished by a black dog, who sits at the sacred tree, and very cleverly responds to questions that would puzzle the priest himself. No doubt this sacred tree *is hollow*, but not *empty*.

The Dahomans are a particularly idolatrous cast; they worship the moon, certain animals, trees, stocks, and stones. A particular serpent, called daboa, is in high divine estimation; it is kept in a basket, and secretly fed with rats, the worshippers being persuaded that it "lives on the chamelion's dish, the air." The priestesses are supported by the Government, and every year there is a grand feast in honour of daboa, at which the chiefs assist, not more assiduously in the rites than the debauchery. This serpent is particularly honoured by *ladies* who are "as ladies wish to be who love their lords." The tiger is also propitiated occasionally by a few children, which shabby fare is compensated for upon important festivities by the senior part of the family being placed at his tender mercy. Many other observances of a still more abhorrent character might be added which fully entitle the Dahoman to the boast of their nation—a temple dedicated to the devil; they, however, have a mystified notion of a Supreme Being, but pay him no worship but through the fetish, being convinced that he is too good to harm them.

Though the Ashantees are considered the most intelligent nation of Western Africa, they are gross idolaters and most profligate in human sacrifices. At their festivals and funerals they have a tradition which has become orthodox by descent from ages. It is, that at the beginning of the world God created in Africa three black men and three white, with the same number of women, and placed before them a large and attractive box and an insignificant-looking sealed paper. The black men had the

first choice, and took the box, supposing, from its appearance, that it contained every desirable thing; but when opened they found only gold, iron, and other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opened the paper, which told them everything. So the black men were left in the bush, whilst the white men (from the knowledge which they had received from the paper) proceeded to the shore, where they built a ship, which carried them to another country. Could this tradition have suggested to Shakspere the casket scene in the "Merchant of Venice?"

Kings and chiefs after death are believed to enjoy an eternity of the luxuries which they possessed on earth, whilst the paradise of the poor is cessation from labour; every family has its "penates" and "lares" in chosen fetishes, to which they offer yams, &c., &c.; they are of all imaginable deformity, and it would appear that adoration increases in proportion to the hideousness of the object. When the Ashantees drink they pour a little on the floor as an offering, and when they rise from their seats they are turned upon the sides to prevent the devil slipping into the vacated place. Their evil spirit is white, as that of the European is considered to be black, and no doubt proceeding from the same feeling.

The minor considerations of the African's belief are truly ridiculous, yet not one jot more so than many which obtain in every other country in the world, from which the most enlightened cannot be exempted.

England has its ghosts, witches, fortune-tellers, and black-cats; Scotland is equally nationally populated with the addition of warlocks, brownies, second-sights, &c., &c.; whilst the Emerald Isle "holds a glass that shows as many more." An esteemed friend assures me that, to his own knowledge, persons have been buried in Ireland with money placed in their hand to pay the toll of St. Peter, for admission through the gates of Heaven.

"O! wad some power the gifti gi'e us
To see oursels as ithers see us."

The following description of idolatrous worship is from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Raston, Wesleyan Missionary and Pastor of the village of York, Sierra Leone, whose private worth can only be equalled by his professional utility:—

"God has done much for these people, still the dark, dark places of

the earth are here darker than I could ever have imagined, and the 'prince of darkness' reigns and possesses an influence far more tantalising and terrific than can be conceived. There is wickedness in *high* places, wickedness where we had a right to expect religion.

"This morning (May 31st, 1843,) I set out, accompanied by four of our brethren, to visit the '*god-house*' of an Akuman, who resided some distance from the Mission-house; when we arrived he was working in his farm, and was sent for: in the meantime his wife would not be bribed to allow us, on any account, to see the objects of their worship.

"When the man came and saw us, with many others who came to look on, he appeared very ferocious, and sat in the gateway to prevent ingress.

"After assuring him of our pacific intention, we were permitted to gaze on a sight as filthy as idolatrous.

"We had much conversation with the man, in which he seemed much interested; but when I proposed to buy his gods he became as infuriated as a madman, and a scene ensued which baffles my powers of description.

"He snatched up an instrument of worship of about two feet in length, consisting of longiform bells, five at each end, making a harsh noise; these he agitated violently, accompanied with the most hideous yells and painful contortions of the body.

"His honour for his gods seemed to be awakened, and he became frantic with zeal. He darted from the place like an arrow, running up the street as though mad with rage, and back again in the same desperate manner, striking several persons who ran with him into the god-house, when they took up the musical instrument and the play of horror began; and never did human eyes behold a more dreadful display of Satan's power.

"The attitudes of the women were detestable, and their yellings pierced the air, and the grating din of the instruments rendered the affair at once sickening and appalling. The dirty idols inside, were the god and goddess of thunder, called in Aku, 'Rabba-rabba cuta,' and 'Ah-hara.' Ah-hara, the goddess, is in the zig-zag character of lightning; and every day these are pretended to be fed with palm oil and fu fu. To these objects the performer frequently turned himself, and though waiting for a reply, no reply came, when more loudly did he clang his

bells, and more ardently dance, forcing those around him to join, seeming to fortify himself in very savage vengeance. A fowl was put into his hands, the head he took in one hand and the legs in the other, and tore the head from the body, immediately thrusting the neck into his mouth, sucked out the blood, and wrung the neck off with his teeth, while the blood streamed down to the ground. My soul so sickened at this that it was with difficulty I restrained myself.

"The man continued his incantations, and when we saw that it was useless to interfere, we all knelt down within a few yards of the worshippers and offered fervent prayers in their behalf, and left testifying and warning them 'to flee from the wrath to come.'"

Pa Samba (a Moorie man) is another illustration of the wild nonsense which obtains amongst even those from whom, from long and continued association with Europeans, better might be expected.

I permitted Pa Samba, a poor Moorie, to occupy a cellar in my house at Free-town, leaving his *cuisine* and upholstery arrangements to his own ways, means, and taste; he instantly commenced constructing his bed by mixing and flattening a couch of mud, with pillow of the same material (which, from the frequency of its application for such purposes, was called by a merry Hibernian friend, "African feathers"). His grate was three stones; and a white hen and chickens, objects of devoted solicitude, cackled and chirped about. Upon the wall hung a snake's skin (condah), and by its side a fox-tail. He was a Foulah, and received a pension for services, real or imaginary, in Gambia, in times long past, yet poor Samba could not make both ends meet, and was often, like his betters, until quarter-day came round, upon the round himself, looking for tick (not that he might stuff his *feathers* into it, but that he might stuff himself with it); but, when Her Majesty's head was placed in his hand, being conveniently blessed with a "non mi ricordo" memory, he did not make as honourable a use of that sovereign remedy as Her Majesty anticipated, but the apology for his tenacity was so right royal and right loyal, that his two or three shilling creditors seldom introduced him to the sheriff. "Ha, massa, me lub Her Majesty too much to part with her *pictur*. Garramighty bless her!" However, creditors, like "fathers," sometimes "have flinty hearts," and Samba found himself summoned to the Petit Debt Court; but he had a soul above terror at

debts or courts, duns or devils, for he had a charm—his condah and fox's brush—with which he could sweep the debt out of the summoner's memory. This belief was strengthened by his having been allowed to escape so long, which he attributed to the magical charming of his skin and tail; but having been at length cast in debt and costs, he tore his tail and destroyed his skin, in the greatest rage, swearing that the one was grown too old and the other too dry, and that he must find others more juvenile and moist, when he might again defy the enemy. About the same time, as "misfortunes come in battalions," Pa lost his white hen, and his suspicions having fallen upon a neighbouring woman of colour, he ran into the street, in the midst of a dreadful tornado, uttering the most awful imprecations, and praying that the wind and lightning might bury her in her house. Whilst in the culminating point of his vengeance, the fowl walked leisurely home, but died the next day, as Samba averred, from having got a cough in the storm, owing to the loss of his skin and tail. Fortunately for the woman, the coroner did not hold an inquest, which saved her from a *foul* verdict.

This character pretended to be a rigid Mahomedan, observed fasts, prayed, and knocked his head against the ground upon all occasions, night and day, and kept, as far as I could discern, the Rhamadan month of fasting from sun-rise until its going down; and it was amusing to see him eagerly watch its setting in the horizon, when immediately upon the last glimpse, he would pounce upon his meal like a lion on its prey, stroke his beard, and utter a short sentence from the Alcoran.

Sometimes I amused myself catechising him on his religion, but, not being a very deep theologian myself, I could not convince him of his errors, to such an extent as I desired. He knew some of the Mosaic law, and spoke of Adam, whom he called Bemma. Nothing could shake his belief in sadakah (sacrifice), and, if he be now dead, I am sure that he expired like a true Mahomedan, exclaiming, "Alla, Alla, Bismillah!" —"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." And that he has met his brother Moorie man, in the other world, with the usual salutation, "Saalam aleik, Aleik saalam!" "How do? Very well, tank'ee."

At length his nocturnal vociferations, singing and prayers, with noisy quotations from the Koran, together with the loss of a pair of Wellington

boots (which I certainly did not steal from myself), suggested the propriety of giving this religionist a hint that he might look out for more comfortable lodgings, which authority he seemed inclined to dispute; but, having measured his man and finding me six feet three, he declined the contest, and departed with a few extemporaneous denunciations and borrowed anathemas from his favourite Koran; and if still alive, may at this moment be consulting his new tail and skin, or offering up sadakahs for revenge.

In the midst of his religious fervour, however, Pa Samba forgot to return the Wellingtons.

Crime.—Notwithstanding the African's imperfections (proceeding more from lack of education than predisposition), the criminal statistics of the Colony would "kick the beam," if weighed against an equal census of any metropolis or district in Europe.

Withdraw the veil from the vices of civilised society, and we shall discover a hideous deformity before which the untutored savage may stand proudly erect. Alas! if the white man has been his best, he has also been his worst instructor; of which lamentable truth one of their expressive sayings proves that they are not unconscious—"White man, two man—God-man, Devil-man!"

The calendar of 1843 (which was not considered light), is subjoined, which gives an average of one and a fraction in the thousand, taking the Colonial population at a medium between something like 50,000,* which, from guess, was not an over estimation.

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* The following is an extract from the Census to 31st December, 1844, of Europeans and Mulattos, taken by the author from the General Census, and he regrets that he did not avail himself of the opportunity to note the population of the Africans, who may be estimated at about 50,000. Mr. Venn, in his Church Missionary Statistics, gives them at 41,058.

CENSUS OF THE EUROPEANS AND MULATTOS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1844, STOOD AS FOLLOWS:—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Resident Europeans	59	22	81
Do Mulattos	7	8	15
Sick British Sailors	6	0	6
Foreign Seamen, the crews of condemned slave vessels, &c.	48	0	48

Murder	4
Manslaughter	1
Burglary	3
Embezzlement	1
Cattle Stealing	4
Larceny by Servants	30
Housebreaking	2
Slave Dealing	2
Obtaining Goods under False Pretences	1
Receiving Stolen Goods	2
Assault	1
	56

That larceny by servants should exceed all other crimes collectively will scarcely astonish the housekeeper. Capital punishment of late has been of rare occurrence, the execution of an Akuman, for attempting to murder his wife, having been the only instance for some time, and a Sherbro' for flogging a man to death; over which it is better to draw the veil.

The *Immorality* of the Colony not approachable by law, and in which the African is too often encouraged by those whose example should teach a very different lesson, is a most serious consideration.

What is immorality with the Christian is not at all times immorality with the Mahomedan and Pagan; but when Christians violate this inculcation, by practice, it is not astonishing that their sincerity should be doubted, and that their faith should be contemplated by the Heathen with ridicule, or contempt; for instance, the African sees neither sin nor shame in presenting or selling his daughter to the European, whom the white man as readily receives, whilst he preaches that very religion which he is inducing the vendor to believe denounces the act. *Ardent spirit* is, indeed, a divine spirit to the black. The white proclaims it to be a devil, yet rivals his adoring neighbour in its worship! The result is inevitable; and however interested parties, whose province it is to make black white, may *palaver* their employers at home with flattering information, the fact is, that there has yet more rubbish to be swept

away than is believed, before the foundation-stone of the intended building can be securely laid.

It behoves parents to seriously weigh the chances between good and evil, before they part with their sons for the coast of Africa, where, should they escape the danger of the climate, there is another, yet more destructive, awaiting them—the unhealthiness of which ends not with the grave!

The great temptation offered to the poor and ignorant savage by the introduction of articles not only of use, but to them of wonder, the conception of which never entered their minds, is some palliation for that inclination of appropriation which is always to be found amongst them. In the first place, the beauty or singularity of what may appear very insignificant to the European is to them irresistibly desirable; and secondly, if it be not attractive merely as a curiosity, its utility (when once understood) enhances its value beyond the calculation of those accustomed to the possession. Consequently, not having much natural, and less educated morality, they effect by cunning what they dare not attempt by force.

The same causes, covetousness or want, instigate the white man, as well as the black, to dishonesty; but he certainly cannot equally extenuate the act. The liberated African is, however, generally honest, and as "Rome was not built in a day," we may hope that, in time to come, theft will be still less meritorious; when Christianity convinces them that the wisest policy is to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," they will be happier within themselves, and more honoured by their neighbours.

African Jack Sheppards and Turpins occasionally appear; the last that I remember, as the terror of the Colony and its neighbourhood, was Bob Cleugh, a highwayman; his greatest success was with Madame Paul, from whom he took between £500 and £600, in gold and jewels. He was many times in chains, but escaped, and now lives in the bush, and carries on a Jonathan Wild system with the Colonial thieves. His appearance is terrific, as he goes about naked with knives stuck round his waist, in a belt, and like other native professional gentlemen of "the road," his body is besmeared with palm-oil, in order that his pursuers may have but a *slippery* hold, should they lay hands upon him;

he was, however, captured by a Krooman constable, and lodged in gaol, shortly before I left the Colony; but if a hole be discoverable through which a snake could twist its way, Bob will be back to the bush again.

Character and Cruelties in Free-town Gaol, &c.—The gaol, the abode of debtors and criminals, would not appear much worse in its general arrangements than such places usually are, were it not for the ruling brutality of the gaoler and his myrmidons, who, if they have not drunk themselves to death, are possibly still inflicting their *private* judgment upon those unfortunate wretches already adjudged. Peter Moses, the sheriff's representative, within the walls, is a Cremantee black, a native of the Gold Coast, of most unprepossessing appearance, though amiable in external compared with that which "lies within;" but we cannot add "that passeth show," as his bad passions are daily visible in their effects upon his prisoners. He is a married man, yet lives in undisguised adultery with the matron of the Female Liberated African Department, who did reside within the gaol with him, and sometimes saved him the trouble of inflicting illegal punishment upon those intrusted to his charge, in which she is heartily assisted by his deputy, Samuel, who should have been Zamail. One or two cases may suffice to show the authority that is arrogated and permitted. Upon one occasion, a Joloff and an Ebo man were quarrelling at the cook-house, when the former struck the Ebo with a rice pestle and broke his arm. The under gaoler (Samuel) interfered, tied down the man by his broken arm, and inflicted a severe flogging (the gaoler looking on) though remonstrated with by several of the bystanders who witnessed the cruelty.

These worthies, after an additional quantum of rum, have frequently been known, apparently for amusement, to lash the poor African women naked with the cruelty of savages. Such proceedings being carried on daily and hourly, together with the most loathsome and filthy debaucheries and drunkenness, did not escape the vigilance of our excellent governor, Colonel Macdonald. Through report (and if we may judge from the dismissal of the matron from the department and a comparative cessation of such brutalising practices) a caution was given not likely to be unheeded by these officers.

Grog Shops, &c.—It seems to me that I could not better close the chapter on crime than by briefly treating upon the stores devoted to the

vending of spirituous liquors, which are, indeed, a prolific source of not only crime, but every other species of vice that levels man to the standard little above the brute creation.

These haunts are in abundance throughout the Colony, and tend materially to retard the advancement and elevation of the moral character of the African, as well as to destroy the health, and enervate the mind and body of many, bringing them to a premature grave. The African is naturally fond of stimulating drinks; in his native and primitive state he drinks palm wine, which has the power of intoxication, as well as a beer extracted from leaves which vegetate in Africa. The result of these indulgences on the African is similar to that on the European—crime, misery, destitution, and an indulgence in uncontrolled licentiousness, which fearfully baffles the labours of the minister of religion for their welfare, temporal and spiritual. The vending of liquors yields no inconsiderable revenue to the Colonial chest in licences granted for three, six, nine, or twelve months; the baneful effects they produce is indescribable. A glass of brandy can be had for 1½d., the best for 2d.; a bottle of rum 1s. 1d. to 1s. 3d., whilst a bottle of ale is charged 1s. 3d. These places are solely kept by Africans, whilst the European merchants sell it them in wholesale, or by the gallon—rum 5s., brandy 10s., gin 8s., ale 13s. per dozen—under a wholesale spirit licence, granted by the Colonial Secretary, of 30*l.* per annum, and in proportion for three, six or twelve months. Why should we complain of the African's abuse of spirits, when the white man vends him the damnable drug, and more than vies with him in the worship and adoration of it?

SEASONS.

The seasons are divided into the wet and dry; the former sets in about the latter end of April or beginning of May with heavy tornadoes from north and east; but the rains do not become incessant until July and August, in which months they become very violent. The season breaks up on the occurrence of tornadoes about September and October, and rain occasionally occurs in November and December, when the dry season sets in. August is the month mostly dreaded by all, sickness and death being then most prevalent; hence the Africans call it "King August." June, July, and October are also frequently very fatal and sickly, owing to the change of temperature and the wet.

The dry season is considered the most healthy, and requires but ordinary precaution; the chief danger consisting in an incautious exposure to the heat of the sun, from which a *coup de soleil* is to be apprehended, or from an indulgence in ardent spirits. The newly-arrived European often suffers from his own imprudence, coming from a cold climate, full of health, blood, and spirits, he walks the streets, and explores the neighbouring scenery without an umbrella; keeps late hours, and exposes himself to night dews; indulges in drink of the most seductive yet pernicious kind, and consequently suffers. Weak brandy or rum and water, are recommended as stimulants, but our gratifications are too apt to forget the proper distinction between use and abuse.

The rainy season, on the contrary, requires the utmost precaution, warm clothing, with flannel next the skin, security from damp, and an immediate change of clothes when wet, particularly boots and shoes, as inattention to these points induces acclimating or first fever in the new resident, and ague and fever in the old. Always promote perspiration and never check it, or the consequence may be serious. A cup of tea or coffee upon rising in the morning is recommended by the most expe-

rienced to keep off the noxious vapours that are steaming from the earth, arising from the exhalations that take place during the night.

The Harmattan winds blow from the north and east, are extremely cold, and absorb all moisture. They cool water, as if iced, parch the skin, particularly of the mouth and nostrils, shrivel papers, and split pens; yet notwithstanding many attendant annoyances they are considered bracing to the nerves of the weak, and recovering invalids, but are very trying to the African or old resident. Their visitations are in November and December, and the spring, lasting four or five days.

The tornado is sometimes frightfully powerful, driving ships from their moorings, rooting up trees of the largest size, unroofing houses, and not unfrequently demolishing them with "one fell swoop." Their approach is known by the gathering of a black murky cloud in the northward or eastward, vivid flashes of lightning with distant peals of thunder, the breathing becomes oppressed and overpowered with suffocating heat, then comes a gentle breeze, which immediately increases into terrific fury; "a tornado! a tornado!" resounds from all quarters: doors, windows, and all apertures are instantly closed, when it bursts down with overwhelming rage, closing with a deluge, which lasts nearly an hour. When its madness abates, the atmosphere becomes fresh, pure, and invigorating, the heat is moderated and effluvia dissipated, and places which were not visible are distinctly seen, crews which have taken in their sails to save their vessels from being wrecked, now spread them out again to dry, and all is wholesome and calm that was so lately noxious and agitated, thus convincing us "that whatever is is right;" a truth that is discoverable even in the malignity of the climate, as stimulating man to strenuous exertion in the removal of the wild exuberance of nature, which, when fully effected, will render Sierra Leone, in time to come, as wholesome and desirable a residence as it is now baneful and disagreeable.

FEVER.

The Acclimating Fever and Mortality, &c.—The fever is the inevitable lot sooner or later of all who remain for any time upon the coast of Africa, and to which many (particularly the whites) fall victims. It is much better to have it soon after arrival, whilst the constitution is sufficiently vigorous to struggle against its violence, the chances of recovery being decidedly in an inverse ratio as the attack is delayed.

In the author's own case the fever commenced with violent pains in the head and back, and redness in the eyes; the blood assumes a high state of inflammation, until the patient is almost in a state of delirium, quickness and difficulty of breathing. The doctor is now called in, and the sufferer having been previously horror-stricken with the tales about salivation, prays the doctor not to prescribe calomel. "Oh! no," says "Signor Medico," whilst at the same time he doses you with the dreaded remedy, disguised in pills, draughts, and powders. If you are to live, the calomel continues you in a state of almost unendurable existence from fourteen to twenty-one days, when you are pronounced out of danger, and turned over to "kitchen physic." Yet even here all is not over; for no sooner is the patient recovered from salivation and all its offences, and is satisfied that he is an African, than the relapse gives a very significant hint that he is not quite seasoned; but this past, all is pretty safe, and would be *completely* so were it not for intermitting fever, ague, and debility, visitors which you must politely receive before you can feel yourself perfectly at home.

So suddenly does this fatal malady produce its effects that it leaves but little time for worldly arrangements or eternal considerations, depriving its victim of reason, and restoring it but to become momentarily conscious of dissolution.

To the new comer the frequency of deaths is startling and oppressive;

but, alas! for humanity, this very frequency creates callousness which is shocking, and almost all those emotions with which we have been taught to contemplate the last event, and the only reflection which generally occupies the survivor is, who is to step into the dead man's shoes! Death here is ambition's friend, for the death of a superior gives "ample room and verge enough" for official contest. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

SLAVE TRADE.

It is impossible, unless located on the spot, to fully appreciate the spirited and truly national efforts that England is making to annihilate the traffic in man on the African coast, an example which even those nations most opposed at present to her glorious exertions will ultimately be proud to emulate. The historic page, which records this noblest amongst her many noble deeds, is too bright for other nations not to honourably struggle to have their names enrolled upon it; private cupidity may prolong the aggression, but public benevolence in every clime will be the conqueror.

It is an admirable trait in the character of the philanthropist to ameliorate the sufferings of his fellow beings, yet nobler still when a nation, at unequalled sacrifices, emancipates millions of men who have been bought and bartered for as articles of gain—God's creatures, whose cries for freedom, home, and friends, are drowned by the laugh of the captor and the clanking of oppression's chain.

> "The flag that's braved a thousand years,
> The battle and the breeze,"

was never more gloriously triumphant than whilst streaming to the free winds of heaven in pursuit of not only the enemy of its Sovereign, but of its God.

Some persons, in support of their venal arguments, have urged that a state of slavery is congenial to the African, and that he is unendowed with sufficient rational faculties to appreciate freedom; but this is thoroughly disproved by the mental agony evinced by many—nay, all—of these unfortunate creatures, when parting with their relatives, friends, and homes. It cannot be asserted that instances of refinement of feeling are equally common as in countries where superior education and more

civilised habits prevail, but nature, pure nature, with all its affections, asserts its right in the bosom of the black as well as in that of the white. Let the doubters witness the scenes of a slave market, and they will be sceptical no longer. Probably the negro may not have the art to make so dramatic a scene upon the occasion as an European could, but, nevertheless, they suffer as much; but, granting the contrary, does a lack of equal sensibility sanction so awful an outrage upon justice? Others, again, palliate their offence by saying that the slaves they purchase have in their turn, when victorious, been vendors of the captives. But who have encouraged them in this infamy? Those very persons who boast of a superior intellect. The tempters are the most powerful in every respect; and when the weaker yield to all the specious arts that ingenuity can devise, they despise the unfortunate instruments of their machinations, and ultimately put them, blood, bone, and sinews, into their pockets.

It may appear presumptuous in me thus to deprecate this most unholy system, when so many of the first characters of the age have anticipated almost all that can be expressed in its condemnation; but when the heart is full, it will find utterance.

There is much due to our Government, and to Englishmen individually, who have employed their untiring energies in this laudable cause. As surety for success, they have delegated authority for the consummation of the slave on the African coast to those who are no less determined to carry out this noble project. Nor does the baneful and deadly effects of the climate daunt their zeal, for their object is to convince the world that England is not guided by the mercenary motives of a trader in man, but by the lofty consideration of a benefactor of the African race, asserting at once the rights of the enslaved and freedom of mankind. Already has she forced from reluctant Portugal, faithless Spain, and Brazil, treaties by which she is more enabled to work out her purpose; and, notwithstanding all the evasions and infidelity of these Powers, she is enabled to strike a heavy blow against this colossus of iniquity.

The European settlements on the west coast are, to the northward, Goree and Senegal, owned by the French; Bissaô and Cachecô, by the Portuguese; Gambia, Bulama, and Sierra Leone, by the English, with Cape Coast, Prince's Island, and Fernando Po, to the south.

The French do not export slaves across the Atlantic, although they tenaciously maintain domestic slavery in their settlements. On the contrary, the Portuguese in Bissaô, Cacheco, and Cape Verde, carry on the traffic to a great extent under the flag of Brazil; as does Spain, also, preferring the Brazilian flag, which does not forfeit the vessel, and consequently remove it from the trade.

The notorious slave-dealer, Governor Kitan, resides at Bissaô; with him Pedro Blanco, Martinez of Gallinas, Felipe de Souza, called by the natives Char Char, of Lagos and Whydah. These are justly considered the most extensive dealers on the west coast, and their adventures frequently come under the surveillance of the Mixed Courts in Sierra Leone.

To the southward of Bissaô is the Nunez, situate on the river of the same name, and, under the dominion of the native chief, the Landewas, the resort of both French and English, whence is procured gold, ivory, wax, hides, coffee, and other productions; but in consequence of the frequent feuds amongst the chiefs, and incursions to the settlement for the object of plunder, the merchants have placed themselves under the protection of the British cruisers, which visit periodically. Rio Pongas, in the neighbourhood of Nunez, is almost exclusively engaged in the slave trade; consequently, legitimate commerce is little known there, nor is it the resort of any creditable merchant of the Colony, as all mercantile operations there are of a very questionable character. From this place to Sierra Leone are the Isles de Los, Bogga country, from whence are procured hides, wax, palm oil, small quantities of gold, ground nuts, mats, gum, ivory, &c.

We now come to the British Colony of Sierra Leone, which merits particular attention from the solicitude with which the Government has watched over it ever since its establishment. This Colony was founded by the English in 1786, under the direction of Captain Tomson, of the Navy, who took with him 400 distressed Negroes from London, with about 60 whites, to prepare and cultivate that portion of the country which was ceded by King Tom for the purpose of Colonisation. This system, however, having soon failed, Messrs. Wilberforce, Thornton, and other intelligent persons, were induced to undertake the object upon a different system, justly reasoning that little benefit could be effected from the mere abolition of the slave trade, unless the natives were in-

structed in religion and the arts of civilisation, which alone can render a people free.

Under the direction of those distinguished advocates for the liberty of man, a better mode of action was suggested, and new Colonists encouraged to venture into the speculation, when an eligible town was founded in 1792. In the year 1794 the French sent out a squadron, which almost levelled everything to the ground—a victory that would have been "more honoured in the breach than the observance," when we consider the universal benefit to mankind that was proposed by the establishment. However, such future assaults are happily provided against; and even were they not, it is to be hoped that such labours of love, should the misery of another war overwhelm the world, will be considered as a joint-stock benevolence, and be respected accordingly—nay, must be respected—were the two leading Powers, Britain and France (though at issue upon other points), to join heart and hand in such honourable protectorship.

The following list of captured and condemned slavers for one quarter speaks trumpet-tongued in advocacy for such a consummation :—

RETURN OF VESSELS CAPTURED AND CONDEMNED AT SIERRA LEONE BETWEEN THE 1ST OF JANUARY AND THE END OF MARCH, 1845.

Name of vessel.	Class.	By whom captured.	By what vessel taken.	Date of capture.	Flag.	Remarks.
El Cayman ..	Brigantine	C. H. M. Buckle..	Growler	Jan. 11, 1845	Spanish ..	In the trade, but no slaves found on board.
Carolina... ..	Schooner	H. Layton	Cygnet	Dec. 17, 1844	Brazilian	
Esperanca, 1st	Brigantine	J. W. D. Brisbane	Larne ..	Jan. 19, 1845	Ditto	
Esperanca, 2nd	Ditto	S. H. Ussher.....	Wasp ..	Jan. 8, 1845	Ditto	
Ina Majestada	Schooner	A. R. Dunlap ...	Albert..	Feb. 13, 1845	Spanish ..	421 slaves taken.
Triamfo	Brigantine	Ditto	Ditto ..	Feb. 1, 1845	Ditto	Equipped for the trade, &c.
Venus.....	Schooner	Ditto	Ditto .	Feb. 31, 1845	Ditto	
Cazura	Launch ..	R. J. W. Dunlop..	Star....	Jan. 23, 1845	Brazilian	
Deligencia....	Ditto	H. Layton	Cygnet	Jan. 20, 1845	Ditto	
Huracan.....	Felucca ..	H. B. Young.....	Hydra..	Feb. 14, 1845	Spanish ..	70 slaves taken.
Vivo	Schooner	R. J. W. Dunlop..	Star....	Feb. 11, 1845	Brazilian	Equipped for the trade, &c.
Deligencia...	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto ..	Feb. 9, 1845	Ditto	
Oliveria	Brigantine	J. Oake	Ferret..	March 2,1845	Ditto	
Dos Hermanos	Ditto	J. Russell (b)	Ardent	Mar. 25, 1845	Spanish ..	
Atala	Brig .. .	H. R. Foote	Heroine	Feb. 23, 1845	Brazilian	
Pepito..... ..	Felucca ..	H. B. Young.....	Hydra .	March 4,1845	Spanish ..	312 slaves taken.
Echo	Brigantine	S. Herbert.....	Wasp ..	March 2,1845	Brazilian	Equipped for the trade, &c.
Vinte Novo ..	Schooner	C. Hadaway	Espoir..	Mar. 27, 1845	Ditto	
Rasael.... ...	Ditto	R. J. W. Dunlop..	Star.. ..	Mar. 27, 1845	Ditto	

Nineteen prizes; 803 slaves.

Instances have occurred of slave dealing in the Colony by *liberated Africans* themselves, as in the case of the notorious Gibson, sentenced to

five years in a chain gang, but who, through the cognizance of the driver, escaped to the Mandingo shore, leaving the driver to serve the sentence in his place. Other cases of Mahomedans, Mandingoes, and Foulahs or Timmannees, residents in the Colony, are established, who have inveigled liberated African boys or children out of the Colony, and sold them in the interior. Cooper Thompson reports from Teembo that he there found a family so disposed of, and had resided for many years, but was ultimately liberated by King Alimammee Foodi Bocarri.

Cummings, a liberated African, on more occasions than one, has had bills presented to the grand jury against him for slave dealing, also a Mandingo, named Dowdah; but, from the manner in which the evidences are trained by the people in the interior, conviction is difficult, yet many have been punished severely.

Aiding and abetting in the traffic is more than suspected. (For particulars see Mixed Commission.)

I by no means intend to charge the *British* merchant with this offence, but the question is, into whose hands do his goods get, and for what purpose? If the cargo be sold for doubloons, dollars, &c., from whom do such flesh-earned payments come?—decidedly the Portuguese, Spanish, and Brazilian agents, as was the case of the Dolphin, owned by Mr. Heddle, and commanded by Captain Lawrance; and if the payment be in African produce, such as ivory, palm oil, gold dust, how are the European goods disposed of by the natives but in barter for slaves? From this it is evident that to reach the bottom and uproot the whole is, perhaps, impossible; for even the honest merchant will sell, and he cannot ask the purchaser, on the one hand, how he got his money, nor, on the other side, how he means to dispose of the articles for which he had paid; and if he did inquire, of course he would not hear the truth. The trade may be prevented immediately in our own Colonies, yet it will continue to be vigorously carried on in other quarters until the native kings or chiefs are made sensible of the fact that were the hands now sent out of their different territories (for a paltry price) turned to a more legitimate trade, the cultivation of the soil, mining, and certain manufactories which Europeans cannot stand, &c., &c., greater profit would accrue, and greater happiness be established. And who can say but that the very annual tribute or allowance granted

to the chiefs for their protection of British interests is spent in the purchase of slaves for domestic use, if not exportation? That home-slavery exists cannot be denied, and how can Government prevent it unless by interfering with the established laws and rights of those over whom it has no legitimate authority? That religious instruction is the grand key to reformation must be admitted, yet it would be desirable that only such men should be chosen for missionaries as are well qualified to reason upon temporal salvation as well as eternal—men who understand political and domestic economy—men who could, and *would*, convince them that they are pursuing a losing instead of a winning game—men who would undividedly attend to their high and appointed duty, without (as some do, *sub rosa*) connecting themselves commercially with those very persons whose profits are expended in furnishing slaves for home demand or exportation. I by no means assert that such reverend traffickers speculate out of their calling with this intent, yet such is evidently the result; and as they are engaged to teach others how to think, they would do well to think themselves, and look before they leap, or they may plunge down the precipice of avarice when too late for reflection, and, worse, drag many along with them whom they could have saved. If he who "allows oppression, shares the crime," be a true aphorism, of what is he guilty who abets it?

It is not my intention to undertake a statistical account of this frightful subject, those who are curious in such matters will find a minute detail in Sir F. Buxton's "African Slave Trade and its Remedy," published by Mr. Murray, Albemarle-street, which able work happily precludes the necessity of fatiguing research through public documents and other sources of information, and will furnish those fond of the marvellous with facts that leave Lewis's imaginings in his "Tales of Terror" limping far behind, whilst, not only verifying Lord Byron's assertion "that history is more wonderful than fiction," but convincing the most sceptical that the cupidity of man never devised a more infernal means of satisfying his avarice, if that all-devouring and heart-petrifying fiend can be satisfied. I shall, therefore, merely attempt to convey some idea of a slave-ship, from personal observation and authority, the horrors of which, unless witnessed, are beyond human conception—human belief—*sed mirabile dictu*, not beyond the willing construction and adoption of human beings.

Slavers, as those floating graves may be called, are invariably good sailers, and lie low in the water so as to escape distant observation as much as possible; but it is in the internal, or rather infernal, construction of their stowage room, that they materially differ from other vessels of similar craft.

In order that each vessel may carry (as an Irish sailor remarked) "more than the full of it," the cabins seldom exceed three feet in height, and are frequently much lower, not exceeding twenty inches, or less, so that, were a sectional view given, those living tombs would have the appearance of shelves, into which the wretched (and, to the owners, unoffending) victims are packed, often chained together, side by side, where they are left for days, weeks, or months, as the voyage may be, literally parboiled in their own steam, and rotting in the calls of nature, which are unnaturally frequent from sea sickness, dysentery, and bad feeding, to which accumulation of offences the most virulent small pox is a very common addition. It may here be supposed that suffering can no further go; but this is only a preface to the dreadful history. The hell-heat that stews brain, flesh, and bone into glue, boils their blood into yelling madness, when they seize each other with their teeth, and suck and gnaw, until the weaker victim expires. Thirst and starvation also cause these demoniac acts, whilst many also die of disease and suffocation, and lie for days in rank and rapid putridity, before discovered by the crew, owing to the manner in which the wretches receive their food, which is by *shoving* a bucket of garbage into the *hole*, to be passed from one to another over their bodies, frequently never reaching the furthest, until its intended consumer is like Polonius—

> "Not where he eats, but where he's eaten,
> A convocation of worms is e'en at him."

Then the slaves are permitted to leave this charnel in small gangs to walk the deck for a few minutes, in many hours. Suicide is often attempted and succeeded in by leaping overboard, more through the fear of returning to their crowded coffins, than the dread even of future slavery. When they are ordered back after this short recreation, the manner in which they express their distress is subduing, they fall upon their knees, particularly the women and children, and silently press their heads against the knees of their masters; the ruffian sailor has been seen

to shed a tear at this touching appeal, but the dew of mercy was never known to fall from the iron-eye of the God-abandoned, and man-despised captain. When our cruisers press hard in the chase upon the slavers, they used, before the equipment article of treaty, to throw hundreds overboard, sometimes hooped up in casks. To all these ills many more might be added equally abhorrent, and touchingly affecting, were the cargo merely a shipment of swine.

The purchasing of condemned slave-vessels is a source of no inconsiderable profit, and of moment to the British merchant of the Colony, sold as they are at a very low rate by the commissioner of appraisement and sale to the courts, and then re-sold to the Brazilian or Spaniard for double or treble the amount. In this way one of the most extensive merchants in the Colony finds it not the worst part of mercantile speculations.

It is scarcely credible that women should have connected themselves with this speculation, as buyers, sellers, and kidnappers, amongst whom, one of the most notorious, was the infamously-famed Donna Maria de Cruz, daughter of the dreadful Gomez, Governor of Prince's Island. This disgrace to her sex, amongst other vessels captured by the British, had the "Maria Pequena," seized by the "Victor," sloop. The burthen of this slaver was but five tons, yet, besides her crew, provisions, water, and other stores, she had taken on board twenty-six slaves, who were found stowed away, but with less care than so many flitches of bacon, between the watercasks and the deck, a space of only *eighteen inches* in height. Six of the creatures were dead, and the rest in a state of starvation.

The "Invincible" had a cargo of 440, 63 short of the intended number, yet they were so crowded together that it became absolutely necessary to separate the sick from the healthy; and, dysentery, ophthalmia, and scurvy breaking out amongst them, the provisions and water being of the worst kind, and the filth and stench beyond all description, 186 of the number had perished in less than six days.

The following awfully graphic picture is from Dr. Walsh's "Notices of Brazil." He says, speaking of a Spanish slaver—"When we mounted the deck we found her full of slaves. She had taken on board 562, and had been out 17 days, during which she lost 55. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways between decks. The space was so

low that they sat between each other's legs, and stowed so close together that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position by night or by day. As they belonged to, and were shipped on account of, different individuals, they were all branded like sheep, and as the mate told me, with perfect indifference, burned with a red-hot iron. The poor beings were all turned up together, and came swarming like bees from the aperture of a hive, till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation from stem to stern. On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next the sides of the ship. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and, when they were carried on deck, many of them could not stand. Some water was brought. It was then that the state of their sufferings were exposed in a fearful manner. They all rushed like maniacs towards it. No entreaties, nor threats, nor blows could restrain them. They shrieked, and struggled, and fought with one another for a drop of the precious liquid, as if they grew rabid at the sight of it. There is nothing which slaves, during the middle passage, suffer from so much as the want of water. It is sometimes usual to take out casks filled with sea water as ballast, and, when the slaves are received on board, they start the casks and refill them with fresh. On one occasion a ship from Bahia neglected to change the contents of the casks, and, on the mid-passage, found, to their horror, that they were filled with salt water. All the slaves on board perished.

"We could judge of the extent of their sufferings from the sight we now saw, when the poor creatures were ordered down again. Several of them came and pressed their heads against our knees, with looks of the greatest anguish at the prospect of returning to the horrid place of suffering below. It was not surprising that they had lost 55 in the space of 17 days. Indeed, many of the survivors were seen lying about the decks in the last stage of emaciation, and in filth and misery not to be looked at.

"While expressing my horror at what I saw, and exclaiming against the state of the vessel, I was informed by my friends, who had passed a long time upon the coast of Africa, and visited many slave ships, that this was one of the best they had seen, the height being sometimes only 18 inches, so that the unfortunate beings could not turn round or even on

their sides, the elevation being no higher than their shoulders, and here they are usually chained to the deck by their neck and legs. After much deliberation this wretched vessel was allowed to proceed on her voyage.

"It was dark when we separated, and the last parting sounds we heard from the unhallowed ship, were the cries and shrieks of the slaves suffering under some bodily infliction."

The doctor might have added "and mental agony," as it is by no means uncommon for slaves to forget their bodily torture in the affections of the heart, torn as they are from all the tenderest ties of nature; the mother from the daughter, the father from the son, the husband from the wife, and all from their homes and country. And who is the author of this nefarious proceeding? The white man; for were there no purchaser there would be no seller. The appearance of these God-created creatures upon landing, as I have witnessed, leaves description speechless—emaciated, maimed, debased: but let that pass. To touch the soil where Britain rules is to be free, and in that assurance the slave soon begins to feel that he is a brother of the human family and a man.

How many men exist, even in England, respected for their wealth, whose purses are (more than figuratively) formed from the very skins of those beings, and lined with their blood, and yet by what more desperate crime could wealth have secured the flattery of the inconsiderate or the fawning of the sycophant? The unfortunate merchant who has forged a bill, probably to save a starving family, and without any ultimate intention of fraud, is avoided even by those who were his debtors in his day of prosperity. The reduced gentleman, whose only fault may have been too great liberality, with no crime but that of "all-shunned poverty," is scorned by his former friends who helped him to his ruin; and the honest mechanic is spurned by my lord, because of the meanness of his calling: but what crime, poverty, or station, can level man to an equality with the wholesale murdering and heart-crushing slave-dealer, or his brother the slave-holder? Yet many honoured, purse-proud men, and many aristocrats, have but recently ceased to be dealers and holders, merely because the law has compelled them, and that the nation has purchased every pound of human flesh from their unhallowed clutches.

But, of what use are the noble efforts of the Government, and the

great sacrifice made for the suppression of the inhuman and unholy traffic, or the benevolent exertion of philanthropic men? The evil lies hid, and is deeply entangled with interested and selfish snares, and requires a spareless stroke to uproot the whole and lop off the branches that even have a distant tendency to encourage it. Men may preach and pray as they will, it will be waste, like music on the unconscious waters. The whole system of African trade must be revised and fearlessly pruned; the direct or indirect aiding or abetting must be stayed, before any real good can accrue from our endeavour in the cause of suppression.

Thus says an African chief:—"We want three things, namely, powder, ball, and rum, and we have three things to sell, namely, men, women, and children." Now, of what does the cargo of an outward-bound African trading vessel consist? Why, principally of rum, powder, ball, swords, cutlasses, guns, muskets, tobacco, print cloth, &c., the manufactures of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. In this manner the wants of the African chiefs are abundantly and more than supplied under the present mercantile code, and what is called a legitimate and sanctioned course of trade to the coast; and for what purpose does the chief use them? For this, rum to fire the brain, plunging him yet deeper than he is into the gulf of immorality and vice; powder, guns, balls, and cutlasses, to wage sanguinary war upon the weaker and defenceless neighbour, in the dead of night to burn and destroy villages to secure the victims for the slave agents; yet the means by which he is enabled to inflict these horrors, are supplied to him by what is called legitimate trade. No wonder the horrid traffic exists in all its deformity, and our nation's philanthropy becomes a dead letter and of no avail. "It would be better," as Mr. Buxton says, "for the interests of humanity, that we should withdraw altogether from the struggle; better to let the planters of America satiate themselves with their victims, than to interpose our efforts unavailing to reduce the magnitude of the evil, while they exasperate the miseries which belong to it; better to do nothing, than to go on year after year at great cost, adding to the disasters and inflaming the wounds of Africa."

I by no means intend to attack the honourable British merchant, or even to insinuate that he wilfully and knowingly disposes of his goods for such purposes as directly or indirectly encourages the traffic. By no

means, when it is within my knowledge to name honourable exceptions, who stand in high and bold relief for the uprightness of their commercial transactions on the western coast of Africa; and, were all like them, little could be said on the subject of indirectly aiding and abetting the nefarious and revolting traffic: but yet, such is the undeniable result, even if the cargo be sold to the African chief for produce, such as palm oil or other produce, yet more if it be sold to the slave agent on the coast for specie, doubloons, dollars, &c., whilst the frightful ravages, the unlimited introduction of rum, in almost every vessel that goes, make upon the morals of the weak-minded African is, indeed, appalling to contemplate.

The African is charged with immorality and vice, yet he is supplied with those articles to inflame his passions, and too often golden temptation is offered to bribe him into immorality and licentiousness. He is told, on the one hand, of the abomination of dealing in his fellow-creatures, and, on the other, supplied with the very means to excite his cupidity in the pursuit, and last, but not least, too often finds in the white man (if the truth must be told) a depraved and immoral example.

"It is a base world, and must reform."

Would to God that such as are here alluded to, could see even one cargo of slaves discharged, and, if not cursed with hearts that could persuade them to devour their own children, the money which now prompts them to "strut and fret their hour upon the stage," would become a deodand, not to the Queen her Majesty, but *bona fide* to the Majesty of Heaven, for the benefit of those whom their avarice has plundered, and their inhumanity has crushed.

Unholy traffickers! the food with which you pompously regale your flatterers is the African's flesh. Your wine is the black man's blood. Eat, drink, and make merry, if you can, bearing in mind the immortal words of a living orator,* "There is a law above all human laws, such as it was before the daring spirit of Columbus pierced the night of ages, opening to one world sources of wealth, power, and knowledge, and to another, unutterable woes, such it is at this day; it is a law written by the finger of God on the heart of man, that, whilst men despise fraud,

* Brougham.

loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man."

Dining one day at an hotel in Freetown, the captain* of the "Octavia," an American schooner, who had been brought before the Mixed Commission for adjudication, was one of the party. We had met before, and upon all occasions he exhibited a marked animosity towards me, on account of my being a writer to the Commission. In course of conversation the slave trade was introduced. When I independently expressed my abhorrence of it generally, and concluded by particularising America as a country whose flag was disgraced by not being amongst those which were combined for its suppression, he looked unutterable Jonathanisms at me, and left the room, to which he shortly returned, armed with a case of loaded pistols, which were flung before me with all the ferocity of an insulted slave captain, insisting that I should take my choice and fight him across the table—a compliment which (reader, impugn my courage as you may,) I declined! Whilst arguing, not very logically, that he should murder me, or that I should equally distinguish or extinguish him, for the honour of the Stars, a stranger entered, and taking up one of the pistols, asked—"What are these here for?" when, not supposing that it was loaded, he discharged the contents into the American's side, which passed through his body until the ball could be felt on the opposite side. The captain instantly seized the other pistol, and, aiming it, swore revenge! Everyone fled.

"Stand not on the order of your going,
But go at once,"

was the word, for down stairs we tumbled, one over the other, sweeping before us, pell-mell, the host, hostess, and a *host* of waiters who were gallantly ascending to the rescue; but not hearing a report, we all bravely returned, and found the champion prostrate in his glory. He recovered in a few weeks, and honestly confessed (to use his own words) that he deserved it.

It is indeed strange to tell of what material some minds are constructed. Here was a man insensible to the real honour of his country, who thought it not beneath him to venture his life to resent (as he thought) an insult to her flag, yet he was totally unconscious of the disgrace he incurred in supporting so false a notion.

* Hoyt.

NAVAL AND MILITARY.

A MORE brave or active squadron never ploughed the main than that which now guards the African coast for the prevention of the slave trade, The cause is that of humanity, and the guardians are worthy of the cause, though Lord Brougham, some time since, in the House of Lords, very unjustly attacked the naval officers, by asserting that they waited outside the rivers and creeks until the slave cargoes were on board, in order that they might claim the head or blood-money (5*l*. per head). Now the very reverse is the fact, for they never spare themselves in remaining up the creeks for days, to ferret out the slavers, undaunted by storm, or the sickly and rainy season. No men deserve higher commendation, and Earl Minto, then First Lord of the Admiralty, was perfectly justifiable in his spirited advocacy, and repudiation of the charge.

The steam cruiser answers admirably for the coast service, because in calms she has the advantage of the slavers, though they take to their sweeps, whereas sailing cruisers often lost the slavers in a calm.

The slaver flying from the coast in a tornado is a stirring sight. They run right before it, and frequently carry away their sails and yards, from the press of canvass. Once off the coast, they consider themselves safe, their sailing qualities being first-rate; and then it is, catch us if you can.

The "Albert," one of the Niger vessels (under the command of Lieut. Cockcraft), fought a brilliant action up the Rio Nunez, at Dobroka and Cascabouk, in chastising the natives who annoyed the British residents. Mr. John Mallard, clerk in charge, rendered spirited service upon this occasion, and distinguished himself in the highest degree. On her return from the expedition up the Niger, she was for a considerable time laid up in the harbour of Sierra Leone, when, on a survey, she was put in commission by Commander Buckle, of the Sierra Leone station, and

sent to cruise off the Gallinas. Lieut. Cockcraft returning to England on leave, Mr. George Blakey was appointed to the command, when such was the untiring vigilance of this officer, supported by the clerk in charge, Mr. J. Mallard, that in one month (February, 1845,) she brought in three slavers—the "Triamfo," brigantine; "Venus," schooner, equipped for the trade; and the "Ina Majestada," schooner, with 421 slaves on board, under the Spanish flag. Lieut. A. R. Dunlap superseded Mr. G. Blakey, who was put in command of Her Majesty's sailing tender "Prompt," running between Sierra Leone and the Island of Ascension, Lieut. Dunlap proving himself an indefatigable and a most successful captor of vessels engaged in the slave trade. The "Albert" is now, I believe, unfit for service.

The slavers frequently hide themselves in the creeks, and cunningly fix trees to their mast heads for concealment, hoping that they may be mistaken accordingly. Many never come to anchor, but stand on and off, until the slaves waiting in the barracoons can be shipped. Where all are so commendable, it would be invidious to particularise any; it is therefore only necessary to remark that the officers are worthy of their crews, and the crews worthy of the nation and cause which they serve; and were my Lord Brougham, amongst his multifarious avocations, to try a naval command for one month at Sierra Leone, he would return to the House to acknowledge that the slavery of the *woolsack* is holiday sport, compared with the *slavery* of *slaving* after *slavers!*

It is very easy for fireside warriors to contend over the bottle and snuff-box, and "shew how fields" should "be won," but let them strap Her Majesty's harness on their backs, and "brave the battle and the breeze," instead of the bottle and the sneeze, and they will soon discover that their *otium cum dignitate* animadversions proceed from at best but a "half seas over" investigation. I remember having met an ensign of a *militia* regiment, who commented very strategically upon the battle of Waterloo, which he modestly concluded with the following egotism (by the way, borrowed from the French) :—

"Wellington should have lost the day. He won the victory it is true, but lost the battle. Since *my* connection with the *army*, I have applied closely to military tactics and would undertake to prove to the Duke himself, *that he should have retreated before the arrival of Blucher!*

Look ye gentlemen," continued the tactician, "Here stood the British," represented by bottles, rummers, knives, forks, and porter-pots, "and here were posted the French," equally ingeniously disposed, in brigades of spittoons, pipes, cigars, and the Bony-part of our feast. "Now, mark ye, gentlemen, had his Grace charged his bottle and porter-pot wings upon the pipes and cigars (the enemy's centre), he would have at once quenched their fire, and forced them into their own spittoons."

Forbearance could endure no more, and our laughing host was obliged to roar out, "Was you ever in the army Mr. Maccracker?"

This is a fact, and ludicrous as it may appear, the gallant Ensign was as serious as even Wellington himself, when he cried, "Up Guards, and at them!"

The anecdote, if rightly read, may be of some service to Lords, Commons, and Military "Bobadils."

The *military* amounts to between six and seven hundred (as well as I remember). The privates are all blacks, officered by Europeans, and, perhaps, three or four corporals, and a serjeant.

Formerly, white troops were also stationed in the Colony, but have been totally withdrawn from their incapability to attend properly to their duty, owing to climate. The uniform is that of other English regiments, but of lighter material.

The force consists (at present) in part, of the 2nd Regiment, which is a well disciplined body, and much attached to their officers.

They are proud of being called "Queen's Men," and scornfully address the civilians with—"Me no Niggur, me Queen Man."

The regiments are generally composed of the liberated Africans, and are changed about to the West Indies every two or three years. Their courage has not been put much to the trial of late, but, from the undaunted bravery evinced at Fort Thornton, upon a very trying occasion, and their more recent skirmishes with the natives up the rivers, together with their devotion to their officers, there is every reason to assert that, whenever called into action, they will remember the honour of the service, and the gratitude due to their liberators.

The Commissariat is situated in Walpole-street, and is a large and handsome building. The ground-floor is appropriated to business, which is transacted by the Assistant Commissary General, and Eu-

ropeans. There is a guard-house, with a regular detachment, for protection. The affairs of the navy and army are transacted here, public contracts made, pensions paid, and the liberated African department held.

The Commissariat stores are at Queen's Wharf, and are well supplied with all the appliances of war and peace.

The Military Hospital is superintended by a first-class Staff Surgeon, and three or more Assistants to the West India Regiments. The salaries are liberal. Officers and seamen from Her Majesty's squadron are also received here. The general arrangement is creditable to all parties; and the surgeons have the privilege of private practice, in which their gratuitous service is remarkable.

Whilst upon military subjects, I must indulge in a tribute to a gentleman and a hero. Governor Colonel George Macdonald, by unswerving justice, tempered with mercy, has recorded his name in the grateful remembrance of all who were so fortunate as to have been placed under his fatherly dominion. The black man's prayer is offered up for his temporary glory, and the white man knows that he shall have his eternal reward. This highly distinguished Governor arrived in the Colony about January, 1842, and returned home in the month of May, 1844. Colonel Macdonald served with distinction in the Peninsular war, and at Waterloo, and is now ensuring the happiness of Dominica, of which he is Governor.

It may not be out of place here to say a few words upon the native doctors and doctresses, for, in this profession, there are African ladies as well as gentlemen; the former, upon all occasions, proving their superior claims to the diplomatic honour of "M.D.," which, in the lady's case, I suppose, means "Madame Doctress." The gentlemen, however, though not such ducks, are the superior quacks, and resort to stratagems, jugglery, nostrums, and hocus pocus manœuvrings, to work upon the credulity and superstition of their patients, that would sicken a hygean with envy, and make Holloway mask his face with his own ointment. Their advertisements are but oral, yet they multiply and spread them so rapidly that each doctor may be said to be his own *Times*.

Want of success in effecting cures is always attributed to the patient's disbelief in the charms, which is justly punished by the insulted fetishe, or the prophet himself, should the practitioner be a Mahomedan. For-

tunately, never having been subjected to the medical skill of a Morrisonian African, I cannot speak of their ability personally, and what I have had by hearsay is too foolish to be recorded, whilst very *painful* experience enables me to vouch for the skill of at least one of the lady professors.

I was for a considerable time suffering under an acute disease of the bones, which baffled all the medical and surgical talent of the Colony; my agony was intense, and I was so reduced that one might have supposed that pain had wasted away my flesh for the special purpose of rendering the seat of the disease visible. My case having been pronounced incurable in the Colony, I proceeded in a cutter to the Island of Matacong, in order to consult (as a forlorn hope) the Doctress Yimba (the petticoat Brodie of the Soosoo county). We conversed through an interpreter, and, having examined me very scientifically, she pronounced my affliction to be *bintangee*, or rheumatism. Her fee for a perfect cure was twenty bars of cloth, no cure no pay (a bar of cloth is about two shillings).

Her first operation was to squeeze the affected joints with all her strength, then the limbs, and tottled up the whole by pummelling my body, with the greatest local impartiality, until the cure seemed worse than the disease. She then left me, and proceeded to her dispensary, the "bush," to cull certain medicinal leaves, which she pounded into a pulp, and lavered over me from head to foot; this universal poultice was allowed to remain until quite dry and hard, and as it fell off was replaced by fresh. This application was continued for two months, with repeated washings, and drink from a decoction of wood to purify the blood. Her attention was so unremitting, that she became my nurse, and, with her two adopted children, slept in an adjoining apartment, that she might attend to my nightly wants, which, however, were administered too often with fear and trembling, as, from her ignorance of English, she sometimes imagined that my shrieks of agony were anathemas against her for the tortures which I endured; still she plastered, lotioned, drenched, until, at the end of three months, I was enabled to return to my duties in the secretary's office perfectly cured. I paid her several visits upon my crutches, when she received me with affectionate hospitality, pressing her natural and simple fare of rice, ground nuts, &c.,

upon my acceptance. So I left Yimba and Matacong unexpectedly, in a canoe, instead of a coffin, and once more was "back to busy life again"—*opprobrium medicorum!* It may appear that this anecdote should have been included under the civil establishment, but as Yimba is not only "Regius Professor" to several black Majesties, but also their Surgeon General to the Forces, her name is not inappropriately introduced with our medical staff.

Inspector of Schools.—This appointment, at £150 per annum, was held by the Colonial surgeon, but is now, I believe, nearly in disuse. The duties were three months' tour of inspection and examination through all the villages; but, since the plan of emigration has been adopted, the schools have been left more to the management of the missionaries of various denominations and private exertions.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS, TRADE, IMPORTS, EXPORTS, CUSTOMS, ETC.

Merchant Service.—Agreements with clerks are usually made in England, by the agent of the house, and is generally for the term of three years, at a trifling salary, generally upon the following scale:—£40 for the first year, £60 and £80 for the second, and with board and lodging for the third, and a passage out. This very small allowance is soon found to be inadequate to the expenses incurred, and the term (which is three years) is seldom completed. It would be much more to the interest of the merchant to allow a liberal salary; indeed, a man should be bribed to dare the climate; and, apart from other considerations, no less salary than £200 should be offered or accepted. The result of paltry remuneration is dissatisfaction with themselves and employers, and indifference to the business with which they are entrusted. I can honestly recommend the clerk, who is offered an engagement upon the present system, to sweep the streets of his native home rather than accept it, the proposition being £40 a-year, for forty to one against his life, half of the chances against him arising from an approximation to starvation. And I can, with equal honesty, also recommend the merchant to pay liberally, or his interest will not be attended to; fair remuneration will secure attention. It is too much the custom for employers in the Colony, to send their newly-arrived clerks to superintend the loading and discharging of vessels at the town, and up the rivers and creeks. This occupation requires a constant exposure to the sun, or malaria from the mangrove bushes, and decayed vegetation, from all of which he is liable to become attacked by fever, and the probability is that he never survives; and should he battle it out, he is wrecked, and debilitated for months, and is rendered of little service to himself and none to his employer. No clerk should consent to go up the rivers or creeks until he has become seasoned to the climate, by residence in the

town; the acclimatised Colonists alone should venture on these hazardous expeditions, which, to new comers, are almost certain death.

The imports are rum, tobacco, blue and white bafts, gunpowder, in small kegs, guns, Tower muskets, swords, cutlasses, flints, tools, iron-bars, iron pots and hoops, cutlery, prints, satin stripes, romalls, tom coffees, red taffety, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, bandanas, hosiery, lace, muslin, silk and cotton umbrellas, orange, scarlet, and blue figured stuffs, blue and scarlet woollen cloths, superfine and coarse; Turkey red handkerchiefs, red woollen caps, blue and yellow nankeens, white and yacht shirts, flannel, blankets, white and brown drills, Indian goods, ribbons, black cloth and crape, coral beads, rock coral, blue cut beads, glass, amber, trinkets, small looking-glasses, hardware, crockery, boots and shoes, paper, porter, ale, brandy, wine, sugar, tea, coffee, butter, flour, soap, thread, medicines, perfumery, &c., &c., and generality of English goods.

Exports consists chiefly in teak timbers, ivory, gold in dust, bars and rings, wax, hides, superior camwood, gums, palm oil, &c., small quantities of coffee, arrowroot, ground nuts, pod pepper, cotton, lignum-vitæ, starch, gums, &c. Indian corn is grown to any extent, and the supply could only be limited by demand.

Trading factories are generally without the jurisdiction of the Colony, and in the territories of the native kings or chiefs, from whom they are held by the merchants on payment of a certain amount of bars annually. The chiefs are expected to defend the tenants from the depredations of his subjects, and to settle all disputes in the fulfilment of contracts. These palavers (as termed) are held in the Barré, or Court-house, of which there is one in the centre of every town.

The principal factories are in the Timmannee country, Port Logo, Rokelle River, and the Quia, Magbilly; from the latter the finest camwood is procured. In the Mandiogo, Soosoo countries, the Scarcies, Mallicouri, Fouricarria Bagga, timber, gold-dust, ground nuts, palm oil, hides, gum, and wax are found in great quantities.

Business transactions are in cash, or quarterly credits, and produce paid for half in cash and half in goods. Timber, and other articles purchased from the natives, in the Mandingo, Sooso, Sherbro, and Timmannee countries, are paid for wholly in (Calla)* goods by the *bar*, a

* Calla means goods; calla fiera means cash, currency, &c.

native term, the value of which is from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence, a fathom of cloth (two yards) is equivalent to a bar, a musket to seven or eight bars, half a gallon of rum to one bar, and so on; but, to give the reader a more detailed knowledge of transactions in bars, a table is subjoined; it is to be remembered, however, that the bar varies in different parts of the coast, and that this table applies to countries around the Colony.

TABLE OF BARS OF HALF-A-DOLLAR, OR TWO AND SIXPENCE, EACH.

(One bar of tobacco is four heads, of five leaves each bunch.)

Articles.	Bars.
2 bottles of rum	1
1 fathom (2 yards) blue baft.	1
1 ditto satin stripe	1
1 ditto white baft. (heavy preferred)	1
1 1/10 keg of powder	10
1/4 pint ditto	1
1 gallon iron pot	1
1 large cutlass	1
2 small ditto	1
1/4 length iron bars (say 6 feet)	1
Salt in a tenth powder-keg	1
1 double red woollen cap	1
2 single ditto	1
1 Tower musket	8
1 long Dane musket	12
25 flints.....6 fowls, equal to	1
25 pipes .....12 ditto	1
1 fathom red taffety	3
1 Turkey-red handkerchief	1
1 Pullicat ditto	1
1 Madras ditto	1
1 fathom of print	1
1 piece of romall (description of print)	5
1 fathom Tom Coffee (particular print)	1

Articles.	Bars.
1 large washhand-basin	1
2 small ditto	1
4 strings of beads (mixed of white, black, and seed beads, for tofoos or necklaces)	1
Woollen shirts	2 to 3
Ditto trousers	4 to 5
Striped shirts, or checked for the timber trade	2
6 sheets trade paper (pot)	1
Herrings, mackerel, 10 to 15 for the river trade, and salt provisions of all kinds	1
Port Logo.	
1 bushel of rice filled to the brim	1
2 to 2 1/2 (usual run) gallons of rum	1
Timmannee.	
2 ducks	1
1 sheep	3 to 4
Mandingo and Soosoo.	
1 large bullock	15
1 sheep	2 to 4
1 goat and kid	2 to 3

River Dibbi, Sherbro.

Palm-oil rather cheaper than in Port Logo, purchased with rum, tobacco, beads, caps, and in exchange for Sherbro cloths.

Catty-ko-Bany, a fine kind of mahogany found on the Rokella River, Timmannee country, and River Dibbi, Sherbro.

The Soosoo, Mallicome, and Soombia yields stock, ground-nuts, &c.; rum and gin the staple articles of exchange.

German houses, from Hamburgh, have been lately established in the Colony, and the introduction of German manufactures has become

general, but they are neither of a useful nor durable character, and, in some instances, the houses have suffered in mercantile respectability. Scheoning's is noted for having purchased condemned vessels in the slave trade, one, the "Isabella Hellen," which has afterwards appeared, on two occasions, before the Mixed Courts for adjudication. Another, Effenhauson and Nagal, the Hamburgh consulate, has been severely fined for attempting to defraud the revenue, by introducing a large quantity of rum.

American cargoes frequently arrive in the Colony from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Salem, and other parts, and consist chiefly of provisions—flour, tobacco, tea, butter, &c.; the whole of which generally meet with a ready sale. Manufactured goods, such as those of Manchester and Birmingham, they never import, showing their inability to compete with England in price and quality.

Trading with the native kings has its peculiar forms and customs. Upon the arrival of a trader he is expected to wait upon the king, or headman, with a present, which, amongst the Soosoos, is called making *dash*, or *dantaga*, and *limbà* amongst the Timmannees, the value of which varies with the will or ability of the donor, the *royal* attention and good-will being proportioned to the gift. The following "dash," or "dantaga," which would be considered as coming down handsomely, will give some idea of negro majesty; which, however, is not so humble in the eyes of its sable subjects as may be supposed by those who bow to more enlightened thrones and dazzling splendour.

Dantaga, or Royal Present.—1 jug of rum, 2 to 4 bars; tobacco, 4 bars; romall, 1 piece; 1 1-10th keg powder.

The court of Soosoo prefers gin, whilst that of Timmannee rejoices in rum, "*de gustibus non est disputandum.*" After presentation, the king introduces the trader to his chiefs and headmen, and informs them of the nature of his business, and then provides him a landlord, who becomes his interpreter and factotum; trade is then commenced by showing the landlord the commodities intended for sale or barter. The factor's property is considered safe whilst he is the king's stranger, and in the event of any dishonesty or dispute between the parties, on complaint to the king, he orders his "callaiguay" (a large drum) to be sounded, and immediately his chiefs, headmen, and counsellors assemble in the barré

(court-house), when, after hearing the case, the palaver (talk or argument) is settled, and the counsellor receives the fee of a couple of bars as remuneration for his forensic eloquence.

Two or three days before the trader wishes to leave he waits upon the king to inform him of his intention, who, in return, makes such presents as he thinks proper.

The case of a Timmannee barré may be consistently introduced here, to show how such affairs are frequently managed, and by which it will be found that justice is not always the influencing deity, the kings and chiefs being, in every sense of the word, rapacious and dishonest, and will proceed to any extreme to satisfy their covetousness.

The cause here alluded to was between an European factor and an African trader, both subjects of the Colony. The former had a number of marked timber logs stolen by some natives, which were purchased by the latter, and, though identified, were refused to be given up. Shortly after a canoe of goods were landed at the European's beach by the African, and were immediately seized by the other party according to the country law, and became a question in barré. On the first day no decision was made, evidently from the want of *something*. In the meantime both plaintiff and defendant took the hint, and employed themselves in bribing the judges and counsellors. Next day the cause appeared more definitive, yet not quite transparent; but, on the third evening, the European's purse appearing invincible, the African was obliged to strike, and so lost, not only the cargo, but forfeited the canoe. The verdict would have been a correct one, upon the merits of the case, but as all the law or equity of the barré is confined to the merits of the *purse*, the European was solely indebted to its potent influence for his success. Such is a sample of proceedings in a Timmannee court, where the judges are a king, chiefs, and headmen, and the counsellors maraboots or bookmen.

Currency by the last Order of Council, in 1843, is as follows:—

All kinds of English coin current.	£	s.	d.
Spanish, Mexican, American, Bolivian, and Peruvian doubloons	3	4	0
Ditto ditto ditto dollars	0	4	2
French five-franc piece	0	3	$10\frac{1}{2}$

English 3d. and 1½d. silver pieces, farthings, and half-farthings. Great quantities have been sent out lately to accommodate the small African hawkers and poor traders. The navy and army are paid by the Commissariat, in sterling, and bills upon London, &c.

Agriculture and other produce may be introduced here under this general head of commerce. The subjects, from *apropos* situations, have been so frequently touched upon in the preceding pages, as to leave but few further observations necessary.

The greatest drawback to honest industry, in the cultivation of farms, is the fear that those who plant will not reap the fruits of their labour: for instance, the Maroons are the owners of a large tract of land called King Tom Freetown, which is almost entirely neglected, from the circumstance, that after having bestowed much time in its cultivation, they were continually plundered by those who were idle and dishonest.

The indigo plant grows as weed in the very streets of Freetown, and through the Colony, but is not turned to any account. Some years ago there was an indigo factory up one of the rivers, but was not persevered in. The sugar-cane is a regular market article, and abounds everywhere, yet no attempt has been made to manufacture sugar. The Africans merely suck the saccharine matter out of it. There is every reason to believe that both indigo and sugar, with proper management, would be a profitable speculation. Coffee also is worthy of much greater attention than it receives, and cotton could be grown to any extent. French mercantile agents were, at one time (1845), permitted, through Governor Fergusson's neglect of the Colonial interest, to enter the river Mallicouri, and make treaties with the kings and chiefs for commercial intercourse; and it was not until our merchants remonstrated with the executive, that British commissioners were sent to counteract this remissness, by treaties on the part of the Colony.

Origin of the Teembo Mission.—It is but fair to acknowledge that the mission to Teembo, the capital of Foula Jallon, owed its origin to that excellent and able Governor, the late Sir John Jeremie, in 1841, it being one amongst many measures he had in contemplation to benefit the interest of the Colony, as well as to extend the influence of British institutions amongst a people so benighted with superstition and idolatry. His death, but after four months residence in the Colony, cut short a

career that foretold a brighter prospect, and deprived the African race of a true and sincere friend. As a preparatory step Sir John had commissioned two Mandingoes (one Mousa Couti, and Sattah Moodie, a younger son of Dalla Mahommedoo, King of Bullom) to proceed with a quantity of presents to the chiefs of Tambacca, a principal place on the way, with a view to conciliate them and open the road for the intended mission. These two Mahommedans took their departure from the Colony, and entered the Mandingo territory; but arriving a short distance they shared the presents between themselves and other headmen; then, after staying about one month, returned and reported themselves from Tambacca. This villanous and nefarious transaction was not found out until after the death of the Governor, and has never yet been satisfactorily solved—all being rogues together and interested in the concealment. It is, however, but justice to state that Sattah Moodie was not so deeply involved in the robbery as Mousa Couti, an old rogue, and that he did some time after report his colleague's dishonesty. This explanation was given to me by Sattah Moodie, in a conversation I had with him on the subject, in the year 1843, at Freetown.

This mission being in agitation during the acting governorship of Mr. Carr, in 1841, it appearing to me that the time proposed for its setting out (the rainy season) was very inauspicious—as all African travellers, and writers who have treated upon interior enterprises, have adverted to the impracticability of accomplishing such an undertaking during the rains—I addressed a memorial to the Governor, calling his attention to the subject, of which the following is a copy :—

The Memorial of William Whitaker Shreeve, showing the impracticability of prosecuting the Mission to Teembo, during the rainy season, by an European, and the period when to undertake the same, and the means to carry it into execution with every prospect of a successful result, and the benefit expected to accrue from it.

1. It has at all times been proved by African travellers, and well-informed writers on African enterprises, the utter impracticability of successfully accomplishing missions into the interior, during the rainy season, without the certainty of sickness and an awful loss of life, that has generally ended in the failure of their mission.

Mungo Park, in writing from Sansanding to Lord Camden, says—

"Your Lordship will recollect that I always spoke of the rainy season with horror, as being extremely fatal to Europeans; and our journey from Gambia will furnish a melancholy proof of it, for out of 44 Europeans who left in perfect health, *five* only are at present alive."

In another part Park says—

"The rain had an instantaneous effect upon our healths, and proved to us the beginning of sorrow, producing dysentery, fever, and epilepsy, sweeping away its victims with awful effect."

Réné Caillié, a Frenchman, who, assuming the dress and character of a Mahommedan, departed from Sierra Leone, in 1827, penetrated through the interior by way of Timbuctoo and through the Great Desert, coming out at Morocco, on the shores of the Mediterranean, says—

"I arrived at Tinie in August, and little did I think how long I was destined to be their guest. I was there confined for four months of fever, and other excruciating diseases incidental to the rainy season; one thought alone absorbed my mind—that of death."

Caillié adds—

"The rivers begin to overflow in July, and the natives can go three miles over the plains and lowlands in canoes."

I think the evidences of these experienced and hardy African travellers will speak loud to your Honour against the practicability of undertaking the mission to Teembo at the present season. Were others wanting, Sierra Leone would furnish abundant melancholy proofs of the awful mortality amongst Europeans during the rainy season.

It would appear that the month of November is the earliest period that it would be advisable to prosecute the mission to Teembo, the capital of the Foula nation, from the fact of having a period of six months of dry weather in prospect from that month, when the rains have subsided, and the season is healthy.

The means necessary for accomplishing the mission to Teembo:—1 European, with sole charge of the mission; 1 Foula guide; 1 Mandingo interpreter; 8 men as carriers, hired in the Colony; 4 soldiers, with arms, ammunition, &c.; 1 horse or mule; 1 musquito net; 1 hammock; small quantity of medicines; 1 British union flag. Stores—Rice, biscuits, &c., from the Colony. Description of articles usually given, and

calculated for presents to the kings and chiefs, and for the purchasing of provisions &c., on the road—Swords, pistols, guns, shot, balls, flints, rockets, powder in kegs and bottles, cutlasses, amber, paper, coral beads, mock coral, and glass beads, trinkets, tobacco, cloves, small looking-glasses, scissors, knives, razors, needles and thread, silk handkerchiefs, cotton ditto, muslin, umbrellas, stuffs, red and orange colour, scarlet cloth, scarlet woollen caps, blue baft, white baft, turkey-red handkerchiefs, blue nankeen, yellow ditto, prints, black lead pencils, dollars, &c.

The benefits expected to accrue from the mission, I conceive, would be—

1st.—The presence of an European as representative of the Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone would be a voucher of the desire of the Colonial Government to establish an amicable feeling of friendship between the Foula and Soosoo nations, and the Colony.

2nd.—By appropriate presents to the alamamy, the chiefs and headmen, and a conciliatory demeanour, to change the hostility of the two nations into friendship.

3rd.—Consequently, opening the road for the gold strangers to pass, and thus bring a lucrative branch of trade to the Colony; which at present finds a market at some of the French settlements to the northward, to the loss of the British merchants in this Colony.

4th.—To ascertain, if possible, the fate, or any information, of the Niger Expedition.

5th.—To ascertain more particularly if there are any other productions besides gold, that can be rendered an article of profit in trade to this Colony.

6th.—Keeping a journal with a description of the places which are passed, and an account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

7th.—To ascertain if this good understanding when formed, and the increased communication in trade, can be made conducive to the discontinuance of the transit of slaves from the interior to the coast for the slave dealer—a thing so desirable to the friends of humanity, and which the present gigantic exertions of Great Britain are tending towards the accomplishment of.

Finally, I think I have proved to your Honour, from conclusive evidence, the impossibility of success, should the mission be resolved upon at the present period, or before the month of November; and I

have particularised to your Honour the means wherewith to accomplish the mission on a scale bordering neither on extravagance or on the contrary extreme of meanness; keeping in view that dignity and just liberality which have ever been the characteristics of the British Government to individuals who have undergone the dangers and perils of African enterprise, either for commercial good, state policy, or the more high and lofty considerations—the interest of humanity.

Sierra Leone, July, 1841.

In explanation of the inadequacy of the allowance offered me to undertake the mission to Teembo by Acting Governor Carr, I must state the fact, that the Colonial Governor cannot make a grant for any purpose exceeding £200, without a previous sanction from the Home Minister of the Colonies; this was quite inefficient for the purpose, and would not cover the expense of presents to the native chiefs, putting aside personal reward, which, with me, was a matter of immaterial consideration, satisfying myself with the opportunity of accomplishing an adventure so congenial to my heart. The merchants of the Colony seeing this, came forward with a subscription of about £500 worth of goods; this, in addition to the Government grant, enabled Mr. Thomson to proceed, with some further grants from the Government for presents, while on the road, and especially one of £100 whilst at Teembo, to prosecute the mission to Tego, a distance further, an intention which he had when death cut short his labours. I think I am not far out in estimating that the mission did not cost less than from £1,000 to £1,500 one way or another at the least, which, if it had been granted at first, and undertaken upon a liberal scale, with every facility, it might have had a different result. Mr. Thomson was harassed in his mind, cramped and tied down; his carriers and attendants, liberated Africans, who went with him from the Colony, *hired* and paid by the Colonial Government, in a most ungrateful manner, left him at Darah and returned to Freetown, with the exception of one man named Louis, who remained faithful to him to death, and who brought back to the Colony his son William, a fine little fellow, who, though but 14 years of age, could speak the several African languages, Timmannee and Foula, which proved of the greatest service to his beloved father in the mission. Had Mr. Thomson survived to return to the Colony, he would, alas! have but been spared

to meet an affliction of Providence, in the death of his wife, which occurred suddenly during his absence, the news of which I believe never reached his ears. Mr. Thomson was a missionary teacher in the Church Establishment, located at Port Logo, in the Timmannee country, a pious man, a kind parent, and beloved by those who knew him; he could hold the services in the native languages, which he could speak fluently.

Mr. John Thomson, the eldest son, was at the time of his father's absence a temporary writer in the Secretary's office, and, though young, possessed talents, the improvement of which forbode no mean station in life, provided he was encouraged. Both of the sons left the Colony shortly after the demise of their father.*

The conduct of this mission was offered to me, but I declined on account of the inadequacy of the allowance, £200, to cover all expenses, presents, &c. Mr. Cooper Thomson, Church missionary, afterwards accepted it under Governor Fergusson, and died at Darah, three miles from Teembo, while on his return home; his son William, a boy of fourteen, survived him, and arrived safe at the Colony.

The next consideration is, would the advantages arising from such a

* The immediate cause of the death of Mr. Thomson was a matter of deep conjecture in the Colony, from the known treachery of the natives in the interior, and the frequent recourse to vegetable poison. Louis, his faithful attendant, informed me, in a conversation I had with him on the subject, that his master had been, as usual, drinking milk, at Darah, three miles from Teembo, when, shortly after, he was seized with violent pain and vomiting, retching so loud as to be heard at a considerable distance, and in the greatest agonies, when, becoming insensible, he sunk and expired. The circumstances were, I believe, submitted to Dr. Fergusson, who was inclined to believe it an attack of bilious fever; but the real truth will ever remain a mystery. The death of Park from the treachery of the natives at Housa, and the mysterious death of Major Lang at Timbuctoo would, however, lead us to the conclusion that he came to his end otherwise than from natural causes; at least, such is my opinion, formed from observation and intermixing with the natives in town and in the interior. Indeed, the practice of administering decoctions of woods and leaves, as charms, and other superstitious rites, forms no inconsiderable crime in even the British settlement at Freetown, where instances have occurred of fatal results both amongst the natives and the Europeans, as in the case of the Assistant Superintendent of the Liberated African Department, Captain Terry, who narrowly escaped death, poison having been put into some soup by his cook, a native from the Mozambique, who, on its being detected, drunk of the soup, and died within a few hours.

mission be sufficiently remuneratory, a question which appears not to admit of a doubt.

The gold trade, from the want of an established communication, is forced into the French settlements, up the Senegal, Bakel, &c., and other channels, to the loss of British merchants in the Colony; besides, there are many other articles of native produce worthy of commercial attention, were an English market, through agencies or otherwise, established at Teembo, the capital of Footah Jallon, the resort of Arabs and Seracooli merchants, the neighbouring tribes would soon be permitted, through our influence, to make that a depôt for those too distant beyond it (Sego, Sansanding, Timbuctoo, and neighbourhood) for convenient intercourse with the Colony, and it is very probable that British skill and enterprise would soon discover gold in abundance, by means which the natives have no idea of. Once that a familiar intercourse was established and confidence maintained, our baubles, or most humble manufactures, which are their luxuries, would readily be exchanged for what to them is of comparatively little value, which with us would be luxuries in turn; nor can I see the undue advantage over the African or Indian, so insisted upon by the over-righteous, in such barter. A glass bead is literally of greater value to the negro in his own country than a rough diamond, which can never be anything to him but a common pebble; he cannot even enjoy the mystery of its being carbon; whilst the bead gives his nose or ear as much dignity as the finest brilliant does the monarch's crown. "A place for everything, and everything in its place," says the wise American, in a different sense, but it may be equally well applied here. A glass of pure water to the perishing traveller in the desert is worth all the gems that Golconda ever gave, or an umbrella too cheaply purchased for an ingot of gold, though liberality should always govern the transaction where great ulterior profit is to be derived. This aspect changes when the African becomes the visitor, by that road which superior intelligence has opened for him; and in Sierra Leone, London, or Paris, his diamond becomes worth a shipload of beads, with which he returns to his native land, its greatest man, shoves royalty from its stool, and enjoys the profit of a kingdom. This is the philosophy of the question, let Christian principles and generous feelings modify it as they may.

Other advantages would be the possession of a more defined geo-

graphical knowledge of the country, which would aid the introduction, not only of commerce in all directions, but, better still, the light of Christianity, and consequent civilisation, the destined annihilators of slavery. Missionaries may pray and preach divine truths to the echo (and they will find that it is indeed to the echo), unless they take equal pains with the inculcation of temporal truths, and persuade the African that his self-interest in worldly affairs can only be promoted by a belief in that doctrine which has made its followers the rulers of the earth. Convince him he has a life as well as death interest in the arguments preached to his selfishness—which is here meant in its most amiable acceptation—and once that he is made to feel that wealth, power, respect, are the probable consequences, he will, at all events, be puzzled by his own evidence of the Christian's superiority, which very puzzle is a step in advance, to be followed by another and another, until the mystery be solved; or, if not quite clearly so to himself, he is sufficiently shaken in his superstition to willingly commit the instruction of his children to those who have taught him so much, and put him in possession of that which he can perfectly understand—wealth, the god of the black's as well as the white's idolatry.

Terrifying the idolatrous from worldly considerations — preaching eternal condemnation, if soul and body (at the expense of all earthly enjoyments) be not given up to an incomprehensibility, is to make him cling the closer to his more indulgent belief, by which he may do almost as he pleases here, and fear very little for the hereafter.

The following dialogue will better elucidate the negroes' views upon the subject. One day, in my rambles through the neighbourhood, I entered into conversation with a native returning from a missionary service:—

"Well, Tom," said I, "how did you like the palaver?" (sermon.)

"Ha, massa, me no under'tand white man preachey, he say one ting, do other."

"But how do you know that, Tom?"

"Ha, massa, me know; me hab two eyes, one open when 'toder sleep."

"Well, but that is not saying how you liked the palaver."

"Ha, massa, me no under'tand that, too. Preacher say Gorramighty

good. How him good? He make debil strong as himself—so strong he fight wid him; he den make man verra weak, and set debil to beat him, and den he put weak man in hell—burn, burn, burn—because debil make him do what he please. Den preacher say, don't lub dis world; all good tings bad. How can dat be, massa? He say wine bad, rum bad, money bad, maamy (woman) bad."

"So they are, Tom, when indulged."

"Ha, massa, what for den him drink tipsy? What for *him* keep stores in *him broder's* name? Me no under'tand white man's palaver—me no under'tand him."

"But your religion is—"

"Good, massa, good. Great Spirit make debil hop about he touch me; Great Spirit say I make rum, I make wine, I gib foo-foo, drink, eat, much you can. Great Spirit gib woman my wife; one not do, take two, tree, four, five—plenty pickaninnies (children). Me die, Great Spirit no burn, burn, burn, cause me do what him bid me, but send me back to my own country again."

"What for, Tom?"

"For what he please, massa."

Somewhat similar conversations which have engaged my attention, even from those who profess conversion, show how unreasonable it is to imagine that persons entertaining such consolatory opinions can be persuaded into our faith by approaching their superstitions with (to them) its privations and austerity. Yet such approach is but too frequent, particularly by a class of men who, ruined by irregularities at home, or too lazy or ignorant to gain a livelihood by other means, impose themselves, by affected holiness, upon the well meaning and unsuspicious, who, in God's name, send them forth in all confidence, little knowing that their new *tradesman* is as poorly qualified for the mission (save a few texts and demure faces) as a Mandingo conjuror would be to preach a sermon in St. Paul's—brawlers, who "deal damnation through the land" with unrelenting lungs, to terrify their hearers from too close an inquiry into their priestly qualifications! I do not allude to any particular place. I have been much through the world, and have found such—*passim*. Whilst speaking of a place where missionaries may yet be established, these digressionary observations may not be inutile or irrelevant.

A safe commercial mission to Teembo, and such places, composed of moral men, would lay a surer foundation for religionists to follow upon than they could establish at first for themselves. Merchants so formed would secure an understanding upon mutual advantages; and as morality is not so tender a point to meddle with as religion, the natives would not be startled by too sudden a march upon their prejudices, and quickly perceiving the advantages arising from an ethical organisation, would soon become converts to a system which secured their property, gained them credit, and contributed to the general happiness.

These few hastily-thrown-together observations are not meant to be offered as a systematic plan, but rather as hints from which better things may arise. Should such a mission again be attempted to Teembo or elsewhere, by Government or merchants' enterprise, which is not improbable, I have given my views in the memorial of what it might consist; that is, merely for exploration, "to see how the land lies," or for one on a more extensive scale.

When Mr. Thomson had arrived at the head of the river Malicouri, he was prevented proceeding further toward Teembo by King Alipha, a powerful waterside chief. This delayed the mission some time, the Colonial Government having entered into a pacificatory correspondence rather than proceed to hostile threats. However, the Royal Alipha, "a Triton amongst the minnows," mistaking patience for timidity, and himself for rather a greater man than his correspondent, persisted in his opposition, until at length Governor Macdonald's (one of the remaining Waterloo heroes) forbearance being exhausted, he sent a final despatch, informing the waterside potentate that if further impediment were thrown in the way of the mission he would at once carry Mr. Thomson to the gates of Teembo; after which, Alipha thought it the best policy to withdraw all further opposition, and Mr. Thomson passed to where he finally terminated his earthly, as well as his political mission—"*Requiescat in pace.*" And Alipha, the Mahommedan, ere I left the Colony, had also paid the debt of nature.

Indian Corn, Indigo, Cotton, Sugar-cane, and Coffee.—The author was, on his arrival in Liverpool, questioned by one merchant on the probability of procuring a two-hundred-ton cargo of Indian corn from the coast of Africa, it being a matter of much importance and speculation at

the present time, and especially since the settlement of the corn-law question by Government. His reply was, that it could be had in any quantity, and that the supply can only be limited by the demand; were it known there that it was sought for exportation, no limit could be set to its abundance. One important point has to be considered, that it could only be grown in the rainy season, about from June to September, when such is its prolific and rapid growth, that two, if not three, crops can be produced in one season.

A grain called millet, and by the natives *cous-cus* and Guinea-corn, is also abundant, and used as an article of food by them in the neighbourhood of the Gambia.

The author's services were here in question, who would have risked the completion of the cargo in a four or five months' voyage, or have forfeited claim to compensation, had the merchant, equally liberal on his part, offered double pay if he *did* complete the tons specified. A second party, on whom the speculation depended, considered it such an out-of-the-way place (a passage, by-the-bye, only of 22 to 24 days), that the matter ceased, and the author's letter of credit was *omitted* to be returned to him.

The indigo plant grows a noxious weed in the streets and roadsides of the Colony. Coffee, cotton, and the sugar-cane, of the best quality, could be made articles of export, were there enterprise and capital to attempt their cultivation. A soil the best and most luxuriant in the world, and labour the cheapest (fourpence a-day for a labourer in Sierra Leone), yet Africa is deserted, neglected, and its improvement left to the chapter of accidents; thus the primary elements of civilisation and her regeneration are withheld from her.

African Timber, &c.—The article of African teak timber, which is so much valued in England for ship building at our naval dockyards, every succeeding year becomes more scarce. The waterside locations, from whence it has hitherto been procured, being exhausted now, it has to be obtained at some distance in the interior, whence from the great difficulty there is in dragging it through the forests, rafting it down the river and creeks to the beach, and shipping it on board the vessel, the price becomes so enhanced, that little or no profit can be found in the disposal of it at home; and as every succeeding year this difficulty and ex-

pense in transit will be increased, it may be a matter of great consideration (if it has not already been), with the merchant, to give a preference to East India teak timber, that on which, although it has to be brought from so great a distance, can be purchased, if I am rightly informed, at less price and quality equal for ship building. Within these three or four years, new timber locations have been found and worked in the Colony south of the town, at a place called Bombatook Fogo, and other sites in the neighbourhood of the Sherbro, within three or four days sail from Freetown harbour, vessels riding at anchor in the Yaurij Bay, an open roadstead entering the river Sherbro. Although the difficulty and distance of transit from the interior does not exist here to a material extent, yet there is much danger and difficulty in shipping it, the anchorage being so open, and exposed to the rolling of the sea from the north-west or southward, that frequently whole rafts have been known to drift and be lost before making the ship. Timber is rafted upon a wood termed *cork wood*, from the fact of its buoyancy, and floating upon the waters' surface, knit together by strong ropes, &c. This new place of timber cutting has already been taken advantage of by the merchants in the Colony, most of whom have either factories there, or agents collecting it during the rainy season, for vessels arriving for their cargoes in the dry; but many years cannot elapse before this source will become exhausted, and the trade in the article a losing, instead of a profitable speculation.

A nut called the *ground nut*, has of late become of considerable importance as an article of exportation, by English houses, yet more so by French houses at Ghent, Rouen, and Bordeaux, some of whom have contracted with the merchants of the Colony for large quantities, sending shipping for the cargoes. One house alone contracted for 60,000 bushels in the years 1844 and 1845. From this nut is extracted an oil, pale in colour, which gives a good light, and is so very useful to machinery that the naval steam cruisers on the coast have adopted its use. A ground-nut oil factory exists in the Colony, but from the want of steam power and proper machinery, and bad management, together with the inferior attainments of the African artisan, when compared with the European mechanic, and their facilities in quantity or quality, there is abundant scope for improvement. The price in the Colony is 4s. 6d.

per gallon. It is capable of being refined so as to answer the purpose of a salad oil; the nut is prolific, and eaten by the natives and Europeans, boiled, roasted, or in its raw state, and frequently introduced at the table, as we do the Spanish Barcelona nut at dessert. It grows in the rainy season, and is collected in the dry, and sold in the Colony for one shilling to eighteenpence per bushel, in goods and cash. Form of the nut—long, light shell, contains two kernels, covered with a brown rind; when shelled, white in appearance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Matacong.—This beautiful island, about fifty miles north of Freetown, abreast the Isles of De Loss, was formerly purchased or hired from the King of Soosoo, by a merchant of the Colony, as a location for trade with the surrounding natives, and is now in the possession of his son, Mr. William Gabbedon, whose guest I was. Its surrounding waters abound with fish, and game is found in all directions, with from three to four hundred head of wild cattle, which are shot as occasion requires.

At low water the main land can be walked to, which leads to the Mandingo, Soosoo, and Bagga countries, from whence are procured those valuable articles of trade, gold, hides, ivory, palm oil, &c. Deer also abound, and the oyster beds are considerable. This island is inhabited by liberated Africans and their descendants, but the original proprietors have been thinned through want of enterprise and a commercial establishment. Canoes from the adjacent rivers and creeks, make it a place of call on their way to Freetown. It was at this island that the present possessor, under a charge of piracy, was arrested, and brought prisoner to Freetown, under a military guard, by the command of the late Governor Fergusson, where he was instantly acquitted, the bill being ignored when coming before the grand jury at the Court of Quarter Sessions.

On leaving this delightful spot, in a canoe commanded by Mahommedoo Samo, and rowed by his sturdy grumatos (sailors), we rounded the western point, intending to make a sea passage to town, but being the rainy season (September), we were obliged to run through the creeks inland, arriving half way up the big Saukney, where landing and having dined, we turned to sleep whilst waiting the tide, from which enjoyment I was withheld by the amusing gambols of the numerous monkeys, and

plunging and rolling about of the huge and unsightly alligators; two Kroomen passengers had well nigh become a lunch to these monsters, as both slipped overboard whilst getting on shore, and had a narrow escape, or perhaps guessing by some instinct what they were, they avoided them, one being named Bottle Beer, and the other Ben Coffee.

We started from this rest at night, and made the little Saukney, which is so narrow that we had to douse the masts, and land to drag the canoe from the shore; the wood is so thick that it covered the creek from each side, forming a leafy canopy for some length. Our intrusion into this sacred grove was not very hospitably met, for we were attacked by innumerable hosts of sandflies and musquitos, through whose phalanxes we were obliged to fight our way and study cautiously where we placed a foot, lest it might be on the tail of a serpent, or claw of a scorpion.

The passages of these creeks are startling and interesting to the European, from the circumstance of every canoe's company blowing a kind of ram's horn—for the same purpose as a locomotive whistle—to denote their approach. The unearthly sound, at first, is anything but agreeable to the stranger, from the consciousness of being surrounded in these Pagan wilds by snakes, reptiles, and ferocious beasts, whilst beneath, alligators, "not stuffed," but longing to be stuffed with your amiable person. Morning welcomed us into the noble river Mallicouri, which, like a Niger, penetrates into the interior, when down we dashed, until arriving at the mouth, where the captain and crew, with the exception of one grumato and myself, landed, and proceeding inward, leaving us in so dangerous a situation when the tide rose that I was obliged to sound the horn to summon them to the rescue; but we were obliged to manage as well as we could until their return, which was not till evening, and made me regret that, as the heat left me no superfluous breath, I had spent so many hours in wasting my *sweet* music on the unconscious waters.

All on board, and away again, "Row, brothers, row," until we entered the Scarcis River, where I slept at the hospitable factory of Mr. H. Weston. From this we set off early, hoping to reach town, but, owing to the tide, were obliged to bring up at Bullom, where we were entertained at the strangers' house at Madina. Alimammee Amarah Fendi Moodie, the king, was absent in the war between him and the Tim-

manees. Next morning we made town, drenched and worn out with a five days' run through the creeks and swamps of a Mahommedan country. And such was the superstition, that it was with difficulty that I got a passage at all, as I afterwards learned, from the supposed ill luck that would attend the canoe were a white man on board, and the question arose of landing me on some sequestered shore, or throwing me overboard; however, the good sense of Mahommedoo silenced these kind intentions, and two years afterwards I had the pleasure of meeting him in Freetown, where I was happy to learn that he had been so successful in trade as to have gained the national *soubriquet* of a *big man*—which is tantamount to saying that he dances, *ad libitum*, to the tune of "money in both pockets."

OBITUARY OF OFFICIAL MEN, ECT., FROM THE YEAR 1840 TO 1845 (FROM THE AUTHOR'S NOTE BOOK).

Europeans.

Mr. Pine, Civil Engineer, old resident, 1840.

Mr. Robinson, Acting Clerk, Secretary's Office, 1840.

Mr. Tegg, Ordnance Clerk, 1840.

Mr. Stowe, Assistant Commissary General, old resident, 3rd Feb., 1841.

Mr. Wood, Civil Engineer, new resident, 27th May, 1841.

Sir John Jeremie, Governor, a four months' resident, 23rd April, 1841.

Mrs. Morgan, the Colonial Chaplain's lady, October, 1841.

Mr. Hoseason, Acting Colonial Secretary, July, 1841, whose wife died 22nd same month previously; short residents.

A West Indian.

Mr. C. B. Jones, Assistant Superintendent of the L. A. Department, an old resident, 6th January, 1842.

Europeans.

Walter W. Lewis, H. M. Commissary Judge, an old resident, 23rd January, 1842.

The lady of Mr. St. George, Ordnance Storekeeper, short resident, 1842.

J. R. Jeremie, son of Governor Sir John Jeremie, short resident, 18 months or two years, 1843.

Rev. Mr. Illingworth, Colonial Chaplain (European); George Abbot, barrister; Charles Cathcart, merchant; B. Scott, Esq.. Civil Engineer (West Indians); and an American seaman, drowned by the upsetting of a pleasure-boat, off the Carpenter Rock, Bay of Sierra Leone, 4th July, 1844.

Mr. Stephenson, Assistant Surgeon at Kissey.

Matt. Squires, do. do. do., 1845.

Mr. Knowles, Clerk in the Commissariat, 1845.

Mr. Hughes, Manager of the Western District, old resident, a West Indian.

Governor William Fergusson, off the Island of Madeira, on his passage to England, 19th February, 1846; a native West Indian (coloured), formerly Staff Surgeon, and a very old resident—25 years and upwards.

DEATHS IN MERCHANT SERVICE.

Europeans.

The house of A. Lemon lost two European clerks;

,, H. Weston, one;

,, F. Assen, one or two;

,, Kidd and Dawson, two or more (Mr. John Dawson died at the Gambia, on his passage home);

,, Heddee and Co., three, and the leaving of four or five dissatisfied with their service;

,, Effenhausen and Nagal, German Consulate, two to four clerks, and Mr. Nagal's father-in-law.

The wife of Mr. Oldfield, short resident.

,, Capt. J. Benett, ditto.

Mr. Magnus, Solicitor and Merchant, 1840.

Mr. W. Prigg, Merchant, old resident, 1844.

MISSIONARY SERVICE.

Europeans.

The wife of the Rev. T. Dove, Superintendent.

,, ,, Badjer, short resident, Wesleyan Missionary.

The loss of two wives of the Rev. Mr. Bultman, Church Missionary.
The wife of Mr. Wm. Cooper Thomson, Church Society.
One Surgeon to the Wesleyan Mission.

(For more particulars see Missionary Records.)

To detail all (which is not in the author's power), would be to make this a catalogue of deaths, at which the mind would stand appalled. "Another, and another, will they extend on to the crack of doom"—the mortality in the navy, army, merchant service, slave captains, their crews, and native Africans, &c. Well may this devoted place be termed a "painted sepulchre—the white man's grave;" and, no doubt, even whilst I write, death is making his usual ravages amongst the population—fresh mounds of earth are daily raised as mementos of mortality!

In bringing to a conclusion these brief pages on the Colony of Sierra Leone, it is a matter of the deepest regret to think that after so many years of exertion how little in reality have our humane and benevolent efforts for the welfare of the African race succeeded, or answered the desired end of the projectors of them; for when we come to reflect upon the immense expenditure which has been lavished with an unsparing hand to destroy that inhuman traffic in man, the maintenance of a naval squadron to guard the coast, the costly civil expenditure, the magnificent salaries of its officers, the sickness and the mortality which has removed so many excellent men from the scene, our hopes almost languish and the heart seems to sink in despair of ever effecting any real or permanent good in the retention of this ill-starred settlement. As for the Colony ever having been a profitable settlement to the British Crown, is entirely out of the question; its revenue being far short of an equality with its expenditure—"A mole-hill to a mountain, an ossa to a wart;" nay, at the present day, it cannot pay the salaries of the officers by which it is governed; indeed this expectation has, I believe, never been entertained. The cause of humanity in the behalf of the benighted African, alone the primary object sought for, and to accomplish this immense sacrifices of life and wealth have been the consequence, but with success truly disheartening. Its government has from time to time been subject to so many changes, the policy of each governor so varied, acting governor merely holding the reins of office until a successor arrived from home,

and ere one governor had become fully acquainted with the minutiæ of affairs, and alive to its welfare and interest, devising measures for its advancement, sickness, death, or absence nipped them in the bud, and prevented their happy arrival to maturity; then a relapse to its former state of retrogression was the painful result. Former Secretaries of State for the Colonies, probably viewing the uncertainties of its government, the difficulty of dictating or particularising measures for the benefit of the Colony, and unacquainted with the effect they might probably produce on the spot, have apparently satisfied themselves with general outlines of measures, leaving the Executive to carry out their plans, however imperfect and immature they might be, and not knowing the baneful effects some measures have had upon its welfare in the aggregate, whilst the existence of the established regulation of the Colonial-office at home, that all reports must be made through the Governor of the Colony to the Home Minister, precludes the possibility of any unfavourable reports of mal-administration or misgovernment ever reaching his lordship's ear through unofficial channels; and should there be one so bold and presumptuous as to think for himself, or that he has a right to exercise the privilege of a British subject in judging upon the acts of the executive, or ambition enough to harbour just and laudable feelings, or pretension for the welfare of the African, he has in some cases become a marked man, and visited with the oppression of an official law. It is, however, now to be hoped, and we have every reason to think, when judging from the watchful solicitude, the comprehensive and enlightened policy pursued by the noble Earl now at the head of Colonial affairs towards our Colonies generally, that for the future Sierra Leone will be no small recipient of his lordship's care and healthy legislation in the eradication of those evils which, like an unwholesome and wasting cancer, have crept into the system and preyed upon its vital interests, retarding its advancement.

Truly, we may indeed attribute much of our failure to sickliness of the climate; over this no Government has control. I admit this from my own severe experience during my sojourn on its shores; but that this excuse has also been used to cover a multitude of sins of mis-government, and the exercise of corrupt and venal patronage, and a profligate expenditure, to its injury, I fearlessly avow to be a fact. If a Colony is

not governed for its own good, and especially one constituted as Sierra Leone is, but the interest of individuals is to be made the paramount consideration, what can we expect otherwise than that failure after failure should be the result of our labour, even going no further back in its history than my own term of residence of six years. What more glaring and convincing proofs of mal-administration need I give than those of William Fergusson, a son of the late Governor Fergusson, holding *five*,* if not more, appointments, and of Mr. Oldfield, holding equally as many, all through affection or favouritism of the Executive; whilst those who are really deserving are left to pine in neglect and treated with contumely. This is no new source of grievance, it was complained of before my arrival there, and if the question is asked why such a state of things exists, the answer is, "Oh! the climate is so sickly, and death is continually thinning the ranks of our official brethren, that we can scarcely find any one to accept of office with talent or capabilities sufficient for the fulfilment of the duties attached to appointments;" a statement, the injustice of which is only equalled by its untruth, when it is well known that there are numbers of coloured young men in the Colony, of sufficient attainments, as well as Europeans perfectly eligible, but who have not the fortune to bask in the sunshine of official favour, and who perhaps have not servility enough to fawn, cringe, and flatter, preferring the welfare of the Colony and a proud conscientiousness of the English character, to the plunder of the Colonial chest, for situations in which they would alone serve the Colony (were they permitted) for the Colony's good. Nay, to such an extent had a system of unfair patronage been carried during the period of the Executive of Governor Fergusson, that even the American citizen found more favour than the

* The appointments were:—Second Writer, Secretary's-office, salary, £300 per annum; Private Secretary to his father, and Clerk of the Council, £100; Postmaster, £40; Registrar, Court of Ordinary, depending upon letters of administration, &c. Those of Mr. Oldfield's were:—Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of Court of Record, Coroner for Freetown, Marshal in the Mixed Courts, Marshal in the Vice Admiralty Courts, Second Commissioner of Appraisement and Sale to the Courts. These were Government appointments; whilst on his own account he was merchant, auctioneer, Providore to the Navy, consignee, &c., *ad infinitum*. Here are two individuals alone holding *ten* Government appointments! Comment upon such gross and venal patronage is surely unnecessary.—AUTHOR.

Englishman and subject of the Government, as in the case of one Jones, who was appointed Queen's Advocate's Clerk, to the disappointment of an European who had claims for past services, till forbearance became unendurable, and complaints of venality were forwarded to the Home Colonial Minister, Lord Stanley, in 1844 (upon which his Excellency had to report, by the commands of his Lordship; the result of which was, however, kept a State secret). Though to the frequent changes in the Executive of the Colony many failures of good and useful measures may be fairly attributed, there are other causes equally as destructive; the African's welfare, and the purposes for which the settlements were formed, appears to be with many not the primary object, whilst others have really its welfare at heart; indeed, it would appear from such unreasonable and unjust appropriation of the emoluments of so many offices, no matter how gained, that the chief object was (using a familiar phrase) "to make hay while the sun shone," and if fortunate enough to escape the penalty of the climate, to seek relief in frequent "leaves of absence;" whilst the Colony is left to its fate and the chapter of accidents, and the African's condition to thrive as best it may, nurtured by nature and chance alone.

On my arrival in the Colony, Colonel Doherty possessed the reins of government; he was in 1841 superseded by the arrival of Sir John Jeremie. The measures of this excellent Governor were of an enlightened and comprehensive character, and had he been spared, would have been of incalculable benefit to the Colony. Justice was his motto; favouritism and venal patronage had but little hopes at his hands. Amongst many measures which he had in contemplation, were the due division of civil appointments amongst the native applicants in the Colony; the extension of the British influence within the territories of the surrounding kings and chiefs, in the sending of British Commissioners amongst them; the suppression of the local transit of slaves amongst the rivers and creeks of the neighbourhood by the Mahomedans for foreign shipment; the cultivation of farms in the villages, &c. These were a few of the many leading measures he had in view, whilst the moral and social condition of the inhabitants was not neglected; the formation of book societies, reading-rooms, poor societies, and other charitable institutions, were in progression, whilst every facility was

afforded for the produce of the Mahomedan countries reaching the settlement; in the midst of all these good and beneficial measures, death closed his active career, and the African mourned the loss of a friend and benefactor. On this event the government, according to Colonial Charter, fell into the hands of the Queen's Advocate, Mr. John Carr, a coloured gentleman and a native of Trinidad; he acted a few months, and was superseded by Staff Surgeon Fergusson in the acting capacity; then came the arrival of Colonel George Macdonald (one of those few remaining heroes of the famed Waterloo). This excellent Governor administered the functions of office with the high-mindedness and unswerving justice becoming a gallant officer and a gentleman, and has just restored the Colony from a chaos of difficulties and to a healthy progression towards improvement. The Executive had once more become respected, when, after two years' residence, he returned to England and accepted the government of Dominica, one of the West India islands. Staff Surgeon Fergusson now became Lieutenant-Governor, and soon after was confirmed to the full appointment by the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley. Here, then, was, during the writer's residence, the departure of two Governors to England, the death of one, the change and acting of two, making a total of five Executives in six years; and lastly, the return and death of Governor Fergusson on his passage to England off the island of Madeira, 19th February, 1846. On the departure of Governor Fergusson, the reins of office devolved upon the Colonial Secretary, Norman William Macdonald, who held a commission as Lieutenant on the confirmation of Fergusson (a wise promotion in such an uncertain Colony like Sierra Leone); but as the author had left a short time previous to his assumption, he cannot pretend to speak of his administration, more than judging, from his long acquaintance with the minutiæ of affairs and his business habits as Colonial Secretary, that the Colony would not lack an efficient Governor, or one who would not neglect its welfare and interest.

Of the administration of the late Governor Fergusson, I would fain omit to speak, or, at most, speak in sparing terms, did I not think I should be wanting in duty in exposing acts of mal-administration in his public capacity, and that my silence would have an adverse effect upon the interests of the Colony; yet more, injuries were inflicted upon

myself, by him as governor, when I had a claim for justice at least. In speaking here of this, I cannot be accused of taking an unfeeling advantage now that he is no more, because I reported them through *himself*, whilst in office, to the Home Colonial Secretary, in the years 1844 and 1845, and copies of the correspondence are no doubt now to be found in the archives of the Home Office, and the report thereon by His Excellency, at the command of the noble Minister. I will not assume the province of dealing with his private character; his public acts as Governor, and a professional man, alone being the right that I assume. Dr. Fergusson was, I believe, sent out in early life by the African Colonisation Society, in the medical profession, originally a coloured native of one of the West India Islands—I think Jamaica—a young man, possessing, by education in England, no mean qualification for the profession; he harboured a just and laudable ambition to rise in rank, and through a long and active course of years, succeeded, through the various grades of appointments, till he became a first class surgeon on the Colonial Staff, in which situation he displayed the most eminent success and skill in the treatment of diseases incidental to the climate of Africa. Dr. Fergusson was not, as the other medical officers on the Staff, removed with the respective regiments to the West Indies and other depots, to which the African corps are periodically sent, but became a continued resident through all the changes, no doubt from the consideration of his great and long experience and usefulness to the Colony generally. Though a military surgeon, he by no means confined himself to that profession, but attended the civil officers, merchants, and the gentlemen, who chose to require his services; readily giving his advice to the Africans, generally without fee or reward, at all hours and seasons, and he thereby became a deserved and esteemed favourite amongst them. Had he thus rested content, and not soared to possess the ambition and cares of office, or allowed himself to be goaded on to the attainment of civil rank and elevation in the Government for which nature never destined him, he might have descended to the tomb an honoured and an unsullied man, and a lustre to his profession; but from the moment he solicited or accepted office, from that moment his star became on the wane, his usefulness vanished, and the Colonial saying became verified, "We have indeed lost a good doctor, and got a bad and inefficient Governor." The most

prominent of his public acts which merited the severest censure, was the seizure of Mr. Wm. Gabbidon, a coloured British subject, at the Island of Matacong,* in the Soosoo territory, by an armed force, under Lieutenant Mowbray, third West India Regiment, at the dead hour of night, on a charge of piracy; who was dragged to town, and after being imprisoned in Freetown gaol six weeks, was instantly acquitted on the sitting of the Grand Jury: and of another coloured man, one William Ward,† at the

* This beautiful island I have already described. The nature of this unfortunate proceeding was as follows, the particulars I learned from the accused person when on a two months' visit to his house there; and having been one of the grand jurors before whom the charge was preferred, and hearing the evidence for the prosecution, gave me a more clear insight into the case than many others:—The accusing person was one Macaulay, a liberated African of the Aker nation, who, in his own canoe, had been on a trading voyage to the Bagge and Soosoo countries, north-west of the island of Matacong, and on his return to the Colony, called there, it being a sort of a halfway-place, to replenish and recruit. It appeared that, according to native custom, this trader waited upon the proprietors of the island, as a mark of respect, at his house, and on displaying some gold rings, he stated that one or more was lost or taken from him, and, by some means or other, part of the canoe's cargo was placed in the stores of the proprietor, under lock and key. Macaulay, on his arrival at Freetown, went to the police office, and, along with his canoeman, swore that his goods were plundered by the order of William Gabbidon, and obtained a warrant for the apprehension of this young man. The evidence of his witnesses before the grand jury was of so contradictory a nature, and there being a total absence of any cause or incentive to impel him to commit a robbery, the bill was at once ignored, almost unanimously, and the individual liberated. It has, however, frequently occurred to me that it must be somewhat strange, or the accused was wanting in duty to himself in not demanding some reparation for the atrocious attempt to brand his name with infamy by so odious a charge. Had it been my case I should not have been so passive and silent, but probably this course was pursued from a consciousness of the hopelessness of obtaining justice in Sierra Leone during the executive of Governor Fergusson, and especially for an act in which his Excellency was so conspicuous.

† William Ward was an agent for the house of Messrs. Charles Heddle and Co., merchants, at Freetown, stationed at the factory of Ki Koukih. On his return, on one occasion, to the factory from a trading voyage up the River Mallicouri, he found that the stores had been broken open and robbed of some printed goods. Summoning his Kroomen labourers, he stated the loss; all denied any knowledge of it. The head Krooman, then, according to the custom of his nation, procured a wood from the forests, called *sassie wood*, of which was made a decoction, then causing all of them to drink copiously. Sassie-wood water possesses poisonous properties similar to the distillation of laurel leaves. The effects were these:—Those who vomited

factory, called Ki Koukih, in the Mandingo territory, on a charge of murder, who was, after six months' incarceration in gaol, liberated without even the formality of a trial, or a bill being at all preferred against him at the Quarter Sessions. Now, had such unjust acts as these been confined within the jurisdiction of the Colony, indefensible as they might be, they would not have so deeply degraded the British authority in the sight of the native African kings, who look upon us as a superior people and possessed of a good Government. To the individuals they were irreparable injuries, and the Mahomedans, with whom we were at peace, would naturally say, (for they are quite as sensible, if less refined in their notions, of the respect due to them, as are more civilised and enlightened potentates of other spheres,)—Are we not at

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the liquid were declared to be innocent, and he who did not was the thief. The consequence was, most of them discharged the poisonous extract, and one died without doing so. The report of the affair reached the Colony. The Kroomen proved that Ward had compelled them to undergo this proof, and was imprisoned on the charge of wilful murder, as detailed. This strange and superstitious kind of proof of innocence or guilt is generally practised amongst the nations in the interior, without the jurisdiction of the Colony, and even within it is secretly practised, and by the liberated, the settlers, and Maroons, of whom better things might be expected. A case occurred to the writer's own knowledge, in the British Commissioner's office, when he was acting first writer. One of the supernumerary clerks, a Maroon, lost his umbrella from the piazza in the office. The messengers, who were Kroomen, were all assembled below; the professional thief-catcher was sent for; chewing a quantity of pod pepper, he inserted it into a quill tube; then, applying it to his mouth, blew the contents into the eye of each man. If the eye smarted or inflamed, the sentence was, "*Pepper catch him*, he tief umbrella." Need I comment further upon this folly more than that the pepper did certainly make some, if not all their eyes smart. The umbrella was, however, never forthcoming. Where all were guilty, little hopes were there of restitution; the Maroon paying the professional one dollar. The matter was kept secret from the heads of the office, as they knew there existed a Colonial law punishing such practices; and it was a favour that I was allowed to gratify my curiosity at the sight, and in doing this I made myself liable to the charge of being an accomplice. At one of my lodgings with a settler's family, also, on my first arrival, I had the misfortune to lose half a doubloon and the contents of my purse one night, which I certainly did not steal from myself; the daughter was suspected of this unsanctioned loan or appropriation. Some time after I learned from a private source that the "Pepperman" had been in requisition, and that the evidence was so clear that they considered silence the best course to pursue in the affair.

peace with you? We know your power and your greatness; we have respected your laws, because hitherto we have been led to believe they are founded upon equity and justice; your predecessors have sought to obtain their ends by the power of reason and justice alone, not as you have done, exercise a despotic power because you are strong, and we are weak and defenceless; you invade our territories as a bandit or a marauder would at the dead hour of the night, without first having recourse to the established rules of diplomatic negotiation; and with an armed force you seize a suspected man; we have treaties with you, yet how, then, do you convince us of their nullity? You place before us your Colony on our father's shores, as a model of freedom for the African; and the elevation of our caste, of justice, of protection from violence, yet you inflict upon us these unendurable wounds, these unjustifiable acts of aggression.

The cutting of a road through the Maroon lands at a place called King Toms, to his own farm, without permission or sanction of the possessors of those lands, thus violating the rights of private property in his official character, without remuneration or recompense for the damage sustained in the act, was another unjustifiable offence.

As for my own grievances I now freely forgive him; but how I so effectually succeeded in making him at last my enemy, I never could learn—because when he held the respectable but humbler station of staff surgeon, we were upon the the most familiar and friendly terms, and I was frequently the recipient of his successful attendance and advice—unless that his being a proud and accidentally advanced man, he expected a homage, which a recollection of my superior origin did not permit; true I gave him cause to maintain his displeasure by exposing a corrupt and shameful abuse of his delegated authority, but not until his untiring persecution had inflicted deep and incurable wounds; however, when I was about departing he appeared to relent, and proffered services, fearing that my destination was ultimately England: but as he is now no more I shall be silent as to the cause of his fears.

I left for New Orleans 13th December, 1845, without any report at that time being abroad of his intention of quitting the Colony, yet, such are the vicissitudes of life, ere I reached the Gulf of Florida, on my way to England, he was immortal, and "the living dog is now better than the dead lion." That the injuries of the living should be sacrificed by

silence to the guilt of the dead, I must again repeat is a moral fallacy—"the evils which men do justly live after them," if the life protect the living from its effects: but once it has been exposed, let it change place with the poet's version, "be interred with their bones." So farewell, Fergusson, fare thee well! thou hast the ocean for thy grave, Atlantic's depths conceal thy bones; but should the waters roll them to my foot (in time to come) upon some distant shore, I'll give them burial, and, kneeling on the turf, pray for thy spirit's peace.

If Sierra Leone is to be retained, surely it deserves the guarded and watchful vigilance of the home minister in the reformation of so many abuses which have crept into its government, and some measures devised to improve its condition in a political as well as a moral and a commercial point of view. The due and impartial distribution of public appointments, without respect to colour or caste, amongst the natives, would have a tendency to raise them from that low, depressed, and degraded position which they inwardly seem to labour under, simply because they are black and not white. The entire remodelling of the judicial system would lead to the conviction of the security of life, right, and property; a general and systematic plan of Government education, the establishment of book societies and reading-rooms under proper management, with a due supply of the cheap and useful publications of the day; the establishment of a public journal,* in which politics and contro-

* In the year 1845, a newspaper, edited by Captain J. Benet, and supported by a confined circle of the gentlemen in town, was set on foot called the M. S., with the motto "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*" The origin of the rise of the journal was in consequence of a letter, signed "Colonist," from the pen of Mr. Benet, appearing in the columns of the missionary register, the *Watchman*, complaining of the neglect on the part of Governor Fergusson in permitting some French agents to make contracts with the chiefs in the River Mallicouri for produce, to the injury of the British merchants of the Colony. When the article appeared it was found so altered and mutilated that the author could scarcely recognise it; some time afterwards it transpired that the editor of the *Watchman* had, previous to its insertion, sent it to the Governor, from whom it received revision and correction. Captain Benet was so justly displeased at this proceeding on the part of the missionary editor that the M. S. appeared; it, however, had a short existence, as there was no press, and it had to be written by a copyist, appearing once a fortnight. Several native copyists were first employed when the writer's services were solicited; but the most unpleasant part of the affair, the remuneration, small as it was, never was wholly given to him, and what was given was at the order of the Commissioner of the Court of Request.

versial subjects might be wisely avoided, would be of incalculable benefit not only to the Colonists but to the mercantile interests there and at home. A library exists in the Colony, but it is of so exclusive a character that the African cannot partake of the advantages, being confined to the favoured few of the Europeans. The encouragement of agriculture is also well worthy of the attention of Government—establishments for the manufacture of sugar, cotton, indigo, would give encouragement to native industry, and open new sources of wealth and benefit to the revenue and exports of the Colony. All these articles are found to abound and flourish in the Colony, as well as coffee, Indian corn, &c.; the indigo plant infests the very streets and by-roads of the neighbourhood, yet none of these are turned to any useful account whatever;* whilst the foreign and commercial relations might be improved and extended by the placing of resident British commissioners within the territories of the neighbouring kings and chiefs, thereby widening the sphere of our influence politically, and extending our commerce generally, for the benefit of the Colony itself. A commercial mission, undertaken under the auspices of Government or mercantile enterprise, through the Timmannee, Mandingo, and Soosoo countries, Fanta, Iallou, the great marts of trade, Sego, Sansanding, and Timbuctoo, would unfold new sources of wealth which would more than repay the expense of the undertaking, whilst a clearer geographical knowledge of the interior of this imperfectly known continent would make an addition to British science, adventure, and research.

Having already spoken on this subject so freely, it is unnecessary to dwell further now upon it. The Government cannot be accused

* In the Mandingo territory, a little distant inland, on the opposite side of Sierra Leone river, there is *one mile square* of ground belonging to the Colonial Government, for which is annually paid out of the Colonial chest a certain amount of money to the King Bey Sherbro as rent or tribute. As far as I could learn it was formerly a location for liberated Africans from the Colony, and from some cause or other abandoned. What is to prevent this portion of ground being employed for some useful purpose as model farms for the cultivation of produce; if not, why retain it at an unnecessary and an expensive draft upon the public chest, which it has been for so many years? And, with the exception of the late Governor, Colonel Macdonald, who despatched two commissioners in 1843 to report upon it, no notice whatever appears to have been taken of its existence.

of having neglected, at least attempting these or similar measures of improvement. The measure of Cooper Thomson, whilst partaking largely of a missionary nature, was one step in advance, though on a too narrow and limited scale; and if it did not succeed to the sanguine expectations formed of it, instead of languor in our future endeavours, it ought to excite us to a fresh and more vigorous prosecution of them. There was at one time a premium for encouraging the natives in the production of cotton, by the placing £10 with each of the managers of the respective districts to purchase what was cultivated and raised, and there was found no want of application or success of the object hoped for. The great want is, encouragement and direction of native talent and industry to elevate the condition of the African on his own soil. If we have not had that encouragement afforded in the prosecution of the enterprise of civilising and infusing the elements of the British constitution so as to make Sierra Leone the grand key to the regeneration of the Africans and the more distant Mahomedan nations in the interior, we must not now despair. Difficulties have existed, over which the hardest battle has been fought; the climate, the greatest obstacle, is yearly becoming less deadly by the prosecution of a wholesome system of drainage and the erection of bridges to carry off the heavy rains, which before became stagnant pools with decayed vegetable matter—the never-failing source of malaria, fever, and death. Let the sanatory condition of the Colony be duly attended to by the authorities, and Sierra Leone will, in due time, become a place of comparative health to the European, and lose that dread with which the newly-arrived too often is impressed on his arrival on its shores. The local Government first demands reformation and attention from the Home Colonial Minister; and, surely, if the infantine Colony of New Zealand, which as it were but yesterday emerged from barbarism to a state of civilisation, has the watchful and guardian care of the Noble Earl,* surely Sierra Leone, the theatre of England's benefaction and humanity, appeals a thousand times louder, that its interests and welfare should not be neglected at the present epoch in her history. It is the scene of the philanthropist's exertions; for to hold the Colony solely on political grounds is an expensive

* Grey.

and futile object: if no other object than this were in view, it would be better to leave it to its fate, and sigh with regret for our past sacrifices. The sacred cause of humanity is here involved, and where the ministers of peace have an endless field of labour in holding the cross and the olive-branch of peace before a pagan and benighted people, we must proceed onward in our career for the welfare of Africa, trusting to the guardian care of He, the Governor of all, the onerous duties of a Christian legislature will have been fulfilled. Our nation will be handed down to posterity with an undying fame, and in future ages the sable sons of Africa may yet erect an imperishable monument to England's greatness and her glory.

It may not perhaps be entirely uninteresting, or be deemed egotistical, to state the end of my voyage from Africa, although, in doing so, my reader must, with me, wing his way across the broad Atlantic to the New World. While the writer is not disposed to quarrel with the Americans as individuals, the hospitality and kindness of whom he has more than once experienced during a sojourn amongst them in the years 1835 and 1836, he cannot but express feelings of honest reprobation and indignation at that foul blot of slavery which is so strange an anomaly in the institution of a State professedly called the land of liberty and freedom.

The reader is already informed of my departure from Sierra Leone, in the last stage of ill health; it was in the good ship "Frankfield," William Mitchell, commander, than whom a more brave or more kind seaman never led an ocean life. Under his kindness, and the attention of the medical officer, Mr. W. Nicholson, my health progressed for the better. We ran through the windward West India Islands, sighting most of them, and made New Orleans on the 25th of January, 1846, after a pleasant passage of forty-three days. Here I had intended to remain through the southern and mild winter, in comparison to that of England; but finding myself in a yet weakly condition, and having become disgusted at beholding the difference between this southern pandemonium and Sierra Leone—where, with all its faults, 'tis

sacred to the cause of humanity and freedom—here, where the poor slave is exhibited for sale, and driven through the streets in coffles, brought up with sanguinary Cuban bloodhounds, and the merciless American master—where law and justice is evaded, the assassin's use of the poniard and bowie knife frequent, the Sabbath desecrated by unholy and unhallowed amusements, theatres, balls, gambling, the hired prostitution of the creole slave by her master, lust, licentiousness, villany, and vice, parade the streets at noon-day—when I beheld the mighty Mississippi's waters, bearing on her expansive bosom immense cargoes of produce (and, must I confess it?—to England) wrung from the very sweat of the slave by the infliction of the torturing lash and galling chain, I could not but think that the awful visitation of mortality with which this city is annually scourged is a just and divine retribution from heaven upon her for her malefactions and misdeeds—where the pestilential blast of inhuman bondage mars the fair and noble works of God, the rights of man are set at nought, and real liberty becomes a mockery, a mere phantom. My stay here continued but eleven days, when, having received every kindness and assistance from Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Mr. W. Mure, I took passage in the ship "Victoria," W. McMahon, commander, on the 1st of February, 1846, courting the breeze to waft me from the shores of this leviathan monster of a mock republic to my native land, the refuge of the oppressed, the home of the exile, and the land of the free, arriving on the 12th of March, 1846, where, through the aid of a merciful Providence, I have at last recovered from the effects of a long residence in an African climate; and, seasoned as an African oak, I am ready once more to dare the climate, either in the service of my country, or to use my humble but determined effort to widen and extend our commerce through her fruitful valleys, and explore her mines of unembowelled treasures of the precious ores; and, with past experience, I trust, a wiser, a better, and a more useful man.

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