

THE JOURNAL OF SIERRA LEONE STUDIES – VOLUME 3 EDITION 1 (2014)

Welcome to The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies. This is the first Journal dedicated solely to Sierra Leone to have been published for a long time.

We hope that it will be of use to academics, students and anyone with an interest in what for many is a rather 'special' country.

The Journal will not concentrate on one area of academic study and invites contributions from anyone researching and writing on Sierra Leone to send their articles to: John Birchall for consideration.

Prospective contributions should normally be between 3500- 10,000 words in length, though we will in special circumstances consider longer articles and authors can select whether they wish to be peer reviewed or not. Articles should not have appeared in any other published form before.

We also include a section on items of general interest – it hoped that these will inform future generations of some of the events and personalities important to the country.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to suggest changes they consider are needed to the relevant author (s) and to not publish if such recommendations are ignored.

We are particularly interested to encourage students working on subjects specifically relating to Sierra Leone to submit their work.

Thank you so much for visiting The Journal and we hope that you (a) find it both interesting and of use to you and (b) that you will inform colleagues, friends and students of the existence of a Journal dedicated to the study of Sierra Leone.

John Birchall

Articles for consideration should be sent to [John Birchall](#)

Editorial Board: Peter Andersen, Abdul Bangura, Howard University, John Birchall, Ade Daramy, Lansana Gberie, Dave Harris, School of Oriental and African Studies University of London, John Trotman

Introduction

In this the fifth edition of The Journal we have allocated a considerable proportion of the text to an area of the history of Sierra Leone that has received limited attention in recent years. It is that of the Krio and their influence in the evolution of the modern state of Sierra Leone.

It is a privilege to edit this Journal and I have included as many items of interest as I can in this edition. It is a long edition but one which I am confident will be of interest to current scholars and those yet to come.

We also include an analysis of what has emerged as a potential source of development funding for Sierra Leone – its widespread diaspora.

John Birchall

Cambridge, January 2014.

CONTENT

Peer Reviewed

- **The role of the Sierra Leone Creole people in the Hut Tax War of 1898 - Aggressors or Victims – Nigel Browne - Davies, Queen Mary’s College, University of London.**

- **The Sierra Leone Diaspora and Homeland Investment – Kai Matturi**

Non Peer Reviewed

- **A précis of sources relating to the genealogical research on the Krio people of Sierra Leone – Nigel Browne Davies**

Book Review

Sierra Leone – A Political History – Dave Harris – Hurst 2013 – ISBN 978-1-84904-323-6

General Interest.

Some papers presented at The Black History Festival, held in the United Kingdom in October 2013.

Articles on the Krios of Sierra Leone, their history, heritage and discoveries can be found in the following Black History Month Magazines. The article on the medical discoveries by the 3 featured Krio doctors might be of particular interest that as far back as the 1800's Africans were attending and excelling at top UK universities despite some being direct descendants of previously enslaved Africans and the racism which existed.

<http://www.blackhistorymonthuk.co.uk/>

http://issuu.com/alpinemedia/docs/black_history_magazine

A review of violence and when the world community should leave Sierra Leone

<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3191/ER38%20Final%20Online.pdf?sequence=6>

Produced by members of the Department, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Peer Reviewed Section

The role of the Sierra Leone Creole people in the Hut Tax War of 1898:

Aggressors or Victims?

Nigel Brown-Davies

The first two parts, part three will appear in the June 2014 editions, as will Nigel's 'A précis of sources relating to the genealogical research of the Sierra Leone Krio people.'



Table of Contents

Illustrations	iv
Introduction: The historical context of nineteenth century Sierra Leone.....	7
Ethnic Map highlighting the demographics of Sierra Leone in 1969	10
Historiography	15
Review of Secondary Literature	17
Survey of Primary Sources	20
Chapter One: The Creoles in the hinterland: Disputes over Land tenancy and Culture	22
The Sierra Leone Frontier Police	29
Chapter Two: Opposition to the House Tax and incitement to rebellion.....	31
Bai Bureh, (1840-1908), Chief of Kasseh village.....	32
The Freetown Press.....	34
Cornelius Theobald May (1857-1929), Editor of the <i>Sierra Leone Weekly News</i>	37
Creole Traders in the Protectorate: Incitement to rebellion?	40
Chapter Three: Indigenous brutality against the Creoles: Irrational or Justified?	45
Conclusion	57
The cover page of the Chalmers Report.....	63
Sir Frederic Cardew, (1839-1921), Governor of Sierra Leone	64
Appendices	67
Bibliography	71

Maps

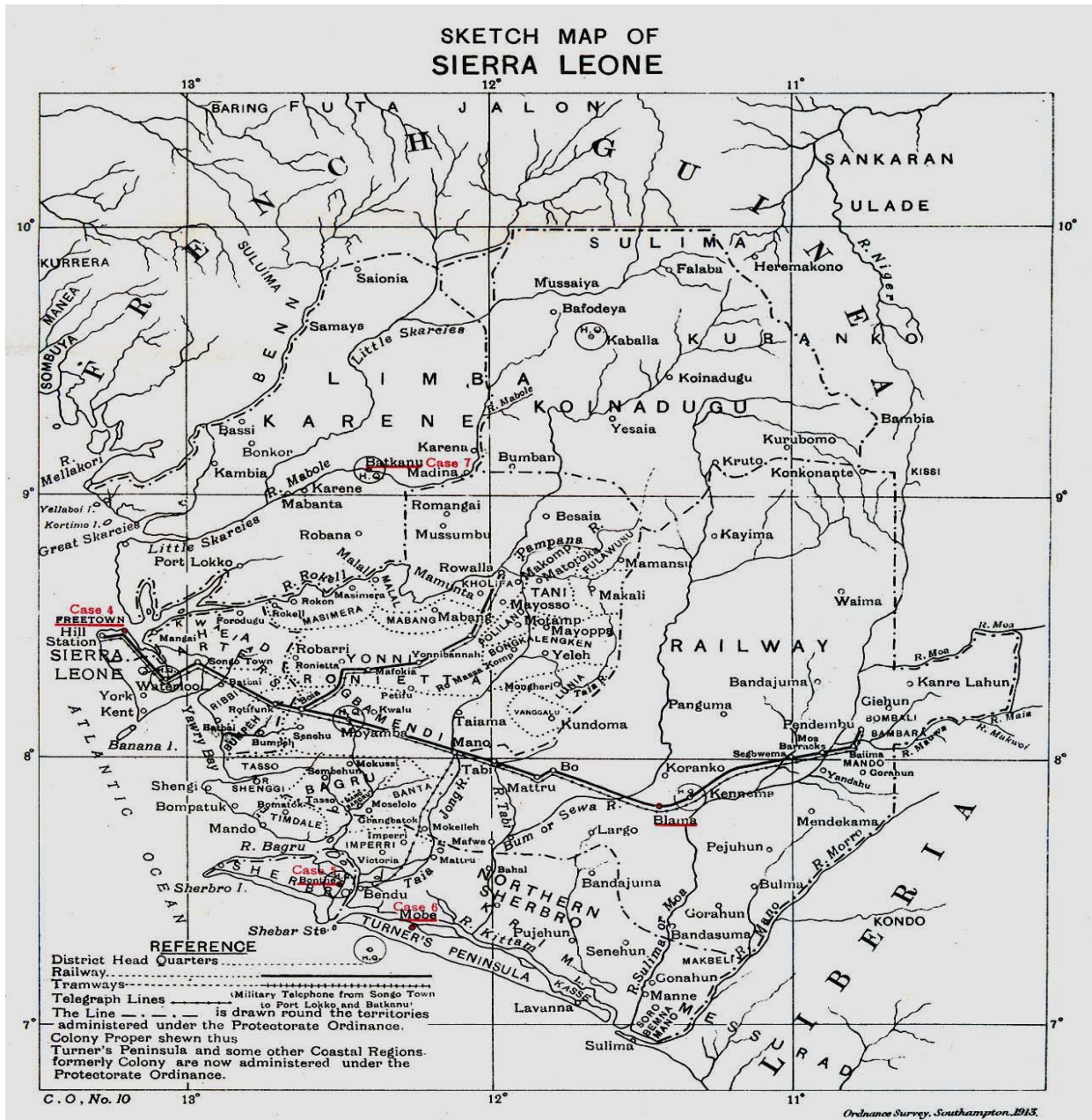
Map of Sierra Leone, 1913	vi
Ethnic Map highlighting the demographics of Sierra Leone in 1969	10
Map of Sierra Leone highlighting the Protectorate, 1922.....	26

Illustrations

Sir Samuel Lewis, (1843-1903), Barrister at Law	28
---	----

The Sierra Leone Frontier Police	29
Bai Bureh, (1840-1908), Chief of Kasseh village.....	32
Cornelius Theobald May (1857-1929), Editor of the <i>Sierra Leone Weekly News</i>	37
The cover page of the Chalmers Report.....	63
Sir Frederic Cardew, (1839-1921), Governor of Sierra Leone	64

Cover page: T.E. Leslie Allridge, *The Illustrated London News*, “A Good Specimen of the Taxed Hut”,
Sierra Leone, 14 May, 1898



Map of Sierra Leone, 1913¹

¹ NationMaster: http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/historical/sierra_leone_1913.jpg, [Accessed: 21 February, 2013]

Introduction: The historical context of nineteenth century Sierra Leone

The Hut Tax War that commenced on the 17th of February, 1898 in the British West African territory of Sierra Leone was a rebellion initiated by indigenous tribes in the hinterland of Sierra Leone against the imposition of the House Tax provision in the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance authorized by the colonial Governor Frederic Cardew.² Although the Sierra Leone House Tax provision of 1896 was similar to provisions in other colonies to raise colonial revenue, the Hut Tax War of 1898 that erupted in the hinterland of Sierra Leone was a culmination of the unique factors that reflected the political and ethnic divide between the coastal Colony of Sierra Leone and the British protected area comprising the hinterland of Sierra Leone.

The geographical region of Sierra Leone, just off the Western coast of Africa, was originally inhabited by the coastal Bullom or *Sherbro* people who clustered around the northern side of the Bullom Shore and the mountainous peninsula that is south of the Sierra Leone River.³ The Temne tribe migrated from Fouta Jallon in Guinea to the mouth of the Scarcies River near the coastal area presently known as the Sierra Leone peninsula that juts out into the Atlantic Ocean. The Mende or *Kosso* people migrated to the region from Mali during the mid-eighteenth century and settled in the region inhabited by the Bullom people in south-eastern Sierra Leone. The Limba people occupied the inland part of the Scarcies River and smaller tribes such as the Loko migrated from the southern interior of the West African coast to the southern region of Sierra Leone between the Rokel River and Scarcies River.⁴

These various indigenous tribes within the hinterland of Sierra Leone had been in contact with European explorers and traders since the mid-fifteenth century.⁵ The Sherbro and Temne peoples were

² LaRay Denzer, 'Bai Bureh and the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War of 1898', in Michael Crowder, *Colonial West Africa Collected Essays*, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1978), p. 61-62 There is no official date as to when the uprising began in the northern Protectorate. However, by late February, skirmishes between colonial authorities and indigenous peoples signaled the beginning of the conflict.

³ Christopher Fyfe, *A Short History of Sierra Leone*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Ltd, 1967), p. 1

⁴ Ibid. p. 2 In this study, the terms "native" and "indigenous" refer strictly to tribal ethnic groups in the interior of Sierra Leone.

⁵ Fyfe, *A Short History*, pp. 5-6

the first to engage in trade with Portuguese and English traders who arrived during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶ English trading companies such as the Gambia Adventurers and the Royal African Company established trading bases on the coast of Sierra Leone to trade English goods for camwood and slaves. European traders placed themselves under the authority of tribal chiefs who served as landlords for the duration of the traders stay on the coast.⁷ Thus, prior to colonial rule in Sierra Leone, indigenous tribes were accustomed to interacting with Europeans and had established protocol for trading raw material and slaves for manufactured European goods. Although this pattern of trade and interaction would continue, the formation of the Colony of Sierra Leone in the late eighteenth century and the emergence of the Creole people during the course of the nineteenth century would disrupt the traditional patterns of indigenous trade and culture.

The Colony of Sierra Leone was established between 1787 and 1792 for the resettlement of freed African-American slaves who had sought refuge with the British during the American Revolutionary War and had been relocated to England and Nova Scotia.⁸ The coastal peninsula region that had been occupied by the Temne tribe was the site selected by British philanthropists and abolitionists for the establishment of colonies populated by black settlers. Between 1800 and 1855, the population of the Colony was further augmented by the resettlement of Caribbean ex-slaves and freedmen, disbanded African soldiers, and Africans liberated on the high seas by the British Naval Squadron following the abolition of the slave trade.⁹ Through intermarriage, these various waves of immigrants formed a distinct ethnic group by the 1870's known as the Sierra Leone Creole people.¹⁰

The Creoles or *Sierra Leoneans* as they were termed during the nineteenth century formed a Westernized African ethnic group with a deep sense of loyalty and attachment to the British Crown.¹¹

⁶ Peter L. Tucker, *The Tuckers of Sierra Leone 1665-1914*, (United Kingdom, 1997), pp. 1-2

⁷ V. R. Dorjahn and Christopher Fyfe, "Landlord and Stranger: Change in Tenancy Relations in Sierra Leone", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1962), pp. 394-395

⁸ A.F. Walls, *A Christian Experiment: The Early Sierra Leone Colony*, G.J. Cuming (Ed.), *Studies in Church History/the Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, Studies in Church History, Volume 6, (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1970) p. 108

⁹ Leo Spitzer, *Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), pp. 9-13

¹⁰ Arthur Porter, *Creolehood*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.53, 58

¹¹ Akintola Wyse, *H.C. Bankole-Bright and Politics in Colonial Sierra Leone: 1919-1958*. In this dissertation the term 'Sierra Leonean' is used in the historical context referring to the Creoles. The traditional term "Creole" is

Freetown, the capital of the Colony and the coastal peninsula was the base for the vibrant Creole community. Since the formation of the Colony in 1792, the Creoles were recognized as British Subjects with the rights and privileges of individuals born within the British Isles.¹² The Creoles were acutely aware of their unique rights as British subjects and demonstrated their freedom of expression in the vibrant newspaper press they established and operated. Furthermore, the Creoles occupied a unique position as middlemen between the British colonial government and the indigenous peoples and this was reflected in the appointment of Creoles to various positions within the civil service. The Creoles served as assistant colonial administrators and clerks in addition to pursuing capitalistic ventures as traders and merchants. It was as traders, missionaries and as employees of the colonial government that the Creoles spread out across West Africa and particularly in the hinterland of the peninsula of Sierra Leone. Thus, the presence of the Creoles and their agitation for economic and personal security in the hinterland of Sierra Leone was a factor that contributed toward the establishment of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.¹³

In 1890, the British Parliament passed legislation that provided for the extension of British rule to any region the colonial government believed it had a right to rule. The fear of French encroachment on British colonial interests and the long established presence of Creole traders and missionaries in the hinterland of Sierra Leone were factors that led to the British colonial government's decision to institute the Protectorate Ordinance on 31 August, 1896 that annexed the tribal kingdoms in the Sierra Leone hinterland as British territories.¹⁴ Since the 1870's the Creoles had agitated for further protection in the hinterland of Sierra Leone in order to safeguard their economic interests and to secure their personal safety.¹⁵ However, the financial burden of the British annexation of the Sierra

also used in this dissertation rather than "Krio", which in this study refers to the English based language of the Creole people.

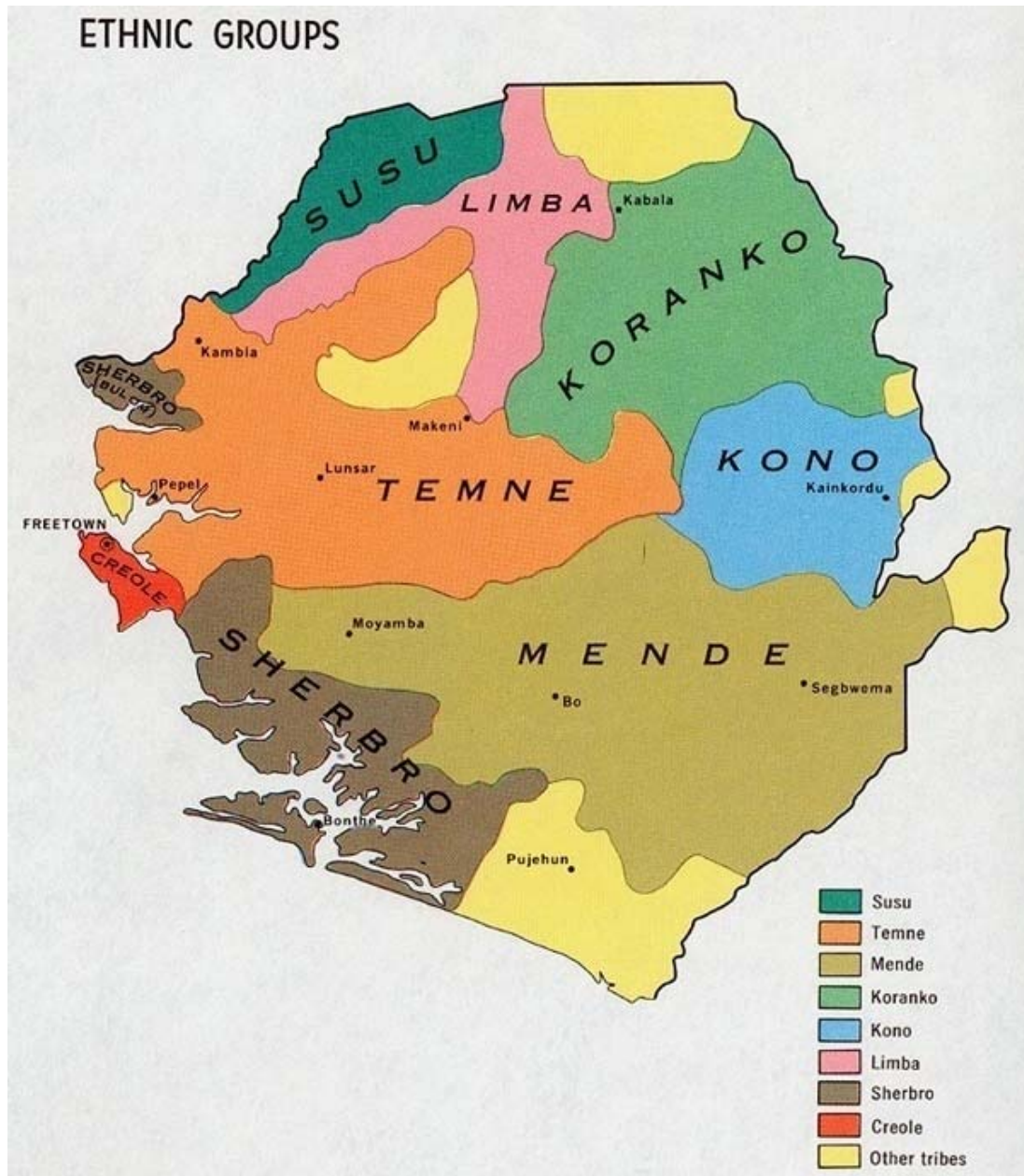
¹²Porter, *Creoledom*, p. 46.

¹³ Gustav Kashope Deveneaux, 'Public Opinion and Colonial Policy in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, no. 1, (1976), p. 66

¹⁴ Deveneaux, 'Public Opinion', p. 66

¹⁵ Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XX, 115-17, in Robert William July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa*, (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2004)

Leone hinterland would lead to the introduction of taxation to raise revenue for the management of the Protectorate.



Ethnic Map highlighting the demographics of Sierra Leone in 1969¹⁶

¹⁶NationMaster:http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/africa/sierra_leone_ethnic_1969.jpg, [Accessed:2013]. The demographic patterns of 1898 did not shift dramatically between the 1898 and the twentieth century.

Although the British government had made provision for the annexation of further territory, parliament remained firm on the principle that the colonies must raise revenue locally. Thus, Governor Frederic Cardew incorporated into the Protectorate Ordinance an annual House Tax of five to ten shillings per house or *hut* within the newly established Protectorate. Governor Cardew ensured that the House Tax was levied in Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma, three districts in the Protectorate closest to the Colony and that were most familiar with European customs. The European Chambers of Commerce in Liverpool and Manchester and the majority of Creoles opposed the House Tax provision on the basis that it would disrupt their business transactions and trade as the mechanism for taxation was unfamiliar to tribal chiefs.¹⁷ Furthermore, a significant number of Creoles opposed the hut tax in the Protectorate for fear of a similar form of taxation being introduced into the Colony.¹⁸ The Freetown newspaper press opposed the imposition of the House Tax and individual Creole traders residing in areas of the Protectorate warned tribal chiefs not to pay the House Tax.¹⁹ However, despite the Creole stance on the House Tax, with their Westernized lifestyle and adherence to European norms and customs, the Creoles occupied a volatile place in a colonial society increasingly seeking to expand its influence over the newly annexed tribal kingdoms.

The Hut Tax War was the response of indigenous peoples to the implementation of the House Tax and long held grievances against colonial authorities and Creole traders in the Protectorate. The war was comprised of two distinct theatres: the northern war initiated on the 17th of February, 1898 by the Loko Chief Bai Bureh and the southern uprising launched by the Sherbro ruler Bai Kpana Lewis on the 27th of April, 1898. The two theatres of War were distinct responses to the implementation of the taxation clause of the Protectorate Ordinance; however, in the southern region of the Protectorate, the uprising was also a response to the actions of Europeans and Creoles in the hinterland. In the southern theatre of war, the Mende people referred to the conflict as the puugwei or the "White Man's War"; a

¹⁷ 'The Situation in the Hinterland', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 19 March, 1898, hereafter cited as the *SLWN*.

¹⁸ 'The Present and Future of Sierra Leone', *The Times*, 5 April, 1899.

¹⁹ David Chalmers, *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and correspondence on the subject of the insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898*, (Great Britain: Darling & Son, 1899), V. I-II, hereafter cited as C.R I-II, (pp.), (par.)

designation that was reflective of the main factors that led to the war in the southern hinterland.²⁰

Although the northern theatre of war had fewer civilian casualties, the southern uprising was known for its brutality and the indigenous targeting of Europeans and particularly the Creoles. Hundreds of Creole men, women and children were massacred in the southern hinterland by indigenous tribes and although the names of murdered individuals were published, the total number of Creoles slaughtered may never be conclusively known.

The traditional narrative of the Hut Tax War has placed the Creoles in the backdrop of the events and their role in the uprising has not been adequately assessed in any major study to date. Historians have often portrayed the Creoles as victims caught between the hostile indigenous tribes and the colonial government. However, the evidence suggests that in both theatres of conflict, the Creoles had a significant role in inciting the rebellion and as victims of indigenous aggression and violence. The Creoles were actively involved in the uprising and their opposition to the House Tax in the northern region and their mistreatment of tribal members in the southern region led to retroaction against them by both the colonial government and the indigenous tribes in the southern region. In the aftermath of the Hut Tax War, the British would not tolerate notions of political advancement for the Creoles and Sierra Leoneans were marginalized and ridiculed.²¹

Thus, the Hut Tax War is an important area of study not only as a colonial uprising in West Africa but as an event that signalled the political decline of a coastal society that had collaborated with the British and harboured hopes of political advancement.²² Although the subsequent colonial response and suppression of the uprising would have a significant effect and repercussions on both the Protectorate and the Colony of Sierra Leone, perhaps no single ethnic group suffered more as a result

²⁰ Darrell Reeck, 'Protest and Conflict 1896-1898', in *Deep Mende: Religious Interactions in a Changing African Rural Society*, (Netherlands: Brill Archive, 1976), p. 35

²¹ Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May 1898

²² Akintola Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretative History*, (Maryland: Howard University Press, 1991), pp. 26-27, 46

of the uprising than the Creole people of the Sierra Leone peninsula.²³ Following the Hut Tax War, the economic and political power of the Creoles declined dramatically and British colonial policy toward the Creoles shifted in light of the events of the uprisings.²⁴ Furthermore, the political advancement of the Creoles was significantly undermined and the British no longer viewed them as their political *protégés*.²⁵ The Hut Tax War also played a significant role in undermining relations between the Creole population and indigenous tribes; a theme that would become representative of Colony-Protectorate relations during the decolonization period.

Finally the Hut Tax War is an important area in Sierra Leonean history that requires a thorough re-evaluation of the role of the Creoles during the course of the conflict. Although the historical narrative of the Hut Tax War has often portrayed the Creoles as victims, evidence suggests that the Creoles also had an active role in inciting the rebellion and in intensifying the grievances that indigenous peoples held against them. Although the Creoles were viewed by indigenes as collaborators with the British, it is simplistic to state that this was the sole reason for indigenous brutality against the Creoles. Thus, it is important to examine the Creole role in the Hut Tax War in order to present an accurate and objective account of the uprising. Whilst many studies have examined the indigenous rationale for the uprising and the general events of the war as a backdrop to late nineteenth century Sierra Leone, few historians have placed an emphasis on the importance of the Creoles as individuals who potentially incited the rebellion and collaborated with the British.

It is the aim of this dissertation to examine the role of the Creoles in the precursory stages of the rebellion and for the duration of the uprising until its suppression. This dissertation differs from previous scholarship on the Hut Tax War by focusing primarily on the activities of the Creole people and their involvement in the conflict. The role of Creoles in the various stages of the Hut Tax War shall be examined thematically in three chapters covering land tenancy, taxation and the press, and

²³ J.D. Hargreaves, 'The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate and the Insurrection of 1898', in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 12, no. 1, (1956), p. 80

²⁴ PRO CO 267/438/13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898, Wyse, *The Krio*, pp. 26-27, 46, Wyse, *H.C. Bankole-Bright*, p. 29

²⁵ Porter, *Creoledom*, p. 13

indigenous brutality against the Creoles. The final area that will be examined in this study is the aftermath and consequences of the conflict for the Creole people.

This dissertation shall first seek to examine the historical experience of the Creoles in relation to the Sierra Leone hinterland and the Creole domination of the indigenous peoples that invoked indigenous resentment of Creole traders, colonial administrators and missionaries. The differing perspectives on land tenure in Creole culture and indigenous society will be examined as an important factor that fomented the rebellion in the southern region and produced a wave of violence against Sierra Leoneans. Furthermore, the mistreatment of indigenes by the Creoles is another component that shall be examined in the first chapter of this dissertation.

The second chapter of this dissertation shall briefly examine the struggles of the Creoles and their antecedents against taxation and their early forms of colonial resistance through the press in order to determine the role this played in fomenting the rebellion. The Creole perspective on taxation and the negative influence of the Freetown press were cited by the critics of the Creoles as the outlet that subtly influenced the indigenous tribes to refuse to pay the House Tax and to rebel. Therefore it is important to examine the newspapers published in Freetown during the period in order to articulate Creole opinions on the House Tax and to determine whether seditious articles were written inducing the indigenous tribes to rebel.

In the third chapter of this dissertation, the rationale behind the massacre of the Creoles by indigenous peoples will also be examined and analysed to determine the extent to which this backlash was the result of Creole actions. Furthermore, this dissertation shall examine the possibility that the historical narrative has de-emphasized the violence evinced against the Creoles and the extent to which they were specifically targeted for acts of violence.

In the final section of this study, the aftermath of the Hut Tax War and the implications this had on the political advancement of the Creoles shall be briefly examined as a factor that led to the decline of the Creole community in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the negative impact of the uprising on

relations between the indigenous tribes and the Creoles is the final component to be examined within this section of the dissertation.

Historiography

The resistance of Africans to the imposition of colonial rule has been examined in great detail by numerous scholars of colonial African history.²⁶ In the context of Sierra Leone, Professor Noah Arthur Cox-George noted in his work, *Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience*, that opposition in Sierra Leone to excessive forms of taxation dated back to the 1800 Settler rebellion and the disagreements between the Nova Scotian Settlers and the Sierra Leone Company over the imposition of the quit rent.²⁷ However, the new forms of resistance that developed in Sierra Leone and across Africa during the late nineteenth century were in response to a perceived threat toward traditional customs and systems by the colonial powers.²⁸ The shift from an informal to formal empire and the rapid expansion of European colonialism sparked new forms of heated resistance.²⁹ As the scholar Crawford Young notes, the resistance of Africans to colonization intensified after colonial interference in the traditional patterns of labour, trade, and land tenancy.³⁰ The Hut Tax War in Sierra Leone was one conflict among a series of uprisings and expressions of resistance to the imposition of colonial taxation and the advancement of colonialism in Africa.

As scholars of colonial history such as Leigh A. Gardner and Jan Hodenberg have noted in their respective works, the imposition of a House Tax provision in 1896 was not unique to Sierra Leone.³¹

The celebrated English author, Mary Kingsley referred to the uprising as a “little Indian mutiny”, a

²⁶ Tucker, *The Tuckers*, p. 42, 105

²⁷ N.A. Cox-George, *Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience*, (United Kingdom: D. Dobson, 1961), pp. 40-44

²⁸ Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 99

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 99

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 99

³¹ Leigh A. Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 47, Jan S. Hogendorn, 'Economic initiative and African cash farming: pre-colonial origins and early colonial developments', Lewis Henry Gann (Ed.), Peter J. Duignan (Ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960: The economics of colonialism*, ed. by P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archives, 1975), p. 303

description that reflects the similarities between the 1898 uprising and other conflicts between the colonized and colonizers in the British Empire. A hut tax had been introduced into Zululand in 1896 and the Zulu chiefs had protested and demonstrated resistance against this provision in 1906.³² However, as the scholar Martin J. Daunton notes, the Hut Tax War was the first serious uprising in opposition to taxation in British West Africa and caused the British to be cautious about implementing direct taxation or infringing on the rights of traditional rulers to control their land in other territories such as Nigeria and the Gold Coast.³³ Furthermore, unlike some other conflicts in West Africa, the Hut Tax War was a complex series of events that placed a Westernized African elite as middlemen between the expansionist aims of the British colonizers and the struggle for autonomy by indigenous African kingdoms.

The role of middlemen who collaborated with European colonial powers has been examined by scholars such as Toyin Falola and F.M. Bourret in their case studies on Nigeria and the Gold Coast.³⁴ Historians such as Evanson N. Wamagatta define “collaborators” as individuals who served as middlemen between indigenous communities and colonial overlords and allowed colonial rule to be possible.³⁵ In his work on collaborators in colonial Kenya, Wamagatta notes that collaborators were passive and active participants in the colonial system who collaborated with European colonizers in educational, commercial, ecclesiastical and administrative fields. In the context of the Hut Tax War and Creole-indigenous relations in the hinterland, the Creoles were “collaborators”, whose activities in the Protectorate contributed toward the enforcement of British colonial policies. The Creoles filled the administrative roles required by the British and served as teachers, doctors, colonial administrators and

³² Martin J. Daunton, *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism*, (England: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 144

³³ *Ibid.* p. 144

³⁴ Toyin Falola, Saheed Aderinto, *Nigeria, Nationalism, and Writing History*, (University of Rochester Press, 2010), pp. 159, 168, 204, F.M. Bourret, *The Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919-1951*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 15-16. In Bourret’s study of the Gold Coast, he notes how the defeated Fanti people served as collaborators with the British, in stark contrast to the Ashanti who countered with continued resistance.

³⁵ Evanson N. Wamagatta, ‘African Collaborators and Their Quest for Power in Colonial Kenya: Senior Chief Waruhiu wa Kung’u’s Rise from Obscurity to Prominence, 1890-1922’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2008), p. 295

clerks, in addition to their roles as missionaries and religious clerics for various denominations.³⁶ Thus, in the early narrative of the Hut Tax War, the position of Creoles as a nexus between the colonizers and the colonized indigenous peoples was presented as the factor that led to the slaughter of Creoles during the Hut Tax uprising.

Review of Secondary Literature

In early literature and some current scholarship on the Hut Tax War, historians have depicted the Creoles as collaborators with the British who were massacred due to their loyalty to the colonial government. From the onset of the historical narrative on the Hut Tax War, various authors have portrayed the Creoles as victims of their Westernization and European culture.³⁷ The political decline of the Creoles and the colonial vitriol against them for their role in inciting the rebellion was largely ignored and emphasis was placed on the slaughter of the Creoles by indigenous peoples. A.B.C Merriman-Labour, a Creole barrister and author, stated in his 1898 account of the uprising, that Sierra Leoneans were massacred for divulging the secrets of indigenous esoteric societies that contradicted Creole values of “morality and religion.”³⁸ Charles Braithwaite Wallis, an eyewitness to the southern uprising and another author who wrote an early account of the Hut Tax War, stated that the majority of the blacks killed were Sierra Leoneans whose, “only language was English, who were educated Christians, and who held responsible positions within the Protectorate.”³⁹ As late as the mid-twentieth century, Creoles were portrayed as victims of the Hut Tax War who were slaughtered for representing Western culture. English commentators such as Roy Lewis stated as late as 1954 that the Creoles were slaughtered in the uprising as a result of their association with the British and their aping of European culture.⁴⁰

By the twentieth century, the massacre of the Creoles during the Hut Tax War was also portrayed as an indistinguishable part of a larger struggle of indigenous peoples against Westernization and

³⁶Wyse, *H.C. Bankole-Bright*, p. 29

³⁷ Charles Braithwaite Wallis, *The advance of our West African empire*, (London: T.F. Unwin, 1903), p.135

³⁸ A.B.C. Merriman Labor, *The last military expedition in Sierra Leone: Or, British soldiers and West African native warriors*, (John Heywood: Manchester, 1898), p. 25

³⁹ Wallis, *The advance*, p. 135

⁴⁰ Roy Lewis, *Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait*, (United Kingdom: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954), p. 35

colonialism.⁴¹ The grievances held by indigenous chiefs and others against the Creoles were largely ignored and greater emphasis was placed on the struggle between indigenous and European culture. Even popular literature by Creole authors such as William Conton's seminal work *The African* propagated the myth that the Creoles were slaughtered merely because of their association with the British as collaborators. It was not until the publication of British historian Christopher Fyfe's landmark work in 1962 that the role of the Creoles and their massacre in the uprising was re-examined in further detail than previous studies.

In Christopher Fyfe's *A History of Sierra Leone*, Fyfe examined and addressed the events of the Hut Tax War and the brutalities committed by indigenous peoples during the uprising.⁴² Although Fyfe gave little attention to the role of Creoles in fomenting the rebellion, Fyfe briefly mentioned the accusation that the press had fomented the rebellion. Furthermore, as a general history of Sierra Leone, Fyfe detailed some of the actions of individual Creole traders in the Protectorate that resulted in a backlash against the Creoles.⁴³ Fyfe also noted the political decline of the Creoles following the Hut Tax War and attributed aspects of the twentieth century colonial bias against the Creoles to their role in the uprising.⁴⁴ However, Fyfe's encyclopaedic work was a limited account of the uprising, although it was the beginning of a shift in Sierra Leonean historiography following the independence of Sierra Leone in 1961 that re-examined and detailed relations between indigenous Sierra Leoneans and the Creoles prior to the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most recent and detailed study of Creoles activities during the Hut Tax War takes place in Leo Spitzer's *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism 1870-1945*. Spitzer did not focus primarily on the Hut Tax War but examined the conflict as a backdrop for indigenous-Creole relations at the turn of the nineteenth century. Spitzer placed less emphasis on the brutalities committed against Creoles and focuses his attention on the newspaper coverage and political activities of Creoles during this period. Spitzer detailed the negative perceptions the Creoles had of the

⁴¹ Porter, *Creoledom*, p. 60

⁴² Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 566-588

⁴³ Fyfe *A History*, p. 572

⁴⁴ *Ibid* p. 580

Protectorate in addition to some of their perspectives on the uprising. Spitzer largely rejected the notion that the Freetown press and Creole traders had proven disloyal and incited the rebellion.⁴⁵ Spitzer claimed that it was impossible for the Creoles to have incited the rebellion in the southern hinterland where Sierra Leoneans were killed in such large numbers.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Spitzer cited an article in the Freetown press to assert his theory that Sierra Leoneans were mainly slaughtered by indigenous peoples because they were viewed as collaborators.⁴⁷ However, as one reviewer stated of Spitzer's account of the Hut Tax War: "there are limitations...in an extended discussion of the Hut Tax, Creole reactions are confined to the city and Colony residents."⁴⁸ Spitzer did not utilize the wealth of primary information found in sources such as Sir David Chalmers' official report on the uprising to enrich and give a more accurate account of the Creole role during the Hut Tax War.

It was the Sierra Leonean historian, Akintola J.G. Wyse who first noted the disparity between the historical record that attributed the cause of the war to the Creoles and the narrative that placed the Creoles as victims of the uprising.⁴⁹ In Wyse' work, *H.C. Bankole-Bright and Colonial Politics in Sierra Leone: 1919-1958*, Wyse noted it was ironic that recent historiography had placed the Creoles as victims although at the time it was the Creoles who were blamed for inciting the rebellion.

Although Wyse did not expand on this point, his contribution to the study of politics in colonial Sierra Leone was perhaps the first to note the dual role of the Creoles as victims in the contemporary scholarship and inciters of the rebellion according to the historical record. However, Wyse did not explore the rationale of indigenous peoples in their slaughter of the Creoles and like previous historians attributed it to the notion that the Creoles represented the "onslaught of western culture and colonialism."⁵⁰ Thus, although studies by historians such as Wyse, Spitzer and Fyfe briefly note the

⁴⁵ Spitzer, *The Creoles*, pp. 103-105

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 103

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp. 97-98

⁴⁸ *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945* by Leo Spitzer Review by: Humphrey J. Fisher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1976), pp. 496-498

⁴⁹ Wyse, *H.C. Bankole-Bright*, p. 29

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 29

actions of the Creoles in light of the uprising, no scholar to date has produced a substantive account examining the role of Creoles during the conflict.

Survey of Primary Sources

This dissertation differs from previous scholarship on the Hut Tax War by focusing primarily on the role of Creoles during the course of the conflict and by examining primary sources that indicate the extent to which the Creoles fomented the uprising. In order to thoroughly articulate the activities of Creoles during the course of the War it is important to briefly examine the historical experience of Creoles in opposing taxation and resisting the government through the press. Throughout the late nineteenth century, the Creoles utilized the press as an outlet for debating and subtly critiquing colonial policy.⁵¹ Thus, it was not shocking when the colonial government in Freetown cited articles written in the press as a significant factor in fomenting the native uprising.⁵²

In order to substantiate or disprove this claim by the colonial government, this dissertation shall examine and analyse the role of publications such as the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (1884-1951) and *The Sierra Leone Times* (1892-1912) in criticizing colonial policy and opposing the passage of the House Tax provision. The newspaper articles within the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and the *Sierra Leone Times* provide insight into Creole perspectives and opinions on the uprising alongside previous commentary on relations between the Colony and Protectorate. Furthermore, both newspapers provide some testimony from Creole individuals who also testified before Commissioner David Chalmers during the royal inquiry into the causes of the uprising. Thus, the testimony of individuals can be scrutinized based upon their statements in the local press and also before Commissioner David Chalmers in his official report into the causes of the uprising.

The Royal Commissioner David Chalmers' *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and correspondence on the subject of the insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898* is a valuable source comprised of eyewitness testimony and the official report on the factors that led to the rebellion. Although an official report, the conclusions drawn by Commissioner Chalmers in Volume

⁵¹ Deveneaux, 'Public Opinion', pp. 51-53

⁵² PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898

One are biased in favour of the Creoles. However, the Report also contains Governor Frederic Cardew response to the findings that contradict Chalmers' perspective on the factors that contributed toward the Hut Tax rebellion. Thus, the Chalmers Report provides useful insight into official conclusions on the contributory factors that led to the rebellion. The Chalmers' Report is also an important source for this present study in order to recreate some of the events of the conflict and to understand the role of the Creoles based upon statements given by European, indigenous and Creole eyewitnesses.

Finally, the CO 267/438 Series provides useful information including Governor Frederic Cardew's correspondence and letters during the course of the 1898 conflict and gives considerable insight into his perception of the factors that contributed toward the uprising. Furthermore, Cardew's views on the Creole community and their role in the uprising are consequential due to the fact that the Colonial Office supported his perspective on the causes of the war. However, although the CO 267/438 Series is an important source, it is also limited due to the fact it reflects Governor Cardew's biased views against the Creoles and his obvious desire to present evidence that would deflect blame for the uprising away from the colonial government. However, Governor Cardew's letters are important to counterbalance the testimony given in the Chalmers Report and in newspaper accounts written by the Creoles. The Governor's correspondence contains unsavoury details about the role of the Creoles that may have been deliberately withheld from the Chalmers Report and were not reflected in the opinions of the Freetown press. In order to present an unbiased account of the Creole role in the uprising, the correspondence of Governor Cardew will be analysed in detail.

Chapter One: The Creoles in the hinterland: Disputes over Land tenancy and Culture

The presence of Sierra Leoneans in the hinterland was not a unique development confined to the establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1896.⁵³ Since the foundation of the Sierra Leone Colony in 1792, the black settlers from the Colony had interacted with indigenous peoples and had established trade links in a similar pattern to their European predecessors.⁵⁴ The timber trade in Rokel and the groundnut trade in the northern region of the hinterland attracted a significant number of Creole traders and merchants.⁵⁵ Although the indigenous rulers initially welcomed the influx of Creole traders who increased trade within the region, the landlord and tenancy relationship that previously governed indigenous relations with Europeans was significantly undermined.⁵⁶ Some Creole traders began to disregard the traditional customs within the interior and began to interfere in the political affairs of local chiefs and their councils. Some Sierra Leoneans began to settle and cultivate indigenous land without the permission of tribal landlords.⁵⁷ Furthermore, in disputes between Creole traders and indigenous peoples, some Creoles enacted their own forms of retribution.⁵⁸ Thus, by the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896 there was growing resentment against the presence of Creoles in the hinterland. This chapter shall focus on relations between Sierra Leoneans and indigenous peoples in the hinterland during the late nineteenth century when the Sierra Leone Protectorate was established.

The Sierra Leoneans who settled in the hinterland of Sierra Leone were active agents in progressing Western ideals of education and culture.⁵⁹ As Creole traders settled in the hinterland and prospered from the sale of goods, the Creoles introduced some aspects of their lifestyle into tribal regions. Creole merchants such as Robert T. Collier and William W. Lewis built large factories in the

⁵³ Leslie Shyllon, *Two Centuries of Christianity in an African province of freedom, Sierra Leone: a case study of European influence and culture in church development*, (United Kingdom: Print Sundries and Stationers, 2008), p. 278

⁵⁴ Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland*, (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), p. 138

⁵⁵ Fyfe, *A Short History*, pp. 71-72

⁵⁶ Dorjahn and Fyfe, 'Landlord and Stranger', pp. 391-397,

⁵⁷ C.R. I, p. 112

⁵⁸ C.R. I, p. 112, C.R. II, par. 3243

⁵⁹ Spitzer, *The Creoles*, pp. 78-80

hinterland that signified their great wealth and opulence.⁶⁰ Some prosperous Creole merchants such as Frederick William Pinches even had churches established near their factories.⁶¹ Creole catechists and missionaries established and proselytized at mission stations in the hinterland and some achieved fame such as Peter Hazeley, the ‘Apostle to the Limba’.⁶² Furthermore, some Creoles served as clerks to indigenous rulers. Although some tribal chiefs considered themselves superior to the Creoles or “slave pikin” [slave children] who they viewed as merely the descendants of slaves, indigenous people did not necessarily object to the presence of Sierra Leoneans.⁶³ The influx of Creole traders and the sale of their goods brought new products and trading partners that were attractive to indigenous rulers. However, the ethnocentrism displayed by some Creole traders in the hinterland would prove problematic for relations between Sierra Leoneans and the indigenous peoples.⁶⁴

Historians such as David Harris and Yekutiel Gershoni have noted the similarities between Creoles and other repatriated ex-slaves in their interactions with indigenous peoples and culture.⁶⁵ In historian M.B. Akpan’s study of the Americo Liberian population, an ethnic group in neighbouring Liberia that was similarly descended from freed slaves, Akpan notes that the Americo-Liberians believed that they were culturally superior to indigenous tribes in the Liberian hinterland.⁶⁶ According to Akpan, the Americo-Liberians believed it was their duty to ‘civilize’ indigenous peoples and to enlighten them through a process of Westernization.⁶⁷ Thus, Americo-Liberians interfered in the affairs of local tribes and discouraged indigenous cultural practices that they believed were uncivilized or savage.⁶⁸

Although the scholar Henry S. Wilson notes that Sierra Leoneans were not as culturally arrogant as

⁶⁰ Wallis, *The advance*, p. 135

⁶¹ ‘Alarming Outbreak At Sherbro and the Protectorate, Massacre of Sierra Leoneans by Mendi Warboys, Burning Of Factories From Manoh-Salijah To Rotifunk’, *SLWN*, May 7, 1898

⁶² Wyse, *The Krio*, pp. 25-27

⁶³ Spitzer, *The Creoles*, p. 84. Pikin means “child(ren)” in the Krio language.

⁶⁴ C.R. II, par 3243-3246

⁶⁵ David Harris, *Civil War and Democracy in West Africa: Conflict Resolution, Elections and Justice in Sierra Leone and Liberia*, (United Kingdom: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p. 54

⁶⁶ M.B. Akpan, ‘Black Imperialism: Americo-Liberian Rule over the African Peoples of Liberia, 1841-1964’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1973), pp. 225-226

⁶⁷ Akpan, ‘Black Imperialism’, pp. 225-227

⁶⁸ Yekutiel Gershoni, Makhon le-mehkar ‘al shem, Heri S. Truman, *Black Colonialism: the Americo-Liberian scramble for the Hinterland*, (United States: Westview Press, 1985), p. 22

their Americo-Liberian counterparts, the Creoles strongly believed in their civilizing mission.⁶⁹ It was on this basis that some Creole traders began to interfere in the political affairs of indigenous peoples and to assert their dominance within the hinterland.⁷⁰

Creole traders began to interfere in the tribal ‘palavers’ or meetings that were formed to discuss the political affairs of indigenous communities. In the small village of Yonga, a Creole named Hanson asserted his authority and was said to have “domineered over the whole country.”⁷¹ According to Governor Frederic Cardew, Hanson believed that “he being a Sierra Leonean, had prescriptive right to control native affairs.”⁷² Small scale Creole traders in a competitive market without the capital of wealthy merchants would resort to cheating and coercion to sell their goods. Creoles were frequently accused of defrauding indigenous peoples and buying their goods at a lower price.⁷³ In the southern region of the hinterland, some Creoles were accused of intoxicating indigenous peoples in order to force them to buy their goods.⁷⁴ Sierra Leonean men were also constantly accused of attempting to seduce the wives of indigenous men within the southern region.⁷⁵ The attitude of Sierra Leoneans became increasingly intolerable to indigenous rulers who began to view Creole traders as intruders. Outside the jurisdiction of the Sierra Leone Colony, Creole traders eager to assert their independence and display their prosperity would undermine and disintegrate the landlord, stranger and tenancy customs that had characterized relations between indigenous landlords and their tenants since the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This would create significant problems between Creole traders and indigenous chiefs within the hinterland.

Scholars of Sierra Leonean history have long noted the problems caused by the different perspectives on land tenure between the Sierra Leonean settlers and the indigenous peoples. As historian James St. George Walker notes, the different perspective on land tenure would prove problematic for the black

⁶⁹ Henry S. Wilson, ‘Nation Building, Ethnicity, and the New Imperialism: Dilemmas of Political Development in Liberia’, in B.K. Swartz (Ed.), Raymond E. (Ed.), *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, p. 563

⁷⁰ C.R. I, pp. 113-14, C.R. II, par. 3243, 326-330

⁷¹ C.R. I, p. 113,

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 113

⁷³ C.R. II, par. 2248-2249, 2446

⁷⁴ C.R. II, par. 404

⁷⁵ C.R. I, p. 114, C.R. II, par. 3243

colonists who settled in the region to establish the first colony in 1787 and resulted in the failure of their attempt at colonization.⁷⁶ Furthermore, numerous conflicts had arisen between the Nova Scotian Settlers and the indigenous peoples over the varying interpretations of land tenancy.⁷⁷ Scholars such as V.R. Dorjahn and Christopher Fyfe have outlined the principles of indigenous land tenure in Sierra Leone in their paper, *Landlord and Stranger*. As Dorjahn and Fyfe note, there was an intricate and complex tradition that governed the relationship between landlord and tenant within the Sierra Leone hinterland. Landlords were responsible for protecting their tenants and these tenants were expected to respect their landlords and to report any disputes to them.⁷⁸ Furthermore, according to indigenous custom, land occupied by strangers or indigenous members of the community was never permanently alienated to these tenants but was to remain communal.⁷⁹ However, this system of land tenancy was severely undermined by the influx of Creole traders who sought to settle on land without permission and to solve trade disputes themselves.

⁷⁶ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 99

⁷⁷ Dorjahn, Fyfe, 'Landlord and Stranger', pp. 394-396

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 395

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 397



Map of Sierra Leone highlighting the Protectorate, 1922⁸⁰

The initiative taken by Creole traders seeking to settle their disputes within the hinterland would lead to the disintegration of the indigenous tenancy system and a breakdown in relations with indigenous peoples. Although indigenous chiefs expected the Creoles to refer trade disputes to them, Sierra Leoneans independently enacted their own forms of retribution. Furthermore, some Creole traders would punish their debtors by physically abusing them. William Henry Johnson, an Americo-Liberian farmer in Mafwe noted that he had seen Creole “men catch natives and tie them up for debt.”⁸¹ A European official described how one Sierra Leonean had tied up an indigenous debtor and gave him

⁸⁰ Internet Map Archive, Probert Encyclopedia:
<http://www.probertencyclopaedia.com/photolib/maps/Map%20of%20Sierra%20Leone%201922.htm>,
 [Accessed: 22 September, 2012], the “Karina” District mentioned on this map was the Karene District.

⁸¹ C.R. II, par. 3243

“three or four lashes every day, burned his beard off, and subjected him to other gross indignities.”⁸² Although indigenous chiefs would plunder the stores of unscrupulous traders, within a predominately tribal society, it was the Creole traders with their excessive forms of retribution and their perceived arrogance who were increasingly resented.

The Creoles exacerbated their precarious position within the hinterland by claiming ownership over tribal land that had not been permanently alienated to them.⁸³ Creole traders were accused of settling on indigenous land and refusing to pay rent or to acknowledge the authority of indigenous landlords.⁸⁴ In the aftermath of the uprising, Governor Frederic Cardew claimed to have received complaints from indigenous chiefs who stated that Creoles had settled on their land without permission.⁸⁵ In 1895, Suri Kasebeh, the Loko Chief of Rotifunk, an indigenous town inhabited by the Sherbro, had complained to the colonial government about the refusal of Sierra Leoneans to pay him rent for the occupation of communal land. In January of 1898, the Chief of Lungi had complained that Sierra Leoneans had settled on his land without permission and shot his cattle that happened to “trespass” on their portion of land.⁸⁶ Indigenous chiefs became alarmed at the presence of Sierra Leoneans and perceived the actions of the Creoles as an attempt to seize their land.⁸⁷ Although the actions of Sierra Leonean traders were not directly supported by the Creole professional elite in Freetown, the elite did begin to agitate for the formal annexation of the hinterland under British rule.

By the late nineteenth century, many prominent Creole figures believed that the ameliorating influence of the British government should extend to the various kingdoms within the hinterland. Prominent Creoles had welcomed the British annexation of the Sherbro region in 1861, and believed it was a prime opportunity for developing agriculture and spreading civilization to the interior. However, despite the rhetoric outlining the extension of “civilization” to the hinterland, economics and trade were the basis for the push toward annexation of the hinterland. The expansionist hopes and

⁸² Ibid. II, par. 326

⁸³ C.R. I, p. 113,

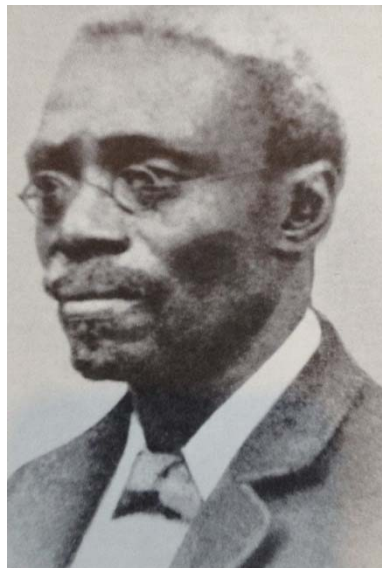
⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 113,

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 113,

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 113,

⁸⁷ C.R. II, par. 4285

frustrations of the Creoles were exemplified in the statements made by Samuel Lewis, an eminent Creole barrister in 1872. Speaking before the Royal Colonial Institute, Lewis stated that “we have long clamoured for larger room in which to develop ourselves, but we have been told the British people do not want more territory in these parts.”⁸⁸ However, with the support of the Creole elite and European business firms, the gradual extension of British influence in the hinterland began to increase.⁸⁹ Treaties were signed granting the British colonial government greater responsibility within areas of the hinterland. By the 1890s when annexation was on the horizon, the formation of the Protectorate would bring about significant changes to the developments that had previously characterized interactions between Creoles and indigenous peoples in the hinterland.



Sir Samuel Lewis, (1843-1903), Barrister at Law⁹⁰

The Protectorate was divided into five districts under the charge of European District Commissioners and the Frontier Police that had been formed in 1890 was utilized to maintain law and order in the annexed territory. The Frontier Police known as the ‘Frontiers’ was comprised of European officers and Creole sub-officers who oversaw a regular force of mainly indigenous men and a few Creoles. In theory, Sierra Leoneans and indigenous chiefs could no longer enact the previous forms of retribution

⁸⁸Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XX, 115-17, in July, *The Origins*, see Appendix A for full statement.

⁸⁹ Ade Renner-Thomas, *Land Tenure in Sierra Leone*, (United States: AuthorHouse, 2010), p. 23

⁹⁰ Reproduced from Porter, *Creoleedom*, p. 54

for debt without being subject to colonial law. Thus, following the establishment of the Protectorate there was a slight shift in the behaviour of Sierra Leoneans toward indigenous debtors and less plundering by indigenous peoples of dishonest Creole traders⁹¹ However, the actions taken by Creole traders prior to the formation of the Protectorate were not readily forgiven or forgotten by indigenous peoples.⁹²



The Sierra Leone Frontier Police ⁹³

Furthermore, although the Creoles had agitated for the annexation of the hinterland they were not selected to serve in the administrative governance of the Protectorate. Governor Cardew held an unfavourable opinion of Creole officials following the discrepancies of a few Creole civil servants and refused to promote Sierra Leoneans to high positions within the administration of the Protectorate. Except for William Hughes who was selected to serve as an assistant District Commissioner, few Creoles served in an official administrative role within the Protectorate.⁹⁴ This would further embitter the Creole elite against Governor Cardew and his colonial policies pertaining to the governance of the Protectorate.

⁹¹ C.R. II par. 3246

⁹² C.R., II, par. 4285

⁹³ T.E. Leslie Allridge, *The Illustrated London News*, "Sierra Leone Frontier Police", 14 May, 1898

⁹⁴ Abraham, Arthur, "William Hughes", in *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra Leone and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), p. 79

However, the most significant development within the newly formed protectorate that differed from the previous indigenous system of governance and trade was the enforcement of the House Tax provision of the Protectorate Ordinance. District commissioners were responsible for enforcing the law and with the assistance of the Frontier police had the authority to arrest individuals who did not pay accordingly. European merchants and Creole traders within the Protectorate were also subject to the tax based upon the size of their shops and dwellings. From the onset, indigenous chiefs seemed unwilling to pay the House Tax and approached Governor Frederic Cardew in October 1897 for redress.⁹⁵ But ironically it was the Creole traders and professional class who had agitated for the annexation of the Protectorate who most strongly opposed the House Tax provision in the Protectorate Ordinance.

⁹⁵ 'The Situation in the Hinterland', *SLWN*, March 19, 1898, C.R. II, p. 569-579

Chapter Two: Opposition to the House Tax and incitement to rebellion

*It has been stated to a great extent that the insurrection was caused by articles in the Sierra Leone Press and by traders and others in Sierra Leone who incited or encouraged the natives to refuse to pay the hut tax, and you should inquire fully into the truth of these allegations.*⁹⁶

- Edward Wingfield, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in his instructions to Royal Commissioner David Chalmers

Although the Creoles in the hinterland had a tenuous relationship with indigenous tribes, the majority of Sierra Leoneans fervently opposed the provision in the Protectorate Ordinance for the taxation of indigenous peoples.⁹⁷ The Creoles opposed any form of taxation that would disrupt trade in the Protectorate and could be similarly introduced into the Colony.⁹⁸ Prominent Sierra Leonean figures such as Sir Samuel Lewis criticized the House Tax provision and Creole newspapers fervently opposed its implementation. In the aftermath of the Hut Tax War, colonial officials such as Governor Frederic Cardew blamed the Creole community and press for inciting the rebellion in the hinterland.⁹⁹ Even critics writing to the *Times* of London levelled blame against the supposed “frontier black lawyers” who had incited the indigenous peoples of Sierra Leone to rebel.¹⁰⁰ Therefore the first section of this chapter shall address the accusations levelled against the Sierra Leonean operated press that articles opposing the hut tax fomented the rebellion. The second part of this chapter shall examine whether Creole traders disseminated the contents of the Freetown newspapers in the hinterland and directly informed indigenous peoples to refuse to pay the House Tax.

The outbreak of the Hut Tax War on 17 February, 1898 in Port Loko, a small town in the north-eastern Karene District, sent shock waves across the colonial government. The attempt by British District Commissioner Wilfred Stanley Sharpe to arrest Bai Bureh, the Loko ruler and sub-chief,

⁹⁶ C.R. I, p. 5

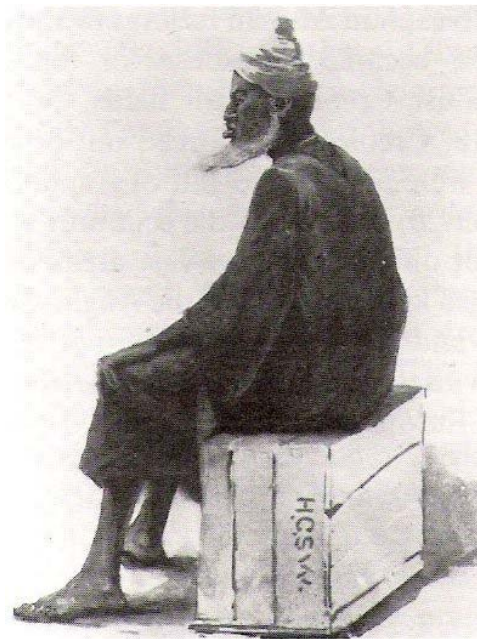
⁹⁷ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898,

⁹⁸ C.R. I, p. 140, Appendix F

⁹⁹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898, Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Secretary Chamberlain, 31 May, 1898

¹⁰⁰ ‘The Rising in Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 24 August, 1898

resulted in resistance from Bai Bureh and his allies.¹⁰¹ The West India Regiment was dispatched to fight the contingent of war-boys led by Bai Bureh and other local rulers. Although rumours of the events in the hinterland spread to the Colony, Governor Cardew ensured that the suppression of the uprising in the Karene District remained confidential. However, this did not prevent the Creole community in Freetown from expressing its opinions concerning the uprising and the imposition of the House Tax. The sentiments of the Creoles reflected in the press during the course of the conflict were rooted in the opinions Sierra Leoneans held about the House Tax prior to the uprising.¹⁰² Furthermore, the strong opposition to taxation amongst the Creole community reflected a tradition that dated back to the founding of the Sierra Leone Colony.



Bai Bureh, (1840-1908), Chief of Kasseh village¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266 Serg. Major Robert W. George to Governor Frederic Cardew, 13 June, 1898, 'The Sierra Leone Rising', *The Times*, October 19, 1898

¹⁰²'Troublous Times', *SLWN*, May 7, 1898

¹⁰³ Reproduced from Abraham, Arthur, "Bai Bureh", *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), p. 51

The aversion of the Creoles and their ancestors to any form of taxation has been explored by scholars of Sierra Leonean history such as Ellen Gibson Wilson and Odile Goerg.¹⁰⁴ In Wilson's work, *The Loyal Blacks*, Gibson notes the disdain the Nova Scotian Settlers had for the taxation of their land in the early period of the Colony of Sierra Leone.¹⁰⁵ Historian Odile Goerg notes that when the House and Land tax that had been reintroduced into the Colony in 1851 was abolished by Governor Pope-Hennessy in 1872, the Creoles celebrated and created an annual holiday in honour of Governor Hennessy.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the Creole opposition to the House Tax provision was characteristic of the community and this was reflected in the initial response of Sierra Leoneans to the House Tax provision and the outbreak of the Hut Tax War.¹⁰⁷

Although Creole society in Freetown was stratified between the elite comprised of middle class professionals and merchants and the working class comprised of artisans, small scale traders, and unskilled labourers, opposition to the imposition of the hut tax was widespread within the Colony.¹⁰⁸ Working class Sierra Leoneans feared that the House Tax would lead to the reintroduction of taxation in the Colony and many within the elite believed the House Tax would disrupt trade and would lead to conflict.¹⁰⁹ The sentiments of Sierra Leoneans were reflected in the widespread sympathy expressed for Bai Bureh during the course of the conflict.¹¹⁰ Governor Cardew cited the example of married Creole women or 'mammies' who prayed for the conversion of Bai Bureh and held the first prayer meeting outside Cardew's official residence at Government House.¹¹¹ Cardew's claim is substantiated by a notice in the March 5th edition of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* asking for Methodist members of the community to gather outside the Governor's residence and pray for themselves and their

¹⁰⁴ Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), p. 300-309, 325-326, Odile Goerg, 'Between Everyday Life and Exception: Celebrating Pope Hennessy Day in Freetown, 1872-c.1905', in *Journal of African Cultural Studies* Vol. 15, No. 1., pp. 119-131

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, *The Loyal*, p. 326

¹⁰⁶ Goerg, 'Between Everyday', pp. 119-131

¹⁰⁷ E. Graham Ingham, 'Sierra Leone, To the Editor of the Times', *The Times*, 12 May, 1898

¹⁰⁸ 'Troublous Times', *SLWN*, May 7, 1898, C.R. II, par. 422

¹⁰⁹ 'The Present and Future of Sierra Leone', *The Times*, 5 April, 1899, C.R. II, par. 8358

¹¹⁰ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

“heathen neighbours”.¹¹² Although members of the Freetown community also demonstrated racial solidarity with the plight of indigenous peoples within the Protectorate, many Creoles were aggrieved at the taxation of individuals they believed were unfamiliar with the system and would be unable to pay the tax. The disapproving sentiments of the Creole community were frequently expressed in the vibrant newspaper press operated by Creole proprietors in Freetown.

The Freetown Press

Scholars such as Rosalynde Ainslie and William A. Hachten have noted in their studies on the news media in Africa that colonial subjects within the British Empire often utilized the press as an outlet to voice their opinion regarding colonial policies and to engage the political consciousness of their fellow citizens.¹¹³ As the scholar Fred Omu notes in his work on the press in colonial Africa, the press was the most effective constitutional method for ventilating grievances and influencing colonial policy.¹¹⁴ The Colony of Sierra Leone had long been known for its political consciousness and its demonstration of articulating British rights in the context of individual freedom and liberty. In the Colony of Sierra Leone, the newspaper press that was owned and operated by Creole proprietors was one of the most prominent tools of political expression and for scrutinizing colonial policies.¹¹⁵ The historian Gustav Deveneaux notes in his study of public policy in nineteenth century Sierra Leone, that the Creoles effectively used the press to scrutinize policies and to agitate for greater rights within the Colony.¹¹⁶

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and *Sierra Leone Times* were the most widely read newspapers in the Colony of Sierra Leone.¹¹⁷ The editor of the

¹¹² ‘Prayer Meetings Against The Condition Of Things In The City And Protectorate’, *SLWN*, 5 March, 1898

¹¹³ William A. Hachten, *Muffled drums; the news media in Africa*, (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1971), pp. 143-144, Rosalynde Ainslie, *The press in Africa: communications past and present*, (United States: Walker, 1967), p. 23

¹¹⁴ Fred I.A. Omu, ‘The dilemma of press freedom in Colonial Africa: the West African example’, *Journal of African History*, v. 9., no. 2 (1968), p. 279

¹¹⁵ Christopher Fyfe, ‘The Sierra Leone Press in the Nineteenth Century’, *Sierra Leone Studies New Series*, Vol. 8, (1957), pp. 231-232

¹¹⁶ Deveneaux, ‘Public Opinion’, pp. 45-67

¹¹⁷ C.R. I, p. 61

Sierra Leone Weekly News was Cornelius May, a Creole from a prominent religious family whose status and background placed May firmly within the elite locally known as the ‘Aristos’.¹¹⁸ The board of the Sierra Leone Printing and Publishing Company that produced the *Sierra Leone Times* was comprised of prominent Creole merchants such as John Henry Malamah-Thomas and his neighbour, F.A. Noah. Thus, in examining the newspaper press of Freetown it is important to note that these newspapers were operated and funded by wealthy Creoles who had close ties to the mercantile community and its interests. Therefore although the newspapers may have reflected the general opinion of the Freetown populace, there may have been a bias toward the mercantilist interests of the elite. It was the reports written by the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and *Sierra Leone Times* that Governor Cardew believed had demonstrated disloyalty to the colonial government.¹¹⁹

Governor Cardew levelled two accusations against the Sierra Leone press that were thoroughly investigated in the Chalmers Report of 1899.¹²⁰ Cardew accused the Freetown press of expressing open disloyalty to the colonial government during the campaign and in influencing indigenous peoples to continue to wage war against the colonial government.¹²¹ According to Governor Cardew, Sir Philip Smyly, the Attorney General of Sierra Leone had reviewed the contents of Freetown newspapers from December 1897 and had found seditious articles in both the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and the *Sierra Leone Times*.¹²² The Attorney General had cited an article in the 16th of April issue of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and two articles in the 9th of April edition of the *Sierra Leone Times* that in his view did not “promote peace in the interior.”¹²³ The accusations made by Governor Cardew and Attorney-General Smyly were also supported by Frontiers such as Sergeant Major Robert W. George and by correspondents who wrote to the *Times* of London.¹²⁴ However, Commissioner David Chalmers’ investigation into the Freetown newspapers contradicted the notion that the press

¹¹⁸ Filomina Chioma Steady, *Women and the Amistad Connection: Sierra Leone Krio Society*, (Vermont: Schenkman Books, 2001), p. 101

¹¹⁹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898,

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid; PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 31 May, 1898

¹²² PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898

¹²³ C.R. I. p. 60

¹²⁴ ‘The Rising in Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 27 June, 1898,

had incited the indigenous peoples to rebel. Chalmers stated that although the newspapers expressed sympathy for Bai Bureh and had been critical of the House Tax provision and the actions taken to enforce the tax by the colonial administrators, the newspapers had openly expressed support for the suppression of the rebellion.¹²⁵ By examining the newspaper articles within the *Sierra Leone Times* and *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, the evidence suggests that the findings of Commissioner Chalmers were reflected in the press.

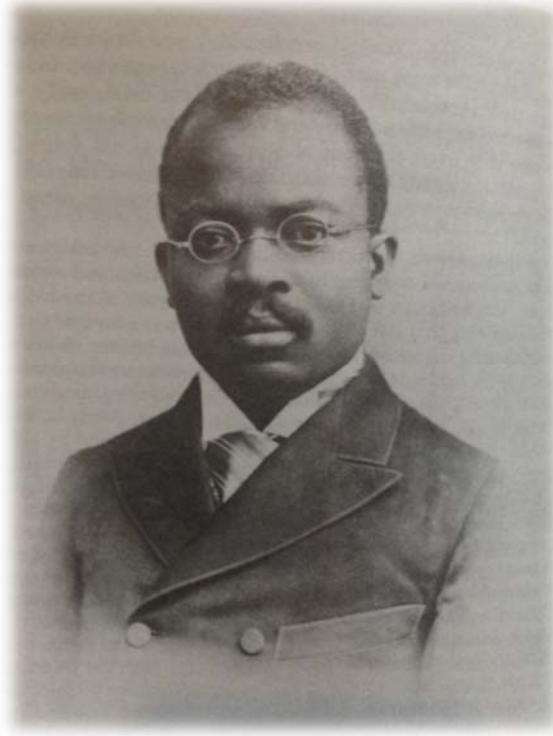
It is evident from the Sierra Leone newspapers that there was great sympathy expressed for Bai Bureh's cause and opposition to District Commissioner Sharpe and the Frontiers. The controversial article that appeared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* on the 16th of April was the second issue in a four part series entitled "The Crisis in Sierra Leone: Revolution, Death, Famine, Poverty and Bloodshed".¹²⁶ The author of the article was a Creole writing under the pseudonym 'Musa Alkahim' who praised Bai Bureh's efforts and criticized what he believed to be the excesses of the District Commissioners and Frontier Police in collecting the hut tax.¹²⁷ However, although Musa Alkahim was critical of the administration within the Protectorate, Alkahim made it clear that the rebellion, although honourable, was pointless and that the government was right to demand Bai Bureh's unconditional surrender.¹²⁸ Furthermore, since the first issue of the series appeared on the 2nd of April after the initial uprising that commenced on the 17th of February, 1898, it would have been impossible for the article cited by the Attorney General to have served as a catalyst for the rebellion or in further fomenting the rebellion.

¹²⁵ C.R. I, pp. 62

¹²⁶ 'The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 3', *SLWN*, 16 April, 1898.

¹²⁷ 'The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 1', *SLWN*, 2 April, 1898.

¹²⁸ 'The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 3', *SLWN*, 16 April, 1898.



Cornelius Theobald May (1857-1929), Editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*¹²⁹

However, other articles in the Freetown press indicate that the Creoles had openly expressed their disdain for the policies of Governor Cardew.¹³⁰ In some articles in the press, Creole journalists made it clear that the House Tax provision was ineffective and oppressive. In an article that appeared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* entitled 'Troublous Times', the author explicitly stated that "the hut tax has been shewn to the Government by unofficial members of the Legislative Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Press, as likely to prove oppressive without effect. Mankind everywhere are averse to direct taxation and the Chiefs in the Protectorate are no exception to the general feeling."¹³¹ However, although the author decried the hut tax, even in this article the writer did not endorse the rebellious actions taken by indigenous peoples.

The two articles cited by the Attorney-General for disloyalty in the *Sierra Leone Times* entitled "One thing and another" and "An Ode to Bai Bureh" that were published on the 9th of April, were more

¹²⁹ Reproduced from Leo Spitzer, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa 1780-1945*, p. 140

¹³⁰ 'The Port Lokko Difficulty', *Sierra Leone Times*, 2 April, 1898, hereafter cited as the *SLT*

¹³¹ 'Troublous Times', *SLWN*, May 7, 1898

critical of the Governor but did not express support for the rebellion either. In “One thing and another”, James Augustus Fitzjohn, the editor of the newspaper, criticized the Governor for the “amount of mischief, the practice of concealing the real state of affairs in the hinterland is working in Freetown.”¹³² Furthermore, in the second article in the *Sierra Leone Times* that had been cited for disloyalty by the Attorney-General, it is evident that the Freetown press sought to vindicate their opposition to the hut tax and to reinforce the notion that the uprising had occurred because of the refusal of Governor Cardew to consider the recommendations of prominent Creole figures such as Sir Samuel Lewis. This sentiment is exemplified in “An Ode For King Bai Bureh” written by a Creole satirist known as “Anan” who satirized the efforts of the Temne chief and the actions of the government in trying to suppress the rebellion. Anan clearly referred to Creole criticisms of Governor Cardew’s Protectorate policies when he wrote:

Yes it is pain indeed.

When subjects grow too wise

To instruct their Sovereign Lord

*Where his error lies*¹³³

However, although Anan expressed sympathy for Bai Bureh and his cause, Anan made it clear that Bai Bureh’s uprising should rightfully be suppressed.¹³⁴ Therefore in examining the three newspaper articles cited by the Attorney-General for inciting the rebellion, it is evident that the Freetown press did not actively promote rebellion to the Crown. However, the newspapers did actively oppose the Frontier Police and their actions in the Protectorate.

A few articles in the Freetown newspapers attacked the Frontier Police and the District Commissioners’ enforcement of the Protectorate Ordinance as a cover to criticize the hut tax itself.¹³⁵ Some within the Creole elite were still bitter that Sierra Leoneans did not have a greater leverage in

¹³² ‘One thing and another’, *SLT*, 9 April, 1898

¹³³ Anan, ‘An Ode To Bai Bureh’, *SLT*, 9 April, 1898

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ ‘The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 3’, *SLWN*, 16 April, 1898.

the administrative governance of the hinterland. Thus, the newspapers utilized the Hut Tax uprising as an opportunity to level blame against the colonial administration of the hinterland and to subtly denounce the House Tax provision by claiming it had been violently enforced.¹³⁶ James A. Fitzjohn, the editor of the *Sierra Leone Times* reproduced an article published on 22 December, 1894 that had criticized the Frontier Police as a “tyrannical and overbearing” force within the hinterland.¹³⁷ The Sierra Leone press also sought to blame the European District Commissioners for their conduct that led to the uprising.¹³⁸ Musa Alkahim, the author of the article published on the 16th of April in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, denounced the District Commissioners and Frontiers as tyrannical and unscrupulous.¹³⁹ The Freetown press’ denunciation of the Frontiers was perhaps the only stance consistent with the Attorney-General’s accusation that the papers did not promote peace in the interior. Frontiers complained that the newspaper articles had incited the indigenous peoples against them and that this was a factor that led to the conflict. However, although the opposition of the Freetown press to the Frontiers was perhaps detrimental during the uprising, the Frontiers were already a despised force in the hinterland due to the excessive abuses committed by some Frontiers. The role of the Freetown press in highlighting these abuses may have added to the disdain for the Frontiers in the hinterland, but it did not ignite the grievances indigenous peoples held against the Frontier Police.

Furthermore, despite the opposition of the Freetown press to the hut tax and colonial policies in the hinterland, widespread illiteracy in the Protectorate ensured that few of these articles could have been read directly by indigenous peoples. There were few Creole subscribers to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in the Protectorate and the editor of the *Sierra Leone Times* testified before the Chalmers Commission that there were no subscribers in the hinterland.¹⁴⁰ However, an accusation levelled by Governor Cardew and those within the colonial administration against Creole traders and clerks in the

¹³⁶ ‘The Interior Policy’, *SLT*, 12 February, 1898

¹³⁷ ‘The Port Loko Difficulty No. 1’, *SLT*, 16 April, 1898

¹³⁸ ‘The Frontier Police’, *SLT*, 22 December, 1894, ‘The Port Loko Difficulty No. 1’, *SLT*, 16 April, 1898,

¹³⁹ ‘The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 1’, *SLWN*, 16 April, 1898. See Appendix B.

¹⁴⁰ C.R. I, pp. 520, 522. These statements are substantiated by the fact that even the more established *SLWN*, had few copies in the Protectorate.

Protectorate was that they had disseminated the contents of newspapers to indigenous peoples prior to and during the war.¹⁴¹ This claim by the colonial government against the Sierra Leonean clerks and traders in the hinterland shall be examined throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Creole Traders in the Protectorate: Incitement to rebellion?

In this section, the accusation that Creole traders residing in the Protectorate actively directed indigenous people to disobey the House Tax provision shall be analysed further. The evidence that has been examined relating to this accusation is largely derived from eyewitness accounts in the CO 267/438 series of Governor Cardew's despatches and in the Chalmers Report. In the Chalmers Report, the Royal Commissioner David Chalmers summarized his view on the Sierra Leoneans by stating that the Creoles were a loyal community that would not rebel against government legislation but would petition for a redress or repeal of the law.¹⁴² Although Chalmers' assessment of the Creoles may have been applicable to some sections within the Creole community, it cannot be stated as characteristic of some traders within the Protectorate who directly informed indigenous peoples to refuse to pay the House Tax.¹⁴³ Although the practice was not exclusive to Sierra Leoneans, the evidence suggests that in both the southern and northern theatres of conflict, Creoles had advised the indigenous peoples to refuse to pay the hut tax. Although this does not equate to inciting the natives to rebel, Creole encouragement was a factor that could have influenced the indigenous peoples, particularly in the northern Protectorate to respond with force against the District Commissioners and Frontier Police.

Before examining whether Creole traders or clerks incited indigenous peoples to rebel, it is important to analyse how the contents of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News and Sierra Leone Times* could have been disseminated amongst the mainly illiterate indigenous peoples in the interior. From the eyewitness accounts and testimony gleaned from the Chalmers Report it is clear that the dissemination of information within the hinterland was not conducted exclusively by Sierra Leoneans. The testimony of eyewitnesses and colonial officials provides sufficient evidence to suggest that it

¹⁴¹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266. George to Cardew, 13 June, 1898

¹⁴² C.R. I, p. 65

¹⁴³ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266 George to Cardew, 13 June, 1898,

was both Sierra Leoneans and educated indigenous people within the hinterland who generally disseminated information contained within the Freetown newspapers. Thus, although the Creoles were proactive in disseminating information from the Freetown press, they were not the only source of news for indigenous peoples. According to District Commissioners Wilfred Sharpe and Dr. Thomas Hood, the majority of indigenous chiefs retained Sierra Leonean or educated natives as clerks who offered advice and were highly influential.¹⁴⁴ The statements made by Dr. Hood and District Commissioner Sharpe were further substantiated by William Marston Pittendrigh, a European merchant who had resided in the hinterland for twenty years.¹⁴⁵ Although J.C.E. Parkes, the Creole Secretary for Native Affairs dismissed the notion that the majority of indigenous chiefs held Sierra Leonean clerks, Parkes stated that “native traders” often interpreted news to indigenous peoples who proceeded to inform the chiefs.¹⁴⁶ William George Lawson, a British Subject of part Temne descent noted that it was mainly Sierra Leonean traders who conveyed information from the Freetown newspapers to the populace within the hinterland.¹⁴⁷ Because petty traders often served a dual role as clerks within the hinterland, both versions as to how information from the Freetown press was spread are likely to be accurate. Thus, it is clear that the contents of the Freetown newspapers could have been spread by both Sierra Leoneans and indigenous peoples within the Protectorate, where information concerning indigenous affairs spread with “great rapidity.”¹⁴⁸

There is also direct evidence to suggest that indigenous chiefs such as Bai Bureh had been influenced by the reports of Freetown newspapers during the uprising.¹⁴⁹ William Pittendrigh, who had been a prisoner of Bai Bureh during the uprising, claimed that although the Freetown newspapers had not necessarily intended to influence Bai Bureh, the chief “would look out for these articles and place great faith in them.”¹⁵⁰ Pittendrigh, who had been accused of selling gunpowder to indigenous forces, was not an ally of the colonial government and had no motive to fabricate an allegation against the

¹⁴⁴ C.R. II, par.34-38

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. par. 426

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. par. 717

¹⁴⁷ C.R. II, par. 1788

¹⁴⁸ C.R. I, p. 38

¹⁴⁹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266 ,George to Cardew, 13 June, 1898

¹⁵⁰ C.R. II, par. 425

Freetown press. Furthermore, Sergeant Major Robert W. George, a Creole who served as a Frontier, complained to Governor Cardew about the influence of the Sierra Leoneans and the press “that lead [sic] Bai Bureh to take up arms against the Government.”¹⁵¹ District Commissioner Edward Fairlough stated that Almami Senna Bunde, a chief in Furudugu a town in the southern district of Pandajuma, had stored thirty copies of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* at his house during the rebellion.¹⁵² However, even during the initial stages of the uprising, Sierra Leonean traders were not the sole conveyors of information contained within the newspapers. During the conflict, Dr. Thomas Berkeley, a British assistant District Commissioner investigated a claim made by Joe Metzger, a Sierra Leonean trader residing in the southern Bandajuma District, who had complained that Lamin Lahi, an indigene had spread misleading accounts of the war supposedly derived from Freetown newspapers.¹⁵³ Thus it is clear that the dissemination of information during the uprising was not limited to Sierra Leoneans and even Governor Cardew eventually had to retract from his previous allegation that it was specifically Sierra Leoneans who were the sole agents of news in the Protectorate during the uprising.¹⁵⁴ However, this does not discount the fact that some Creole traders had a vested interest in opposing the hut tax as these traders feared that indigenous peoples would no longer have money to buy their goods if they were expected to pay a tax to the colonial government.¹⁵⁵

In the north-eastern Karene District and the town of Port Loko, Creole traders were said to have directly encouraged Temne and Loko locals to refuse to pay the tax prior to the uprising and also upon its collection by District Commissioner Wilfred Sharpe. As historians such as Leo Spitzer have noted, there is evidence that Sierra Leonean traders in the Karene District were intimidated by local rulers who directed them to refuse to pay the hut tax.¹⁵⁶ Certainly some Creoles within the Karene District did not actively encourage or advise indigenous peoples to resist the collection of the hut tax.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266 , George to Cardew, 13 June, 1898

¹⁵² C.R. II, par. 5090. However, some of these copies were over four years old.

¹⁵³ C.R. II, par. 8436

¹⁵⁴ C.R. I, p. 110

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 146, Appendix L (1)

¹⁵⁶ Governor Frederic Cardew ‘Short Report of Cases tried in the District Commissioner’s Court, Karene District for the month of February 1898’, 13 July, 1898

¹⁵⁷ C.R. II, par. 6813-6814

However, evidence suggests that a significant number of Creole traders in Port Loko were also proactive in advising locals within the area to refuse to pay the hut tax.¹⁵⁸ Although Sierra Leonean eyewitnesses appeared reluctant to admit disloyalty among their compatriots, J.T. Nicol, a Creole trader in the northern village of Magbele, testified that some Sierra Leoneans in Port Loko had advised indigenes to resist taxation.¹⁵⁹ Nicol stated that “the Sierra Leone Traders at Port Loko used to tell the natives that the people in Freetown did not pay taxes and that they in the bush should not either.”¹⁶⁰ The testimony of Nicol is reflected in the court cases for incitement to rebellion that followed in the aftermath of the uprising. Three Sierra Leonean traders in the Karene District, J.A. Taylor, S.B. Macaulay and Jackson were accused of actively inciting indigenous peoples to resist the collection of the hut tax.¹⁶¹ Henry Nathaniel Ring, a Creole trader in Rokon, near Port Loko, had been accused of selling gunpowder to indigenous peoples following a ban on sale by the colonial government. Ring was eventually convicted and imprisoned for two months as a result of his actions of disloyalty during the uprising.¹⁶²

However, there is evidence that some Creoles in the southern hinterland did actively encourage indigenous peoples to pay the hut tax and not to disobey or resist its collection. J.A. King, a Creole trader and former missionary in Gendema, a town in the Sherbro stated that he “spoke to the people for several hours, and told them that my parents had paid house and land tax...and if they [indigenous peoples] paid the tax and paid willingly, perhaps there might be another Governor who would listen to their complaints.”¹⁶³ Although King made this statement in the aftermath of the uprising, there is further evidence to support claims of some Sierra Leoneans advising indigenous peoples to obey the House Tax provision.¹⁶⁴ However, even in the southern region of the Protectorate, Creole traders were accused of advising local peoples to refuse to pay the hut tax. In a letter to Governor Cardew, Captain

¹⁵⁸ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266 , George to Cardew, 13 June, 1898

¹⁵⁹ Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438, Statement by J.T. Nicol, a Merchant of Magbelli, 11 July, 1898

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ C.R. I, pp. 64, 112, Appendix O

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65

¹⁶³ C.R. II, par. 6519

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 2897-2889

Samuel Moore, a Frontier in the southern Ronietta District, stated that he caught a Sierra Leonean advising indigenous chiefs gathered at a meeting not to pay the hut tax.¹⁶⁵ Although the Frontier Police and Sierra Leonean traders in the Protectorate had a contentious relationship, the statements made by Moore are corroborated by other individuals within the southern region. The Reverend Charles Henry Goodman, a European missionary stated that during his imprisonment by indigenous war-boys in Bumpe that he had heard the locals speak “freely of Sierra Leonean’s having advised them not to pay,” the hut tax.¹⁶⁶ Although Goodman stated that some Sierra Leoneans reneged and advised indigenous peoples to pay the hut tax, it is evident that even in the southern Protectorate, Sierra Leoneans had actively encouraged indigenous peoples to rebel against the House Tax provision. However, the actions of Sierra Leoneans who encouraged indigenous peoples to refuse to pay the hut tax in the southern region of the hinterland, could hardly be the basis for the outbreak of violence and the massacre of Sierra Leoneans that took place following the commencement of the second uprising on the 27th of April, 1898.

¹⁶⁵ Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267 438 Series, 13266, Sergeant Samuel Moore to Governor Frederic Cardew, 13 July 1898

¹⁶⁶ C.R. II, par. 1459

Chapter Three: Indigenous brutality against the Creoles: Irrational or Justified?

The focus of this chapter is the massacre of Creoles particularly during the second uprising that commenced in the southern districts of Ronietta, Panguma and Bandajuma on the 27th of April, 1898. The geographical setting of the second uprising was unique for taking place within the newly established Protectorate and in areas that had previously been annexed to the Colony such as the Sherbro. Furthermore, in the southern uprising, the attempt to enforce the House Tax was not the immediate trigger for the conflict as some of the tax had been collected by District Commissioners in the Sherbro and in parts of the Mende region. However, it was the brutality evinced against the Creole and European civilians residing in the southern region that was the main feature that distinguished the two theatres of the Hut Tax War. This chapter shall examine the extent to which the Creoles were specifically targeted for acts of violence and the rationale behind the slaughter of the Creoles particularly in the southern theatre of the war. The role of Creoles in selling gunpowder to indigenous peoples within the Protectorate shall also be briefly examined.

In the accounts of colonial uprisings against British imperial forces, brutal acts committed by the colonized have often been portrayed as chaotic and indiscriminate violence.¹⁶⁷ However, recent scholarship into conflicts such as the Mau Mau rebellion and the 1857 Indian Mutiny reveals that the brutality evinced by those who had been colonized were not always mere cases of wanton violence.¹⁶⁸ In Professor Kim Wagner's study of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, Wagner notes that the slaughter of British men, women and children at Meerut by Indian sepoys and crowds were not mere examples of aimless brutality but in some cases were deliberate attempts at retaliation.¹⁶⁹ Wagner notes that the violent actions and the brutality evinced by the disillusioned Indian crowds and sepoys were carefully calculated attempts to enact revenge and to dishonour victims.¹⁷⁰ In historian David Anderson's work on the Mau Mau rebellion, Anderson states that although Western media outlets perceived the actions

¹⁶⁷ Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 161, Literature abounds on the subject of brutality in relation to how it has been portrayed by British colonizers.

¹⁶⁸ Kim A. Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising*, (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 170-171

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 170-171

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 170-171

of the Mau Mau as indiscriminate violence, random violence was seldom used by members of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya.¹⁷¹ In a similar vein to the 1857 uprising in India and the Mau Mau rebellion, the atrocities committed by indigenous Sherbro and Mende war-boys were not always mere cases of aimless violence but were deliberate attempts to punish those who had aggrieved indigenous peoples.

From the onset of the southern campaign of the uprising on the 27th of April, it was clear that the second theatre of the uprising was being conducted more violently than the initial campaign launched by Bai Bureh. Bai Bureh's campaign had generally followed the conventions of war by sparing innocent civilians and by using guerrilla tactics without exaggerated forms of brutality.¹⁷² However, in the southern campaign, waged mainly by Mende and Sherbro tribesmen, the war-boys attacked civilians and gruesomely murdered innocent men, women, and children. At Rotifunk, four American missionaries were brutally hacked to death. At Imperi, a small village in mainland Sherbro, William Hughes the Creole assistant District Commissioner was shot to death and his wife was brutally murdered with one eyewitness stating the war-boys intended to eat her.¹⁷³ Creole missionaries, small-scale traders, and officials were targeted by war-boys who often slaughtered victims with their cutlasses. The Mende and Sherbro war-boys did not spare indigenous people either and the war-boys specifically targeted those indigenes who aided Creoles or Europeans in escaping or hiding.¹⁷⁴ Even in the initial uprising led by Bai Bureh, indigenous allies of the colonial government such as Sori Bunki were brutally murdered for the apparent betrayal of their countrymen. At Yakompa in the Mende region, an indigene called Kong was killed by Mende war-boys for instructing Sierra Leonean traders to hide in order to avoid being attacked.¹⁷⁵ Indigenous wives of Sierra Leonean men and those who had befriended Sierra Leoneans were similarly killed by Mende and Sherbro war-boys.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, (United Kingdom: Hachette, 2011), p. 252

¹⁷² 'Troublous Times', *SLWN.*, 7 May, 1898

¹⁷³ C.R. II, par. 2285, 'The fate of Commissioner Hughes, Horrible Massacre of Sierra Leoneans at Morfuay', *SLT*, 28 May, 1898, PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Secretary Chamberlain, 9 May, 1898

¹⁷⁴ C.R. II, par. 6851

¹⁷⁵ C.R. II par. 6851

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, par. 7527, 7530

Wealthy Creole merchants with their commanding factories and long established businesses were not spared in the violence that engulfed the Mende and Sherbro country. Indigenous war-boys burned down the factories of William W. Lewis, the nephew of Sir Samuel Lewis, and Robert Collier, the prosperous Creole trader who had resided in the Sherbro for over twenty-five years. Collier was mercilessly slaughtered alongside his son, Nathaniel and Joe Cole, Collier's Sierra Leonean clerk.¹⁷⁷ After the three men were captured and tortured, Nathaniel Collier cried out in prayer for deliverance and in response the war-boys drove a sharp skewer through both his cheeks that left his mouth "gaping and bleeding". The war-boys then proceeded to decapitate Nathaniel Collier and then violently murdered Joe Cole before similarly killing Robert Collier who by then had already been "driven half crazy".¹⁷⁸ William Lewis was captured and deprived of food and water before being killed by having his "throat cut from ear to ear".¹⁷⁹ The violence committed against Sierra Leoneans was widespread and shockingly brutal. Emanuel Cole a Creole trader who escaped from Mafwe in the Sherbro but returned to search for his wife and five children stated that "from the smell I concluded there was no hope for the Frontiers or any of the Sierra Leone people."¹⁸⁰

The terrible account of events in the southern region and the relative proximity to the Colony created fear and apprehension among Creoles in Freetown as to a possible attack in the peninsula.¹⁸¹ The Freetown press that had admired the campaign conducted by Bai Bureh denounced the barbarity of the second uprising.¹⁸² A Creole correspondent solemnly declared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* that "the history of the world will have to be referred back to the dark ages in order to discover an event parallel to what has now happened in Sierra Leone."¹⁸³ Adelaide Smith, a Creole schoolteacher in Freetown recalled hearing that there had been a "great deal of unrest in the Mende country... fortunately the rising was put down before it reached Freetown, but many Africans were

¹⁷⁷ Wallis, *The advance*, pp. 135-36. See Appendix C for further details of indigenous brutality

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 135-136

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 135

¹⁸⁰ Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Testimony of Emanuel J. Cole, Mafwe (Morfuay), 17 May, 1898

¹⁸¹ 'The Defence of Freetown', *SLWN*, 7 May, 1898

¹⁸² 'Troublous Times', *SLWN*, 7 May, 1898

¹⁸³ 'The Crisis in Sierra Leone: Martyrdom-Barbarous murder of over 10 missionaries, Wholesale Butchery and Slaughter of Sierra Leone Traders', *SLWN*, 14 May, 1898

plunged into mourning through it."¹⁸⁴ The brutality committed against Europeans, acculturated indigenes, and Sierra Leoneans in particular led to various theories as to the cause of the second uprising. Of particular interest to this study is whether the Creoles were specifically targeted for acts of violence and the rationale behind the massacre of Sierra Leoneans during the conflict.

Before determining the causes of indigenous violence against the Creoles, it is important to determine whether or not the Creoles were specifically targeted for acts of violence. The *Times* of London reported that an estimated 1,500 Sierra Leoneans were killed during the course of the Mende rising.¹⁸⁵ Although in some instances, Creole eyewitnesses were found to have blatantly exaggerated the extent to which they were abused in the Mende country, there is substantial evidence to indicate that the Mende and Sherbro war-boys specifically targeted the Creoles in their attacks.¹⁸⁶ The newspaper reports during the outbreak of the conflict in the southern theatre, and the statements by Creole and European eyewitnesses corroborate each other and indicate that the Creoles were targeted by the Mende and Sherbro in the southern campaign of the war.

In the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* report of the outbreak of the uprising in the Sherbro, the correspondent stated that, "it is said that the natives...took a special oath 'to save no Sierra Leone man' who may be caught in the war."¹⁸⁷ Thomas Allridge, the European District Commissioner of Bonthe, stated plainly in his despatch to Governor Cardew on May 7 that the object of the uprising "was the massacre of all Sierra Leoneans...and thoroughly it is being done."¹⁸⁸ Several Creole eyewitnesses and European observers of the uprising noted in their testimony that the Creoles were specifically targeted for acts of violence. The extent to which the Creoles were targeted in the Mende country is reflected in the terrifying statement made by Samuel Roderick Mudge, a Creole trader in the Sherbro: "When I was in the bush I heard a boy making palaver with his father, 'Daddy, may I not

¹⁸⁴ Adelaide Casely-Hayford, *Mother and Daughter: Memoirs and Poems*, (Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone University Press, 1983), p. 22

¹⁸⁵ 'The Sierra Leone Rising', *The Times*, 19 October, 1898. This number may have been slightly inflated or could have been less than the actual number of Creoles killed. The actual number of Creoles slaughtered will probably never be determined.

¹⁸⁶ C.R. I, p. 121, C.R. II, par. 3213

¹⁸⁷ 'The Outbreak At Sherbro', *SLWN*, 30 April, 1898

¹⁸⁸ Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, District Commissioner T.J. Allridge to Governor Frederic Cardew, 1 May 1898

*kill a Sierra Leone man,' and his father said, 'You must wait till it is dark.'*¹⁸⁹ Although this statement by Mudge was given before the British Commissioner, David Chalmers and may have been exaggerated, evidence given by other eyewitnesses indicates that similar practices of targeting and attacking Sierra Leoneans occurred during the uprising. Alfred Edmund Astbury, a European trader based near Bonthe, testified before Commissioner Chalmers that “the natives seemed to have some great animosity against the Sierra Leonians [sic]...there is no doubt but that the natives had made up their minds to kill all Sierra Leoneans they could lay their hands on.”¹⁹⁰ Momo Kai Kai, a part Mende chief and powerful warrior who remained loyal to the colonial government during the uprising, stated in his testimony to David Chalmers that the war-boys “went on to kill as many Sierra Leonians [sic] as they could find.”¹⁹¹

Although some scholars have presented the slaughter of Sierra Leoneans as a natural consequence of a chaotic and disorganized uprising, the evidence suggests that a secret meeting of the Poro, an indigenous secret society limited to men, may have led to the brutal attacks on Sierra Leoneans. From the beginning of the uprising, it was evident that the attack on civilians had been coordinated and was not a haphazard response to taxation. Several eyewitnesses suggested the uprising was the result of the Poro, a secret society among the Mende and Sherbro that enforced the law within society and conducted initiation rites for young males. Mary B. Mullen, a European missionary who had been saved by an indigenous guide cited the Poro as an important factor that initiated the rebellion in the southern hinterland.¹⁹²

John Augustus Abayomi-Cole, a Creole minister and noted expert on Mende culture stated his opinion on the basis for the brutality evinced in the Mende District during the uprising. Abayomi-Cole attributed the violence to a secret Poro meeting of chiefs at Bumpe ordered by the monarch Bai Sherbro Kpana Lewis in December 1897.¹⁹³ The meeting held by Bai Sherbro was a gathering of the

¹⁸⁹ C.R. II, par. 2283

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. par. 2249

¹⁹¹ Ibid. par. 7527

¹⁹² Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Mary B. Mullen to Governor Frederic Cardew, 5 May, 1898

¹⁹³ C.R. I, p. 141

“Go Yella” secret society that was comprised of the inner circle of the Poro. Within this meeting, Abayomi-Cole claimed that the Go Yella established “Bompeh” [Bumpe] as the secret code word for their surprise attacks and swore oaths committing themselves to the aims of the exclusive meeting. Abayomi-Cole stated that in addition to fulfilling the obligations of the pact, members from each village could “have the privilege of avenging themselves of their enemies” and could “punish those against whom each may have harboured some old grudge.”¹⁹⁴ Although Abayomi-Cole did not attribute the grievances of indigenous peoples to the actions of Creoles in the hinterland, based upon the evidence given by other individuals it is clear that some members of the Go Yella had intended to massacre Sierra Leoneans for their previous actions within the Protectorate.¹⁹⁵

Due to the secretive nature of the Go Yella and Poro Society, it is difficult to discern the precise nature of the pact that bound the various bands of war-boys. However, it is obvious that some indigenous rulers were privy to the launch of the uprising whilst others were taken unaware of the unfolding events.¹⁹⁶ F.W. Pinches, a wealthy Creole merchant whose factory in Yele was destroyed, confirmed Abayomi-Cole’s theory when Pinches testified that he had been informed that a secret codeword had been used by Poro members to launch the uprising.¹⁹⁷ There is further evidence to suggest that other sources were aware of Kpana Lewis’ influence and of the secret meeting of the Poro that had launched the uprising. In District Commissioner Thomas Allridge’s letter to Governor Cardew during the outbreak of the conflict, Allridge noted that Kpana Lewis had been instrumental in organizing the rebellion in the southern region.¹⁹⁸ Thus from the evidence given by Abayomi-Cole and F.W. Pinches, it is clear that there were at least two sets of insurgents during the 1898 rebellion in the Mende Country. There were participants in the Go Yella meeting whose members carried out their specific orders and there were also indigenous villagers who were directed to fulfil these aims in addition to addressing their own personal grievances. It is in this setting that the resentment harboured against the Creoles was to result in their slaughter during the uprising.

¹⁹⁴ C.R. I, p. 141

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 141

¹⁹⁶ C.R. II, par. 4178

¹⁹⁷ C.R. II, par. 3317

¹⁹⁸ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Allridge to Cardew, 1 May 1898

There is substantial evidence to indicate that within the southern Protectorate, indigenous war-boys slaughtered Sierra Leoneans as a result of long held grievances. J.A. King stated in his evidence to Commissioner Chalmers that the indigenous “people who kill the traders are people whom they know.”¹⁹⁹ Although Governor Cardew stated that the Creoles were viewed as “white men” alongside the European missionaries and traders in the hinterland, Cardew also believed that the Creoles were slaughtered because the Mendes “bore a real grudge against them.”²⁰⁰ In Governor Cardew’s response to the Chalmers Report, Cardew stated his belief that “the behaviour of the Sierra Leone traders towards the Mendis in particular did far more to bring about the massacre of the former than the reason that they helped to bring the hut tax upon the natives.”²⁰¹ Further evidence for the specific targeting of Creoles due to long held grievances can be found in the testimony of eyewitnesses.

The resentment against the Creole scramble for land in the hinterland and their interference in tribal custom was a significant factor that led to the indigenous slaughtering of the Creoles. Albert Tucker, a Sherbro carpenter testified that war-boys in the Sherbro stated “There shall be no more Sierra Leoneans as they have need of their lands.”²⁰² This reference to the tendency of Sierra Leoneans to settle and cultivate indigenous land is evidence of one factor that led to violence against Sierra Leoneans. Indigenous chiefs and village members had long despised the tendency of some Sierra Leoneans to settle on land without paying rent or some form of tribute to their landlord. The fear of Sierra Leonean encroachments on indigenous land prompted a violent outbreak from war-boys whose leaders believed that the Creoles were a threat to their power. However, although land tenancy was a factor that led to indigenous brutality against the Creoles, it was the mistreatment of Sherbro and Mende people by Creole traders that led to an outbreak of violence against Sierra Leoneans.

The mistreatment of indigenous peoples by Creoles in the hinterland appeared to be the primary factor that led to reprisals against Sierra Leoneans. The deplorable actions of a sizeable portion of the Creole community within the Protectorate were taken as representative of the entire population of Sierra

¹⁹⁹ C.R. II, p. 384, par. 6520

²⁰⁰ C.R. I, p. 113

²⁰¹ C.R. I, p. 113

²⁰² C.R. II, par. 4285

Leoneans in the hinterland. Ironically the accusations of abuse levelled by the Freetown Press against the Frontier Police were committed by Creole traders residing in the Mende country.²⁰³ It was Creole traders who were accused of beating indigenous peoples in return for debts and of seducing the wives of indigenous men.²⁰⁴ The response of the Mende and Sherbro insurgents to the actions of these Creole traders were swift and in some cases specific to the actions committed by Sierra Leoneans. It was revealed in the aftermath of the uprising that some Creole men had been mutilated in their genital areas for their attempts to seduce the wives of indigenous men within the Protectorate.²⁰⁵

There is significant evidence to suggest that the main cause of indigenous brutality against the Creoles was their individual actions within the Protectorate. European observers testified that the Creole mistreatment of indigenous peoples may have resulted in reprisals against them. Alfred Astbury stated in his testimony to Chalmers that there was great animosity between the Creoles and indigenous peoples because “the Sierra Leonians treat them very badly...they are most unjust.”²⁰⁶ In a scathing sermon from Freetown, the European Methodist minister W.H. Maude criticized what he believed to be the appalling behaviour of Sierra Leoneans towards the Mendis residing in Freetown.²⁰⁷ Maude stated his belief that the “conduct of Sierra Leoneans was largely the cause. The treatment they give to the country-people when they come to us-taking from them their money and cheating them...is reported to their brethren on their return...they communicate their experiences to one another, and thus the seed of disaffection is grown.”²⁰⁸

Among the Creole population within the Colony, it is evident that some Sierra Leoneans recognized that the behaviour of a sizeable segment of Creole traders within the Protectorate had led to an onslaught of violence against Sierra Leoneans during the conflict. Some Creoles even believed that the southern uprising was divine retribution for the actions of their Creole relatives within the

²⁰³ ‘The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 1’, *SLWN*, 2 April, 1898. Musa Alkahim wrote that the indigenous peoples complain of “ill-treatment by Frontier policemen. They cry against the seduction of their wives and servants...”

²⁰⁴ C.R. I, p. 114; C.R. II, par. 3243

²⁰⁵ C.R. I, p. 114

²⁰⁶ C.R. II, par. 2246-2248

²⁰⁷ ‘The Massacre of the Innocents: Rev W.H. Maude At College Chapel Rawdon Street on Sunday Morning, 8 May, 1898’, *SLWN*, 21 May 1898

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

hinterland. The Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone stated that following the massacre of Sierra Leoneans, the phrase “We did ‘em bad, God go punish we,” [We did bad to them, God will punish us] was a popular expression amongst Creoles in Freetown whose relations had been killed within the hinterland.²⁰⁹ In the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, a section entitled “Reasons for the killing of Sierra Leoneans” introspectively examined the rationale behind the slaughter of Creoles, although the author attributed the slaughter of Sierra Leoneans to the tendency of Creoles to divulge the supposedly barbaric secrets of the Poro Society.²¹⁰ However, although some Creoles remained adamant that the outbreak of violence against the Creoles by indigenous peoples was unprovoked, a significant number of Creoles in Freetown acknowledged that the behaviour of their counterparts in the Protectorate had led to an onslaught of violence against them during the uprising.

However, although the actions of Creole traders also contributed to the response of indigenous war-boys to Sierra Leoneans during the war, the evidence suggests that the economic wealth and independence of Sierra Leoneans were also resented by indigenous chiefs who viewed the Creoles as a threat.²¹¹ Governor Cardew, a harsh critic of the behaviour of Creoles within the hinterland, conceded that the prosperity of Sierra Leoneans was also strongly resented by some indigenous peoples.²¹² Because of the historical experience of the Creoles as the descendants of ex-slaves, some indigenous peoples believed the Creoles were inferior “slave children” whose demonstrations of independence rankled the social order within the hinterland. Although European and Creole observers could have misinterpreted indigenous culture or the intentions of a few indigenes, a substantial number of eyewitnesses also noted that indigenous peoples resented educated individuals and were jealous of their position.²¹³ Albert Nathan Morrison, a Creole trader in Mano Bagru in the Sherbro, claimed that the slaughter of Sierra Leoneans was “because we could read and write.”²¹⁴ Charles Henry Goodman stated that “there has always been a sort of jealousy between the country-people and

²⁰⁹ C.R, II, par. 8179

²¹⁰ ‘Reasons for the Killing of Sierra Leoneans’, *SLWN*, 21 May, 1898. A few Creoles joined the Poro such as J.A. Abayomi-Cole

²¹¹ PRO CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898

²¹² *Ibid.*; C.R. II, par. 8587

²¹³ C.R. I, p.146, Appendix L (1)

²¹⁴ C.R. II, par. 2951

the Sierra Leoneans...country-people always attribute superiority to any one [sic] who has had any education at all.”²¹⁵ This placed the Creoles who were generally educated and many of whom were prosperous traders and merchants as a double-edged threat to powerful chiefs within indigenous society.

There is also substantial evidence to suggest that some Creoles were targeted because they had collaborated with the British or were viewed as collaborators.²¹⁶ The murder of John Taylor, a Creole trader who was killed by Bai Bureh’s indigenous war-boys in the northern conflict highlights how the war-boys murdered those Creoles they believed had collaborated with the British. Johnnie Taylor had been a trader and shopkeeper residing in a small village near Port Loko since the early 1890s.²¹⁷ When the war broke out near Port Loko, Taylor’s wife, Tabitha Mariah warned him that the Temne war-boys might attack civilians and she left Taylor behind in the Protectorate taking their young daughter, Mary with her.²¹⁸ On March 19, the *Sierra Leone Times* reported that in the previous week, Taylor had been hacked to pieces by Bai Bureh’s war-boys.²¹⁹ According to the *Sierra Leone Times*, Taylor was murdered by indigenous war-boys for conveying information to District Commissioner Wilfred Sharpe concerning the movement of Bai Bureh’s war-boys.²²⁰ When the war-boys arrived at Taylor’s store, Taylor had hidden on the top floor in order to avoid detection. However, the war-boys released Taylor’s caged pet chimpanzee that revealed Taylor’s hiding spot.²²¹ Although Taylor had been correct to assume that Sierra Leoneans in the northern Protectorate were generally safe, his assistance in conveying information to District Commissioner Sharpe resulted in his own murder. The extent to which the war-boys searched for Johnnie Taylor is indicative of their determination to specifically murder Taylor for his collaboration with the District Commissioner.

In the southern region where Sierra Leoneans were mainly targeted for their appalling behaviour, there were also instances of Creoles who were targeted for their apparent collaboration with the

²¹⁵ Ibid., par. 1501-1502

²¹⁶ ‘Port Lokko Difficulty’, *SLT*, 19 March, 1898

²¹⁷ Charles Sylvanus Browne, telephone interview by author, 2 February, 2007

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ ‘Port Lokko Difficulty’, *SLT*, 19 March, 1898

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ C.S. Browne, 2 February, 2007, Regina Elizabeth Browne, Comment to author, 2 February, 2007

colonial government. James Lisk, a Sierra Leonean trader in the Sherbro who was proficient in the Mende language, testified that he had heard Mende war-boys state that they hunted for the Creoles “because they are with the English.”²²² Although Sierra Leoneans may have claimed to have been targeted by indigenous war-boys for their role as collaborators in order to draw attention away from their resistance to the hut tax and their despicable behaviour in the Protectorate, a number of eyewitnesses claimed that Creoles were also targeted in the southern region for their affiliation with the British. J.A. King stated his opinion that “we Sierra Leonians [sic] were all regarded as being on the side of the Government because we always advised the people to pay the hut tax and not to resist.”²²³ Indigenous peoples who aided Sierra Leoneans and Europeans were also seen as collaborators and it was on this basis that Mende and Sherbro war-boys targeted indigenous allies of Creoles and Europeans.²²⁴ Thus, even in the southern theatre of the war where many Creoles were killed based upon the unscrupulous actions taken by Sierra Leoneans; Creoles were also targeted as collaborators with the British.

However, the actions of a few Creoles in the northern and southern regions of the hinterland during the conflict also indicate that some Sierra Leoneans may have played a larger role in facilitating the outbreak of violence during the uprising. A few Sierra Leoneans were accused by some colonial officials of illegally selling gunpowder to indigenous war-boys following a ban on the sale of magazines or kegs by Governor Cardew in March, 1898.²²⁵ District Commissioner Sharpe claimed that Creole traders had kegs of gunpowder in their stores that disappeared during the course of the uprising.²²⁶ Although there was substantial evidence suggesting that kegs of gunpowder had disappeared within the Protectorate during the uprising, it was difficult for Governor Cardew to bring allegations against specific traders due to his reliance on eyewitnesses who were few in number and did not appear forthright or willing to testify against these traders.²²⁷ However, at least three Sierra

²²² C.R. II, par. 6547

²²³ *Ibid.* par. 6519

²²⁴ *Ibid.* par. 6851, 7527, 7530

²²⁵ C.R. I, p. 65, par. 151, C.R. II, par. 6957-6960

²²⁶ C.R. II, par. 3930

²²⁷ C.R. I, pp. 112-113, C.R. II p. 551.

Leoneans including Henry Nathaniel Ring, a trader near Port Loko were convicted for selling gunpowder magazines following the ban on sale.²²⁸ Ring who vehemently denied the charges and claimed he had been framed, eventually had his conviction quashed by Governor Cardew upon the realization that imprisonment was not an appropriate sentence for Ring's actions.²²⁹ The other two convictions for selling gunpowder appear to have been upheld although neither the Chalmers Report nor Cardew's correspondence provides further details of these convictions. Furthermore, in Cardew's testimony before Chalmers, Cardew claimed that at least two Europeans had also been complicit in the sale of gunpowder.²³⁰ Although it is unclear whether Creole traders genuinely sought to aid the uprising or merely sought to capitalize on the needs of indigenous peoples for gunpowder, the role of a few Sierra Leoneans in selling gunpowder was a dubious and highly controversial aspect of the uprising. The actions of a few Creoles in selling gunpowder would provide further impetus for colonial critics who sought to blame the uprising on the direct actions of Sierra Leoneans.

²²⁸ C.R. I, pp.65, 112-113, par. 151, 104

²²⁹ C.R. I, pp.65, 112-113, par. 151, 104, C.R. II, par. 8136-8138

²³⁰ C.R. II, par. 8617

Conclusion

The role of the Creoles in the 1898 uprising in Sierra Leone is an important study on the position of collaborators during conflicts between colonized populations and colonial forces in West Africa. However, historical studies on the Hut Tax War have largely overlooked the role of the Creole people as important participants in the events of the uprising. Scholars of the rebellion who have briefly mentioned the place of the Creoles in their studies have often produced limited and inadequate accounts on the role of Sierra Leoneans. Although the historical narrative of the Hut Tax War has generally portrayed the Creoles as victims of the uprising, by examining the evidence provided within newspaper reports, private correspondence, and the Chalmers Report, it is clear that the Creoles were both victims and aggressors during the conflict. The traditional account of the rebellion has promoted a simplistic model of the uprising in which Sierra Leoneans were targeted merely for their Westernized culture.

Although historians have written insightful accounts of the Hut Tax uprising, the role of Sierra Leoneans in fomenting the rebellion and in aggrieving indigenous peoples has been glanced over or largely ignored by scholars of colonial Sierra Leone. The early accounts of the uprising by A.B.C. Merriman-Labor and Charles Braithwaite Wallis provided detailed accounts of the brutality of the conflict, but were heavily biased toward Sierra Leoneans, and portrayed the Creoles as victims who were unjustly slaughtered by supposedly barbaric indigenous peoples. Although twentieth century works by Christopher Fyfe and Leo Spitzer contributed toward the existing narrative and provided further analysis of the role of the Creoles, these scholars did not fully analyse the colonial government's accusations against the Creoles in the aftermath of the uprising and generally neglected an examination of the rationale behind the slaughter of Sierra Leoneans.

The overarching aim of this dissertation has been to examine whether Creoles incited the rebellion through the press and by directly encouraging indigenous peoples to resist payment of the hut tax. Another important component of this study has been to examine whether the behaviour of Sierra Leoneans and their cultural arrogance provoked an outbreak of violence against them in the hinterland. It has been the premise of this study that an examination of the role of Creoles in the Hut

Tax War not only provides a historical understanding of the conflict but also serves to enhance understanding of the social and political dynamics of relations between the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone during the early twentieth century. In the aftermath of the rebellion, there were a series of contentious allegations levelled against Sierra Leoneans by colonial officials that would contribute toward strained relations between the Creole community, colonial officials and indigenous peoples.

The role of the Freetown press in inciting the rebellion has been a significant point of contention since Governor Cardew accused the press of fomenting the uprising and Commissioner Chalmers refuted Cardew's accusations in his official report on the rebellion. In the aftermath of the uprising, the Freetown press sought to absolve any doubt concerning their loyalty during the rebellion. During a visit to England, Cornelius May, the editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, wrote to the *Times* criticizing the "wicked attempt to cast dust on the eyes of the credulous British public and attribute causes other than real the [sic] recent unfortunate uprising."²³¹ Early accounts of the uprising generally ignored the accusations against the Freetown press or sought to defend Freetown newspapers. Historians such as Christopher Fyfe acknowledged Cardew's accusations but failed to analyse the validity of these accusations in detail. Leo Spitzer briefly examined the possibility that the press could have fomented the rebellion but Spitzer did not appear to examine articles in the press extensively and relied too heavily on statements given by the Creole editors of Freetown newspapers. Thus the role of the Freetown press in fomenting the rebellion has not been adequately assessed by any historian to date.

However, in examining articles published in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and *Sierra Leone Times*, it is evident that the press subtly opposed the House Tax provision and sympathized with the military campaign of Bai Bureh. Thus the accusation by Governor Cardew that the press and Freetown community sympathized with Bai Bureh and were actively opposed to the House Tax war was certainly accurate. The Creole community had a deep-rooted opposition to taxation that was derived from their historical experiences and their fear of the consequences of implementing taxation in the

²³¹ C. May, 'The Sierra Leone Rising: To the Editor of the Times', *The Times*, 8 August 1898

hinterland. The press also criticized the excessive force of the Frontier Police and although this may have contributed to indigenous hatred for the Frontiers, it was not the basis for grievances against the police force. The Freetown press had certainly opposed the hut tax, but the exaggerated accusations of disloyalty lodged by Governor Cardew were an inaccurate portrayal of the articles published in the press during the uprising. Although the press criticized government policy, articles within Freetown newspapers openly expressed support for the suppression of the uprising and continually reflected upon the futility of challenging the colonial government. Thus although the press may have openly supported the British military campaign due to the inevitability of a colonial victory, it cannot be said that the press was proactive in fomenting the rebellion. Cardew's exaggerated claims against the press also appear to have been politically motivated by the criticisms lodged by the press against the administration of the Protectorate and the policy of concealing information concerning the suppression of the uprising.

The relatively limited number of subscribers to Freetown newspapers in the hinterland and widespread illiteracy meant it would have been impossible for information contained within the press to spread within the hinterland unaided. Thus although scholars such as Fyfe have questioned the extent to which Freetown newspapers could have spread within the Protectorate, there is substantial evidence to suggest that to some extent, the contents of Freetown newspapers were disseminated by Creoles within the hinterland. However, the influence newspaper articles in the press had on initiating the uprising is certainly debatable. Indigenous rulers had expressed opposition to the House Tax long before the articles cited for disloyalty by the Attorney-General of Sierra Leone were published in the press. Furthermore, contrary to Governor Cardew's initial accusation, Sierra Leoneans were not the only sources of news within the interior. Educated indigenous people also spread the contents of Freetown newspapers and actively advised their counterparts to resist the hut tax.

Although Spitzer contended in his study that it would have been illogical for the Creoles, particularly in the southern region, to encourage indigenous peoples to resist the hut tax, there is substantial evidence to indicate that Creole traders in both the southern and northern Protectorate actively advised indigenous peoples to refuse to pay the hut tax. Although the advice of Sierra Leonean traders may

not have caused indigenes to rebel in the southern hinterland, in the Karene District, the encouragement of Sierra Leoneans certainly appeared to have influenced Bai Bureh and other indigenous peoples to resist taxation. However, the extent to which the advice of Creole traders was the main factor that ignited the rebellion is debatable given the long standing opposition of indigenous rulers to the imposition of taxation in the hinterland. Although Creole traders were complicit in encouraging indigenous peoples to resist taxation, these traders did not necessarily promote the use of violence in opposing the hut tax. Furthermore, some Creoles had proactively encouraged indigenous peoples to adhere to the House Tax provision, and the encouragement of Sierra Leoneans to resist taxation in the southern hinterland was clearly not the basis for the outbreak of violence in the region.

Historians who have studied the Hut Tax War have significantly underestimated the extent to which strained relations between Creoles in the hinterland and indigenous peoples provoked the outbreak of violence against Sierra Leoneans during the uprising. Although scholars such as Fyfe and Spitzer briefly mentioned that indigenous grievances against the Creoles were among the factors that provoked an onslaught of violence by indigenous war-boys, neither of these scholars analysed the specific grievances indigenous peoples had against Sierra Leoneans and why this led to reprisals during the uprising. The testimony of individuals in the Chalmers Report and CO 267/438 series provides substantial evidence that the Creoles had significantly undermined the intricate landlord and tenancy relationship in the hinterland by their cultural arrogance and assertion of independence. The actions of Creoles in the hinterland were similar to other repatriated communities in West Africa such as the Americo-Liberians who displayed similar ethnocentric tendencies toward indigenous peoples.

The disputes over different interpretations of land tenancy that had been characteristic of relations between the early Creole colonists and indigenous peoples over the coastal peninsula area became intensified in the hinterland during the late nineteenth century. The expansionist aims of Sierra Leoneans and tendency of the Creoles to settle on indigenous land without permission undermined the authority of indigenous chief and created resentment against Sierra Leoneans. Furthermore, Creole traders who often settled their disputes by punishing debtors similarly ignited indigenous passions against the presence of Sierra Leoneans in the Protectorate. However, scholars have largely

overlooked the historical dispute over land tenancy as a factor that led to reprisals for Creoles during the uprising and historians have also neglected the effect that the behaviour of Sierra Leoneans contributed to the outbreak violence in southern hinterland.

From the earliest accounts of the uprising written by Merriman-Labor and Wallis, the massacre of Sierra Leonean has been attributed to their Westernized culture and collaboration with colonial authorities. However, although Sierra Leoneans certainly were slaughtered for their role in collaborating with the British, this was not the main factor that led to the massacre of Sierra Leoneans during the uprising. Indigenous war-boys indiscriminately targeted all collaborators with the colonial authorities, including indigenous peoples who had aligned themselves with Sierra Leoneans and Europeans during the conflict. Furthermore, based upon the testimony of unbiased Creoles and European observers, it is clear that the behaviour of Sierra Leoneans in the hinterland was the main factor that led to the slaughter of Creoles in the southern region. The uprising in the southern region was a coordinated attack initiated by the esoteric Poro society in which indigenous participants sought retribution against those individuals who had previously aggrieved them. Thus although scholarship on the uprising has largely overlooked this aspect, the unscrupulous actions of Creoles was the most important factor that led to their slaughter in the hinterland. The deplorable behaviour of Sierra Leonean traders who often cheated indigenous customers and interfered in the domestic life of indigenous men by seducing their wives, were significant grievances that led to an outbreak of violence against Creoles. Introspective Creoles and European observers acknowledged that many Sierra Leoneans had behaved despicably in the hinterland and that the Creole mistreatment of indigenes residing in Freetown had also resulted in retribution for their actions.

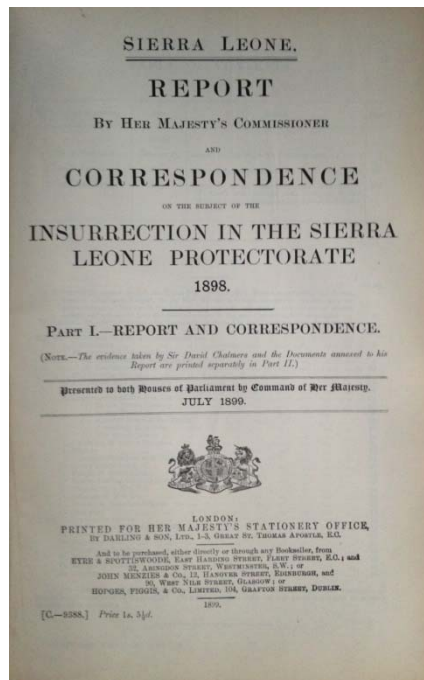
However, scholars of the uprising such as Fyfe and Spitzer have overlooked other important factors that also contributed toward the outbreak of violence against Sierra Leoneans in the southern region. As prosperous and largely educated descendants of ex-slaves, the Creoles upset the power structure of indigenous societies and this created deep-seated resentment of their presence by indigenous rulers. Although the historical narrative has often focused on the role of the Creoles as collaborators with the British, few studies have examined the possibility that the Creoles were complicit in the outbreak of

violence through the sale of gunpowder following a ban on sale during the uprising. Even though only three Creoles were convicted for the sale of gunpowder, these convictions were an important aspect of the uprising given the strong opposition of some Sierra Leonean traders to the House Tax and their encouragement to indigenous peoples to resist taxation. Furthermore, the sale of gunpowder was one of the accusations of disloyalty levelled against Sierra Leonean traders that would be consequential for Creoles in the aftermath of the uprising.

Although Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State authorized Sir David Patrick Chalmers, a notable Scottish lawyer, to investigate the contributory causes of the uprising including the role of Creoles in fomenting the conflict, it was the perspective of Governor Cardew that would prove most important for Sierra Leoneans in the aftermath of the rebellion. Cardew, a onetime friend of Sir Samuel Lewis and a moderate admirer of the Creole community, became increasingly biased against Sierra Leoneans and derided the political aspirations of the “half educated and civilized” community. In Cardew’s correspondence to Chamberlain, Cardew questioned whether “it is politic to give our free institutions and liberty of the press to a people who are not yet able to appreciate and enjoy them.”²³² The opinions expressed by Cardew are important because in the aftermath of the uprising, Chamberlain and the Colonial Office would support Governor Cardew’s perspectives on the causes of the uprising over the Chalmers Report. Cardew’s recommendations that the political aspirations of the Creoles should be curbed were strongly implemented by the Colonial Office. Thus as one scholar aptly stated, by agreeing with Governor Cardew’s assessment of the Creoles, the Secretary of State Chamberlain had “initiated their political eclipse.”²³³

²³² PRO CO 267/438/13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898. See Appendix D

²³³Hargreaves, ‘The Establishment’, p. 80



The cover page of the Chalmers Report²³⁴

Scholars of colonial history have often noted the tendency of British colonials to limit the political aspirations and participation of colonial subjects who challenged imperial authority during periods of crisis. The scholar Mimi Sheller notes in her study on Caribbean citizenship that in the aftermath of the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica, some British colonial authorities began to question whether enfranchised black Jamaicans deserved British political institutions.²³⁵ Sheller notes that the free black Jamaican community would lose political enfranchisement due to the actions of a minority of free black Jamaicans.²³⁶ In a similar vein to the Morant Bay rebellion, the wider Creole community was held responsible for the actions of a sizeable minority of Creole traders in the hinterland. The unpopular House and Land Tax was reintroduced by colonial authorities in 1900 and the influence of the Creole elite was powerless to prevent the reintroduction of taxation. The political decline of the Creoles during the early twentieth century is clearly reflected in statistics. In 1892, the Creoles held eighteen out of forty senior posts; yet by 1912, the Creoles held only fifteen out of ninety posts, and

²³⁴ C.R. Introductory page

²³⁵ Mimi Sheller, *Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom*, (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2012), p. 110

²³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 110-111

five of these posts were abolished following the retirement of their holders.²³⁷ In the aftermath of the uprising, the period of cordial Anglo-Creole relations rapidly declined and the Colonial Office maintained a strong bias against the Creoles that would continue throughout the early twentieth century and during the decolonization era.



Sir Frederic Cardew, (1839-1921), Governor of Sierra Leone²³⁸

However, the deterioration of relations between the Creoles and their colonial overlords were not the only negative consequences that the Creoles faced in the aftermath of the uprising. Although Creole traders would return upcountry, Sierra Leoneans never regained the economic influence they wielded in the hinterland prior to the uprising. Furthermore, relations between the Creoles and indigenous tribes such as the Mende became increasingly antagonistic in the Colony area. From the onset of the uprising in the southern Protectorate some working class Sierra Leoneans within the colony sought to

²³⁷ Ronald Hyam, *Britain's imperial century, 1815-1914: a study of empire and expansion*, (United Kingdom: B.T. Batsford, 1976), p. 288

²³⁸ African Art Archives: <http://www.africanartarchives.com> [Accessed: 14 October, 2013]

enact revenge against the community of Mende migrant workers within Freetown.²³⁹ Journalists in the Freetown press who were critical of these actions derided the “the section of our ‘boys’ who would place themselves in antagonism to the ‘uncivilized’ section of our local Mendes.”²⁴⁰ However, despite these exhortations, the antagonism between the Creoles and indigenous tribes would continue and was exemplified in statements such as “Mendi man no good” [Mende people are not good].²⁴¹ A significant number of Creoles developed an intrinsic fear of the hinterland that further intensified previous notions Creoles held of life in the interior. Although the development of a railway line in 1900 would negate the geographical distance between the Protectorate and the Colony, the two political territories would remain divided well into the twentieth century.

During the decolonization era, the intense debates and struggle for power between the Creole elite and the emerging educated class within the Protectorate would re-ignite old wounds from 1898. Some Creole leaders such as H.C. Bankole-Bright invoked the memory of “the massacre of some of our fathers and grandfathers ...in Mendeland because they were described as 'Black Englishmen.'”²⁴² The atrocities and murders committed by indigenous peoples against Sierra Leoneans during the rebellion lingered on in the Creole collective memory for generations.²⁴³ However, in an interesting twist, the Creole recollection of the conflict depicted indigenous peoples as a lawless group who unjustifiably ignited a rebellion over taxation. The opposition of the Freetown press and Creole traders to the House Tax provision was largely forgotten in the Creole narrative of events. Some Creoles born only a few generations after the uprising would even question why indigenous peoples had initially refused to pay the tax.²⁴⁴ An elderly Creole lady born only a generation after the rising would ponder why indigenous peoples rebelled, “After all aren’t they paying tax now?”²⁴⁵ The role of the Creole

²³⁹ ‘Some Jottings-By J.’, *SLWN*, 7 May, 1898

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ C.R. II, par. 8160

²⁴² Herbert Christian Bankole-Bright, ‘Correspondence: To the Editor of the Sierra Leone Weekly News’, *SLWN*, 26 August, 1950

²⁴³ C.S. Browne, 2 February, 2007, R.E. Browne 2 February, 2007.

²⁴⁴ R.E. Browne, 2 February, 2007

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

community in opposing the House Tax was largely forgotten and this would further contribute to the perspective that the Creole community had been mere victims during the Hut Tax rebellion.

However, to a large extent it was the perspectives of indigenous peoples on the rising that shaped the evolving narrative of the rebellion during the decolonization era in Sierra Leone. Bai Bureh was hailed as a national leader and the northern uprising was celebrated as a moment where the colonized fought against the oppressive colonizers. In the struggle over power between the Creoles and the indigenous peoples during the decolonization era, it was Sir Milton Margai, a Mende physician, who would select the 27th of April, the anniversary of the brutal southern uprising, as the date for Sierra Leone's independence.²⁴⁶

Thus in a subtle sense, despite being active participants in the Hut Tax uprising who displayed disloyalty to the Crown and were eventually massacred for their transgressions in the Protectorate, it is the Creoles who can be said to have been the real victims of the 1898 rebellion. The actions of the Creoles in the 1898 uprising had sealed their political fate for generations to come and ensured that they had little stake in the political setup during the British enactment of decolonization that heavily favoured indigenous peoples from the Protectorate.²⁴⁷ Tragically, for those Sierra Leoneans who did reside in the hinterland peacefully and remained loyal to the colonial government, they would pay for their association with fellow Creoles and British mores and institutions or would be murdered on the basis of simply being "with the English people." The vast majority of Creoles would also politically suffer for the actions of a few Sierra Leonean traders who had actively encouraged indigenous peoples to resist taxation. It is this dichotomy of history that places the Creoles as middlemen in the Hut Tax uprising, and as both victims and aggressors caught in a brutal conflict between the colonized and the colonizers in British West Africa.

²⁴⁶ Wyse, *H.C. Bankole-Bright*, p. 178

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 162, 183

Appendices

Appendix A

Sir Samuel Lewis to the Royal Colonial Institute, 1872

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XX, 115-17, in Robert William July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa*, (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2004)

In Sierra Leone we...cannot understand why the English...should have rescued us from slavery, and given us the idea we were to become a great people, who should have opportunities for developing the resources of their country, and yet should leave us only a miserable strip of the coast...What great things do you expect from such a miserable strip of country [the Colony area]?... when the adjacent native chiefs offered more territory-rich territory-they were refused. The French then stepped in, and little by little took this territory...I hate to think of such a thing. Instead of depending upon my own resources for a living, instead of tilling the ground and working the minerals of our own country, we may...be dependent on [England] to supply us with even the necessary means of governing ourselves. We shall have to ask [England] to pay taxes to keep up-what? It would become a sham of a Colony. It would merely serve...as a coaling station. I hate the idea.

Appendix B

Musa Alkahim on the Frontier Police

The Crisis In Sierra Leone: Revolution, Death, Famine, Poverty, and Bloodshed No. 1

2 April, 1898, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*

Let me draw your mind to the gloomy picture. Imagine a Limba-man, according to the custom of his country, with his ten wives and thirty or more children, who in order to shelter them from the elements builds twelve rude huts. After six months hard labour with wives, children, and servants, he was able to secure fifteen "hay-packs" of husk rice, which will not be sufficient to feed his family and numerous dependents for another six months. This is all their wealth: their clothing and every expenses must be paid from it. He keeps no more slaves, as the change of government which took his country under a benign protection forbids him to do so any longer. But for all this, the Ordinance demands from him an immediate payment of five shillings times 12 (huts)-3. This he has not got. And as a penalty for his inability, the whole of his 15 "hay-packs" of husk rice or a portion thereof, must be seized by the District Commissioner in lieu of the amount. A host of them have been auctioned out in this way; and to see the manner the officers go about it, one cannot describe it in a better term than "A system of civilized and legal plundering."

Appendix C

Charles Braithwaite Wallis on brutality in the southern uprising

The advance Of Our West African Empire: The Massacres, pp. 139-140

One of the worst murders that took place during the whole outbreak was the killing of Mr. T. Johnson and his sister, a girl of eighteen, who were caught hiding in a village called Deparli, in the Jong country. As soon as they were taken prisoners they were tied together, stripped naked, and terribly flogged. They were then made to walk to Tihun in the Small Boom country, several hours' journey away, where they were brought before the chief, a man named Vandi, who immediately ordered them to be killed. They were then flogged again in the presence of a large number of people, and had to walk back, in charge of a party of war-boys, to Deparli. When they arrived there, the war-boys tied Johnson to one tree, and his sister to another, both in view of each other. A man then appeared with a knife, and after some difficulty succeeded in cutting off one of Johnson's ears. Miss Johnson's ear was also cut off. Then several ruffians held first one, and then the other, down and slit their tongues. In this position they were left for some hours, and then conveyed into the bush and flung into a fire which was made ready to receive them. Whether they were dead or not when this happened I could not ascertain. Let us hope they were. There were three other murders committed in or near this village of Deparli, and the perpetrators of them have unfortunately never been caught.

Appendix D

Governor Cardew's opinions on the Creoles

CO 267/438/13266, Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May, 1898

The government of French Guinea is not hampered with a large community of half educated people, as in Sierra Leone, who have had free institutions given them which they cannot use aright, and a liberty of the press which has degenerated into license...it is dangerous to allow a people, a large number of whom are quite uneducated and have but recently emerged from barbarism and the remainder of whom with some few exceptions are only half educated and civilized (the worst), to be imbued with the idea, and from my experience of over four years in the colony I do not think the people are sufficiently advanced for local or representative government: they cannot appreciate its benefits, as is evidenced by their attempt to work a municipality-not only have no rates been levied but even...the licenses and market dues are not properly collected. I mention these defaults not necessarily to condemn the working of the municipality but in support of my contention that the imposition of the direct taxation has been successfully opposed by the people, and that even in the matter of licenses they succeed in a large measure in evading their payment...traders also instigated natives not to pay tax. Freetown's sympathy was openly expressed for Bai Bureh and his cause...their demeanour towards the governor became sullen. Prayer meetings were ostentatiously held by the 'mammies' (market women) for his conversion, in the streets, in various parts of the town: and the first was inaugurated outside government house. This state of things lasted till the news arrived of the outbreak of the Mendis [sic] and of the ensuing massacres when there was a great alteration in the demeanour of the people...the government have been in no way supported by the people. But this is not expected from a people who, from the time their ancestors were first brought here, have always been accustomed to receive at the hands of the government and whose traditions are against anything in the shape of direct taxation and whose experience has been a success for resistance to it in the past....it becomes a question whether it is politic to give our free institutions and liberty of the press to a people who are not yet able to appreciate and enjoy them. We have something to learn from the French-the secret of their success is that, they keep their motto of Egalite, Liberte and Fraternite for

home consumption and do not apply it to those colonies where the people are not sufficiently educated and civilized for it.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers

Sierra Leone Times

'The Interior Policy', *Sierra Leone Times*, 12 February, 1898

'The Trouble at Port Lokko', *Sierra Leone Times*, 26 February, 1898

'Port Lokko Difficulty', *Sierra Leone Times*, 19 March, 1898

'The Port Lokko Difficulty', *Sierra Leone Times*, 2 April, 1898

'One thing and another', *Sierra Leone Times*, 9 April, 1898

'The War Scare in the Eastern District', *Sierra Leone Times*, 16 April, 1898

'The Port Lokko Difficulty', *Sierra Leone Times*, 28 April, 1898

Anan, Sallust, 'An Ode For King Bai Bureh', *Sierra Leone Times*, 2 April, 1898

Anan, Sallust, 'An Ode For Bai Bureh', *Sierra Leone Times*, 9 April, 1898

'The Policy of Sierra Leone, Suggested resignation of the Governor', *Sierra Leone Times*, 28 May, 1898

'The fate of Commissioner Hughes, Horrible Massacre of Sierra Leoneans at Morfuay', *Sierra Leone Times*, 28 May, 1898

'The Special Commissioner', *Sierra Leone Times*, 9 July, 1898

'The Rising In the Protectorate. Blood Curdling Atrocities witnessed By the Wife of A Police Corporal At Suba', *Sierra Leone Times*, 6 August, 1898

Sierra Leone Weekly News

'Prayer Meetings Against The Condition Of Things In The City And Protectorate', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 5 March, 1898

'The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 1', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 2 April, 1898

'The Crisis In Sierra Leone: War, Famine, Poverty, Bloodshed, And Revolution No. 3', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 16 April, 1898

'The Outbreak At Sherbro', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 30 April, 1898

'Some Jottings-By J.', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 7 May, 1898

'The Defence of Freetown', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 7 May, 1898

'Troublous Times', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 7 May, 1898

‘The Crisis in Sierra Leone: Martyrdom-Barbarous murder of over 10 missionaries, Wholesale Butchery and Slaughter of Sierra Leone Traders’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 14 May, 1898

‘The Massacre of the Innocents: Rev W.H. Maude At College Chapel Rawdon Street on Saturday Morning, May 8th’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 21 May 1898

‘Reasons for the Killing of Sierra Leoneans’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 21 May, 1898

‘The Hut Tax Disturbances’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 13 January, 1900

‘The Government and the Aborigines’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 17 February, 1900

‘The Ashanti Rising’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 9 June, 1900

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 13 January, 1934

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898 II’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 20 January, 1934

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898 XV’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 4 August, 1934

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898 XVI’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 11 August, 1934

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898 XVII’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 18 August, 1934

C. R. Morrison, ‘The House Tax and the Temne Rising of 1898 XVIII’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 25 August, 1934

Herbert Christian Bankole Bright, ‘Correspondence: To the Editor of the Sierra Leone Weekly News’, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 26 August 1950

The Times Newspaper (London)

‘The Present and Future of Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 5 April, 1899

E Graham Ingram, ‘Sierra Leone, ‘To the Editor of the Times’, *The Times*, 12 May, 1898

‘The Rising in Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 27 June, 1898

C. May, ‘The Sierra Leone Rising’, To the Editor of the Times, *The Times*, 8 August 1898

‘The Rising in Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 24 August, 1898

‘The Sierra Leone Rising’, *The Times*, 19 October, 1898

‘The Operations in Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 7 November, 1898

‘The Present and Future of Sierra Leone’, *The Times*, 5 April, 1899

Books

Chalmers, David, *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and correspondence on the subject of the insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898*, (Great Britain: Darling & Son, 1899), V.I-II

Labor, A.B.C. Merriman, *The last military expedition in Sierra Leone: Or, British soldiers and West African native warriors*, (John Heywood: Manchester, 1898)

Wallis, Charles Braithwaite *The advance of our West African empire*, (London: T.F. Unwin, 1903)

Memoirs

Casely-Hayford, Adelaide, *Mother and Daughter: Memoirs and Poems*, (Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone University Press, 1983)

Unpublished Sources

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Lt. Colonel J.W. Marshall to Governor Frederic Cardew, Port Lokko, 22 April, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266 Commanding Officer to Governor Frederic Cardew, 27 April, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, District Commissioner D'H. Fairlough to the Colonial Secretary, 28 April, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Office Commanding Troops, Karene to His Excellency The Governor Frederic Cardew, 30 April, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, District Commissioner T.J. Allridge to Governor Frederic Cardew, 1 May 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Mary B. Mullen to Governor Frederic Cardew, 5 May, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Secretary Chamberlain 9 May, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Testimony of Emanuel J. Cole, Mafwe (Morfuay), 17 May, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Cardew to Chamberlain, 27 May, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Chamberlain, 28 May 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, Governor Frederic Cardew to Secretary Chamberlain, 31 May, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266 Serg. Major Robert W. George to Governor Frederic Cardew, 13 June, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438, Statement by J.T. Nicol, a Merchant of Magbelli, 11 July, 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267 438 Series, 13266, Sergeant Samuel Moore to Governor Frederic Cardew, 13 July 1898

Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, CO 267/438 Series, 13266, District Commissioner Wilfred Sharpe to Governor Frederic Cardew "Short Report of Cases tried in the District Commissioner's Court, Karene District for the month of February 1898", 13 July, 1898

Personal communication and Interviews

Browne, Charles Sylvanus, telephone interview by author, 2 February, 2007

Browne, Regina Elizabeth, Comment to author, 2 February, 2007

Secondary Sources

Books

Ainslie, Rosalynde, *The press in Africa: communications past and present*, (United States: Walker, 1967)

Anderson, David, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, (United Kingdom: Hachette, 2011)

Bourret, F.M. ,*The Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919-1951*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1952)

Cartwright, John R., *Political leadership in Sierra Leone*, (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 1978)

Cohen, Abner, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society*, (California: University of California Press, 1981)

Conton, William, *The African*, (New York: The New American Library of World Literature), 1960)

Cromwell, Adelaide, *An African Victorian Feminist: The Life and Times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford, 1868-1960*, (Howard University, 1999)

Daunton, Martin J., *State and Market in Victorian Britain: War, Welfare and Capitalism*, (England: Boydell Press, 2008)

Falola, Toyin, Aderinto, Saheed Nigeria, *Nationalism, and Writing History*, (University of Rochester Press, 2010)

Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962)

Fyfe, Christopher, *A Short History of Sierra Leone*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Ltd, 1967)

Fyfe, Christopher, *Our Children Free and Happy: Letters from Black Settlers in Africa in the 1790s*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991)

Fyfe, Christopher, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964)

Gardner, Leigh A., *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012),

Cox-George, N.A., *Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience*, (United Kingdom: D. Dobson, 1961)

Hargreaves, J.D., *A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958)

Hachten, William A., *Muffled drums; the news media in Africa*, (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1971), pp. 143-144

Horton, James Africanus Beale, *West African Countries and Peoples British and Native: And a Vindication of the African Race, 1868* Reprint: (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Hyam, Ronald, *Britain's imperial century, 1815-1914: a study of empire and expansion*, (United Kingdom: B.T. Batsford, 1976)

Kalyvas, Stathis N., *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

- Lewis, Roy, *Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait*, (United Kingdom: H.M. Stationery Office, 1954)
- Lowther, Kevin G., *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland*, (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2011),
- Lynch, Hollis R., *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967)
- Patton, Adell, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, (Florida: University of Florida Press, 1996)
- Peterson, John, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone 1787-1870*, (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1969)
- Porter, Arthur, *Creoleland: a study of the development of Freetown society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963)
- Pybus, Cassandra, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest For Liberty*, (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 2006)
- Rich, Edwin E., *Economy of Expanding Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 346-347
- Sheller, Mimi, *Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom*, (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2012)
- Shyllon, Leslie, *Two Centuries of Christianity in an African province of freedom, Sierra Leone: a case study of European influence and culture in church development*, (United Kingdom: Print Sundries and Stationers, 2008)
- Sibthorpe, A.B.C., *The History of Sierra Leone*, (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 1970)
- Skinner, David E., *African Historian and Administrator in Sierra Leone*, (California: Hoover Institution Publication, 1980)
- Spitzer, Leo, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1790-1945*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Spitzer, Leo, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: responses to colonialism, 1870-1945*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974)
- Steady, Filomina Chioma, *Women and the Amistad Connection: Sierra Leone Krio Society*, (Vermont: Schenkman Books, 2001)
- Butt-Thompson, Frederick William, *Sierra Leone in history and tradition*, (H.F. & G Witherby, 1925)
- Tucker, Peter L., *The Tuckers of Sierra Leone 1665-1914*, (United Kingdom: 1997)
- Wagner, Kim A, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising*, (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2010)
- Walker, James, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992)
- West, Richard, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia*, (California: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970)

Wilson, Ellen Gibson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976)

Wyse, Akintola, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretative History*, (Maryland: Howard University Press, 1991)

Wyse, Akintola, *H.C. Bankole-Bright and Politics in Colonial Sierra Leone, 1919-1958*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Young, Crawford, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994)

Articles/Chapters in books

Boahen, Albert Adu, Gueye, M'Baye, 'African initiatives and resistance in West Africa, 1880-1914', in *Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935* Volume 7, (California: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 114-148

Davidson, John “ ‘Creole’ or ‘Sierra Leonean’ Some Evidence from 1898”, in Adam Jones (Ed.), Peter K. Mitchell (Ed.), *Sierra Leone studies at Birmingham 1985: proceedings of the fourth Birmingham-Sierra Leone Studies Symposium, 13th-15th July 1985*, Fircroft College, Birmingham, (Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, 1987), pp. 5-13

Denzer, LaRay, 'Bai Bureh and the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War of 1898', in Michael Crowder, *Colonial West Africa Collected Essays*, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1978), pp. 61-103

Hogendorn, Jan S., 'Economic initiative and African cash farming: pre-colonial origins and early colonial developments', Lewis Henry Gann (Ed.), Peter J. Duignan (Ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960: The economics of colonialism, ed. by P. Duignan and L.H. Gann*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archives, 1975), pp. 283-328

Reeck, Darrell, 'Protest and Conflict 1896-1898', in *Deep Mende: Religious Interactions in a Changing African Rural Society*, (Netherlands: Brill Archive, 1976), pp. 35-59

Spitzer, Leo, "Sierra Leone Creoles 1870-1900" in Philip D. Curtin (Ed.), *Africa and the West*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974) pp. 99-138

Walls, A.F., ‘A Christian Experiment: The Early Sierra Leone Colony’, G.J. Cuming (Ed.), *Studies in Church History/the Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, Studies in Church History, Volume 6, (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1970) pp. 107-130

Wyse, Akintola J.G., ‘The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora’, in Joseph E. Harris (ed.) *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), pp. 339-368

Articles in Academic Journals

Abraham, Arthur ‘Bai Bureh, The British, and the Hut Tax War’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (1974), pp. 99-106

Arthur, Abraham, ‘Nyagua, The British, and the Hut Tax War’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (1972), pp. 94-98

Akpan, M. B. ‘Black Imperialism: Americo-Liberian Rule over the African Peoples of Liberia, 1841-1964’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1973), pp. 217-236

Ayandele, E.A., 'Britain and Yorubaland in the nineteenth Century', *Nigerian Historical Studies*, (Psychology Press, 1979), pp. 19-42

Bøås, Morten, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone: Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 5 (Oct., 2001), pp. 697-723

Clegg, Claude A., 'A Splendid Type of Colored American": Charles Young and the Reorganization of the Liberian Frontier Force', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1996), pp. 47-70

Deveneaux, Gustav Kashope, 'Public Opinion and Colonial Policy in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, no. 1, (1976), pp. 45-67

Dorjahn, V. R. and Fyfe, Christopher, 'Landlord and Stranger: Change in Tenancy Relations in Sierra Leone', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1962), pp. 391-397

Fyfe, Christopher, 'The Sierra Leone Press in the Nineteenth Century', *Sierra Leone Studies New Series*, Vol. 8, (1957), pp. 226-236

Fyfe, Christopher The Term 'Creole': A Footnote to a Footnote, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 50, no. 4, (1980), p. 422

Goerg, Odile, 'Between Everyday Life and Exception: Celebrating Pope Hennessy Day in Freetown, 1872-c.1905', in *Journal of African Cultural Studies* Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 119-131

Hargreaves, J.D. 'The Establishment of the Sierra Leone Protectorate and the Insurrection of Cambridge Historical Journal', Vol. 12, no. 1, (1956), pp. 56-80

Howard, Allen M. 'Contesting Commercial Space in Freetown, 1860-1930: Traders, Merchants, and Officials', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 37, no. 2/3, (2003), pp. 236-268

Omu, Fred I.A, 'The dilemma of press freedom in Colonial Africa: the West African example', *Journal of African History*, v. 9., no. 2 (1968), pp. 279-98

Porter, A.T. (Ed.), 'Obituary: Charles Rhodoway Morrison', in *Sierra Leone Studies*, issues 15-17, Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, 1961, pp. 173-176

Stokes, Eric, 'Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism: The Context of the 1857 Mutiny Rebellion in India', *Past & Present*, no. 48 (Aug., 1970), pp. 100-118

Thayer, James Steel, 'Dissenting View of Creole Culture in Sierra Leone (Une approche non-conventionnelle de la culture des Créoles de Sierra Leone)', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 31, Cahier 121/122, La Malédiction (1991), pp. 215-230

White, E. Frances 'Creole Women Traders in the Nineteenth Century', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, no. 4 (1981), pp. 626-642

Dictionary and Encyclopedia

Abraham, Arthur, 'Bai Bureh', *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), pp. 50-52

Abraham, Arthur, 'William Hughes', in *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra Leone and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), p. 79

Foray, Cyril P., 'Frederic Cardew', *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), pp. 52-54

Abraham Arthur, Fyfe, Christopher, 'Kpana Lewis', *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), pp. 98-99

Lasite, Akiwande J., 'James Charles [sic] Ernest Parkes', *Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire*, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), pp. 129-130

Online Dictionary of National Biography

Hargreaves, John D. , 'Lewis, Sir Samuel (1843–1903)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/72676>], [Accessed 2 April 2013]

Book Reviews

Brenner, Louis, Review of *Protest and Power in Black Africa* by Robert I. Rotberg; Ali A. Mazrui, *African Historical Studies* , Vol. 4, no. 1 (1971), pp. 141-144

Fisher, Humphrey J., Review of *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945* by Leo Spitzer, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London Vol. 39, no. 2, (1976), pp. 496-498

Thomas-McCluskey, Audrey, Review of *Sierra Leone's Settler Women Traders: Women on the Afro-European Frontier* by E. Frances White, *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1988), pp. 146-148

Unpublished Dissertations

West, Laura Elizabeth, "The Negro Experiment": Black Modernity and Liberia, 1883-1910", (MA thesis. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2012), pp. 1-120

Wegmann, Andrew N., "Christian Community and the Development of an Americo-Liberian Identity, 1824-1878", (MA thesis. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2010), pp. 1-128

Conference Presentations

Whyte, Christine, "'There will be no more Sierra Leoneans': Slavery, Race and Gender in the Hut Tax War of 1898." Paper presented at the Sierra Leone Past and Present International Conference 2012, York University and Sierra Leone National Archives, Freetown, 23-28 April, 2012.

Maps

Ethnic Map highlighting the demographics of Sierra Leone, 1969:

NationMaster:http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/africa/sierra_leone_ethnic_1969.jpg, [Accessed: 21 February, 2013]

Map of Sierra Leone, 1913:

NationMaster:http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/historical/sierra_leone_1913.jpg, [Accessed: 21 February, 2013]

Map of Sierra Leone highlighting the Protectorate, 1922: Internet Map Archive, Probert

Encyclopaedia:<http://www.probertencyclopaedia.com/photolib/maps/Map%20of%20Sierra%20Leone%201922.htm>, [Accessed: 22 September, 2012]

Images

Bai Bureh: Reproduced from Abraham, Arthur, "Bai Bureh", Dictionary of African Biography: Sierra and Zaire, Vol. II, (Michigan: Reference Publications Inc., 1979), p. 51

Governor Frederick Cardew: African Art Archives: www.africanartarchives.com [Accessed: 14 October, 2012]

Cover image of taxed hut in Sierra Leone: T.E. Leslie Allridge, *The Illustrated London News*, 'A Good Specimen of the Taxed Hut', Sierra Leone, 14 May, 1898

Sir Samuel Lewis: Reproduced from Arthur Porter, *Creoleland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 54

Cornelius Theobald May: Reproduced from Leo Spitzer, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa 1780-1945*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 140

Sierra Leone Frontier Police: T.E. Leslie Allridge, *The Illustrated London News*, 'Sierra Leone Frontier Police', 14 May, 1898

The cover page of the Chalmers Report: Chalmers Report Introductory page

The Sierra Leone Diaspora and Homeland Investment

Kai Matturi - Policy Adviser with the Irish Non-governmental organization, Concern Worldwide, Ireland.

Abstract

This article examines the Sierra Leonean diaspora (SLD) resident in the Republic of Ireland (ROI), the United Kingdom (UK) and in the United States of America (USA) and the role it can play in the development of Sierra Leone. The central question posed is: what are the factors that influence diaspora interest in homeland investment? The article examines concepts of ethnic advantage, altruism, homeland orientation, and perceptions of business impediments. Across all three countries, viz where members of the Sierra Leone diaspora were surveyed, all members of the diaspora who perceive that they have an ethnic advantage in the homeland market are more likely to be interested in investing in Sierra Leone than diaspora members that do not. That altruism positively affects homeland investment is significant. These findings are potentially good news for Sierra Leone - since it is considered a generally unattractive and risky business environment.

Introduction and Background

After independence, Sierra Leone's economy suffered from mismanagement and corruption. In the late 1980s, the government of President Joseph Momoh acknowledged the failings of the economy and sought the help of the international community, President Momoh engaged with the IMF and the World Bank, "In order to reach a more concrete understanding between these institutions and Sierra Leone on the basic elements of restructuring the economy" (Luke, 1989:139). President Momoh and the IMF agreed on the following package: "The elimination of government subsidies on rice and petrol, trade liberalisation which would eliminate parastatal monopolies and repayments of \$3 million of the total debt owed to the IMF", (Harrell-Bond and Fraker, 1993:324).

The civil war that erupted in 1991 renders any comprehensive assessment of the IMF's structural adjustment programme (SAP) for Sierra Leone unrealistic. Therefore this article cannot fully assess the impact of government policies on growth, poverty, etc. However, a partial analysis can be forwarded: there were both positive and negative impacts on the economy, resulting from government policies that emanated from SAP.

Among the positive developments: "(1) A sharp reduction in the rate of inflation, from an average of 67.3 % in the 1980s to 43.1 % in the 1990s; (2) the budget deficit declined from an average of 12.4 % of GDP in the 1980s to 6.9 % in the 1990s; (3) petroleum products and rice became freely available; (4) the exchange rate was more in line with market forces, than it had been in the 1980s, and (5) fiscal management was improved in terms of planning, monitoring, recording and controlling of expenditures" (UNDP, 2000: 2).

However, despite the slight improvement in macroeconomic indicators, the same cannot be said of other areas, such as employment. "On the negative side, trade liberalisation opened a floodgate, which allowed the free importation of goods and services with few exceptions. Unrestricted imports led to job losses in some manufacturing enterprises, most of which came into existence during the import substitution regime of the 1960s. Also, major job losses occurred in the civil service with the retrenchment of several thousand workers" (UNDP, 2000:3).

Thus, what became evident in Sierra Leone during the 1990s was a widening gap between rich and poor, partly due to high unemployment. Secondly, a widening income gap between the rich and the poor helped ensure that the latter could not access basic services: health care, sanitation, etc. The result was that the poor people, overwhelmingly in rural areas, suffered ill health and early death. Hence, one

is not surprised to learn that “Maternal mortality and morbidity were reported to rank among the highest in the world during the 1990s” (UNDP, 2000: 9).

Some commentators noted at the dawn of the 1990s: “The outlook for the Sierra Leonean economy in the 1990’s was not very encouraging despite severe austerity measures imposed on the people” (New African Yearbook, 1991: 298). These words proved to be prophetic. The economy of Sierra Leone during the 1990s was in a deep depression. Government policies ensured unemployment became rampant. A direct consequence was a growth in poverty levels and a deepening of the income gap between the richest and the poorest twenty per cent of the population. The impact of government policies especially on vulnerable groups such as women, will have to be carefully considered if the mistakes of the past are not to be repeated. For an in-depth analysis of the political, economic and social conditions in Sierra Leone, see the following: Abdullah (1998), Bergner (2005), Chenge (2002), Gberie (1997), Kaplan (1997), Richards (1996), Riddle (2005), Zack-Williams and Riley (1993).

Even before the advent of the civil war, the economy was in shape. The war further exacerbated this. Every aspect of the economy; manufacturing, tourism and production was damaged. Basic infrastructure was lacking. For instance, the transport system was severely underdeveloped. “The road system was in a poor state in the 1990s paved roads accounted for only about 8 per cent of the total” (UNDP, 2000:14). The government of President Ernest Bai Koroma has set out in a policy document its plan of action to address these matters: *“Prosperity for Sierra Leoneans will be measured by the levels of access to reasonable health care; high quality education; and equal opportunities for all, regardless of age, gender, religion and tribe, and with special attention to the needs of the disabled and vulnerable. Thus, improvements in the quality of life for ordinary citizens will be reflected in incremental changes in the UNDP Human Development Index”* (Government of Sierra Leone, Agenda for Prosperity Policy [A f P], 2013: II).

Government policy was focused on attempts to reduce both poverty and deprivation. However, for many reasons, not least the lack of a middle class, the outside world may have to play a huge role in turning the government’s vision into reality. This brings inherent risks. “The successful implementation of the Agenda for Prosperity depends to a large extent on high projected revenue inflows from Sierra Leone’s mineral and agricultural commodities. A collapse in prices of these commodities in the international market would lead to a drop in projected revenues, and thus pose a serious threat to A f P implementation” (Government of Sierra Leone, Agenda for Prosperity Policy, 2013:150). Thus, it is vital that the state adopts a diverse foreign investment strategy. The Government of Sierra Leone in a recent policy paper entitled, ‘Agenda for Prosperity’ acknowledges this, hinting at the issuance of diaspora bonds as way to finance the country’s long-term development

needs. “Diaspora bonds are issued by the country to its diaspora to tap into their assets in the destination country, as an alternative to borrowing from other sources” (Government of Sierra Leone, Agenda for Prosperity Policy, 2013:155). This article explores whether the Sierra Leone diaspora represent a potential source of alternative financing for development.

The complexities involved in determining what actually constitutes a ‘diaspora’ is described as “An ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or more host countries. Members of such entities maintain regular or occasional contacts with what they regard as their homelands and with individuals and groups of the same background residing in other host countries. Based on aggregate decisions to settle permanently in host countries, but to maintain a common identity, diasporas identity as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social, political and economic spheres. Among their various activities, members of such Diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflex complex relationships among the Diasporas, their host countries, their homelands and international actors” (Sheffer, 2003: 10).

Development of Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are derived from work done by Robin Cohen on Diasporas. Cohen’s seminal work *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* describes in great detail the fundamental characteristics of Diasporas. Diasporas can be differentiated from other migrant groups based on the following features: “A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate, an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation, a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements” (Cohen,1997:26).

The above features have provided the foundations upon which the hypotheses have been built. For instance, one can assume that the notion of “A strong ethnic group consciousness” will have a positive

impact on homeland investment. Work carried out by Portes and Bach (1985) suggests that immigrants often believe that as fellow co-ethnics, they are better able to ascertain and meet the needs of their immigrant community. Thus, immigrants have a propensity to establish businesses geared to their particular ethnic market. In terms of a diaspora community, whose referent ethnic group extends beyond national boundaries, this perceived ethnic advantage may well transcend the local market and include the market of the homeland. This perception can be positioned to mean 'ethnic advantage'. Hence, the first hypothesis: ethnic advantage positively affects homeland investment.

A second attribute of Diasporas relates to "An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance". This concept of "an idealization" readily fits into notions of altruism, that is social actors undertake actions based not solely on economic gain, but also on notions of nationalism, patriotism, love, and so on. Thus the advantage stems from altruism. This therefore yields the second hypothesis: homeland altruism positively affects homeland investment.

The third hypothesis under investigation has being derived from another feature of Diasporas. This feature has already been referred to, the concept of "an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation". This belief in the restoration of the homeland, especially in post-conflict settings, is very significant and has been credited with playing an influential role in determining how Diasporas perceive the homeland. Even though risks might be prevalent in the homeland, members of the diaspora are often prepared to overlook these obstacles. As Cohen has noted there is a very simple rationale behind this: "By being attached to a strong and tightly integrated diaspora, family – and – kin – based economic transactions are made easier and safer" (Cohen, 1997: 160). Therefore it's no surprise to find out that diasporas are "often best placed to reactivate links with countries that, through war or political ideology, had not previously or fully been sucked into international markets" (Cohen, 1997: 161). This provides the third hypothesis: estimation of business impediments will not affect homeland investment, or will affect it less than is the case for non-diaspora investment.

Cohen refers to a "collective memory and myth about the homeland" as constituting another feature of diasporas. Diasporas therefore have a strong tendency towards homeland orientation. From this can be deduced the fourth hypothesis: homeland orientation positively affects homeland investment; again, the advantage here stems from homeland orientation.

All four hypotheses - ethnic advantage, altruism, perception of business impediments and homeland orientation – are closely connected especially ethnic advantage, altruism and homeland orientation. For

instance, homeland orientation feeds into altruism and so forth. Thus, this article is investigating variations on a single theme, coming at a central hypothesis from slightly different angles, but all of the findings are inevitably interconnected.

Research Design and Methodology

This research was carried out using multiple approaches to data collection. Data was gathered using secondary sources of literature, exploratory interviews, and a survey that used self-completed paper questionnaires, and a web-based self-completion version. The diverse characteristics of the survey population, the transnational nature of the research as well as the geographical distribution of respondents within the case study made it necessary to use different modes of data collection for the survey in order to reach as diverse a range of potential respondents as possible.

The questionnaire was designed and piloted by holding meetings where the questionnaire was completed and detailed verbal feedback was given and by distributing it for feedback and completion to community representatives and Sierra Leoneans. It was then revised based on comments from the piloting exercise.

The questionnaire was distributed and administered using different methods. The questionnaire was administered using self-completion paper and web versions in the UK and USA and in the ROI questionnaires were also administered using face-to-face interviews. Using different methods of data collection can result in mode effects (De Vaus, 2002). That is, the mode of administration can affect the way people respond. If certain types of people are surveyed with one method (for example the internet) while other types are surveyed with a different method (example face-to-face) these two modes may distort group differences. But the diversity of the target populations and access to them made this necessary.

The problem of obtaining a representative sample is the biggest challenge that the study must contend with. It is a problem that cannot be eradicated, only acknowledged and taken into account in interpreting the findings. In order to achieve “a representative sample it is necessary to have some control over who completes the questionnaire” (De Vaus, 1996:108). With self-completed questionnaires the researcher has no “control over who completes the questionnaire”. The quality of answers is therefore greatly reduced, as a researcher can never be sure who actually completes the questionnaire.

The sampling method employed in this study is known as “convenience sampling” or “snowball sampling”. It is also known as “accidental sampling, grabbing sampling, chunk sampling and haphazard sampling” (Sarantakos, 1998:151). Convenience sampling is the most basic form of sampling that can

be employed in survey research. As such it is the most porous form of sampling. In particular it lacks representativeness, in gathering data on diaspora populations, snowball sampling is often operationalised, since it's the only way of obtaining information pertaining to rare sociological groupings, such as Diasporas.

The total sample size was ninety. Ten questionnaires were distributed amongst the diaspora living in the ROI. The remaining eighty were distributed to the diaspora resident in the UK and the USA. The data collection was carried out between July and September 2006. The target number of respondents was achieved. The survey achieved slightly in excess of this number, so that some of the in-complete questionnaires received were not used.

There is no sampling frame of the SLD available in the UK, USA and ROI and so it was not possible to use probability-sampling techniques. To increase the representatives of the sample, multiple contact points were used alongside different modes of data collection. Ultimately the sample, especially those who completed the questionnaire using the web version, were self-selecting, thus, the data produced must be interpreted with this caveat in mind and can, therefore not be generalized to the SLD as a whole. Moreover, it is not possible to measure the bias in the sample or how the sample in this study is likely to differ from other Sierra Leoneans in the ROI, the UK and USA. However, the wide range of organisations, groups and individuals that helped to facilitate the survey through distributing questionnaires and e-mails to Sierra Leoneans, as well as networking through other media such as web sites and chat rooms were all used to ensue as wide and diverse a sample as possible.

The main type of analysis undertaken is bivariate analysis. A real advantage of bivariate analysis is that it allows for two variables to be analysed simultaneously. For example, an economic variable along with a social class variable can be analysed simultaneously to ascertain if any related causal relationship exists between the two variables. There are a number of methods of bivariate analysis: scatter grams, regression and so on. This report used primarily one method: cross tabulations. "Cross tabulations are a way of displaying data so that we can fairly detect association between two variables" (De Vaus, 1996:155). Refer to De Vaus (2002) for further reading on survey research and cross-tabulations in particular.

Analysis and Results

This section of the article presents the survey findings and also provides a commentary on the results.

Ethnic Advantage

Tables 1.1 to 1.4 present data relating to the first hypothesis, namely, that ethnic advantage positively affects homeland investment. Respondents were asked whether or not they felt that they had a competitive advantage in doing business in Sierra Leone because they share the same ethnic background as the people in Sierra Leone. As the results in table 1.1 illustrate 84.4 per cent (n=76) of respondents felt that they did. Whilst only 15.6 per cent (n=14) were of the opposite opinion. With regard to investing in Sierra Leone, of the 76 respondents, 62 were potentially interested in investing in manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone, table 1.2. Whilst 67 respondents were interested in investing in manufacturing facilities for export and in service operations in Sierra Leone, refer to tables 1.3 and 1.4 respectively.

Thus what emerges is that of those who felt that they had an ethnic advantage in doing business in Sierra Leone, the majority were potentially interested in investing in Sierra Leone. But it should also be noted, that maybe others without the perceived ethnic advantage are equally interested in investing. With this caveat in mind it could be assumed that the first hypothesis holds true.

Table 1.1: Ethnic Advantage

		Ethnic advantage			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	76	84.4	84.4	84.4
	no	14	15.6	15.6	100.0
Total		90	100.0	100.0	

Table 1.2: Ethnic Advantage: Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone

Ethnic advantage * Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count		Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Ethnic advantage	yes	3	62	11	76
	no	4	8	2	14
Total		7	70	13	90

Table 1.3: Ethnic Advantage: Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export

**Ethnic advantage * Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export
Crosstabulation**

Count

		Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Ethnic advantage	yes	2	67	7	76
	no	5	9		14
Total		7	76	7	90

Table 1.4: Ethnic Advantage: Service Operations in Sierra Leone

Ethnic advantage * Service operations in Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Service operations in Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Ethnic advantage	yes	3	67	6	76
	no	4	8	2	14
Total		7	75	8	90

Altruism

The next set of data explores the relationship between altruism and homeland investment. Respondents were asked if they believed that Sierra Leoneans in the diaspora should invest in Sierra Leone. The answer to this question was categorically yes, see Table's 1.5 to 1.7. When the relational dynamics between homeland altruism and homeland investment was further explored, it emerged that of those who cited altruism as a reason, why Sierra Leoneans should invest in Sierra Leone, the majority were potentially interested in investing in Sierra Leone. For instance, 76 out of the ninety respondents were potentially interested in investing in manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for exports refer to table 1.6. However, it is just as plausible that those with no altruistic motivation are equally interested in investing in Sierra Leone. Having said this, one can assume that the second hypothesis holds true, namely, homeland altruism positively affects homeland investment.

Table 1.5: Altruism: Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone

Altruism * Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Altruism	yes	7	70	13	90
Total		7	70	13	90

Table 1.6: Altruism: Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export

Altruism * Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export Crosstabulation

Count

		Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Altruism	yes	7	76	7	90
Total		7	76	7	90

Table 1.7: Altruism: Service operations in Sierra Leone

Altruism * Service operations in Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Service operations in Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Altruism	yes	7	75	8	90
Total		7	75	8	90

Business impediments

Respondents were asked whether any of the following would act as impediments to investing in Sierra Leone; a) Government Corruption b) Internal strife c) Too much government bureaucracy, and so forth.

On average most respondents did not see any of the above has been impediments. Refer to Tables 1.8 to 1.10. This is especially true in the case of internal strife, where n=86 (95.6 per cent) of respondents felt that it was not an impediment, of these 66 were potentially interested in manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone, whilst 13 respondents were currently doing so. (See Table 1.8).

However, there are factors, which most respondents felt are major impediments to investing in Sierra Leone, namely government corruption and too much government bureaucracy. Fifty per cent of respondents (n=45) indicated that too much government bureaucracy was an impediment to investing in Sierra Leone (see Table 1.10), whilst thirty per cent (n=43) of the sample cited government corruption as a major impediment to investing in Sierra Leone. (See Table 1.9).

Table 1.8: Internal Strife: Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone

Internal strife * Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Manufacturing facilities for Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Internal strife	not an impediment	7	66	13	86
	an impediment		3		3
	a major impediment		1		1
Total		7	70	13	90

Table 1.9: Government Corruption: Service operations in Sierra Leone

Government corruption * Service operations in Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Service operations in Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Government corruption	not an impediment		16	3	19
	an impediment		42	1	43
	a major impediment	7	17	4	28
Total		7	75	8	90

Table 1.10: Government Bureaucracy: Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export

**Too much government bureaucracy * Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export
Crosstabulation**

Count		Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
Too much government bureaucracy	not an impediment		26	2	28
	an impediment	4	38	3	45
	a major impediment	3	12	2	17
Total		7	76	7	90

In spite of this, Sierra Leoneans are still willing to entertain the idea of potentially investing in Sierra Leone. The above table's present data that examine further the relationship between business impediments and homeland investment. What emerges is unequivocal; the majority of the sample population is potentially interested in investing in Sierra Leone: of those who saw corruption as an impediment to investing (30 %), nearly a majority of these number (n=42) were potentially interested in investing in service operations in Sierra Leone (see Table 1.9). The same pattern emerges when the data in table 4.13 is analyzed. Here despite the fact that fifty per cent of respondents saw too much government bureaucracy as an impediment to investing, over eighty per cent (n=38) of respondents were still potentially interested in investing in Sierra Leone (see Table 1.10). What the preceding analysis indicates is that estimates of business impediments will not adversely affect homeland investment.

Homeland Orientation

The relationship between homeland orientation and homeland investment is explored further in tables 1.11 and 1.12. Once again, the findings are unequivocal. The relationship between homeland orientation and homeland investment indicates that the majority of respondents are potentially interested in investing in Sierra Leone, (refer to Tables 1.11 and 1.12). For example, with regard to those that were in contact with relatives in Sierra Leone, seventy-five out of the ninety respondents were potentially interested in investing in service operations, (See Table 1.12). In the case of homeland visitation, thirty six of the ninety respondents had visited Sierra Leone, once in the last five years, out of this group over ninety per cent (n=33) were potentially interested in investing in manufacturing facilities in Sierra

Leone for export (see Table 1.11). Thus, the results seem to vindicate the claim that homeland orientation positively affects homeland investment.

Table 1.11: Visitation: Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export

visitation * Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export Crosstabulation

Count

		Manufacturing facilities in Sierra Leone for export			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
visitation	zero	2	6		8
	once	3	33		36
	twice		23		23
	more than twice	2	14	7	23
Total		7	76	7	90

Table 1.12: Contact: Service operations in Sierra Leone

contact with relatives * Service operations in Sierra Leone Crosstabulation

Count

		Service operations in Sierra Leone			Total
		not interested	potentially interested	currently interested	
contact with relatives	yes	7	75	8	90
Total		7	75	8	90

To sum up, the analysis of the data revealed consist support across the SLD for the hypotheses that altruism, perceptions of ethnic advantage and homeland orientation all have a positive effect on interest in homeland investment. As hypothesized, estimation of business impediments proved to be insignificant in determining interest in homeland investment.

Conclusions

There is renewed hope for Sierra Leone. A recent International Monetary Fund Mission to the country made the following observation, “*Sierra Leone’s economic growth accelerated to 15.2 percent in 2012, reflecting the emergence of large-scale iron ore extraction as well as sustained expansion in*

agriculture, services, and construction. Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is projected to grow at 13 percent in 2013. Consumer price inflation declined from 16.9 percent in 2011, to 12 percent in 2012, aided by prudent monetary policy and stable exchange rate. It is forecast to decline further in 2013. Sierra Leone's external position improved in 2012, strengthening the reserve coverage” (<http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2013/pr13188.htm>).

Whilst this is welcome news for a country previously associated with ‘blood diamonds’ this growth is still clustered around raw commodity production, principally diamonds and iron ore. A risky strategy dependent on volatile external markets such as China. In order to achieve sustainable economic development it is worthwhile harnessing other sources of economic growth, this study has examined one such avenue, the Sierra Leone diaspora. Essentially, Diasporas can be differentiated from other immigrant groups based on a number of characteristics. For example, Diasporas often have a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location; history and achievements and also, they tend to have an idealization of the ‘ancestral home’.

Such features ensure that Diasporas are often overlook negative attributes of the homeland. This article tests such an assumption using a number of hypotheses: ethnic advantage, altruism, homeland orientation and perceptions of business impediments.

The findings concerning altruism, estimation of business impediments and homeland orientation is supportive of research carried out by Yair Aharoni (1966). The fact that altruism positively affects homeland investment is significant. These two findings are potentially good news for Sierra Leone since it is considered a generally unattractive and risky business environment, the recent growth prediction notwithstanding.

Future research concerning the concepts developed here aimed at investors would lend insight into the evolution of the homeland investment process. For instance, do perceptions of ethnic advantage and altruism affect actual investment as they do investment interest? Future research could also attempt to examine the homeland investment decision-making process from the points of view of current entrepreneurs versus potential entrepreneurs.

The empirical evidence that emerged here seems to confirm the theoretical view that Diasporas are potentially a source of FDI, which can be tapped into by homeland governments. The research findings give a glimmer of hope for the salvation of the economy of Sierra Leone.

However for the above to happen, the GOSL must successfully engage with the SLD. Such an engagement is hindered by the real and perceived corruption of both the private and public sector.

Indeed, one of the themes that emerged from the study was of corruption being a business impediment to investing. It seems that the two factors: corruption and economic mismanagement, which contributed significantly to the chaos and mess within the country, could potentially act as stumbling blocks as Sierra Leone attempts to regain its position as 'The Athens of West Africa'. "In short, lack of government capacity and the persistence of corruption are significant obstacles to successful reconstruction. It is uncertain – at least in the short term – whether these twin impediments will be overcome" (Grant, 2005:1). However, as this study has illustrated the potential exists within the SLD to overcome these twin impediments.

References

Abdullah, I. 1998. Bush path to destruction. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 36:2.

Aharoni, Y.1966. *The Foreign Investment Decision Process*. **Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Business.**

Bergner, D. 2005. *Soldiers of Light*, Penguin Books Ltd.

Chaliand, G., and Regeau,J.1995. *The penguin atlas of diasporas*, **New York: Viking Penguin.**

Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travels and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*, **Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press.**

Cohen, R.1995. Rethinking Babylon: iconoclastic conceptions of the diasporic experience, *New Community* 21: 1.

Clifford, J. 1994. Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9:3.

Chenge, M. 2002. *Sierra Leone:*

Non – Peer Reviewed

A précis of sources relating to genealogical research on the Sierra Leone Krio people

By Nigel Browne-Davies

Introduction

Genealogical research relating to Africa and the African diaspora has garnered significant interest following scientific advancements in DNA testing and the digitisation of archival records. Census records, slave schedules, probate records and other digitized records have provided African American and African Caribbean people with greater opportunities to successfully trace ancestors who may have been free or enslaved. In addition to these developments, there are a number of guides that have been written which contextualise the records and offer advice on tracing African American and African-Caribbean ancestry. Although these developments bode well for those seeking to trace black ancestry in the diaspora, few guides or summaries of genealogical records pertaining to Africa have been written.²⁴⁸ Although colonial records contain vital information that is pertinent for genealogists tracing African ancestry, there are few guides on how to access and analyse these documents for genealogical research. This paper is an attempt to briefly summarise the sources in archives across the United Kingdom, North America and Sierra Leone that provide useful information for genealogists and other individuals seeking to conduct research on the Sierra Leone Krio community.²⁴⁹

Brief overview of the paper

²⁴⁸ There are some summaries such as Fyfe, Christopher, *Catalogue of Archives the Property of Sierra Leone Deposited at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, West Africa*, (Sierra Leone, 1953) Matthews, Noel, Wainwright, Doreen, Mary, *A guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) and Pearson, James Douglas, Matthews, Noel, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa: British Isles (excluding London)*, (United Kingdom: Mansell, 1994). Also papers such as Hair, Paul E.H., 'A bibliographic guide to Sierra Leone, 1650-1800', *Sierra Leone Studies*, 13, June 1960, pp. 41-49. However, these are general guides that do not contextualise the documents and state the importance of these records for genealogical research on the Sierra Leone Krio people.

²⁴⁹ Although this paper is mainly written for the benefit of genealogical researchers, it may also provide some interesting information on sources relating to Sierra Leone for historians and other scholars of this region.

There are a number of sources that modern scholars of Sierra Leonean history and culture can examine for their research.²⁵⁰ However, to date, few summaries of genealogical and historical sources relating to the Sierra Leone Krio community have been compiled.²⁵¹ Although this paper is not a comprehensive summary of all the available sources relating to Sierra Leone, it does provide an overview of perhaps the most important sources that are relevant for genealogical and historical research on the Sierra Leone Krio community. This paper will first examine records found in archives across Sierra Leone, Britain, and North America before providing an overview of some online sources and books that may also contain pertinent information relating to genealogical research on the Krio people.

The historical development of the Sierra Leone Krio community

The Sierra Leone Krio people mainly descend from the Black Poor of 1787, the Nova Scotian Settlers who arrived in 1792, the Jamaican Maroons who arrived in 1800, and the Liberated Africans or ‘Recaptives’ who were resettled in Sierra Leone roughly between 1808 and 1865.²⁵² Other transatlantic ‘educated Africans’ and coastal elites along the West African coast also settled in Sierra Leone and intermarried with the emerging Krio community.²⁵³ Because of the diverse transatlantic origins and the settlement patterns of these immigrants, early nineteenth century Sierra Leone was a largely divided society, with each ethnic group settling in enclaves in and around Freetown.²⁵⁴ Freetown was divided into unofficial residential districts such as Settler Town, Maroon Town, Soldier

²⁵⁰ Early sources dating from the precolonial era such as the T70 series that contains the Royal African Company records, provide valuable information on English trade and activities in Sierra Leone during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These records contain important information on the progenitors of Anglo-Sierra Leonean families such as the Tucker, Rogers, and Corker families. The Cleveland family history is also documented in other sources including Claude George’s *The Rise of British West Africa*.

²⁵¹ This paper is a preview of a lengthier paper that the author has compiled on genealogical sources relating to the Sierra Leone Krio community.

²⁵²W102/ List of the Nova Scotians and the Maroons. Few, if any Krio descend from the Black Poor; only 64 of those immigrants remained when Alexander Falconbridge established the second Granville Town in 1791.

²⁵³ Examples of these coastal immigrants would be William Smith Jr. (1816-1896) and Thomas George Lawson, (1814-1816).

²⁵⁴ Porter, Arthur, *Creoledom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 43

Town, and in the rural settlements of the peninsula it was not uncommon to find Aku Town, Igbo Town, and Moko Town.²⁵⁵

The various communities that merged to form the Krio ethnic group generally bore Western surnames derived from various sources. The Nova Scotian Settlers and Maroons adopted the surnames of slave-owners or planters in North America. Some ancestors of the Krio derived their surnames from European forbearers. Oftentimes, the Liberated Africans took the surnames of missionaries, sponsors, important colonial officials or if they were apprenticed to a Settler or Maroon family would sometimes adopt the surname of that particular family. Thus, certain forenames, middle names, and surnames became common among the settler communities of Sierra Leone and their Krio descendants. Some Liberated Africans also developed a tradition of passing on African forenames, middle names, or nicknames to their Creole children. For example, children born on Sunday were often named *Abioseh*, the Yoruba name for children born on Sunday. Twin children born to Krio families were generally named Taiwo and Kehinde, and this tradition remains widespread within Krio society.²⁵⁶ In accordance with the Victorian tradition, some nineteenth century Krio families also gave their children middle names that reflected a familial connection.²⁵⁷

The religious affiliation of the main ancestors of the Krio also developed according to a unique pattern. The religious development of the Colony of Sierra Leone has been examined by scholars such as Arthur T. Porter and Andrew F. Walls.²⁵⁸ The Nova Scotian Settlers introduced the Methodist, Baptist, and Countess of Huntingdon denominations in Sierra Leone when they founded the second

²⁵⁵ Porter, *Creoledom*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 95, Peterson, John *The Province of Freedom*, (United Kingdom: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 163. The disbanded soldiers of the 4th West India Regiment formed communities in rural settlements and both disbanded and active soldiers had their own district in Soldier Town near the barracks. In nineteenth century Sierra Leone, the term 'Aku' was used in reference to the Yoruba people, and was a term derived from a Yoruba greeting.

²⁵⁶ This was a cultural borrowing from the Yoruba Liberated Africans.

²⁵⁷ For a number of Krio families during the late nineteenth century, double barrel surnames often reflected a maternal family connection such as 'Taylor-Cummings' or some familial link such as 'Tuboku-Metzger'. Some double barrel surnames such as Bankole-Bright and Wellesley-Cole were middle names that were conjoined with surnames to create double barrel surnames.

²⁵⁸ See Porter, Arthur T, 'Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1953), pp. 3-14 and Walls, A.F., 'A Christian Experiment: The Early Sierra Leone Colony', G.J. Cuming (Ed.), *Studies in Church History/the Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, Studies in Church History, Volume 6, (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1970) p. 108.

Colony of Sierra Leone in 1792. For most of the nineteenth century, the Nova Scotian Settler and Maroon descendants largely remained Methodist; although some Settlers were Baptist and some Maroon and Settler descendants later adopted the Anglican faith.²⁵⁹ The Liberated Africans had more diverse religious affiliations, and showed a strong inclination toward Methodism before the efforts of the Church Missionary Society and the advent of Anglicanism led to the conversion of many Recaptives. However, some Liberated Africans did not adhere to Christianity and even retained or adopted a belief in Islam.²⁶⁰ Catholicism and perhaps Judaism were also practiced by some Krio and Europeans in Freetown.²⁶¹

Thus, the historical development of the Krio community provides the genealogist with a unique set of factors for determining the ancestry of a particular Krio family. It is possible to determine the origins of Krio families based upon factors such as the geographical roots of the family in the Western Area, the forenames and surnames within the family, and the religious affiliation of the family dating back to the nineteenth century. This set of criteria for analysing data on Krio families to determine the likely origins of their ancestors shall be examined in the next section of this paper.

Methodology for evaluating ancestral origins

Conducting genealogical research not only requires an understanding or knowledge of the relevant documents, but a method of analysing the sources in order to extract pertinent information. Before

²⁵⁹Walker, James, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 71-72. A significant portion of the Nova Scotians also adhered to the Countess of Huntingdon denomination; this tie was severed after Zion Chapel joined the AME Church in 1887.

²⁶⁰ Peterson, John, *The Province of Freedom*, (United States: Northwestern University Press, 1978), pp. 218-220, Wyse, Akintola, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History*, (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1989)

²⁶¹ Fyfe, Christopher, 'Parkes, (James Christopher) Ernest (1861-1899)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73842, accessed 10 September 2012].

James Christopher Ernest Parkes, (1861-1899) was a notable Krio catholic. There were also ethnically Jewish families such as the Isaacs, Lembergs, and Hamelbergs who left descendants in Freetown. However, it does not appear as though these families practiced Judaism; certainly the Hamelbergs were Catholic, and Edward Hamelberg, the grandson of Franz H.G.R. Hamelberg, a German Jewish merchant, became the first Sierra Leonean priest.

examining the archival sources, this paper shall provide a brief overview of the methodology employed when using documents and oral history to determine the ethnic origins of Krio families.²⁶²

For a genealogist seeking to trace the ethnic origins of Krio families using documents or oral history, it is essential to identify and take note of three important factors when trying to determine the ethnic origin of a Krio family.²⁶³ Identifying and evaluating this information will provide greater insight into the ancestral origins of many Krio families. This criteria is a key starting place for evaluating records and oral history and are strong indicators as to the origin of Krio families:

1. The given names, middle names and surnames of the family dating back to the nineteenth century.
2. The geographical location of the family in the Western Area dating back to the nineteenth century.²⁶⁴
3. The current religious affiliation of the family and any previous affiliations dating back to the nineteenth century.

First names, middle names and surnames are important indicators of the origin of Krio families, particularly because some forenames and surnames were unique to each of the ancestral groups that formed the Krio ethnic group.²⁶⁵ For example, some Krio families have a tradition of giving their children African forenames, middle names or 'house names' that are of Yoruba or Akan origin.²⁶⁶ If a

²⁶² Ethnic origins is a term used loosely here; it may not always be possible to determine the precise ethnic origin of the Liberated Africans or the African origin of the transatlantic settlers, but using this criteria it is generally easier to identify whether the ancestors of a Krio family belonged to one of the four main ancestral groups that formed the Krio ethnic group.

²⁶³ Even nicknames should be taken into account. Although this particularly applies to families descended from the Black Poor, Nova Scotian Settlers, Jamaican Maroons, and Liberated Africans it may also apply to the descendants of other transatlantic and coastal West African immigrants to Freetown.

²⁶⁴ This is based upon the assumption that the Krio family in question has geographical roots in Freetown dating back to the nineteenth century.

²⁶⁵ It is easier to identify certain families and surnames that were originally of Settler or Maroon origin as opposed to Recaptive. This is because the Settler and Maroon population were significantly smaller than the Liberated Africans, and there are documents that list the majority of Maroons and Nova Scotians who settled in Sierra Leone.

²⁶⁶ Because of the widespread influence of the Liberated Africans on Krio culture (particularly the Aku or Yoruba), in a modern context, forenames or nicknames (known as 'ose' [house] names') are not necessarily strong indicators of the ethnic origins of Krio families. An example of this would be the Blyden family; although Edward Wilmot Blyden, the pan-Africanist writer, claimed Igbo ancestry, some of his descendants in the modern period bear Yoruba middle names. However, African forenames or surnames within a Krio family dating to the mid-nineteenth century, are a strong indicator of Liberated African origins. For example the

genealogist can uncover a pattern of common African forenames or nicknames within a Krio family dating back to the middle to late nineteenth century, this would be a strong indication of the ethnic origin of the family.²⁶⁷ Certain surnames such as ‘Ezzidio’, ‘Bickersteth’, and ‘Ogoo’ are distinctively of Liberated African origin; other surnames such as ‘Rosenior’ and ‘Spilsbury’ are most certainly of Nova Scotian or Maroon origin.²⁶⁸ Some surnames such as ‘Dove’ and ‘Metzger’ were not listed among the original Nova Scotians, Maroons, or transatlantic immigrants, therefore indicating Liberated African origin. For genealogists, the surname of a Krio family is not the only important indicator as to the origins of the family; the surnames of close or distant relatives dating back to the nineteenth century are also important to note. For example, if a Krio family with the surname ‘Johnson’ had roots in Regent Village dating back to the early or mid-nineteenth century that would be a significant indicator of Liberated African or disbanded soldier ancestry.²⁶⁹ If this Johnson family has distant or close relatives who all hail from Regent village and bear surnames such as ‘Thomas’ and ‘Davies’, that is an even stronger indicator that the Johnson family has Liberated African or disbanded soldier roots as ‘Thomas’ and ‘Davies’ are common surnames that are generally of Liberated African origin.²⁷⁰ Thus, understanding the web of interlocking ties and identifying the surnames within a particular family and their relatives, provides some context for a genealogist to analyse and assess the most likely ethnic origins of their ancestors.

Ojokutu-Macauley family are of Yoruba Liberated African origin, and this is reflected in the ‘Ojokutu’ in their surname which dates back to the nineteenth century.

²⁶⁷ A Krio family with a tradition of African forenames, middle names or nicknames dating back to the mid-nineteenth century is more likely to be of Liberated African or indigenous Sierra Leonean origin, rather than a descendant of the transatlantic immigrants, or more specifically the Nova Scotians and Maroons.

²⁶⁸ ‘Rosenior’ and ‘Spilsbury’ were actually mixed race Nova Scotian and Maroon families of European descent; therefore technically these surnames indicate European origin. However, these families identified as Nova Scotians or Maroons (and later on as Sierra Leoneans or Creoles) despite their European origins.

²⁶⁹ A significant portion of the ‘disbanded soldiers’ of the 4th West India Regiment were previously Liberated Africans; thus some of their surnames would have been derived from the same officials, public figures, or Settlers and Maroons as the Liberated Africans who did not serve in the Regiment.

²⁷⁰ This is not to say that surnames such as Davies and Thomas are in all cases Recaptive surnames. Jacob Thomas was among the 85 Barbadian immigrants who settled in Freetown in 1819. Some Recaptives settled in the Caribbean and had Caribbean born children; and in some cases, these families returned to Freetown. These Caribbean born children would have had surnames typically associated with the Liberated Africans.

The geographical roots of a Krio family dating back to the early nineteenth century is also an important indicator of ancestral origins.²⁷¹ From the founding of Freetown in 1792, to the early nineteenth century, Freetown was divided into enclaves of settler communities. The Nova Scotian Settlers established Freetown in 1792, but when the Jamaican Maroons settled in Freetown, the original portion of the settlement became known as ‘Settlers’ town’ or Settler Town after the Nova Scotian Settlers.²⁷² Because the ancestral groups that would comprise the Krio people initially retained their various ethnic identities, in some cases, these ethnic groups established communities based upon ethnicity or tribe.²⁷³ Thus, identifying the surnames within a particular Krio family in addition to gaining knowledge of the geographical roots of the family in Sierra Leone can provide useful information on the ancestral origins of the family. For example, a Krio family with the surname ‘Ellis’ that has historical roots in Maroon Town and is related to the Harding, Thorpe, and Jarret families with roots in that area of Freetown, is more likely to be of Maroon origin, than a ‘Williams’ family with historic roots in Wellington that is related to families with strong ties to Wellington. Knowledge of the geographical roots of Krio families also helps to distinguish the origin of families with common surnames such as ‘Nicol’, ‘Cole’, ‘Coker’ and ‘Brown’. Thus, identifying the geographical roots of a Krio family and their relatives will provide even greater insight into their ethnic origins.²⁷⁴

The religious affiliation of a Krio family dating back to the nineteenth century is also an important indicator as to the origins of their ancestors.²⁷⁵ Although Islam was embraced by some of the Liberated Africans, the majority within Krio society adopted or maintained a belief in Christianity and mainly adhered to the Anglican, Methodist, and Baptist denominations. Although as Professor Arthur

²⁷¹Rankin F. Harrison, *The White Man’s Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834*, (England: R. Bentley, 1836), p. 75. Rankin and other European observers to Freetown noted that the Nova Scotians jealously guarded their residential district from newcomers.

²⁷² Rankin, *The White Man’s Grave*, (England: R. Bentley, 1836), p. 90

²⁷³ Hargreaves, John, *A life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 2. Murray Town for instance was one settlement that was said to have been ‘originally inhabited by a single tribe of the Liberated Africans [the Aku]’.

²⁷⁴ That is not to say that individuals with roots in Congo Town would necessarily have Bakongo ancestry; rather it would mean their ancestors were more likely to be Liberated Africans and perhaps could have had Congolese ancestry.

²⁷⁵ Coupled with the other elements, the denomination of a Krio family dating back to the nineteenth century can be an important indicator of the origins of Krio ancestors.

Porter noted, the religious affiliation of a significant number of Krio families shifted during the course of the nineteenth century, many families remained faithful to the denomination of their ancestors.²⁷⁶ Information on the surnames, geographical roots, and religious background of a Krio family are strong indicators of the origins of Krio ancestors. An Ellis family with a strong background in Methodism and a historic affiliation to Ebenezer Methodist Church, Regent road or Rawdon Street College Chapel is even more likely to be of Maroon descent, particularly given what is known of the familial relations and the location of the family house in Freetown.

Thus, before examining archival sources, it is important to assess how to analyse and interpret the information found within documents to determine the ethnic origins of Krio families. For genealogists or historians interested in researching Krio families, it is important to analyse and extract information from oral history or contained within documents that will provide insight into the surnames, geographical roots, and religious affiliations of a Krio family. These indicators should be used as a tripartite test to determine the most likely origins of Krio families as it is not always possible to accurately determine the ancestral origins of Krio families using only one of these factors. Because of the unique development of the Krio people, these guidelines may not necessarily always prove to be useful when attempting to trace Krio ancestry. However, these guidelines are general indicators of the origins of a significant number of Krio families, and have been successfully tried and tested.²⁷⁷

Oral history

Before accessing archival records, oral history regarding the origins of Krio families is an important source of information. A significant number of Krio families have some knowledge of their family history and ethnic origins. Oftentimes, oral testimony enriches the family narrative as some of the information gleaned from oral history cannot be found in documented records. However, although oral history can provide interesting anecdotes, in a similar vein to archival records, oral history is not always accurate and embellishments and nostalgia may alter the truth regarding the origins of a

²⁷⁶ Porter's study on religious affiliation in Freetown is an important contribution to this area of history. It would appear as though a significant number of families rooted in Methodism or the Baptist faith, retained their religious affiliations even after the advent of Anglicanism as the 'established' denomination of the elite.

²⁷⁷ In the present author's experience in conducting genealogical research for Krio families, these guidelines have proven useful in identifying the origins of Krio families.

particular set of ancestors.²⁷⁸ Thus, before following leads based upon oral history, it is important to critically analyse oral testimony after gathering information gleaned from archival sources.

Examining the documents

After critically analysing information found in oral history, it is important to examine archival documents that will further illuminate or correct the oral tradition. It is largely possible to trace Sierra Leone Krio ancestry through archival records due to the rich array of sources relating to the former British West African colony that are held in archives in at least three continents.

Genealogical research into the Sierra Leone Krio community can be conducted because of the volumes of documented sources on Sierra Leone dating roughly between the seventeenth century and the present period.²⁷⁹ As a former British Colony, Sierra Leone has a rich history that is evident in the documented sources pertaining to precolonial and colonial Sierra Leone. For genealogists seeking to research Sierra Leone Krio families, it is the records dating from the establishment of the Province of Freedom in 1787 to the colonial period that will yield the majority of information that is relevant to the development of the Sierra Leone Krio community. Among these important records, scattered across archives in three continents are: treaties, census records, birth and death registers, probate records, conveyances, deeds and other land records. Some of these sources date from as early as 1788, and thus provide unique insight into the historical development of the Sierra Leone Krio community in addition to providing detailed information on individual Krio families. Thus, archival documents relating to Sierra Leone provide the genealogist with the opportunity to trace a significant number of Krio families back through the nineteenth century.

Where to begin?

For any historian or genealogist conducting research on the Sierra Leone Krio and their families, the Sierra Leone Public Archives and the Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General, are perhaps

²⁷⁸ Although oral history may provide some clues as to ancestral origin, there is no certainty that this information is accurate. However oral history can be the initial basis for your archival research.

²⁷⁹ There are few if any documents pertaining to Sierra Leone prior to the seventeenth century. The seventeenth century sources date before the arrival of most of the ancestors of the Sierra Leone Krio people and therefore may not be relevant to genealogists seeking to trace Krio ancestors.

the best places to begin or to complete conducting research. Some of the records contained within the Sierra Leone Public Archives and the Registrar-General's Office include the original 1788 Treaty, birth and death records, land records, Liberated African registers and Liberated African letter books. However, although the Sierra Leone Public Archives and the Registrar-General's Office have an array of sources that are pertinent to genealogists, Sierra Leone is not the only country with repositories that contain important sources for genealogical research on the Krio. Many of the sources relating to genealogical research on the Krio are located outside Sierra Leone and are kept in archives in the United Kingdom and North America.²⁸⁰ This paper will first examine important documents for genealogical research relating to the Sierra Leone Krio people held in the United Kingdom and North America before examining the rich archival records contained within the Sierra Leone Public Archives.

Genealogical sources in the United Kingdom

Within the various libraries and archives within the United Kingdom, there are a number of sources pertaining to Sierra Leone Krio genealogy that can be accessed by genealogical researchers and other interested individuals.²⁸¹ Although there are a number of museums and archives in the United Kingdom that may hold records pertaining to the Krio people, this paper will mainly focus on records held at the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the British Library, and the Church Missionary Society Archives in Birmingham. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, the British Library, and the CMS Archives in Birmingham are among the most important centres of archival records that pertain to the Sierra Leone Krio people.

Sources in the National Archives of the United Kingdom

²⁸⁰For example, both the Library of Congress and the Nova Scotia Archives contain sources that are important for genealogists conducting research into Sierra Leone.

²⁸¹ Although the Sierra Leone Public Archives hold some of the most pertinent documents for Krio genealogy, the British Library and National Archives of the United Kingdom contain an equal number of important records for those seeking to trace Krio ancestry.

The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA) was formed in 2003 after the merger of the Public Record Office (PRO) and the Historical Manuscript Commission.²⁸² The National Archives hold a large number of sources that are relevant for genealogists conducting research on Sierra Leone. For anyone seeking to trace Nova Scotian Settler, Jamaican Maroon, and Liberated African ancestors back to the early nineteenth century, the National Archives is an excellent starting place.²⁸³ This paper shall briefly detail some of the important sources of genealogical information held at the National Archives of the United Kingdom.

T 1/643 no. 487 (pp. 135-139) Passenger lists for the *Belisarius*, *Atlantic*, and *Vernon*

Among the documents on the first Sierra Leone resettlement scheme contained at the National Archives of the United Kingdom are the passenger lists of the *Atlantic*, *Belisarius*, and the *Vernon* that transported the Black Poor to Sierra Leone in 1787.²⁸⁴ The passenger lists of these vessels can be viewed online at the National Archives Black Presence website.²⁸⁵

The passenger lists are a valuable source for genealogists seeking to trace the lineages of Krio families with ancestors among the Black Poor.²⁸⁶ The passenger list of the *Belisarius* has separate categories for black men, black women married to white men, white women married to black men, and “white women wanting to be married.” The passenger list for the *Atlantic* has categories for black men and white men, white women married to black men, in addition to white and black children. The

²⁸² The National Archives merged with The Office of Public Sector Information (which also contained Her Majesty's Stationery Office) in 2006.

²⁸³ The National Archives are available to anyone provided they register for a reader's ticket. For individuals who live outside the United Kingdom, documents can be ordered and sent to addresses outside the United Kingdom. Documents can be ordered online and reserved prior to visiting the Archives by accessing the 'All Collections' section of the catalogue and by typing in the reference (for example CO 267/111 or T1 638).

²⁸⁴ There are earlier records such as TNA T1/638, 'A list of Names of Black Persons embarked on board the *Bellisarius* Capt Sill, 22nd Nov. 1786' and the 'List of Names of Black Persons embarked on board the *Atlantic* Capt. Murehead. 22nd Nov 1786. In Sierra Leone the 'Black Poor' became known as the 'Old Settlers' of Granville Town during the period when the Nova Scotians arrived to establish Freetown in 1792.

²⁸⁵ The passenger lists of the vessels that transported the Black Poor provide the name of each immigrant who settled to establish the short lived settlement of Granville Town and the Province of Freedom. The passenger lists are digitized and a transcript has also been provided for viewers to read the names of the immigrants more clearly. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/index.htm>.

²⁸⁶ The lists of Black Poor passengers are quite comprehensive and they appear to be the only surviving passenger lists of the main transatlantic settlers that formed the Krio people. Although, these immigrants did not establish Freetown and few survived when the Nova Scotians arrived to found Freetown, it may be possible that a few Krio families can trace their ancestry back to the 'Old Settlers' of Granville Town.

passenger list for the *Vernon* lists black men and the occupation of white men on board the vessel, white women married to white men, white women married to black men, black women, ‘two more white women to be married’, and white and black children.

CO 217/63 ‘List of the blacks at Birchtown who gave their names for Sierra Leone in 1791’

The CO 217/63 is a valuable source for genealogists who are beginning research on Krio families with Nova Scotian Settler ancestors.²⁸⁷ The ‘List of the blacks at Birchtown’ provides detailed information on some of the Nova Scotian Settlers that is difficult to uncover in other sources. The list of blacks notes the name of the head of household, their marital status, their age and place of birth, the number of male and female children (including the age of the eldest), and the occupation of the head of household.²⁸⁸ The list also records the “implements of trade or husbandry” for each household, the “effects” that the settlers intended to take with them to Sierra Leone, and the details of their property in Nova Scotia.²⁸⁹ For example, Abraham Hazeley, a 40 year old farmer born in “Charles Town”, South Carolina owned two town lots and 40 acres of uncultivated land. Hazeley owned an axe, two saws, and perhaps representative of the pioneer spirit of the settlers, Hazeley took his musket to Sierra Leone.

CO 217/74 ‘An Account of Maroon Property embarked with them from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone’

This remarkable source lists the head of each Maroon household in addition to some of the other members of the household who embarked with their property aboard the *Asia* to Sierra Leone.²⁹⁰ It is from this source that a genealogist could discover information on the different members of Maroon households and their property. For example, the ‘Account’ notes that John Jarrett, a Maroon, took four

²⁸⁷ CO 217/74 ‘The List of Blacks Who gave their Names for Sierra Leone’ can be viewed online at <http://www.blackloyalist.info> which is a repository of information on these African Americans compiled by the University of Sydney under the guidance of Professor Cassandra Pybus.

²⁸⁸ The list also records whether the head of household served as a ‘soldier’ during the American Revolutionary War.

²⁸⁹ The ‘implements of trade and husbandry’ included hoes, axes and saws; the ‘effects’ included beds and muskets.

²⁹⁰ Wilson, Ellen Gibson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn, 1976), pp. 393-3. The *Asia* transported the Maroons to Sierra Leone.

vests, two hats, and two coats on board the *Asia* to Sierra Leone. Sally Jarrett, a member of John Jarrett's household took four petticoats and an apron. Although it may not be possible to determine the precise nature of familial relationships based upon the 'Account of Maroon property', the source provides significant information on the names and possessions of the Maroons who settled in Sierra Leone.

WO 1/352 1802 List of Nova Scotians and Maroons in Sierra Leone

For genealogists seeking to find information on the Nova Scotian Settlers and Jamaican Maroons who survived the early perils of colonization, the WO 1/352 'List of Nova Scotians and Maroons in Sierra Leone' should be the starting place for genealogical research. The 1802 list of the Nova Scotians and the Maroons is one of the earliest transcribed enumerations in West Africa. The census is divided into two comprehensive lists of the Nova Scotians and the Maroons that differ only slightly in format. The census also lists the remaining 'Old Settlers' or the 1787 Black Poor who settled permanently in Freetown after the second Granville Town was more or less abandoned following the 1801 conflict with the Koya Temne.²⁹¹ The 'list of the Nova Scotians' states the head of each household, the number of male and female members of the household, the number of male and female children in the household, and a section for 'remarks' that provide some interesting information on a few of the Nova Scotian Settlers. The 'list of the Maroons' was transcribed in the same format but does not include a section for 'remarks'.²⁹² The list of Nova Scotians and Maroons is quite comprehensive, and with only a few exceptions, the census provides information on nearly all the surviving Nova Scotian, Maroon, and Old Settlers in 1802.

CO 267/91 Commissioner's Report Appendix A1-2 (Lists of Nova Scotians and Maroons in 1826)

²⁹¹ Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn, 1976) p. 400

²⁹² Perhaps due to the polygamous practices of the Maroon community, there is not a 'remarks' section where the Maroons are listed in the census. This certainly was not the case for the section of the census listing the Nova Scotians and Old Settlers.

The CO 267/91 1826 list of Nova Scotians and Maroons provides further information on the Nova Scotian and Maroon families listed in the original 1802 census. The 1826 list contains the enumeration figures for each household taken from the 1802 census before providing comparative details on each family in 1826. The 1826 list notes the name of the head of household, the number of births and deaths in the family, the total number of male and female household members, and the number of male and female children. The list is also important because it records the acres of land in the possession of each Nova Scotian household. In some cases the “remarks” section contains information on the schooling of the young children and the occupation of the adult children, in addition to whether the adult children were married to non-Nova Scotians. However, the census does not take into account the ‘Old Settler’ and other transatlantic immigrants like the 1802 census did; the 1826 return merely states these individuals are “not Nova Scotians” and provides no further details on their family or status.

Similar to the 1802 census, the 1826 list of Maroons does not have a “remarks” section and therefore does not provide the detailed information contained in the list of Nova Scotians.²⁹³ However, it is possible to draw some conclusions on the relationship between individuals listed in the 1826 census by examining the Maroons listed in the 1802 census. For example, James Taylor listed as a Maroon in 1802, presumably was the father of John Robert Taylor and Susan Taylor, both listed in the 1826 and both of whom were residents of streets near where James Taylor had resided in 1813.²⁹⁴ Elizabeth Tolly, presumably the daughter of Captain H.D. Tolly and a Maroon mother, would have been a young child in the 1802 census and is not listed among the Maroons in that document. However, Elizabeth Tolly is listed as a spinster in the 1826 return of the Maroons.²⁹⁵ From other documents it is clear that Elizabeth Tolly married Guy Porter, and the couple are the progenitors of the notable Porter

²⁹³ The 1826 list of Maroons does not take into account the acres of land owned by each Maroon family.

²⁹⁴CO 267/111 1831 census. According to the 1831 census, John Taylor, a sawyer was living at Percival Street with his son, Charles Taylor. Susan Taylor, who was presumably the sister of John Taylor, lived as a spinster at Pultney Street.

²⁹⁵ The CO 267/91 list of Maroons records Elizabeth Tolly (spelled ‘Tolley’ in some other sources) as a spinster; she had a son, William Gabbidon, who is the male child listed as living with her. William Gabbidon was the son of Stephen Gabbidon (1779-1839) the Maroon merchant; Elizabeth Tolly subsequently married Guy Porter as noted in the will of Stephen Gabbidon.

family.²⁹⁶ Thus, although the list of Maroons does not contain a “remarks” section or details on births and deaths among the Maroon families, important genealogical information can be extracted from this source. A genealogist seeking to trace Nova Scotian and Maroon ancestry would be best placed to first examine the 1802 census and the 1826 list of Nova Scotians and Maroons before analysing other sources such as the 1831 census.

CO 267/111 Census of population and Liberated Africans

For genealogists seeking to trace early nineteenth century Krio ancestors of various origins, the CO 267/111 1831 census is a valuable source. The CO 267/111 1831 census is the most detailed enumeration of early nineteenth century Sierra Leone found in the National Archives.²⁹⁷ The census is divided between an enumeration of the Liberated Africans and the disbanded soldiers of the 4th West India Regiment in the rural villages and a census of the general population of Freetown.²⁹⁸ The census of the rural villages contains two separate categories for the “Liberated Africans” and for the “Discharged Soldiers”. Both categories list the name, occupation, and marital status of the head of household, in addition to the number of male and female children, and the number of other adult males or females residing in the household.²⁹⁹ The census also lists any apprentices or servants of the Liberated Africans and disbanded soldiers.³⁰⁰ However, the residential street names of the rural settlements were not recorded in the 1831 census as they would be in the 1833 census.

The census of Freetown is structured in a different format to the census of the rural villages. The census of Freetown lists the residential streets for most residents and contains different categories including ‘Europeans’, ‘Mulattoes’, ‘Colonial Residents and Free-Born Blacks’, ‘Discharged Soldiers

²⁹⁶PROB 11/1920/64 ‘The Will of Stephen Gabbidon of Sierra Leone, West Africa’. Arthur Thomas Porter, (1834-1908) was the son of Guy Porter and Elizabeth Porter (nee Tolly). It is revealed in Stephen Gabbidon’s will that Elizabeth Porter’s maiden name was Tolly, prior to marrying Guy Porter.

²⁹⁷ To date it is the only ‘complete’ census of early nineteenth century Sierra Leone that is available at the National Archives.

²⁹⁸With the exception of European, American, and Caribbean village managers, the disbanded soldiers and Liberated Africans would have comprised the bulk (if not all) of the rural settlements of the Sierra Leone peninsula outside Freetown during the early nineteenth century.

²⁹⁹ The returns of the rural settlement do not list the names of the wives or children of the head of household; only the head of household is named.

³⁰⁰ However, not all the returns for the rural settlements were transcribed according to the same exact format.

& Families’, Liberated Africans’, ‘Kroomen’, and ‘Native Strangers’.³⁰¹ Similar to other census records, the ethnic designations listed in the census were not always consistently or rigidly applied. Well established Liberated African families such as that of Thomas and Betsy Carew, were listed as ‘Colonial Residents and Free-Born Blacks’. John Meheux, the mixed race son of Jean Meheux, a French trader, is also listed as a ‘Colonial Resident’ despite technically being a “mulatto”. The category ‘Colonial Residents and Free-Born Blacks’ was also applied to William Tucker, the scion of a prominent Anglo-Sherbro family.³⁰²

The census generally lists the name and occupation of the head of household, the name and occupation of his partner or spouse in addition to the names of male and female children in the household. The census also lists the servants and apprentices residing in Freetown households. All individuals listed in the census are also listed under the designated categories such as ‘Colonial Residents and Free-Born Blacks’ or ‘Liberated Africans’. For genealogists seeking to trace Krio ancestors of various origins, the 1831 census provides perhaps the most detailed source of information and a number of Sierra Leonean families can trace their roots back to ancestors listed in the 1831 census.

CO 267/127 1833 Census of Population and Liberated Africans

Although the CO 267/127 1833 census does not include a general census of Freetown, the 1833 census is a valuable source of information on the Liberated Africans and disbanded soldiers.³⁰³ Similar to the format for rural households in the 1831 census, the 1833 census is divided between the categories of ‘Liberated Africans’ and ‘Discharged soldiers’. The 1833 census provides detailed information on Liberated African and disbanded soldier households that was not listed in the 1831

³⁰¹ It is important to note that these categories were not always rigidly applied to individuals listed in the census. Thus some “Mulattoes” might be listed as one of the “Colonial Residents and Free-Born Blacks”.

³⁰² The Sherbro region had not been ceded to Britain (it would be ceded in 1861) and so technically, Tucker was not a British Subject, although it is unclear whether the category ‘Colonial Residents and Free Blacks’ was intended to only apply to British Subjects. Based upon the application of this term in the 1831 census, it does not appear as though this category was limited to British Subjects.

³⁰³ The census only lists the Liberated Africans and disbanded soldiers residing in rural settlements outside Freetown proper.

census.³⁰⁴ The census lists the name and occupation of the head of household, the name of the head of household's wife, the names of male and female children, other male or female members of the household in addition to the architectural structure of the house that the Recaptive or disbanded family resided in. The census also takes note of cattle owned by the household in addition to any servants apprenticed to the family. Similar to the 1831 census, the 1833 enumeration provides important information on some of the earliest Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone. For example, James Horton and Nancy Horton, a Liberated African couple of Igbo origin, are listed as residents of Gloucester village-the settlement where their notable son, Africanus Horton was born two years later.

Miscellaneous sources

For individuals seeking to trace early ancestors to Sierra Leone, there are a number of other sources found in the catalogues of the National Archives of the United Kingdom that may contain important information relating to their ancestors. For example, the CO 267/92 Commissioner's Report contains the testimony of Eli Ackim, John Kizell, and Lazarus Jones, three elderly Nova Scotian Settlers.

The CO 267/99 'Return of Coloured Settler holding Government appointments' is an important source of information for tracing ancestors who served in the colonial government as civil servants during the early 1830s. The document lists the name, ethnic origin, nationality, and occupation of the black or mixed race employee, and some additional remarks. For example, Thomas McFoy, a Caribbean immigrant who was employed as a manager of one of the Liberated African villages is listed as an 'American' and Joseph Hopkins, a Collector's Clerk is listed as a 'Maroon/Mulatto'.³⁰⁵

The CO 267/222 'Names of the Pupils of the first class in the Freetown Grammar School January 1st 1847' and the 'Names of the Pupils of the Second Class January 1st 1847' provides information on some of the first Sierra Leoneans who attended the Church Missionary Society Grammar School.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Naturally, some of the information found within the 1831 and 1833 census is inconsistent; often these inconsistencies are differences in the name and occupation of the Recaptives or disbanded soldiers.

³⁰⁵ CO 267/99 'Return of Coloured Settler holding Government appointments'. McFoy was more commonly spelled as 'Macfoy' in some earlier and subsequent records.

³⁰⁶ In the CO 267/222 series there is also the list of 'Persons employed under government and educated in the Colony' and 'Persons now employed as Clerks by merchants and educated in the Colony'. Both documents list

The document lists the name of each former pupil in addition to information on “into what employment entered”. Daniel Carrol and James Robbin are among the former pupils of the Grammar School listed in this document.

The colonial records of the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants Association formed in 1859 provide useful information on the descendants of the Nova Scotians and Maroons in the mid-nineteenth century. The documents on the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants Association are important sources for those seeking to trace a Krio family to mid-nineteenth century Nova Scotian and Maroon ancestors. The CO 267/263 'Memorial of the Nova Scotians and their descendants' lists the names of 82 representatives of Nova Scotian families including the Easmon, Elliott, and Hazeley families.³⁰⁷ The 1862 CO 267/273, 'Address of Condolence to Queen Victoria on the death of Prince Albert, from the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association' lists the committee members of the Association including Matthew J. Rosenior, a confectioner and Joseph DeGraft, a part Fanti, part Nova Scotian descendant.³⁰⁸ For those seeking to trace Nova Scotian and Maroon antecedents from the mid-nineteenth century, the documents on the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants Association are excellent sources of information.

There are also a number of petitions found in the CO 267 series from traders and merchants of Nova Scotian, Maroon, and Liberated African origin. These petitions generally contain the list of the signatories and may provide further clues for genealogists. The CO 267/164 (volume 2) collection contains a petition signed by some of the 85 Barbadian rebels who were deported to Sierra Leone in 1819.³⁰⁹ The CO 267/203 collection contains a petition from the 'Freeholders and Inhabitants of

the names of educated Sierra Leoneans who worked as clerks for merchants or were employed by the colonial government at some level.

³⁰⁷ CO 267/263 'Memorial of the Nova Scotians and their descendants', Walker, *Black Loyalists*, pp. 363, 377

³⁰⁸ According to the 1831 census, Joseph De Graft, a 'Native Stranger' settled in Sierra Leone shortly before the census was taken; in the CO 267/99 'Return of Coloured Settlers holding Government Office', De Graft is listed as a 'Native of Cape Coast'. DeGraft was from a prominent family in Cape Coast, and was among the early coastal elite immigrants or 'educated Africans' who settled in Sierra Leone. He had at least two children in Sierra Leone; Joseph and Nancy Ann De Graft Pilot, who was the mother of William Charles DeGraft Rosenior. Matthew Rosenior, the probable father of WCD Rosenior was of Nova Scotian descent and most likely of partial French or German origin as well. Matthew Rosenior may well have been the confectioner, 'M.C. Rosenior' whose advertisements appeared in the *African Interpreter and Advocate* in the late 1860s.

³⁰⁹ Carr to Secretary of State, despatch 14, CO 267/164. For a list of some of the Barbadians convicts see MacCarthy to Bathurst, despatch 185, 16 January, 1819, CO 267/49 (Vol. 1). The references can be found in

Sierra Leone' dated 19, September, 1848; the CO 267/207 collection also contains a petition from the 'Freeholders and Inhabitants of Sierra Leone'.

For those seeking to trace Liberated African ancestors who settled in the Caribbean, the CO 137/356/25 'List of 70 African immigrants who claimed passage from Jamaica to Sierra Leone on board the Clarendon. Jamaica, 21 August 1861,' is a prime example of some of the sources available.³¹⁰ The list provides the names of Liberated Africans who had settled in Jamaica and were returning to Sierra Leone. Some of the surnames of the Liberated Africans listed in this document are strongly associated with the Krio people even in the modern period.³¹¹

The National Archives also hold the colonial blue books of Sierra Leone that cover the dates roughly between 1821 and 1943. The Blue books provide information on civil servants and individuals in the employment of the government in addition to statistical data relating to Sierra Leone. Genealogists may find these sources useful in trying to trace early ancestors who may have secured employment in the colonial government as civil servants or in other occupations.³¹²

Online records of the National Archives UK

There are also online records on Sierra Leone held by the National Archives including some probate records. Among the probate records that can be bought and accessed online are: the will of Stephen Gabbidon, a Jamaican Maroon merchant, the will of Joseph Green Spilsbury, a Jamaican Maroon clerk and trader, and Thomas Carew, a Barbadian merchant. The wills of prominent Europeans in

Blyden Nemata, *West Indians in West Africa 1808-1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse*, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000), p. 180

³¹⁰ This document can be viewed online at the National Archives website. CO 267/203 and CO 267/207 also contain lists of Liberated Africans who settled in Jamaica, Trinidad and St. Lucia. There are other sources in Parliamentary reports and other colonial documents on Google Books that also list the names of Liberated African settlers and returnees from the Caribbean.

³¹¹ Because of the repetition of certain surnames among the Liberated Africans, not all Sierra Leoneans who have ancestors with the surnames (and in some cases even the forenames) of individuals found on this list are necessarily the direct descendants of these Liberated African returnees.

³¹² The complete set of colonial blue books on Sierra Leone (1824-1943) are available for viewing online at the British Online Archives website. The Blue Books of other British West African colonies such as the Gold Coast, Gambia, and Nigeria can also be viewed with a subscription at the British Online Archives website. The information kept within blue books across the British West African colonies would be pertinent for researching Krio ancestors who worked as civil servants.

Sierra Leone such as Kenneth Macaulay, Daniel Molloy Hamilton and Walter Lewis can also be accessed online.³¹³

Summary of sources found in the National Archives of the United Kingdom

The National Archives of the United Kingdom hold a rich collection of sources that are highly relevant for genealogists interested in tracing the lineages of Krio families. However, although records at the National Archives are quite valuable, there are limits to the information that can be extracted from these documents. Census records do not always establish the precise relationship between occupants of households and sometimes leave the researcher with further queries. For genealogists, the documentation found within the National Archives may not necessarily provide biographical details or solve certain mysteries within a family tree. Thus, it is important to examine publications such as gazettes and newspapers that provide some context to the documents found within the National Archives.³¹⁴

Genealogical sources in the British Library

Books

The British Library is one of the largest libraries in the world and contains a number of important secondary and primary sources that are relevant to researchers seeking to start research or to contextualise what has already been discovered. Secondary sources such as *A History of Sierra Leone* by Christopher Fyfe and lesser known sources such as the *Life and Work of Ebenezer Greywoode* by E.O. Harris-Williams contain valuable information on Krio families and biographical details of notable Krio figures. The British Library catalogue also includes some rare publications written by

³¹³ Some genealogists may find the information contained within the wills of these Europeans useful as Walter Lewis and Kenneth Macaulay had children and descendants in Sierra Leone. D.M. Hamilton also had a daughter, Charlotte Austen, born during the period when he worked in the colonial government of Sierra Leone.

³¹⁴ Newspapers can be used to establish family relationships, verify information found in colonial records, and can further contextualise what is found in official colonial records. However, newspaper articles are not always accurate and may not always corroborate or provide further details on information found in sources at the National Archives.

Krio figures such as Augustus Boyle Chamberlayne Merriman-Labor and Sir Samuel Lewis.³¹⁵

Among some of the recommended sources in the catalogue are publications such as *The Picture of Krio Life: Freetown 1900-1920* by Helga Kreutzinger. Publications such as *The Picture of Krio Life* provide greater insight into Krio society during the early twentieth century. These sources may also contain information on primary sources that are useful for genealogical research.

Endangered Archives Programme

The British Library Endangered Archives Programme aims to preserve endangered archival material held in libraries and archives across the globe. The EAP284 and EAP443 are two projects under the Endangered Archives Programme to digitize records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives.³¹⁶

Through funding provided by a grant from the British Library Endangered Archives Programme, some of the fragile records held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives have already been digitized.³¹⁷

An overview of the EAP284 and EAP443 projects shall be provided in another section of this paper.

British Library Newspaper Collections

The British Library Newspaper Collections include a number of newspaper publications dating from the early nineteenth century and onwards, that contain valuable information relating to genealogical research into Krio families.³¹⁸ West African newspapers printed during the nineteenth century often included obituaries, notices to creditors, and reports on occasions such as weddings. Some of the important newspapers or gazettes that are relevant for genealogical research on the Krio include the *Sierra Leone Royal Gazette*, the *Independent*, the *Methodist Herald*, *The Artisan*, the *Sierra Leone Times* and the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*. These newspapers are among a large collection of African

³¹⁵ Merriman-Labor, A.B.C., *Briton Through Negro Spectacles, Or, A Negro on Britons: With a Description of London*, (Imperial and Foreign Company), 1909 and Lewis, Samuel, *A Few Suggestions of the Wants of Sierra Leone: Written for the information of a Member of Parliament*, (Great Britain, 1885)

³¹⁶ In addition to these two projects, the EAP626 project was launched in 2013 under the Endangered Archives Programme by Mrs. Helen Ashby of the National Railway Museum. The aim of the project is to create an archive store in the Sierra Leone National Railway Museum for the preservation of records relating to the Sierra Leone National Railway that operated between 1893 and 1975.

³¹⁷ This was following a grant given in 2009 for a pilot project to digitize some of the records within the Sierra Leone Public Archives.

³¹⁸ As of November 2013, the main British Library Newspaper Archives at Colindale has closed down; however, these newspapers can be viewed at the main British Library at King's Cross. This requires registration for a reader pass.

newspapers that are all available on microfilm or in print and can be accessed at the British Library.

This paper will provide a brief overview of some of the newspapers held at the British Library that are pertinent for genealogical research on the Sierra Leone Krio.

Sierra Leone Royal Gazette (1808-1810, 1817-1827)

Genealogists seeking to trace early ancestors in Sierra Leone through printed publications, may find valuable information in the *Sierra Leone Royal Gazette*. Microfilm copies of the *Gazette* can be found at the British Library dating between 1808-1810 and 1817-1827. The *Sierra Leone Royal Gazette* was first printed in 1801, was renamed the *African Herald* in 1809 and reverted to the original title in 1810. Governor Charles MacCarthy revived the *Gazette* in 1817 and renamed it the *Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser*, (1817-1827). The *Gazette* reported on the death of Europeans, Nova Scotian Settlers and Maroons in addition to reporting on official and social events during the period.³¹⁹

Because the Settlers and Maroons formed the bulk of the educated black population of Freetown in the early nineteenth century, the *Gazette* noted their activities in greater proportion to the rest of the black population than any other publications subsequently. A genealogist seeking to discover Nova Scotian or Maroon ancestry may find the *Gazette* quite useful.

Middle to late nineteenth century newspapers

There are a number of late nineteenth century newspapers that a genealogist can examine when seeking to trace Krio ancestry. During the mid-nineteenth century, independently financed newspapers were first printed by African Caribbean and Sierra Leonean proprietors.³²⁰ The first of these private newspapers was the *New Era* (1855-1859) owned and printed by William Drape, an

³¹⁹For example the death of William Henry Leigh, (1781-1818), an English slave trader and Sierra Leone Company employee who was the progenitor of the Nova Scotian Leigh family was reported in *the Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser*.

³²⁰ For more information on the development of the Sierra Leone Press during the nineteenth century, there is Fyfe, Christopher H., 'Sierra Leone press in the nineteenth century', *Sierra Leone Studies*, (new series), volume 8 (1957), 226-236 which provides a historical overview of the Sierra Leone press during this period.

African Caribbean immigrant to Sierra Leone, and a microfilm copy of the *New Era* published in 1857 can be found in the British Library.³²¹

The publication of independent newspapers owned by Sierra Leoneans increased during the late nineteenth century, and newspapers such as the *Independent*, (1873-1878), the *West African Reporter*, (1876-1884), *The Watchman and West African Record* (1876-1886) contain valuable source of information for genealogists. The *Independent*, (1873-1878) owned by James Taylor, a Krio merchant, reported on the birth, deaths, and marriages of notable Krio figures and families.³²² For example, the obituary of Susan Elliott, the first wife of John Bucknor Elliott, a prominent civil servant during the nineteenth century, was reported in great detail in the *Independent*.³²³ The *Independent* also carried an advertisement noting the owners of sedan chairs-including Daniel Carrol and Dr. Robert Smith, two prominent nineteenth century Krio figures.

The *West African Reporter*, (1876-1884), was printed and financed by William 'Independent' Grant, a prominent Sierra Leonean merchant. Similar to the *Independent*, the *West African Reporter* also contains vital information on births, deaths, and marriages. *The Watchman and West African Record* (1876-1886) was printed by Moses Henry Davies also contains obituaries and information on the activities of the Krio during the late nineteenth century.

Late nineteenth to twentieth century newspapers.

During the late nineteenth century, other newspapers and publications such as *The Methodist Herald*, (1882-1888) and *The Artisan*, (1884-1888) were published. The content of the *Methodist Herald* was not necessarily reflective of the title, and the publication contains information on the birth, death and marriages of notable Krio figures and prominent families. Although *The Artisan* was produced for the

³²¹ There were other newspapers that came after the *New Era* such as *The Negro and the Sierra Leone Weekly Advertiser* (1861) printed by Thomas John Sawyerr, a bookseller and printer, and the *Sierra Leone Weekly Times and the West African Record* (1862-1863) printed by Alexander Corbett Harleston, a customs official.

³²² The collection held at the British Library is between 1874 and 1878.

³²³ 'Mrs. Susan Elliott', *Independent*, June 24 1875. Susan Elliott (nee Cole) was the daughter of Hon. William Cole, an English merchant and a Nova Scotian Settler woman.

benefit of skilled workers, it contained historical articles that may provide clues for genealogists. The *Early Dawn* published by the American Missionary Association between 1885 and 1892 may contain information on the activities of the Krio in Bonthe, Sierra Leone.

During the 1890s, the *Sierra Leone Times* and the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* were the main newspapers and both contain detailed information on various Krio families and notable figures.³²⁴ The *Sierra Leone Times*, (1890-1912) recorded births, deaths, marriages and includes articles that would be useful for genealogists.³²⁵ However, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (1884-1951) is of particular importance to those seeking to trace Krio roots due to the content and longevity of the newspaper.

The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* was arguably the premier newspaper in West Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, the *Weekly News* provides some of the most comprehensive information for individuals seeking to trace Krio ancestry through newspaper publications.³²⁶ The review of the previous year in the *Weekly News* often listed the names of prominent members of the Krio community who had passed away in the previous year. The *Weekly News* also contained obituaries in addition to a column entitled 'Deaths for the Week' that listed the name, address, and age of individuals who died within the week in Freetown.³²⁷ The 'Notices to Creditors' section contained the name, residence and date of death of deceased individuals and details of the administrators or the executors of the decedent's estate.³²⁸ The 'In Memoriam' section often included the name and date of death of the deceased in addition to a personal note from their family members. For example in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* of 1901, the death of Albert James Gittens,

³²⁴ Although the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* often reported on notable individuals, the *Weekly News* also reported on the death of less well-known figures and non-elite Krio.

³²⁵ Similar to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, the *Sierra Leone Times* had a column that reported deaths in Freetown.

³²⁶ The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* is a valuable source of information for genealogists and contains numerous articles and editorials that are pertinent for genealogical research. The 'Fifty Years Ago' section contained reprinted articles from old Sierra Leone newspapers that provide information on past events and notable figures in the Colony. Law reports and the proceedings of court cases such as *Coker v King & others* [1907] also provide information on family relationships.

³²⁷ Generally the 'Deaths for the Week' column only reported on deaths that occurred in Freetown proper and not the rural settlements. The information was obtained from colonial figures and is exceptionally comprehensive. For any genealogist struggling to find the date of death for Krio ancestors who lived in Freetown proper, the 'Deaths for the Week' section is strongly recommended for viewing.

³²⁸ Oftentimes the next of kin were the executors of the will or the administrators of the estate.

an employee of Paterson Zochonis, “born Bridgetown Barbados, died January 19, 1898”, is noted in memoriam by his daughter Louisa.³²⁹ By examining the ‘Notice to Creditors’ and the ‘In Memoriam’ sections, genealogical researchers can identify the date of death and then track down the obituary in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* or earlier newspapers. In some cases the deceased person listed in the ‘Notice to Creditors’ had passed away before the *Sierra Leone Weekly New* was first printed; but in those cases, by examining earlier Sierra Leone newspapers and other sources such as the 1831 census, it is possible to trace the deceased person listed.

During the early twentieth century, other newspaper publications such as *The Sierra Leone Guardian and Foreign Mail*, (1908-1932) were printed and provide information such as obituaries, miscellaneous notices, and advertisements.³³⁰ Newspapers launched in the 1930s such as the *Daily Guardian*, (1933-1958) and the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, (1933-1952) also contain obituaries and are available on microfilm at the British Library.³³¹

West African newspapers outside Sierra Leone

There are other colonial newspapers that were printed outside of Sierra Leone that are also pertinent for genealogical researchers seeking to trace Krio ancestry. The *Gold Coast Independent* and the *Lagos Weekly Record* are two important newspapers that contain obituaries and reported on the activities of Sierra Leonean immigrants in Nigeria and the former Gold Coast.³³² Liberian newspapers

³²⁹ A.J. Gittens lived at Right Path Lane or Street and had been married to Martha Ann Gittens (nee Collier), (1835-1900), daughter of Joseph Collier and Katherine Collier of Bridgetown, Barbados. Martha Ann Gittens had a sister, Mary Jane Gittens (a spinster) who also lived in Freetown, Sierra Leone. The Gittens family history is briefly noted in the “Your Caribbean Heritage, fleshing out the bare bones of the official record” on the Your Archives website.

³³⁰ There was also the *Colonial and Provincial Reporter*, (1913-1920) and *The West African Mail and Trade Gazette* (1920-1932)

³³¹ *The Daily Mail*, (1952-1994) is an important source for research on the period after the independence of Sierra Leone.

³³² The Krio (Saro) formed much of the elite in Lagos; however in Accra and Cape Coast the Sierra Leone Krio community interacted with the black and mixed race elite. For more information about coastal elite families in Ghana there is the Gold Coast Database: <http://gcdb.doortmontweb.org> which has photographs of the Awoonor-Renner family.

such as the *Observer* and the *Liberian Recorder* may also provide useful information on Krio immigrants in the Liberian Republic.

Thus, it is evident that the gazettes and newspapers held within the British Library provide useful information on births, deaths, and marriages of the Sierra Leone Krio community across West Africa during the nineteenth century.³³³ Genealogists seeking to trace ancestors or to verify information found at the National Archives would be best placed examine these sources.

Church Missionary Society Archives Birmingham

The records of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Archives are held at the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library Special Collections.³³⁴ The documents contained within the CMS Archives provide useful information on the activities of the CMS in Sierra Leone throughout the course of the nineteenth century. The archives include official publications and correspondence such as journals and the reports of Sierra Leonean clergymen who were employed by the CMS during the nineteenth century. These reports often contain personal information on the various Krio clergymen who served the Church Missionary Society in the nineteenth century. The documents found in the CMS Archives in Birmingham can be ordered online and posted to interested researchers.

Sources in the Nova Scotia Archives

The Nova Scotia Archives contain a large collection of digitised records that can be accessed online. The Nova Scotia Archives website contains a catalogue of records on African Nova Scotian history that is relevant for Krios seeking to trace Nova Scotian and possibly Maroon ancestors. The records include images of the passports granted to the free black Americans following the Revolutionary War, digitised baptismal records of ten black children at Birchtown, a land petition from the blacks of Manchester, and the 'Return of Negroes and their families mustered in Annapolis County between the

³³³ There are newspapers such as the *African Times* that also reported on affairs in Sierra Leone in great detail. Even North American and British Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *The Times* (London) reported on the death of notable Krio figures such as Sir Samuel Lewis and Dr John Farrell Easmon respectively.

³³⁴ Genealogists can search the database of the CMS Archives held on the Cadbury Research Library Special Collections website (<http://calmview.bham.ac.uk/default.aspx>). Although ordering documents does not necessarily require registration, the documents cannot viewed at the Library without a reader's pass.

28th day of May and the 30th day of June 1784'. The Muster of Annapolis includes information on some of the Nova Scotians who would later immigrate to Sierra Leone including the family of David Edmonds, a settler who would become a wealthy property owner and community leader in Freetown. The Book of Negroes, compiled following the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, is also among the most important records held at the archives and shall be briefly summarised here.

The 'Book of Negroes'

The 'Book of Negroes' is perhaps the single most important document that can viewed online at the Nova Scotia Archives.³³⁵ The Book of Negroes contains valuable information such as the name, age, physical description, and previous condition (whether free born or formerly enslaved) of the nearly 3000 African Americans who would settle in Nova Scotia following the Revolutionary War. The Book of Negroes also lists the name of the ship and the destination of the 3000 blacks. Many of the "Black Loyalists" listed in the Book of Negroes would later resettle in Sierra Leone from Nova Scotia. Genealogists can search for key terms in the Book of Negroes such as first names and surnames in order to discover whether individuals with certain surnames or given names were listed in this document.

Sources in the Library and Archives Canada

The Library and Archives Canada hold the Port Roseway Muster of Birchtown Blacks, a valuable source that contains useful information on many of the black American settlers in Nova Scotia who would later immigrate to Sierra Leone in 1792. In 1784, Birchtown was the largest settlement of free blacks outside of Africa and a significant number of the Nova Scotian Settlers lived at Birchtown.³³⁶ The Muster lists the name, age, and occupation of the head of each family, the names and ages of the "women & children" of the household, in addition to the names of other male and female members of

³³⁵The Book of Negroes provides the most detailed information on the age, status, physical description of the nearly 3000 free and freed African Americans who crossed over to the British lines during the American Revolution. The Book of Negroes can be found at this website: <http://www.novascotia.ca/nsarm/>.

³³⁶About half of the Nova Scotians who travelled to Sierra Leone had lived in Birchtown including Abraham Hazle or Hazeley who later travelled to Sierra Leone with his musket. Hazeley is listed in the Muster with his wife, Martha 'Patty' Hazeley and young son, Abraham Hazeley (b. 1784).

the household. Thus, the Muster can be used to establish the nature of family relationships among the black settlers and to further illuminate and corroborate information found within the Book of Negroes.³³⁷

Sources in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick

Although a significant number of sources concerning the black American settlers who settled in Canada following the Revolutionary War are contained within the Nova Scotia Public Archives, there are also sources on the Black Loyalists who settled in New Brunswick. Petitions from blacks who settled in New Brunswick can be viewed online at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick website.³³⁸

Sources in the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration and the Library of Congress

The United States National Archives and Records Administration and the Library of Congress contain a number of sources on Sierra Leone that a genealogist may wish to consult. The National Archives and Record Administration contains the *Despatches from United States Consuls in Sierra Leone, 1858-1906*, a compilation of correspondence between the U.S. Consul in Sierra Leone and the United States Government. A genealogist seeking to trace the lineage of a Krio family with American roots may find the *Despatches* useful.³³⁹

The Library of Congress is the largest library in the world, and much (if not all) of the secondary literature on Sierra Leone contained in the British Library is also held at the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress also contains the *Inspection Roll of Negroes Taken on Board Sundry Vessels at Staten Island Bound for Nova Scotia*. This document (which can be viewed online) is the American

³³⁷ The Muster Book is an important source for compiling information on the precise nature of family relationships within some of the Nova Scotian Settler families.

³³⁸ Sources on the Black Loyalists can be found on the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick website: <http://archives.gnb.ca>.

³³⁹ The *Despatches* would be particularly useful if the American ancestor was a European American residing in Freetown during the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century. For the Krio descendants of black Americans in Sierra Leone, there are other sources that can be examined to trace black American immigrants to Sierra Leone.

copy of the Book of Negroes found in Kew and online at the Nova Scotia Archives.³⁴⁰ A large collection of the records of the American Colonization Society are held at the Library of Congress. The records of the American Colonization Society may be of interest to genealogists tracing ancestors who had immigrated to Liberia before settling in Sierra Leone.

Sources in the Sierra Leone Public Archives

For the dedicated genealogist seeking to trace the lineage of a Krio family back to the nineteenth century, it will be important to examine documents within the Sierra Leone Public Archives. The Sierra Leone Public Archives contain arguably the most important documents for genealogical research on the Sierra Leone Krio community.³⁴¹ The Public Archives are currently located at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, the capital city of Sierra Leone. Although plans are underway to relocate some of the documents contained within the Sierra Leone Public Archives, the archival records remain spread out on three different campuses at Fourah Bay College.

Perhaps the most exciting development for genealogical researchers interested in examining documents held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives, is the digitisation of these records through funding granted by the British Library Endangered Archives Programme. A pilot project led by Professor Paul Lovejoy of York University and Professor Suzanne Schwarz of the University of Worcester was completed in 2009 and documents in the Sierra Leone Public Archives were digitised and deposited in the British Library Archives and Manuscripts database.³⁴² Following the initial pilot project, in 2011 the British Library provided a two year grant for the digitisation of documents (on a wider scale and scope) such as the Liberated African registers, colonial birth and death registers, missionary reports, and court records.³⁴³ Some of the documents from the initial project can be viewed

³⁴⁰Save for minor exceptions, there are no differences between the various copies of the Book of Negroes.

³⁴¹ Information on the organisation and holdings of the Sierra Leone Public Archives prior to the Endangered Archives Project can be found on <http://www.africa-research.org/>. This website provides information on a number of archives in West Africa and other parts of the continent.

³⁴² These documents were also deposited at the Harriet Tubman Institute, York University and the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation (WISE). Some of the documents that were digitised for the EAP284 pilot project include the 1788 Treaty, Governor John Clarkson's Journal manuscript, Liberated African registers and colonial birth registers.

³⁴³The link to the EAP284 and EAP443 projects can be viewed at the Endangered Archives website: <http://eap.bl.uk/index.a4d>.

online in the ‘Sierra Leone Archives Collection’ at the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre Digital Archives.³⁴⁴ This paper shall provide an overview of some of the documents held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives that are relevant for tracing Krio ancestry.

The Liberated African registers and Letter books

The twenty volume set of Liberated African registers and the collection of Liberated African Department Letter Books are the most important documents on the largest ancestral group of the Sierra Leone Krio people. The Liberated African registers provide highly detailed information on the ethnic origin and the original name of the ‘recaptured’ slaves and is perhaps the most detailed source of information on Africans who were enslaved on slave ships bound for the Americas.³⁴⁵ The Liberated African registers record the age, sex, physical characteristics such as height, and sometimes the original African name and ethnic origin of each of the Liberated Africans. The Liberated African Department Letter Books provide information on the settlement of the Liberated Africans and in some cases may provide details of births, marriages, and deaths within the various Liberated African settlements.

The Public Archives also contain the ‘Register of Alien Children brought into the Colony of Sierra Leone’ (under an Ordinance passed on the 7th December, 1853) which provides information on indigenous African settlers in Freetown.³⁴⁶ The Register of Alien Children lists the name, age, sex, and tribe of the ‘alien’ child in addition to with whom the child was residing, the name and residence of the parents, the name and residence of persons who brought the child to Freetown, and the purpose for which the child was brought to Freetown.³⁴⁷

Colonial Birth and death registers

³⁴⁴This website is part of the Harriet Tubman Institute which was created by York University.

³⁴⁵ There are colonial records in archives outside of Sierra Leone that provide information on the Liberated Africans who were freed or resettled in St. Helena or Caribbean islands such as Trinidad and the Bahamas.

³⁴⁶ These were often ex-slaves from the hinterland who had escaped to Freetown or were ex-slaves from the hinterland who were recaptured by the British and settled in Freetown. They were termed ‘aliens’ perhaps to distinguish them from the Liberated Africans who were recognized as British Subjects in 1853, the year that the Ordinance for the Alien Register was passed.

³⁴⁷ The Register of Alien children also contains the signature of the parties.

The birth and death registers held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives date from 1857 to 1893 and contain genealogical information that is highly useful for genealogical researchers.³⁴⁸ The death registers contain the name, age, date of death, and residence of the individual who passed away; the birth registers contain the name of the subject, the date of birth, the name of the parents (including the maiden name of the mother), the place of residence. Both birth and death registers also list the name and signature of the informant. These records are a remarkable sources of information and fill in the genealogical “gap” in official colonial records between the 1831 census and the last decade of the nineteenth century.

However, although the birth and death registers are quite extant and provide information that will assist genealogists with their research, these sources are not necessarily comprehensive. Although the registration of births and deaths was required by law, not all families registered births and deaths.³⁴⁹ Furthermore, as the result of neglect and the subsequent fragility of these records, the birth and death registers may not provide all the information necessary for genealogists. Therefore it is important for genealogists to examine other sources on the Sierra Leone Krio such as the records held at the Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General and in churches across the Western Area and in Bonthe, Sherbro.

Records at the Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General

The documents held at the Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General are valuable sources of information for genealogists seeking to trace the lineages of Krio families. The Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General in Freetown hold records including birth and death certificates, marriage and burial registers, probate records, and land and property records that date from the early

³⁴⁸ Some sources state that the birth and death registers began in 1858-1894. Unfortunately some of the registers are illegible as some pages are quite brittle.

³⁴⁹ However, a significant number of Liberated African, Nova Scotian, and Maroon families did register the birth and deaths of relatives.

nineteenth century.³⁵⁰ These records can only be viewed by contacting and visiting the Registrar-General's Office in Freetown.

Land and property records

The Registrar-General's Office holds volumes of conveyances and crown grant books dating from as early as the 1820s and 1830s.³⁵¹ Land sales registered in the Court of Recorder granted valid title to owners and the records of the Court are held at the Registrar-General. These land and property records list the name and often the occupation of both the buyer and seller.³⁵² The probate records include wills and testaments dating back to as early as the 1840s.

Marriage and burial registers

The Registrar-General's Office also contains marriage and burial registers dating from the nineteenth century. For example, St. George's Cathedral marriage registers date from 1823, and there are burial registers for the Cathedral dating back to the nineteenth century. The Registrar-General's Office also contains Wesleyan marriage registers dating between at least 1843 and 1849.³⁵³

Birth and death certificates

The Registrar-General's Office also contains birth and death certificates that date from at least the early twentieth century to the present period.³⁵⁴ For ancestors born prior to the independence of Sierra Leone in 1961, birth certificates held at the Registrar-General's Office are a useful source for tracing Krio ancestry, as the original ethnic origin of the parents was generally listed on these certificates.³⁵⁵ So for example, on the birth certificate of Charles Sylvanus Brown, a Krio born in 1923, both parents

³⁵⁰ A remarkable number of records remain extant in the Registrar-General's Office that are highly important for genealogical research on Krio families.

³⁵¹ The Crown grant books, Conveyances, and records of the Court of Recorder provide information on the registration, sale, and purchase of land in Sierra Leone.

³⁵² Deeds for the conveyance of land or property generally list the name and occupation of both the buyer and seller.

³⁵³ Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 623

³⁵⁴ The Registrar-General's Office contain the civil registration records in Sierra Leone. The Registrar-General's Office may also contain birth and death registers dating between 1895 and the early twentieth century. Birth and death registers recorded between 1858 and 1894 are held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives.

³⁵⁵ Following the independence of Sierra Leone, legislation was passed banning any reference to tribe or ethnicity in official documents.

are listed as the ‘Descendants of Liberated Africans’. For some families, these birth certificates will state that the parents were the ‘Descendants of the Maroons’ or even the ‘Descendants of the Nova Scotians’.

Baptismal registers in churches

In addition to the genealogical records held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives and at the Office of the Administrator and Registrar-General, there are baptismal registers that are held in churches across Freetown.³⁵⁶ Baptismal records may provide information on ancestors who cannot be found in the birth registers. Baptismal records contain the date of the baptism ceremony, the name of the baptized child, the name and residence of the parents, the occupation of the father, the name of the clergymen who performed the ceremony and the names of the witnesses at the baptism ceremony.

Memorial tablets in churches and gravestones in cemeteries in Sierra Leone

Memorial tablets within Freetown churches and cemeteries may also contain vital information for genealogical researchers. Cemeteries in Freetown such as Racecourse Cemetery, Kissy road Cemetery, Circular road Cemetery, and Ascension Town Cemetery contain the gravestones of Krio families, which often list the birthdate and date of death of the deceased. There are graveyards in the rural villages that also have tombstones with information on Krio families. Genealogists tracing the lineages of Muslim Krio families can examine tombstones at the Aku Mohammedan cemetery at Fourah Bay.³⁵⁷ Although memorial tablets and gravestones are not always reliable sources of information on births and deaths, these memorials provide some clues that genealogists can verify by examining other records.

Online records

³⁵⁶There are parish records for a significant number (if not all) of the churches in the Western Area of Sierra Leone that were established during the nineteenth century. Churches such as St. Matthew’s Church in Bonthe, Sherbro may also have baptismal registers or records. For genealogists tracing Muslim Krio antecedents, some mosques may have records and the civil registration records held at the Registrar-General’s Office may provide information on Muslim Krio ancestors.

³⁵⁷The term ‘Aku Mohammedan’ was used in reference to the Muslim Krio who formed communities in Fourah Bay, Fula Town, and Aberdeen. The Aku Mohammedan Burial Board manages and controls the Aku Mohammedan cemetery at Fourah Bay.

Although archival records held in repositories across Sierra Leone, Britain, and North America contain highly important information for individuals seeking to trace Krio ancestry, there are a number of sources that genealogists can access online before ordering documents or traveling to archives elsewhere. Because of the increasing digitisation of archival records, genealogists can access records available online that are also located at archives spanning the globe. This paper will provide a brief overview of some of the key sources found online that are pertinent for genealogical research on Krio families.

‘African Newspapers, 1800-1922’ at the World Newspaper Archive (Readex)

Some African newspapers can be viewed online at the World Newspaper Archive created by the Centre for Research Libraries and Readex, a division of Newsbank. The World Newspaper Archive is available through the Readex website and contains an important database of newspapers for genealogists seeking to trace Sierra Leone Krio ancestry. The World Newspaper Archive ‘African Newspapers 1800-1922’ collection provide a useful catalogue of Sierra Leone Newspapers, in addition to newspapers published in Nigeria and Ghana (then known as the Gold Coast).

The newspapers available for viewing online at the World Newspaper Archive include the *African Interpreter and Advocate*, the *Independent*, *Sierra Leone Guardian and Foreign Mails*, *Colonial and Provincial Reporter*, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, and the *Sierra Leone Times*.³⁵⁸ Readex allows users to search for keywords such as first names and surnames throughout all the World Newspaper Archive collections.³⁵⁹ Although not all keywords that appear in the newspapers always show up in the keyword searches, generally the keyword search is an effective method for searching the newspapers. The World Newspaper Archive also includes newspapers published in Nigeria and the former Gold Coast such as the *Lagos Weekly Record* and the *Gold Coast Independent*, both of which

³⁵⁸ Although I was aware that Readex offered online versions of African newspapers such as the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and the *Sierra Leone Times*, I am grateful to Ms. Isabella Smith for her advice and inside knowledge. She was the first to inform me that an online account with the British Library provides free access to Readex newspapers.

³⁵⁹ For specific searches it is advisable to type in the key word between quotation marks; for example “John Meheux” will highlight all the newspapers that contain the precise name “John Meheux”.

contain important information on Krio immigrants to those colonies and also include the obituaries of figures of note who passed away in Sierra Leone.³⁶⁰

Sources in the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre Digital Archives

The Harriet Tubman Resource Centre Digital Archives holds digitized records taken directly from the Sierra Leone Public Archives under the British Library Endangered Archives Programme. The digitized records include (but are not limited to): the names of the first settlers located on the Nova Scotian allotments, Liberated African registers, the Colonial Secretary's Letter Book (May 14 1877- Dec. 31, 1877), and the Police Court Record Book of Courts Held at Waterloo (October 8, 1895- March 20, 1896).³⁶¹

British Online Archives

The British Online Archives contains records such as the Blue Books of the British West African colonies and the correspondence of Governor Zachary Macaulay and Governor Thomas Perronet Thompson of Sierra Leone. The British Online Archives can be accessed with a subscription and users can search for keywords in these sources.

New York Historical Society and DUASC

The New York Historical Society contains a digitized copy of Governor John Clarkson's three part diary recording his *Mission to America* and *Mission to Africa*.³⁶² Clarkson's diary contains the names of the Nova Scotian Settlers and details on the activities of the Settlers.

³⁶⁰There are at least five other newspapers published in the Gold Coast and four other newspapers that were published in Nigeria that are available online through the Readex World Newspaper Archive.

³⁶¹ The documents held at the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre Digital Archive can be accessed at <http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca>. Some of the other records include the 'Acts of Governor and Council from 1800-1831' and Magisterial Proceedings for the Mountain District (November 5, 1844).

³⁶² The New York Historical Society holds a complete digitised copy of Clarkson's *Mission to America* and part of Clarkson's *Mission to Africa*. Both documents contain information that is relevant for genealogical research on the early history of the Colony of Sierra Leone.

The Dalhousie University Archives and Special Collections (DUASC) also contain searchable copies of John Clarkson's *Mission to America* and *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons* by Mavis Campbell. *Back to Africa* is a published copy of the diary written by George Ross in 1800, whilst supervising the settlement of the Jamaican Maroons in Sierra Leone.

Sources in the Sierra Leone Collection held at the University of Illinois at Chicago

The Sierra Leone Collection found on the University of Illinois at Chicago website contains the digitized records pertaining to early Sierra Leone and in particular, the Nova Scotian Settlers and their petitions. These records cover the period between 1792 and 1825 and also include the original colonial plans for Freetown in addition to other miscellaneous documents.³⁶³ Images from the archives are downloadable for storage.

Online sources on the Black Loyalists

Black Loyalist.info.com is an important database compiled by the University of Sydney under the guidance of Professor Cassandra Pybus. Black Loyalist.info provides information and sources on the Black Loyalists, the term that encompasses the 1,196 black Americans who would emigrate from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone in 1792.³⁶⁴ The records contained within the website include the Book of Negroes and the CO 217/63 'List of the blacks at Birchtown Blacks who gave their names for Sierra Leone in 1791'.

The Black Loyalist in News Brunswick website contains the petitions of the black American refugees who sought land and other provisions within New Brunswick following the Revolutionary War. There are also websites such as the Black Loyalist Digital Collection site and the Remembering Black Loyalist website that hold documents relevant for tracing Nova Scotian Settler ancestry.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ This can be found at <http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/index.php>.

³⁶⁴ There are other Black Loyalist websites (some of them predate Black Loyalist.info) such as the Black Loyalist Heritage Society: <http://www.blackloyalist.com>.

³⁶⁵ The Remembering Black Loyalists website is: <http://novascotia.ca/museum/blackloyalists/> and the Black Loyalist CDC website is: <http://blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/>. The slave narratives of Rev. David George and Boston King, two Nova Scotian Settlers can be found at the Black Loyalist Canadian Digital Collection.

Online sources on Liberia and U.S. foreign relations

Genealogists researching Krio families of Americo-Liberian descent should examine the ‘Roll of Emigrants to Liberia, 1820-1843’ found on the University of Wisconsin Madison Data and Information Service Centre website.³⁶⁶ The roll of emigrants, compiled by Tom W. Shick from sources such as the 1843 census of Liberia, records the name, age, origin, status (whether emancipated or freeborn), level of literacy, and occupation of each immigrant. The Roll also lists the place each immigrant settled and died in addition to whether the immigrant relocated elsewhere after settling in Liberia (such as Sierra Leone).³⁶⁷ The DISC archive also has a collection of the correspondence and other documents relating to foreign relations of the United States.³⁶⁸

Online genealogy websites

U.K. Census records

Genealogy companies such as Ancestry.com Inc. can also be useful for tracing Krio ancestors who may have travelled or settled in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some Krio families are listed in census records and in birth and death records held in Britain and the United States.³⁶⁹ The family of Dr. Thomas Hamilton Spilsbury, a Sierra Leonean doctor, can be found in the 1901 census of the United Kingdom. Philippa Spilsbury (b. 1843) and her two children, William Henry Spilsbury (b. 1875) and Amy Spilsbury (b. 1876) are listed as living in London, Newington.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶The roll of emigrants compiled by Tom W. Shick can be found at this website:

http://www.disc.wisc.edu/archive/liberia/liberia_pubs.html. There is also a census of Maryland in Liberia.

³⁶⁷ Genealogists can discover the names of settlers who immigrated to Liberia but eventually settled in Sierra Leone.

³⁶⁸ This can be found at this website: <http://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS>.

³⁶⁹For example, William A. Conton (b. 1837) his wife Elizabeth Conton (b. 1857) and their three children, William E. Conton (b. 1877), Clara Sophia (b. 1879), Cecil Barger Conton (b. 1885), are listed in the 1890 census for Britain.

³⁷⁰ ‘London Newington’ should read Newington, London. The two Spilsbury children, William Henry and Amy are noted as being British Subjects born in the Gambia, where Dr. Thomas Hamilton Spilsbury was stationed. Dr. Spilsbury himself is not listed in the 1901 census, as he had died in 1890. Philippa Spilsbury (nee Smith) was the daughter of William Smith Jr., an Anglo-Fanti Registrar of the Mixed Courts in Sierra Leone. William Smith was listed along with his family in the 1881 census of the Channel Islands. Although it was noted that Philippa Spilsbury was a British subject, her birthplace was listed as Madeira, Portugal in 1901 census. Although it is unlikely, Violet Spilsbury (b. 1885) in London Newington but listed as living in Tottenham, Middlesex may have been the younger sibling of W.H. Spilsbury and Amy Spilsbury.

Earlier census records also list the family of William Smith, a retired Registrar of the Courts of Mixed Commission, in addition to Henry Robbin, a Krio educated and trained by the CMS in Manchester, England.

Incoming and outbound passenger lists for Britain and Germany

Ancestry.com also holds the list of incoming passengers to Britain between 1878 and 1960 and findmypast.co.uk has the list of outbound passenger travelling from Britain between 1890 and 1960. By typing in the name, age, country of birth or origin of an ancestor (and the ship they travelled on), it may be possible to find ancestors who travelled between West Africa and Britain. A number of West Africans travelled on ships such as the *Accra* and the *Apapa* and by typing in key words such as the 'Accra' or 'Apapa' or other terms such as 'Africa' or 'Sierra Leone' in the keyword search it is possible to trace Krio ancestors who travelled to Britain between the late nineteenth century and 1960.

Ancestry.com also has passenger lists of ships that departed from the port of Hamburg, Germany between 1850 and 1934. From this source it would appear as though Franz Heinrich Rudolf Gustav Hamelberg, the German Jewish patriarch of the Hamelberg family, may have taken his young son, Theodore Hamelberg to Germany and back to Sierra Leone thereafter.³⁷¹

Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1812-1834

Ancestry.com also holds the 'Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1812-1834' which provide unique and detailed information on slaves within the Caribbean.³⁷² The slave registers list the name and age of slaves including the names of their owners. Krio families with Caribbean forbearers who were enslaved may find the information within the slave registers useful.³⁷³ For

³⁷¹ The source indicates that a Rudolf Hamelberg did travel from Germany to West Africa with one of his sons, Theodore Hamelberg.

³⁷² Ancestry.com digitized the Slave Registers of former British Colonial Dependencies, 1812-1834 and it is the main (if not the only) genealogical website that contains this source. For information on the compensation paid to British slave owners following abolition, University College London has compiled this database: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> on the legacies of British slave-owner.

³⁷³ For the Krio descendants of the Jamaican Maroons, these sources are unlikely to be helpful.

example the descendants of Alfred James Gittens may be able to trace their ancestry by examining the slave registers pertaining to the Gittens family in Barbados.

FamilySearch records

FamilySearch, the largest genealogy organization in the world, has marriage and death records for Caribbean countries in addition to sources on Sierra Leone and Ghana. For example, by examining the birth registers of the Bahamas, a researcher would find the children of Melvin Victor Dermott Stuart, the Collector of Customs in Sierra Leone.³⁷⁴ The Ghana marriage certificates also record the marriage of the daughter of Frederick William Dove, the scion of a well-known Krio family.

Google Books

Google Books can be a valuable source of information, particularly because the database contains books in full view that often contain information pertaining to colonial Sierra Leone. There are House of Commons reports and other publications such as Elizabeth Melville's *A Residence at Sierra Leone*, that are available through Google Books; in some cases these publications contain descriptions of Sierra Leonean figures.³⁷⁵

Google Books holds a fully searchable copy of *The Philanthropist V* of 1815 that provides details on the residents of early nineteenth century Freetown. The *Philanthropist* contains a map of the street names in 'Sierra Leone' [Freetown] with the town lots of each street numbered. In addition to the map of Freetown is a detailed list of the property owners in Freetown in 1813. The list contains the street name, the number of the town lot, a description of the property, the "supposed value of Lot [sic] and Building", information on the builder of the property, the name of the owner and their origin, in addition to a section for 'remarks'. For example, from the *Philanthropist V*, a genealogist researching

³⁷⁴ A genealogist would also discover the name of Stuart's wife, Hannah B.R. Stuart (nee Thuey or Thucy).

³⁷⁵ Depending on whether a genealogical researcher is attempting to access these files in the United States or abroad, in some cases these publications are available in "full view" or with "limited preview". However, even some books that only provide snippets of information can be used to gain further genealogical information.

the Shaw family would discover that Charles Shaw, a Maroon colonist, built and owned a framed house with a shingle roof and stone cellar house on Trelawny Street worth £180.³⁷⁶

Genealogical information in published work (printed)

In addition to online sources, there are published primary sources and secondary sources that also provide useful information on Sierra Leone Krio families. Some of these sources shall be briefly outlined in this paper.

Miscellaneous publications

Historical journals such as Lt. John Clarkson's *Mission to America* provide information on individual Nova Scotian Settlers.³⁷⁷ George Ross' Journal documenting the voyage and settlement of the Jamaican Maroons in Sierra Leone also contains the names and some details on the Jamaican Maroons. Mavis Campbell's *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: A Documentary History* also provides important genealogical information on the Jamaican Maroons including the CO 217/74 'An Account of Maroon Property embarked with them from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone'.³⁷⁸ Graham Russell Hodges' *Black Loyalist Directory* is a published version of the Inspection Roll of Negroes; Bobby Moss' and Michael Scoggins' *African American loyalists in the southern campaign of the American Revolution* provides useful information on some of the individuals who became the Nova Scotian Settlers.

Sources such as the *African Repository*, published by the American Colonization Society not only provide useful information on Americo-Liberians, but also contain information on Sierra Leone. The *African Repository* of 1870 recorded the ages of six original Nova Scotian settlers who passed away in 1870 including Ann Edmonds reputed to have died aged 103.

³⁷⁶ *The Philanthropist: Or, Repository for Hints and Suggestions Calculated to Promote the Comfort and Happiness of Man*, Volume V (Google eBook) (Britain: Longman and Company, 1815), p. 256

³⁷⁷ Clarkson, John, Fergusson Charles Bruce, *Clarkson's Mission to America, 1791-1792*, (Nova Scotia: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1971)

³⁷⁸ Campbell, Mavis, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: A Documentary History*, (Virginia: College of William and Mary, 1990), pp. 164-249. The Appendix I in John Grant's *The Maroons in Nova Scotia* also has a copy of the 'Account' (pp. 194-196); this can also be viewed online at www.stfx.ca.

There are also primary and secondary sources on the thirty-eight black Americans brought to Sierra Leone by Captain Paul Cuffe on the *Traveller*. The complete list of the thirty-eight immigrants who travelled aboard the *Traveller* appears in Rosalind Cobb Wiggins' *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808-1817: A Black Quaker's "Voice from Within the Veil"* and also in Adelaide Cromwell's *Apropos of Africa: Sentiments of Negro American Leaders on Africa from the 1800s to the 1950s*.

Colonial publications

Official colonial publications such as the *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Correspondence on the Subject of the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate*, 1898 may provide useful information for individuals seeking to gather information on ancestors who may have resided in the Protectorate (now the provinces) of Sierra Leone during the late nineteenth century. This source contains the testimony of individuals who appeared before Commissioner David Chalmers in the aftermath of the 1898 Hut Tax War in Sierra Leone.

The *Red Book of West Africa* by Allister Macmillan and *The Pen-Pictures of Modern Africans and African Celebrities* by Charles Francis Hutchison provide useful biographical information and photographs of Sierra Leone Krio figures who settled along the coast of West Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁷⁹ Individuals such as Judge Francis Smith, Francis Thomas Dove and Roland Adjai Crowther Nicol feature in *Pen Pictures*; Arthur Williamson O'Dwyer appears in the *Red Book of West Africa* and Crowther Nicol features in both publications.

Memoirs and family bibles

Private memoirs and family bibles often contain valuable sources of information on births, deaths, and marriages within a particular family. In addition to these sources, there are also published memoirs that may contain pertinent information for genealogists. David George and Boston King, two Nova Scotian Settlers, wrote slave narratives that can be found online.³⁸⁰ Memoirs by Adelaide Casely-

³⁷⁹ The *Red Book of West Africa* also provides information on Sierra Leonean Krio figures who remained in Sierra Leone.

³⁸⁰ These can be viewed online at the Black Loyalist Canada Digital Collections website: <http://blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/>

Hayford and S.A.D. Peters provide interesting family histories and accounts.³⁸¹ Constance Agatha Cummings-John's *Memoirs of a Krio leader* offers great insight into Freetown society during the early twentieth century and decolonisation period. Dr Robert Wellesley Cole's *An Innocent in Britain* describes his experiences as a Krio in Britain. More recent memoirs by figures such as Solomon Pratt and Professor Eldred Jones also provide interesting anecdotes that genealogical researchers may find useful for more contemporary research.

School registers

Bruce Mouser's 'African academy-Clapham 1799-1806' lists the children of Nova Scotians and Maroons educated in Clapham by Zachary Macaulay. The Prince of Wales School Register is available for purchase and there is a published version of the Annie Walsh Memorial School register. The Sierra Leone Grammar School Entrance Register can be found in published form as *A Booklet of the Entrance Register of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845-1985* and online at the SLGS Alumni Association North America website.³⁸² The Methodist Boy's High School register is in Freetown and the register might be accessible to genealogists who contact officials at MBHS. The publication, *One hundred years of the Methodist Girl's High School, 1880-1980* contains some information on students who attended the Methodist Girl's High School between 1880 and 1980.

Medical registers and journals

For researchers seeking to trace Krio ancestors who worked in the medical field, there are a number of sources that provide information on medical doctors. The British Medical Register is a comprehensive list of all individuals who qualified as doctors in Britain since 1858. The register was first published in the years that the first West Africans qualified as medical doctors. The register appears in published form and can also be found online. The *British Medical Journal*, a peer reviewed journal first published in 1857, provides details of the prizes won by medical students at university; it is from this

³⁸¹ Casely-Hayford, Adelaide, *Mother and Daughter: Memoirs and poems*, (Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone University Press, 1983), Peters, S.A.D., *A Memoir*, (Sierra Leone: Government Printing Department, 1978)

³⁸²The website that contains the Grammar School register is www.regentonians-na.org

source that the academic achievements of Sierra Leonean students such as Dr. John Farrell Easmon are highlighted.³⁸³

Admission registers for the Inns of Court

The admission registers of the four Inns of Court also provide some vital information on the date of entry and qualification of individuals who became members of the utter bar.³⁸⁴ The Inner Temple Admissions Database is available online and provides information on the name, age, address, and the name of the father of the ten Sierra Leonean members of the Inner Temple between 1547 and 1920.³⁸⁵ *Men-at-the-bar: A Biographical Hand-list of the Members of the Various Inns of Court, Including Her Majesty's Judges, Etc* includes some biographical details on the nine Sierra Leoneans who had been called to the bar by 1885.³⁸⁶ It is from this source that a genealogist would discover that the Sierra Leonean lawyer, Peter Awoonor-Renner, who was born in 1861 as the second son of William Renner, a merchant, entered Lincoln's Inn aged 19 on 22 May, 1880 and was called to the utter bar on 18 April, 1883.³⁸⁷

DNA Testing

Personal genetic testing companies such as 23andMe and genealogy companies such as Ancestry.com offer autosomal DNA testing that analyses the 22 autosomes for both male and female clients.³⁸⁸ The DNA analysis conducted by 23andME and Ancestry.com provides a comprehensive breakdown of admixture and ethnicity.³⁸⁹ Although scientific advancements in DNA testing are more recent, for

³⁸³ The section, 'Prizes in the Medical School' provides information on the prizes won by medical students at select universities in Britain. The *Lancet*, another British medical publication also has information on the activities of medical doctors.

³⁸⁴ Each Inn of Court has a register of admissions: there is a published *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple (from the Fifteenth Century to 1944)* by H.A.C. Sturgess. *Butterworth & Co., 1949* available in three volumes and also Joseph Foster's *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889*

³⁸⁵ This register includes 'John Thorp', the first Sierra Leonean to qualify as a member of the bar.

³⁸⁶ This is a remarkable source which provides biographical details on a number of Sierra Leonean lawyers including Francis Smith, Sir Samuel Lewis, and Abraham Spencer Hebron.

³⁸⁷ Foster, Joseph, *Men-at-the-bar: A Biographical Hand-list of the Members of the Various Inns of Court, Including Her Majesty's Judges, Etc*, p. 389

³⁸⁸ There are other DNA testing companies such as African Ancestry that provide admixture results through a myDNAmix test. African Ancestry also provide Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA tests.

³⁸⁹ Autosomal DNA tests analyse the autosomes, the 22 chromosomes that do not determine the sex of an individual (the sex chromosomes are 'XY' for men and 'XX' for women). The mitochondria for both men and women can be analysed to determine the ancestral origins of the direct maternal line. For the paternal line,

individuals interested in determining the ethnic origins or admixture of their family, this may be an option to consider in addition to traditional methods of genealogical research.

Conclusion

Although the digitisation of archival records has provided genealogists with greater access to these documents, tracing ancestors, particularly in former West African colonies, still remains a difficult task. It is hoped that this short summary will provide a useful guide to tracing Sierra Leone Krio ancestors and that it will aid in solving the mysteries that genealogists seek to uncover.

The author of this paper has successfully conducted genealogical research for a number of Krio families. A more detailed guide to tracing Sierra Leone Krio genealogy has been compiled by the author and will be published in due course.

Some questions to consider when tracing Sierra Leone Krio ancestry

1. What is the oral tradition regarding my family history on my paternal and maternal lineages?

Tip: Try to gather as much information as possible on the oral history that family members and other relatives can recall. Try to record this information with a Dictaphone and try to use it as the basis for your initial research at libraries and archives.

2. Are there any common forenames, middle names or nicknames ('ose names') on my paternal or maternal side?

Tip: Try to take note of all common given names, middle names, and nicknames; this will be important when trying to research ancestors in archival records as some individuals may have been known to family members by a different name than the name that was recorded in archival records.

the Y chromosome for males can be analysed to determine the ethnic origins of the direct paternal lineage. Like any service, results may differ slightly (relating to admixture and perhaps ethnic origin) and there are no guaranteed results or outcomes.

3. What are the surnames of my great-grandparents on my maternal and paternal sides?

Tip: Try to track down all surnames dating back to at least your great grandparents (it is plausible that by talking to older relatives you may uncover information up to at least your grandparents or great grandparents).

4. As far back as I am aware, what denomination were my family on both sides? What was our family church or mosque?

Tip: Try to find out what was the religious affiliation of your second great grandparents or great grandparents.

5. As far back as I can trace, in what area of the Freetown peninsula did my ancestors on both the maternal and paternal side live? What village or area of Freetown do we hail from?

Tip: Ask older relatives where your great grandparents lived in the Western Area. Try to uncover where your ancestors lived during the nineteenth century.

Bibliography

Books

Blyden Nemata, *West Indians in West Africa 1808-1880: The African Diaspora in Reverse*, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000)

Campbell, Mavis, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: A Documentary History*, (Virginia: College of William and Mary, 1990)

Campbell, Mavis, *The Maroons in Nova Scotia*, (United States: Bergin & Garvey, 1976)

Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962)

George, Claude, *The Rise of British West Africa*, (London: Houlston and Sons, 1904)

Hargreaves, J.D., *A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958)

Matthews, Noel, Wainwright, Doreen, Mary, *A guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)

Pearson, James Douglas, Matthews, Noel, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to Africa: British Isles (excluding London)*, (United Kingdom: Mansell, 1994)

Peterson, John, *The Province of Freedom*, (United States: Northwestern University Press, 1978)

Porter, Arthur T. *Creolehood: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963)

Rankin, F. Harrison, *A White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834*, (England: R. Bentley, 1836)

Walker, James St. George, *The Black Loyalists The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992)

Wilson, Ellen Gibson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976)

Wyse, Akintola, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History*, (Washington D.C. :Howard University Press, 1989)

Articles

L. Bell, *Sierra Leone Organization of national archives*, (UNESCO: Paris, 1966)

Fyfe, Christopher, 'Parkes, (James Christopher) Ernest (1861–1899)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73842>, accessed 10 September 2012]

Fyfe, Christopher H., 'Sierra Leone press in the nineteenth century', *Sierra Leone Studies*, (new series), volume 8 (1957), 226-236

Hair, Paul E.H., 'A bibliographic guide to Sierra Leone, 1650-1800', *Sierra Leone Studies*, 13, June 1960, pp. 41-49

Porter, Arthur T., 'Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone', *Journal of the International African Institute* vol. 23, no. 1 (Jan., 1953), pp. 3-14

Moore, Albert, 'The Role of Archives in National Development: Sierra Leone Public Archives', A Case Study. Dept. of Modern History, Fourah Bay College, June, 1993

Records Centres in the United Kingdom as Models for Sierra Leone: Case studies on British Steel and the Dept of Trade and Industry. School of Library, Archive and Information Studies, University College London, September, 1996.

Wagner, Alfred, *Development of the National Archives and Records Service*, (UNESCO, Paris, 1985)

Book Review

Sierra Leone – A Political History – Dave Harris – Hurst 2013 – ISBN 978-1-84904-323-6 – www.hurstpublishers.com.

The need for an authoritative and yet accessible history of Freetown and the eventual emergence of the country known as Sierra Leone and its indigenous people has long been awaited. The publication of 'A Political History' fills an enormous gap in the literature available to both students of the country and those with an interest in a small yet influential nation and as such will become a text to which many will turn.

Dave Harris moves with care and ease through the creation of Freetown, then Sierra Leone and on to the civil war and beyond and is the first mainstream publication to do this. His enlightened approach to the complexities of the country's history allows one to quickly become more interested and informed in the important milestones that have shaped the country.

He does not focus solely on the colonial and post-colonial eras in the domestic context but sets each in the wider framework of how they affected much of the remainder of the continent. The narrative is easy to read yet detailed and provides a fascinating journey through the development of the modern State and its role in the evolution of much of English-speaking West Africa and beyond. Key dates and figures are analysed and their importance set in context and to these are added his well respected knowledge of the political themes that have shaped the country and its position in the 'modern' world.

One feels comfortable to be taken through all of the major events, have them explained in detail and set in context and allow one to feel confident that this is an accurate contemporary assessment of some of the most influential events in the country's history and the impact of such changes on the continent at large.

He also offers the reader an insight into how both the domestic regimes and the international community has attempted to assist in the re-building of a war ravaged State. As such it again offers the first comprehensive analysis of a country and its people experiencing the hideous slide into war, the horrors of a modern conflict and the desire in the post conflict era to build a lasting and inclusive peace.

It is precise, yet full of interesting facts and experiences, that add both colour and meaning to an analysis that could have erred towards the stereotypic and the often trotted out criticisms and misconceptions that others have resorted to as they have attempted to unravel both the role of Sierra Leone in colonial Africa and its place in the contemporary history of the continent.

Sierra Leone now has a text that honestly and with succinct care for detail shows its domestic history and its place in the changes in that have arisen in human values and behaviour as the country moved

through its various guises and historic experiences. For many readers this well written and interesting book will allow them to see, possibly for the first time, just what an important role Sierra Leone has played in the shaping of the continent of Africa and the opinions of those, who though living many miles from its shores, have had their own lives affected by the history of this small, yet important corner of the continent of Africa.

John Birchall

Other articles that refer to Sierra Leone and are of 'general interest'.

<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3191/ER38%20Final%20Online.pdf?sequence=6>

This analysis looks at whether it is the correct time for the international community to leave Sierra Leone.

The first Principal of Fourah Bay College

Jones, Edward. *S. of a freedman of Charleston, S. C., being the first coloured graduate of A. C. M. A., Trinity, 1830.*

Studied theology African Mission School, Hartford, Conn.; ordained deacon, Aug. 6, 1830; priest, Christ Ch., Hartford, Conn., S. 5, 1830; resident graduate Andover T. S., 2 yrs. before 1830; miss'y to Liberia; prin. Fourah Bay Christian Institution, Sierra Leone, many yrs.; p. Freetown; went to England for health, 1864. D. Chatham, Eng., soon after arrival in England.

Married (1) da. of Rev. Mr. Nylander, Sierra Leone; (2) Miss Boulton. 2 ch.

Significant dates:

1826: Edward Jones graduates from Amherst College. Jones is believed to be the second African American to earn a college degree.

1826: Two weeks after Edward Jones graduated from Amherst College, John Brown Russwurm graduates from Bowdoin College in Maine. He is the third African American to graduate from college in the U.S.

After attending Amherst, Jones converted to Episcopalianism and enrolled at the Andover Theological Seminary from 1828 to 1830. In 1830, he was ordained as one of the first black Episcopalian priest. Jones immigrated to Liberia and then to Sierra Leone in 1831. It was there that he became superintendent of the liberated African village of Kent. He later dabbled in journalism, first assisting in editing a missionary newspaper called "The African and Sierra Leone Weekly Advertiser". In 1861, he started editing the "Sierra Leone Weekly Times and West African". Jones married three times and fathered six children.

It is in Sierra Leone that Jones is most remembered as a great leader and one of the patriarchs of a prominent Krio family. Jones was a superintendent of the liberated African village of Kent, Sierra Leone and it was there he met one of the Nova Scotian settlers, Hannah Nylander, and married her. Jones had married into another prominent family; his wife was of half Nova Scotian (Black Loyalist

descent, making her ultimately of Black American descent) and half German through her missionary father, Gustav Nylander. In all Jones married three times and buried all of his wives in Sierra Leone. Jones also fathered six children, only one whom lived to adulthood. Jones was also the first principal of the newly established Fourah Bay College in Fourah Bay, Sierra Leone (a suburb of Freetown). It was there that the only known portrait of Edward Jones was hung on the wall. Jones died in England in 1865.

A document setting out the report to the House of Commons on the Sierra Leone Constitutional Conference followed by the reading/debating of the Sierra Leone Independence Bill

The record in Hansard of William Wilberforce moving the second reading of The Abolition of Slavery Bill – 1805 – the majority of original spellings and writing styles have been kept in the way they were written.

SLAVE TRADE.

HC Deb 28 February 1805 vol 3 cc641-74 641

§ *Mr. Wilberforce* rose to move the second reading of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade. The hon. member stated, that the measure had been so often discussed, the sense of parliament had been so frequently taken upon it, and that house had so decidedly expressed its opinion upon the subject in the course of the last sessions, he felt it unnecessary to trespass upon the attention of the house on the present occasion, but reserved to himself the right of replying to any arguments that might be advanced against the motion he had the honour to submit.

§ *The Speaker*

observed, that according to the custom of the house, none but a member originating a new motion, had the right of general reply to any objections made against it, and therefore the hon. gent, possessed no such right.

§ *General Gascoyne*

could not let the question go by without giving his opinion upon it once more. The hon. mover had said, that no new reason had occurred since last session against the adoption of this measure. He should, however, rely upon the wisdom and upon the feelings of the house, upon a measure so interesting and so important to the interests of this country, to our revenues, and even to our existence as a nation. He trusted the house would not consider any former pledge of this 642 kind as binding upon them now. There were two points of view in which he considered this question; first, as to the policy of the abolition altogether; and secondly, as to the time in which it is now proposed to abolish it, a time so arduous and so critical as the present. First then, he supposed the hon. mover to have great confidence in the measure, but that he now found himself absolutely deficient in the sources of those appeals to the feelings of the house, which he was wont to use on former occasions. He seemed to have nothing new to urge on the score of humanity and benevolence; nothing to say about the cruelty and oppression of the trade, and the inefficacy of all regulations concerning it. No; if he had, he would not have suffered the house to be without them to-night. Since the last regulations were passed, not a solitary instance of their violation could the hon. gent, produce. The surgeons' bounties too had been claimed, he believed, in seven cases out of ten. The house were not called upon now to act from any particular circumstance He believed there was not a member who did not know, that if we abandoned this trade, it would go into other hands. He could prove, that at present there were five American vessels taking in a proper cargo, in order to enable them to carry on the trade to a greater extent. He could wish that evidence and counsel might be heard at the bar of the house; but he hoped the wisdom and justice of the house would render that unnecessary. Did any man consider this as a

mere abstract question? No: it was impossible; everyone must see this that its ultimate object was emancipation, and nothing could be more dangerous to our colonial system, than a discussion which involved such a question. Much had been said upon a former occasion about the claims which the Africans had upon our humanity; but he would ask, what claims the native Africans had either upon our justice or humanity? If they had forfeited all claim to the protection of their own laws, what claim had they to the protection of ours? He was entitled to ask this, because there was now no charge made of kidnapping innocent persons. The principal houses in the trade had established storehouses upon the coast of Africa, where the negroes were collected in considerable numbers. That an importation of negroes was necessary to our colonies, 643 there existed no doubt in his mind, nor could any suppose that the population of the West Indies was sufficient for the purposes for which it was wanted; and, supposing the abolition to take place, the only immediate consequence would be an increase of labour to the slaves upon the islands. Upon the ground of the policy of the abolition, he had heard no argument whatever in its favour, and certainly since, the regulations had been acted upon, it was neither politic, nor expedient. Was it upon the speculations of a few individuals that we were to give up our colonial system, or was this the time, at the moment when we were engaged in an expensive war, which was likely to be of no ordinary duration, to try the effect of speculative opinions; was this the time to move such a question when we had seen the effect which had been produced by similar opinions in a neighbouring isle to our colonies, and when it must be evident to everyone what extreme danger would be produced by the spreading of such a spirit in the West Indies? Was not the West Indies a favourite object with Bonaparte, and would he not eagerly seize the advantage which our agreeing to the abolition of the slave trade would throw into his hands? This was evident from his recent conduct. It was, however, of the highest importance that they should consider the extreme danger of holding out speculative opinions to the Blacks, whose co-operation would be pregnant to this country with every possible mischief. He could not avoid considering it as a remarkable circumstance, that, notwithstanding this question of abolition was brought forward, government had contracted for 5000 slaves, who were destined for military services; a contract too which would not expire till February next. Such a measure seemed to hold out that one might buy a slave for a military use, but not for a civil use. He agreed in the propriety of having corps of black troops in our service in our Colonial possessions, but when it was proposed to abolish the slave trade altogether, such a measure was certainly inconsistent with the object of the abolition, He would now ask if the result of the abolition (supposing it to be carried, which he hoped it would not) should be such as had been predicted by those best informed upon the subject, namely, nothing less than the abolition of our colonial system, should we in that case be so 644 well able to cope with our enemies, bereft of the vast resources which we derived from our colonies, and would not every man in the country, and every member of that house, be called upon to pay his share of this large deficiency, which such a defalcation would cause? Let the house consider the number of men who were employed in consequence of this trade, and the benefits which resulted from it to our manufactures. Besides, how could those who formed an opinion here upon the subject be better judges than the planters themselves? But it was said that some of the planters agreed to the propriety of the abolition. This might be the case, but it should be recollected, that the abolition would throw the property and concerns of our colonies into the hands of those who had large capitals, for such only could support it; and therefore the concurrence of some of those was rather an argument against the abolition. But, whatever might be the opinion of a few of the planters, the house of Assembly of Jamaica, the Representatives of the Island had declared themselves decidedly adverse to the measure of the abolition. Much had been said of the danger of increasing the number of slaves; when that number was compared with the number of Europeans, it certainly appeared very great, and there was no question that if they were united, no military force could put them down, as they might reckon upon the proportion of about thirty negroes to one European. How impolitic, then, was it to raise doubts and questions in their minds upon the subject of emancipation, for to that this question ultimately led, and how pregnant with danger was such conduct to our colonial interests and possessions, particularly at the present moment, when, from the circumstances of a neighbouring island, the Negroes had not only

greater inclination to unite, but possessed greater facilities of co-operation. Under these circumstances, it became the house to say at once to the world, that they were resolved not to adopt a system which could only lead to the most injurious consequences, and thus to put an end to discussions which had already, and which evidently must have the very worst effect upon the minds of the negroes. He had some objections to the provisions of the bill, which he should reserve until it went into the committee; at present he should confine himself to objecting to the 645 principles of the bill, and he was confident that there were many members who formerly voted for the abolition, who would now, under the circumstances in which we were placed, vote against the present bill; he should therefore take the sense of the house upon the subject, lie concluded by moving "that the bill be read a second time this day six months."

§ *Mr. C. Brooke*

said, if the abolition of the slave trade was rendered general by the consent of all those powers who had colonial possessions, he did not know that our colonies would suffer so much as those of other powers, from the superior resources which we possessed, and the high state of cultivation in which these colonies were. But the policy of France and Spain led these powers to continue this trade. During the phrenzy of the revolution in France, the slave trade was abolished, and that measure led to all those horrors which had since occurred in St. Domingo. After the peace, however, or rather the truce of Amiens, one of the first acts of the consular authority was to re-establish the slave trade; and not only this, but every encouragement was given to the subjects of France; bounties were granted upon the importation of slaves, and every facility was established which could promote the increase of the trade. Such was the policy of France at that time, and such continued to be the policy of France at the present moment. This being the case, what would be the effect of our abolishing the trade, but only to throw it into the hands of other nations. If we abolished the trade, it would not be the means of compelling those vessels which were at present engaged in it to give it up; they might, and many of them, no doubt, would continue it under the sanction of other powers. During the short period of the last peace every encouragement was given to British subjects engaged in this trade, to go to France with their vessels; they were allowed to navigate their own vessels with only the regulation of having a nominal French commander, and being engaged to take a number of French apprentices. This evinced the value which was set upon the trade by France, and the same encouragements would, doubtless, be held out in the event of another peace. Spain also gave every facility to the trade; but she was prevented from turning it much to advantage by the want of a commercial navy. She was only prevented, however, 646 by her inability from participating in the advantages of the trade. If parliament should agree to abolish this trade, what advantage would result from the measure? would there be one slave less? He considered the bill as a measure which would deprive us of the means of increasing the benefits resulting from our colonies; and he should therefore support the motion for postponing the bill for six months.

§ *Sir William Young.*

—Sir; in treating of this important question, the hon. mover' has contented himself with saying, that there is nothing new in it. Though we are now engaged in agitating a point which, materially concerns the British empire, though the ruin or salvation of one of its most valuable component parts may depend on the success or the failure of this project of his, he has had the boldness to say, that there is no occasion to hear the arguments of counsel on this subject! There is nothing new, he observes, and therefore he thinks that neither he nor anybody else need say anything about the matter; and, acting upon this opinion, he has given in his negative to calling in the counsel. Nothing new, sir! Has nothing new happened in the situation of St. Domingo? Have the hon. gent. and his friends entirely neglected to turn their attention to the interesting lesson which this island affords? Have they attended to the consequences that have resulted from the measures of emancipation pursued by a set of Jacobins in a moment of political phrenzy? If they have not attended to these things, what are we to think of their

preparations for the discussion and management of an affair of this nature? If they have attended to them, can they produce any satisfactory evidence to shew that the same consequences which flowed from the Jacobin excesses, will not follow a similar decree of the British senate, supposing that we should have profited so little by the experience of France, and our own observation, as to pass such a decree? Is there nothing new in the situation of Jamaica? Has the hon. gent, seen the report of the assembly, or did he think it worth his while to read it? The assembly of that Island are so impressed with the pernicious, and absolutely ruinous consequences of this measure, that they have sent a confidential agent to this country, in order to resist, by every means in their power, its progress. When the interests of such faithful subjects of the British em- 647 pire are concerned, when their whole is at stake, that whole from which they have been ever ready to contribute a part to the exigencies and service of the state, when you are proposing to plunge them into difficulties unknown to any other class of British subjects, and perhaps into utter ruin, is it possible that any man can be so callous to the feelings of justice, to a sense of that attention that is due to British subjects, as to say that these men ought not to be heard in their own defence? This, sir, is treating an important part of the empire with the most marked disrespect. What are they to conclude with regard to the attention paid to their interests, when a member of the British legislature, on an occasion like the present, does not chuse to say a word respecting their complaints? Their consequence to this country in every point of view, certainly entitles them to more respectful treatment. The hon. gent. has only thought it necessary to advert to the precedent of last session, in order to justify his silence. That precedent, sir makes very little in his favour. When we consider the circumstances under which the measure passed this house last session, we shall find that he has no claim to rest much upon that. The attendance, it is notorious, was very thin, and since gentlemen have begun to attend more minutely to all the circumstances of the case, we are not yet without hopes of stopping this bill in its progress through the house. Scarcely 150 Members were present at the discussions last session, and at no one stage of the business were the members above 200. This may be regarded, in some measure, as a presumptive proof, that gentlemen had not made up their minds en the subject. Am I then to be told now, that the precedent of last year is a sufficient reason for the passing of the bill at this time without further examination into its nature and merits? It is a very lame reason indeed, and one which I trust will have very little weight with the house. I hope that the other 458 who have not as yet come forward, will now take a share Mi the matter, and consider the question in a broad and comprehensive point of View and not suffer their judgments to be misled by idle declamation, and vain speculation. I hope that they will attend to all the interests of all the parties concerned in the present instance, and study the means of most effectually promoting them. Without this, sir, it may happen 648 that while they think they are pursuing a course pointed out by humanity and justice, they will at last find, when it is too late, that they were doing the highest injustice to the one party, without benefitting the other.—Having said so much, sir, on this point, I shall proceed to consider the affair more closely. But I could not refrain from saying what I have already thrown out, after the singular line of conduct which has been adopted by the hon. gent. It may be said, sir, that little weight is to be attached to my opinion on this question, because I have a personal interest in the failure of the measure. I Confess, indeed, that I have such an interest, but I am not on this account in a singular situation, nor is it unusual on other questions for members to take apart in discussions where they themselves are particularly concerned, and to have their opinions canvassed with attention. In almost every public measure, some are more concerned than others. But so far are their opinions from being treated with neglect, that they are justly considered as entitled to a fairer scrutiny than those of others, who in the nature of things cannot be supposed to be so well acquainted with the subject. This, sir, ought to be the case in the present instance. Though I am personally concerned, yet my experience entitles me to speak with more confidence than those who cannot be supposed to be so well informed on this particular question. The government of a country has not a right to deal partially and unjustly by a single individual. This, is a principle that has been recognised, and an attention to private justice has often prevented public wrong. If this, sir, be correct, I trust there is no reason why I should not be heard with attention, and have my opinions considered with the same degree of candour and impartiality, as has been shewn to

other persons in similar situations. That a great part of the members of this house have not been present during the discussions of last year has been said already. But the Irish members who have not sat long in this house, have not had an opportunity of attending to the discussions on this question from the beginning. It may not, therefore, be altogether unnecessary. What are we doing in this case? Are we doing justice to those, who are more immediately concerned in the business? It is in vain for you to think of abolishing the 649 trade. This you cannot do. Transports will pass from island to island, and the trade must be carried on by foreigners, if not by us. It is in vain, therefore, to say, that in this respect, even the negroes themselves can be much benefitted. On the contrary, they may be much injured. But there is another argument which has been used by the hon. gent. He has often adverted to the desolate state of the coasts of Africa compared with the interior of that country. The population of the coast, he has said, is almost ruined, while that of the interior is in the most flourishing condition. On that subject, our means of knowledge are very confined. I, therefore, can know but very little about it. But all, however, that I do know, is from Mungo Park. What does he say? He says that the very reverse is the fact of the case. When he and his companions penetrated into Africa, they found that a general system of war was carried on in the interior. This was exemplified in the case of the war between Abdulkader, king of Foota Zorra, and Famel, king of the Jalofs. The former sent a messenger to the latter, requiring him to embrace the Mahomedan faith. He presented two knives as the emblem of his mission: "with this knife, (said he) Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Famel if he will condescend to embrace the Mahomedan faith, and with this other knife he will cut the throat of Famel, if he does not embrace it;—take your choice." Famel, however, chose neither to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut, and a war was the consequence. Did those who complained of the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies, attend to the account given of their situation in their own country, as related by Mungo Park? The Jalonkas, as he informs us, are much more cruel to their slaves than the Colonists are, and he gives a shocking instance in the case of Nealee, a female slave. We have, it on the testimony of Sir George Young, that all the freemen in the interior of Africa are obliged to learn the use of arms. This, undoubtedly, is a proof of the constant warfare in which they are engaged, especially when it is considered that there every feud is hereditary, and that quarrels are handed down from father to son as a family possession. The wars of the Africans are personal, and are therefore carried on with much more rancour than anything which is known among 650 us and other civilised nations. This appeared from the history of the wars of the kings of Bambouhe and Bambarra. Mr. Park said that the interior of the kingdoms were populous, while the borders were not, on account of the constant wars that prevailed among themselves. It is also to be recollected, that Mr. Parke's journey to Africa had nothing to do with the subject of the slave trade, but was undertaken for scientific purposes, under the direction of Sir Joseph Banks, to whom the British public owe so much, and whose merits are so well known, and so universally admitted. Mr. Park mentions that in one of the wars when nine hundred captives were taken, only seventy of these were freemen. The feelings of the Mahometans, with respect to the other Africans, might be collected from a cursory story told by the above traveller. When he proposed to go to Tombocto he was advised by a friendly native not to go there. The reason was, that he had been there once; the master of the first house into which he entered had said, if you are a Musselman enter into my house as my guest: if you are a Caffre, I instantly seize you as my slave. Few slaves come from the coast, they are generally taken from the interior. Gardiner, who belonged to the establishment at Sierra Leone, confirms this. Our African traveller when he sailed up the Gambia, one of the natives offered to traffic with him, and exchange slaves for goods. When informed that the white people did not accept of such a change, he seemed surprised, and said that this was the only means by which they could get their salt from Barbary. We may abandon the trade, but we cannot abolish it, and we shall besides be doing great injury to the Africans themselves. As to the humanity of the case, are we sure that the slaves, are not treated with much greater inhumanity in Africa than in the West Indies? Are they, not driven in their own country like cattle with irons about their necks? the humanity of the African, master is cried up, while that of the British is depreciated. An African master, however, we are told, can coolly toss his slave, when half dead, into a ditch, and say "there is so much money lost." Can anyone bring, such

an instance against the British, master of the present day? As to their being taken so far from their own country, this is a misfortune to which the African slaves are always liable at home; for it is the general policy of Africa to remove the slaves as far as possible from the country in which they were born. Are you to consider this question on narrow grounds? While you think that you are doing more than justice to the negroes, do you reflect that you are certainly doing an act of the greatest injustice to the West India planters? We have been told that there is nothing new in this question; yet it has been confessed by people, of the best authority, that there never was an abler report than that which has lately been made on the subject. Perhaps the hon. gent. has not yet read the papers on the table. If he has read them, however, he cannot be ignorant, that the small settlers, supposing this measure to pass, must certainly remove from Jamaica. If he had taken a fair view of the subject, he would feel that the white men must be driven from the island by a regard for their own personal safety. The disproportion, therefore, between the negroes and the white inhabitants, would be constantly increasing, and would end in the total loss of the island. I do call upon the house to allow those to be heard at the bar who may have been on the spot, who are acquainted with the manners of the negroes, to carry some weight with their sentiments, in considering a point of this nature. A noble lord who had long an opportunity of observing the negroes, is ready to come to the bar of the house, if necessary, and give evidence of the alteration which has taken place in their manners. To what is this alteration owing? It is owing to this, that the idea of abolition is intimately connected in their minds with that of emancipation. The hon. gent. may perhaps say, fiat justitia, fuat cœlum. But he is mistaken in the application of this principle, for certainly in the present instance it would only lend to bring the greatest calamity on the negroes themselves. I hope this house will deliberate on this subject as becomes their gravity and dignity as a legislative assembly, and that it will take care not to combine what is essential injustice to the planters in the West Indies, and to the merchants employed in this trade, with certain misery to the slaves themselves. It has been said that our feelings are sed on this subject, and that this misleads our judgment. Our feelings may indeed be roused, but it is a feeling for our all. You may take my life, if you take 652 the means by which it is preserved. I now come to the last point. I have given but a very slight view of the others, not wishing to tire the patience of the house. But though I have not taken time to do them justice, I did not think it would be proper, under all circumstances, entirely to omit them. The point to which I now wish to direct the attention of the house is, the importance of the trade to the revenue of this country, and on this I shall be short. I moved for documents on this subject, which have not yet been produced. However, I did not call for them altogether with a view to this particular question, but with a view to a motion, at a future period, for an inquiry into the state of the colonies. I shall now, however, be forced to resort to the returns of last session. From these it appears that the imports in 1803, amounted to about 17 million sterling. The article of sugar alone; amounted to 10 million, and the whole was between 16 and 17 millions. The whole of this property is, by these discussions, put in the greatest hazard from an insurrection among the negroes, on account of the inseparable connection in the minds of the negroes between abolition and emancipation? Under these circumstances then, is it not equally impolitic and unjust to allow a measure of this nature to pass? But you also hazard exports to an amount inconceivable. In 1803 fifty-one ships came into Ireland from the colonies, and no less than 129 were sent out of it with cargoes for the colonies, consisting chiefly of linen. By the ruin of the colonies this great market for Irish linens will be almost completely destroyed. I shall only then further observe, that in promoting this measure you are not doing an act of humanity to the negroes themselves, that you are doing the highest Injustice to the colonists, that you are neglecting your revenue, and putting a great part of it in the greatest hazard, and therefore forgetting the interests of your country. The great principle upon which you ought to proceed, is to do justice to every individual. The colonies are entitled to your particular attention, and their complaints ought to be heard with candour, and argued upon with coolness and impartiality. I hope you will not pay regard to any precedents, but consider the case precisely as it comes before you, without regard to what may have been done last year, when there was such a thin attendance. I 653 have the greatest hopes that the house will view, the question in its proper light, and concur with me in a decided opposition to the second reading of this bill.

Mr. Barham

said, that he was convinced that as an hon. gentleman below him had said, this was the time for the abolition of the slave trade, if it was to be done at all, he was satisfied that it was now practicable, that it was always desirable, but that now it was necessary. There were four points to which he wished to call the attention of the house; 1st. the general policy of the measure; 2d. its practicability; 3d. the danger arising to the colonies from not promoting it; and, lastly, the justice of the thing. As to the general policy, it was once said that this traffic was absolutely necessary. This assertion was, however, partly abandoned. This individual branch of trade would certainly be destroyed; but as it was only a small part, this was of less importance: 2dly, with regard to the practicability of the measure, he was once of Opinion that it was not practicable; and if the same circumstances had existed he would have been still of the same opinion. The capitals would once have been certainly carried away into foreign countries, but now the case was altered. Instead of engaging their capitals in hazardous speculation, the merchants and planters would rather bring them home if necessary. Slaves could not now be smuggled into Jamaica from St. Domingo. He had no doubt that if the measure was passed now, it would succeed. It was not likely that the traffic would pass into other hands. Other nations had given indications of their intentions to put an end to the slave trade. He knew that no change could be adopted which would not be attended with danger. But was there no danger in continuing the trade? The proportion of negroes to the white inhabitants of the colonies was daily increasing. The traffic was constantly adding to the disproportion, and the desire of liberty was inflamed by every cargo of fresh imported negroes. Regard was to be had to the situation of St. Domingo, where there was no people to enter into competition with us in the West Indies. The danger of abolishing the trade was less, then, than that of continuing it. In the case of a man who laboured under a disease, what would a wise physician do? He applied the remedy while the patient was capable of receiving it; and thus stood the affair with respect to our West India 654 colonies. The fate of St. Domingo should be a serious warning to us on this head, and should deter us from adding daily to the number of blacks now in our islands: he spoke disinterestedly, for few estates were in greater want of additional slaves than his own. On a former occasion, he had suggested the idea of sending Sepoys from the East Indies to serve as troops in the West Indies; and he was not without hopes that this suggestion had attracted the notice of government. It appeared to him to be a mode happily calculated to remove a considerable part of the danger justly to be apprehended from the further increase of Africans. After a few more observations, the hon. gentleman concluded with making a few remarks on the unanimity of sentiment among the planters of the West Indies, of which so much had been said. Without meaning the slightest disrespect to those gentlemen, he must remind the house, that the interests of various classes of people materially affected their opinions; and it was not surprising that a set of merchants deprecated a measure, which, in their belief, threatened to prevent further extension of their commerce.

§ General Tarleton.

—Sir; I consider it as a duty incumbent on me to oppose this measure with all the ability which I possess. The question is such, that it certainly deserves the most serious deliberation, and the coolest investigation of the house, I trust, therefore, that the reasons urged against the measure will be heard and weighed with all that candour that becomes an assembly such as this. In the opening part of the speech of the gentleman who has just sat down, he said that now or never was the time to put in practice the measure of the abolition. Sir, I see nothing in the present time that, in this respect, peculiarly distinguishes it from former times. At all times, I have thought this a most ruinous measure, and the present time contains nothing to make me alter my opinion. In order to be convinced of the vast importance of this traffic in every respect, we have only to attend to the situation of Liverpool, and compare the state of that city with what it was not more than a century ago. Its population, about a hundred years ago, did not exceed 2,500. This population carried on its trade in about 100 barks. Its capital was then about 10,000l. What is its state now? It employs no less than about 5,000 ships, 655

manned by a proper compliment of seamen, the best and most expert in the British Navy. Its population is between 80 and 90,000, and its capital consists of the number of its former thousands turned into millions. Yet it is certain that this amazing prosperity is almost entirely owing to the slave trade. This is certainly a curious time to put an end to the source from which the wealth and grandeur of a considerable city in the Empire is derived. Bonaparte has said that we cannot contend with him single-handed: now, however, he is backed by Spain, and in all probability, Portugal will soon be ranged on his side. Are not, I would ask, our principle means of security derived from our seamen, and these are in a great measure, at least many of the best of them, procured by the trade of Liverpool. It is not a little astonishing, therefore, to hear any one say that this is the time for abolishing a trade which supplies us with so many seamen. Is the time when we are engaged in such a war as the present, a war in which so many seamen are required, upon whom we rest as our chief security, is this a time for such a measure as this, a measure that goes to complete the ruin of one of the chief nurseries from which our seamen, and consequently our measures of security, are in a great measure derived. This measure, sir, is certainly founded on the opinions respecting the rights of man, which have produced so much horror and devastation all over the world. It is a remnant of Jacobinism. I am sure that the hon. gent. who urges it, is not in his heart a Jacobin, but still the effect of his conduct is the same as if he were one. I shall beg leave to mention a story to him, in which I was myself concerned: I went to Paris in 1791 out of curiosity. Having arrived there, I was anxious, like most strangers, to see what was going forward. Among other things I wished to go to visit the jacobin club. But a friend, who knew the place better than I did, dissuaded me, saying, "Oh! my dear sir, you must not think of going there, you have opposed the abolition of the stave trade, and consequently are regarded as an abomination by the Jacobins, and you might be in danger of your life. At the same time I was given to understand, that if the hon. mover of the measure had appeared in that club, he would have been bailed with peculiar pleasure; the president would have given 656 him the fraternal hug. I was really told that a diploma of jacobinism was absolutely sent to that honourable gent. I am convinced that the principles of Jacobinism are those upon which this measure is founded.

§ Mr. Fuller.

—am told, sir, that a contract is actually entered into by govt. to procure slaves as. troops for the West Indies at 551. per man. How this can be reconciled with the conduct of the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer on the present occasion, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. This is supporting a measure in one way, and opposing it in another. An hon. gent. had said that this was the proper time for abolishing the slave trade. This, sir, is in complete contradiction to the report of the assembly at Jamaica. This is not the proper time for this measure. There has not as yet been sufficient time for one of the parties to be heard. An hon. gent. has said that sufficient evidence has already been given. But this evidence has not been given on oath. Another reason against the abolition is that the plantations, especially the small ones, must absolutely be given up in case it is effected. It has been said, that foreign nations had given indications of abandoning this traffic. It is very easy for them, to be sure, to give it up, since they have lost almost all their colonies, and therefore have very little need of slaves; but is that the situation of this country? Another disadvantage which would result from the adoption of this measure is, that in such a case, we could scarcely find agents to manage our property in the West Indies. The great inducement to them for going out, is the chance of being able to procure slaves, and commence planters on a small scale at first for themselves. Unless a prospect of this kind is held out, it is certain that no people will remain in the colonies, avert for the management of our best estates. An hon. gent. has adverted to the want of compensation in this bill. Certainty it does happen, that in a bill that goes to deprive so many people of their property, there is not one clause to indemnify the sufferers, or their losses. Would this have been done even in a common turnpike bill? If the hon. gent. had proposed such a thing he would have been scouted from one end of the house to the other; and can the house be so indifferent respecting the colonies, that any person dares bring in a measure to treat them with such injustice, and by listened to with patience? 657 He would not dare to propose to meddle with English property in this manner. The only mode in which he could proceed

would be this; he would say to the persons whom it might be thought necessary to deprive of their property—we want your land for public purposes; we will pay down to you the value. Some men who would be obliged to attend to reason in common instances at home, still dare to bring forward oppressive measures respecting islands at 3000 miles distance. The situation of the negroes has been the subject of complaint. Is not the situation of the poor in this country in many instances worse than that of the negroes? Without meaning to boast, I have given permission to my own negroes to cultivate considerable spots of ground for themselves, and ample time for this purpose. I have lodged and clothed, and have engaged a physician to attend and prescribe to them. I have done every thing for their comfort. Can the hon. gent. say that he has done so much, with all his talk and noise about humanity, for the peasantry of Yorkshire? I do not wish to impute any unworthy motives to the supporters of the bill, but I am convinced, that as the man who pretends to more courage than another has generally less, so he who pretends to more religion than others, is often the greater cheat.

§ *Mr. Hiley Addington*

rose to express his opinion against the abolition of the trade; the question was certainly one of the greatest importance, and of vast magnitude, and the decision of it must be productive of great good, or of the most serious mischief. He was sorry to say, that the opinion he originally gave of the impracticability of the proposed abolition still remained unaltered. It was not from any want of consideration that his mind had not been changed; on the contrary, he had bestowed uncommon attention to the consideration of this question, from the circumstance of having the misfortune to differ in opinion from many hon. friends of his, and from some who possessed the most distinguished talents and highest endowments; he, at the first, thought the measure impracticable, and he thought so still, and he thought, moreover, that the cause of humanity had not been at all promoted by the agitation of the question, and was not likely to be benefited by its further discussion. He was aware that there was sort of popular odium attached to the defence of the existing slave trade; but still he felt a perfect confidence that no popular prejudice of that sort would disincline the house from giving a full and candid hearing to those who might think differently on the subject. As for himself, he gave his opinion as an individual, utterly unconnected with the trade, or with the West India colonies, having no other interest in the question, than the general interest which every member of that house, must feel for the prosperity of the empire at large. From the best consideration he could give the subject, it appeared to him that the abolition of the trade would be impracticable, and that the attempt would be rescinded; he therefore begged leave to enter his most sincere protest against the passing of this bill, and he should oppose the second reading.

§ *Sir William Pulteney*

said, he would not trouble the house at any length, but he wished to make a few observations. There was certainly a considerable difference of opinion, as to this bill. Some said it might be highly dangerous in its consequences; others, that it could not fail to be very advantageous. It was however ascertained, that the slave trade had been very advantageous to the West India islands. This bill was built on theory, and he was not fond of theories; they had been productive of too much mischief. The real fact was agreed upon by all parties to be this: the West Indies cannot be cultivated by Europeans, whose constitutions will not bear fatigue in that climate. It is therefore necessary, if they are to be cultivated at all, that it must be by some other class of the human species, who being natives of warm climates, are able to endure that degree of labour and fatigue which no Europeans could do in that climate. This being the acknowledged fact, the question, is, shall we abandon the cultivation of the West India islands altogether, or what class of the human species shall we employ to, cultivate them? Some say, that it is much better to employ free negroes than slaves, and that the labour of freemen would be more productive. This is, however, only a supposition, a mere theory, The fact is known to be, that the natives of warm countries are not naturally disposed to labour. In warm countries the climate produces the means of subsistence with so little labour, that they have no necessity, and

consequently no inclination, for laborious work; and for that species of labour which was necessary for raising sugar and 659 other Colonial produce, it was absolutely necessary to use something of compulsion. It might appear to some to be a great hardship to compel men to labour, but it was the common condition of the lower orders of society. It was by compulsion that we made our sailors go on board our ships, and this sort of compulsion was often very proper and necessary. As to the general management of the slaves in the West Indies, he could assert, from his own knowledge and means of information, that they were universally much better treated now than they were formerly, and that there has been as great a disposition as possible evinced to encrease them in the natural way. As to the Creoles, although they were superior for generation, they were inferior to the Africans in ability to labour, and it was found that they gradually grew weaker. It might, therefore, well be said, that experience has taught us that we cannot go on without the continued importation of those African slaves; and the only question would be, whether or not we were, in abandoning the trade, abandoning the cultivation of the West India islands altogether. He had often remembered to have heard many splendid theories advanced in that house, and supported with eloquence, which went off altogether, or were not found to answer. Eloquence was not always a proof of the justice of the cause, which it so powerfully supported. The great duke of Marlborough was certainly a very superior man, and a man of most excellent judgment, but he was never famous for his eloquence; he, however, had discrimination, and weighed matters well; he knew what measures should be adopted, and what should be avoided. This was more than many eloquent men knew. To speak eloquently, and to judge rightly, were very different things. If it were merely to talk of humanity and justice, and those popular topics, the task would be easy; but in the present instance the considerations were more important, as involving the great interests of the country, and that humanity and justice which was due even to numbers of our own people to whom the West India trade gave employment. As to all the arguments that had been urged on account of the present situation of affairs in the West Indies, he thought them of no importance. Although we are now at war, our enemies cannot take up the trade, yet we cannot suppose that we are to be always at war, and if the trade was now abolished, as soon as peace should 660 be restored, the French might again take up that trade which we would so imprudently have thrown away. Those arguments, that were only built on temporary circumstances, were not entitled to much weight. An hon. gent. had spoken of the danger that would arise of convulsions and insurrections, from the continual importation of labourers from Africa. It appeared to him that the danger lay on the other side. If you were to stop all future importation, such a measure must give a very strong turn to the minds of the negroes now upon the islands: they might well say, if you think that the situation of slaves is so dreadful, that you will not allow any more of our countrymen to be made slaves, why are we to continue slaves still? If the abolition of the trade rests entirely on the reasons of humanity and justice, the same principles would lead as far as entire emancipation. If then, by abolishing the trade, you could convince the negroes in our islands, that their state was much more shocking than ever they had before considered it, the only consequence would be, that they would be more ripe for insurrection, which would bring an additional danger upon the colonies, From these considerations, he could not avoid opposing the second reading of the bill.

§ Mr. Fox

said, he should trouble the house but very shortly, and he should not have done so at all if it had not been for some parts of the hon. baronet's speech, which he thought required some observations. The hon. baronet had talked a good deal about splendid theories which had been, at different times brought forward in that house, and powerfully supported by eloquence, and which were afterwards dropped. For his part, he was utterly at a loss to conceive what splendid theory it was which the worthy baronet alluded to; but it appeared to be a false inference, which he chose to draw from his general positions, and from his story of the Duke of Marlborough, that eloquence was so contrary to discrimination and judgment, that whenever the house heard an opinion eloquently and well supported, they should, on that account, rather presume it to be wrong. This would, indeed, be a very strange conclusion, and yet it followed, as clearly as possible, from what had fallen from the worthy

bayonet. This great dread of eloquence was not peculiar to the worthy baronet. The Jacobins of France had also been much afraid of it was one of their maxims that there was 661 no sort of Aristocracy so dangerous as the Aristocracy of talents. The hon. baronet appeared to have imbibed that maxim, but he would hardly convince, the house, that the better they heard a measure supported, the more suspiciously they should receive it, and the more inclined they should be to consider it only a splendid theory. But what was the theory in the present instance? Was it a theory that the West India islands were in a very alarming State? This was a thing, however, which would be granted by every body, and which had in fact been universally granted. Was it a theory that the trade was bad in itself, and contrary to justice and humanity? Instead of theory, it was a positive fact, on which the supporters of the bill had rested their arguments. It was acknowledged on all sides, that there was an alarming disproportion between the numbers of the blacks and of the Europeans in the West Indies. It is allowed that there are at least 30 blacks to 1 white, and that from this great disproportion of numbers much mischief had already arrived, and much danger was apprehended. It can therefore hardly be called a theory to wish to diminish this danger, by diminishing that disproportion from which it arose. It was now 12 or 13 years since the house had come to a resolution for gradually abolishing the slave trade, and yet many of those who voted for this gradual abolition had hitherto opposed every measure which tended to carry into effect that resolution, and many of those who then saw the greatest danger from the disproportion between the black and white population, can now consent that this danger shall be constantly increasing with increasing disproportion. As to the war not being likely to last for ever, and the view of the question when peace should be established, he must say, he hoped as much as any gent, that the war would not last long, yet he must say, that if the solemn resolutions of the house of commons were to be carried into effect at all, the war certainly presented no difficulty, on the contrary he was sure that while the war continued, the argument could never apply on which the opponents of the bill placed their principal reliance, for certainly we could not be supplied with slaves by French or Spanish ships, as long as we were, at war with those nations. The hon. gent. concluded with observing, that it was most material that the house of commons should again declare its opinion upon this trade; there 662 must be a strong hope that an opinion so gravely delivered, and which had been so often repeated, would at length make a powerful impression on the public mind, and would be adopted.

Mr. Huddleston

said, it was his purpose to have gone somewhat at large into the present important question and the consideration which it involved; but the most essential of the points which he should have endeavoured to establish, had been enforced by other gentlemen with a degree of knowledge and ability so superior to any that he could have brought to the subject, that if he were to proceed in the course he had intended, he should, weaken the impression which their speeches cannot fail to have made both on the understanding and the feelings of every member present. The task, therefore, which he had prescribed to himself was much curtailed; but relying, as he knew he might, on the candour and indulgence of the house, he would not entirely forego this opportunity of lifting his voice (feeble as it must prove) in reprobation of that monstrous traffic, the toleration of which has so long been the opprobrium of the British legislature. It was far from his intention to charge this sin upon the nation at large; for well he remembered the nation at large had testified its abhorrence of it, by universally petitioning for its abolition; and it has since been a matter of astonishment to all Christendom., that those who are the constitutional guardians of British freedom should sanction elsewhere the most detestable system of oppression and cruelty that ever disgraced a civilized nation. He said he never conversed with an advocate of this traffic who chose to give a direct or serious answer to these simple questions.—Is it just to exercise this trade? Is it honourable to any govt. particularly one, the very essence of whose system is freedom, and whose highest boast is to secure it to the poor as well as to the rich? Is it honourable in such a govt. to encourage or permit this trade?— He repeated, that he never could obtain a direct or serious answer to either of these questions. One has said, "you are mistaken; the slaves are, in fact, very happy much happier than the labouring poor in England." But he

omitted to state in what their happiness consisted —Another has answered; "would you have us drink our tea without sugar?" In other words, "would you abridge us Englishmen of part of our comforts merely to avoid mak- 663 ing slaves of Africans!"—In this house the answers to such questions, or arguments connected with them, have been still more summary; they have been denominated cant, or fanaticism: but in a Report of certain proceedings which had been sent to him, and which he considered as a sort of manifesto on the part of the planters, they are ascribed to malice!— A desire to secure a nation of freemen from the guilt of devoting millions of innocent persons to slavery, has been construed into malice to the planters, and pretended humanity! Now, he had not the least objection to this mode of answering the charges of injustice which were brought against this trade, because it is a virtual admission that no better answer can be given. In truth, the combined aggregate of human intellect would be inadequate to the task of disproving the injustice of this traffic. Were the belligerent powers of Europe henceforth to condemn their respective prisoners to slavery in their colonies, they would at least have this pretext, that those they enslaved were their enemies. But what pretence had we for enslaving the harmless Africans, who are so far from being our enemies, that they did not even know of our existence till they felt our tyranny? On the ground of humanity, every topic of argument has been exhausted; there is not a feeling of the human heart but pleads for the abolition of this barbarous traffic. On the point of expediency, if that is to supersede humanity, and every Christian virtue, it may, for aught he knew, be a fact in physic, that human blood is the best manure for land; and let the slave-dealer, before he starts at the idea of making this use of it answer this question— which is the more merciful procedure, to bleed a man to death at once, or to flog and sweat him to death through every stage of lingering disease? But on this ground of expediency, including the safety of continuing this trade, he begged again to refer to the Report from which he had already quoted, which contains a passage not less satisfactory than the mode it adopts of disproving the injustice of the traffic. The passage is this: "it is admitted that the disproportion between the slaves and the inhabitants of a free condition, is one great danger arising from the state of the West India population." Now, sir, if any thing can be more gratifying than this candid admission, it is the answer to it, which immediately follows, namely, "but we can- 664 not allow that this disparity is likely to be augmented by a continuance of the trade with Africa, or by a positive increase in the number of labourers from importation. The great source of the inequality is the number of estates belonging to proprietors resident in G. Britain—a few, long settled there, enjoying the fortunes left them by their ancestors in better times—some for the education of their families, or from the state of their health. One agent often represents many absentees, and is desired to carry on the cultivation of their plantations with the smallest number of white people possible, from motives of economy."—Thus, the present existing disproportion in numbers between the slaves and the freemen is admitted to be a great danger; but it is contended in answer, that a positive increase in the number of labourers (a term which they happen always to prefer to the term slaves) will not increase that disproportion. Now, how a disparity, which is caused by the importation of slaves, can fail to be increased by a further importation of slaves, he had no faculties to discover. Here again, he rejoiced to observe that no better argument can be urged in disproof of the danger admitted to exist from the present disproportion. Thus, it seems to be like a fatality attendant on this traffic, that every argument offered in defence of it is built on the ground of interest—of pecuniary profit—opposed to every higher consideration—to every motive that has reference to justice, morality, or religion—or to that great principle which comprehends and unites in itself the opinion of them all. Place before the most determined advocate of this trade the image of himself in the garb and harness of a slave; dragged, and severed forever from each tie that attached him to existence, without one ray of hope to cheer him, without one point of consolation on which to rest; place before him this picture, and you will extort from him the reluctant confession that he would not endure for an hour the misery to which, he condemns his fellow-man for life!—But even on this narrow ground, this degrading principle of interest, the advocates of this traffic have been refuted. And, in addition to the arguments so forcibly urged on this point, he would ask, how it is that in the East Indies, where we also cultivate the sugar cane, and but for the favour shown to this trade, which is supported by making slaves of a whole quarter of the 665

world, we could supply G. Britain and Ireland with sugar at a much cheaper rate—how is it that in those vast regions we have the produce of the industry of 40 millions of people, of the great mass of the population without employing a single slave? Why certainly it is, because they are cherished and protected in the enjoyment of their rational rights. Whatever cause the great and powerful may have to complain; however we may have "bent the strong in arm, we have at least spared the feeble hand;" and let him ask them, if those who now cultivate the soil in our colonies were admitted to the blessing of freedom; if we were to give them rights, and to protect them in the enjoyment of those rights, why should not the same consequence result, and every advantage be derived from the free exercise of their industry, that we now extort from them by the whip and the chain? Is the labour of a freeman found less efficacious than that of a slave? Or at least would the further importation of slaves into our colonies be necessary, if instead of working out and exhausting in a few years those already there, we permitted them to live out the date which Providence assigned them: in a word, if by freedom and kindness we gave them a motive to wish for prolonged existence, and to multiply their species?—But here he must not forget to acknowledge that the Report he alluded to by no means admits these premises, but on the contrary, contends that the situation of a slave in the West Indies is more fortunate than that of a Hindoo labourer in Bengal. And in support of this position, the writer, giving a statement of the earnings or wages of the Hindoo, the errors of which it were immaterial to point out, proceeds to describe the poor Hindoo's meal of rice and salt, "his miserable hovel, formed of materials which a wealthier class would refuse for fuel; a coarse mat his bed; the ground both his chair and table; unglazed earthen pots his furniture; a leaf his plate; his clothing (what the writer terms) a carf on the shoulder, and another on the waist, with sandals on the feet; a rugged home-made blanket, to protect him from the wet or cold, the only variation known to the peasant." After finishing this statement, the report triumphantly exclaims, such is the situation of 20 millions of free subjects of the British empire in India, whilst its legislature is Hunting for imaginary misery in the West 666 India colonies, where the lot of the labourer is a thousand times more fortunate The Report then proceeds to demonstrate that the herrings and salt fish allowed the slave cost more than the whole sustenance of the Bengal peasant; and this is the sole proof adduced of the thousand times more fortunate lot of the slave! The other luxuries he enjoys, in addition to his herrings and salt fish, are not enumerated Of his advantages over the Hindoo in respect to habitation, furniture, and clothing, we are also left to conjecture; In truth, the writer of this report, in this part of it at least, has proved himself to be but little acquainted with the subject on which he treats; for had he been at all conversant with the nature and character of the Hindoo and the Hindoo laws and system, he would have known that his simple and abstemious diet (which however is more varied than this statement admits) is both adapted to his nature, and enjoined him by his religion; that his habitation and cloathing are in fact suited to the climate; that his means, limited as they are, are not more limited than his desires. Some indeed of the stated points of hardship in the lot of the Hindoo peasant are common also to the Hindoo prince; and much of what the report describes as hardship and oppression in the lot of the Hindoo peasant is to him content and comfort. But it must have struck the house, that in this comparison of the lot of the Hindoo peasant with that of the, African slave, there is one not immaterial omission. Here he alluded to a difference in their respective lots, which it required a better pencil than his to delineate; he alluded to mental feeling. Here the humble Hindoo peasant, in his miserable hovel, has sources of pride and happiness, tat which not only the slave, but even his master, is a stranger: he is, it is true, a peasant, and his labour and industry are devoted to an European lord; but in another view he is, in his own sincere belief, more than his lord's superior, for he conceives of him as of the very lowest casino earthly consideration would prevail on him to eat from the same plate; and he would not suffer his son to marry the daughter of his master, even if she could bring him the West Indies for her portion. The Hindoo peasant drinks of his native wells, and however scanty his meal, he receives it from the hands of the person who is most dear to him; his labours are for her 667 and their mutual offspring; and the thought of returning to them cheers him in his course, and lightens every toil; his daily task performed, he reposes with his family; no retrospect to former days disturbs his slumbers, nor dreams that cause him to awake to agony, at the dawn of day; no cries of despair appal him; no barbarous

sounds of cracking whips remind him, that with the form, and image, and feelings of a man, his destiny is worse than that of the beast of the field. And what, in his destiny, is to be set off against these humble comforts, he should leave to be stated by the advocates of this traffic, and return for a moment to what is more immediately connected with the question before the house, just to notice, that it has been Urged as an argument in favour of continuing this traffic, and if we relinquish it, other nations will take it up; but can it be contended, that if we prohibit the importation of slaves in our colonies, there would be the same demand for slaves there now is? Certainly not. Admitting, however, in the fullest latitude, that those whom we might abstain from enslaving, would be enslaved by others; was it no argument, or only one fit to, be remarked in that house, that we should be exonerated from the guilt? He was aware that he had presumed too long upon the patience of the house; but he could not sit down till he had congratulated the house and the country on the prospect there now seemed of a Removal of the stigma inseparable from the toleration of this trade. And he both congratulated and envied the hon. gent. to whose persevering benevolence we were indebted for that prospect. Even if the result of this discussion should be unfavourable, his cause of regret will be the least. The blessing of thousands who have perished by this traffic since the commencement of his labours, have already been his recompence; and in the event of an unfavourable issue to this discussion, the blessings of thousands yet to perish will be added to the score not to mention the immortal meed decreed to him, and the flames which ascended to his praise and honour in one of our commercial towns. With respect to the asperity and sarcasms lavished by some of the advocates of this trade on those who wish its abolition if it should be his lot to share them, he should not repine: nor would he follow the example of those gentlemen. On the contrary, he would acknowledge, that 668 some persons whom he honoured and respected, were among those who apprehended consequences from the abolition of the slave trade that he was persuaded there was no just ground to apprehend; and he believed that the present state of the French West India colonies must stagger them in this opinion. One allegation respecting their trade he was sure they do not believe, nor could he until positive proof be adduced of it. For were it true, that in order to procure slaves, we are ourselves the instigators of those wars which afford the miserable pretence for making them so, he should consider the system altogether as the consummation of human guilt. Upon the ground which he had endeavoured to state, and which had been much better stated by others, he should cordially vote for the motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

said, he did not rise with any intention of entering into the debate, but merely in explanation of a circumstance which had been stated positively, and which he believed had been very much misunderstood. Several of the hon. gentlemen who had spoken, had talked of a contract which govt. had made for purchasing 5 or 6000 slaves in Africa. He had heard of no such contract; and did not believe there could be such a one existing. Such a proposition was made to govt. and the suggestion came from the West Indies; but it was immediately rejected. He believed the govt. had never conceived the idea of buying slaves for their use, as had been represented: their idea was very different, it was to purchase the redemption of those persons from a state of slavery whom govt. wished to employ as soldiers. This was an idea totally different from that of becoming purchasers of slaves, and would not be inconsistent with any opinion that might be given on the general question now before the house for the consideration of its members.

§ General Gascoyne

stated, that a proposition had been made from govt. to a merchant at Liverpool for the purchase of a number of the blacks alluded to, and he could tell the right hon. gent, that whoever accepted the contract, the blacks would be purchased on the coast of Africa. Of course his original statement on this subject was not incorrect,

§ Mr. Wilberforce

proceeded to reply, and observed, he never had any idea of treating this traffic otherwise than as a traffic in consistent with justice and humanity; nor 669 was it at the present less so in his estimation than at former periods; although there had been many regulations in the trade, and gentlemen who had uniformly opposed him in his endeavours to abolish the trade on the ground of inexpediency, agreed with him as to its being a trade which was inconsistent with justice and humanity, no difference existed between him and the greater number of his opponents but whether the abolition should be gradual or immediate; and, therefore, he apprehended there were but few, indeed, who would not agree that the trade was unjust and inhuman? and yet many gentlemen were too much in the course of pursuing a system, mentioned very properly by an hon. gent, on the other side of the house (Mr. Fox) that of using the argument of a gradual abolition, when the question of abolition came on in any shape, as a sort of argument in store to be used against any abolition whenever it was proposed; and accompanying it with a common-place observation, that the time was not fit for the Agitation of the question. Now, if these gentlemen were sincere in their declaration, that the slave trade was contrary to justice and humanity, and that a gradual abolition of it was practicable, he hoped some of them would do what none of them had yet offered, in the event of this bill being lost, which was to propose some plan of their own, for such an abolition as they thought practicable, and suitable to the present time; and he assured them they should have his assistance in any measure of that nature, if it should appear to him to be in any degree reasonable; this he hoped some of these gentlemen would do, if they were in earnest in their professions on the slave trade. He took notice of this observation* of an hon. hart, (sir Wm. Polteney) who had considered this subject as a theory, and he said, that the objection to the bill as a theory was an objection which might as well have been, and indeed Had been applied to all the regulations which took place in the trade, such as those in the middle passage, and other provisions of the like nature. He remembered the house was told when these regulations were before it, they would be the means of raining the trade; it might as well be proposed to abolish it at once, for all the horrors of the abolition would come upon them directly if these regulations were adopted; the regulations were adopted however, and in a few months afterwards the planters acknowledged the 670 plan of them highly beneficial to their, interests; and now they used the adoption of that plan as an argument against the abolition; and the very same arguments they used against the regulations which they now profess to admire, they now use against the abolition; all this, change in the sentiments of the planters, had taken place within 2 years; for these reasons he trusted the hon. baronet, who, by the way, had not always been so great an enemy to theory on every occasion, as he had professed himself to be to-night, would not persist in his opposition to this measure on that account, and he thought it extraordinary that men of such acute understanding as the hon. baronet possessed, should fall into such an error as this; the hon. baronet, in his dislike to theory, had overlooked the main argument on which this measure was supported. He did not consider chat the population of the islands could be kept up by natural means, without any fresh importation, which had been proved to the house in detail by figures long ago, by accounts from the islands themselves. Whether tire, hon. baronet had paid any particular attention, or not, to the matter, most indisputably the fact was so; that after all the resolutions should have been adopted which had been proposed, the population of negroes in the islands would keep up so as to supersede the necessity of any fresh importation, was a matter not now disputed. It had been clearly established in America that the population of this description doubled in 20 years. The same effect under the same regulations, would take place in the West Indies. He would not say what the consequences would be of adopting the plan he now proposed to the house, bat if any one would read the report of the Jamaica assembly, which he had read with attention, he thought such a person would not readily say this plan would make the condition of that island worse than it was at present, with respect to its negroes; a situation into which they had brought themselves, for want of pursuing a plan similar to that which was intended to be tried under this bill, and which situation might be said to be that of being nearly in the jaws of destruction; a great deal of this evil arose from the practice of those who were called the book-keepers, to whom this trade of importation was a profitable concern, and he believed to them only, but the general sys- 671 tem of it was as injurious to the true policy of the islands as the trade itself of importation from Africa was. repugnant to justice

and humanity. It had been so clearly established to be impolitic to continue the system in Jamaica, that a gentleman of great discernment had advised them in that island to drop it, or suspend it for a while, as the only means of getting rid of a great deal of embarrassment, as had been done with effect in North America; indeed, it was nothing more than proving the truth of the old proverb, "that honesty is the best policy;" and he was persuaded, that however some men might flourish for a while, they would, by neglecting that maxim, find themselves in the end overtaken by absolute poverty. He recommended this Jamaica report to the house, by which they would see the foundation on which he made these observations. In the course of 20 years the number of executions for debt ascended to 80,000, and amounted to 22½ millions sterling. He left gentlemen to consider how far this might with propriety be called in a national sense a ruinous concern, and that therefore a general policy was against it, and to reflect on the propriety of making these public sacrifices to the private interests of these few book-keepers and individuals who benefit by the system. It was said, there was nothing new to be advanced upon this subject; that he denied. There was much that was new to be said, but it was not necessary for him to say it at present; but he hoped the house, in some future stage of this business, would be perfectly acquainted with all that was to be found in the papers now before it, and that would give them a proper idea of the slave trade, as it related to the condition of the bulk of the West India negroes. He had never considered it on that ground, because he did not think the case rested on that point, and he had abstained from the discussion of that topic, because he knew it was likely to produce irritation, and make parties in the house acrimonious against each other; but what he said was this, that the general state of the negroes in the West Indies would never be materially improved, if the African importation was permitted to continue; they would always be in a state of degradation, below that which ought to be the lot of the human species; they were like cattle, under the whip, in which improvement was impossible, nothing being applied to them but brutal 672 force, they could never possess any but brutal manners, so they must always, under such a system, remain, degraded in the estimation of others, and their own, receiving no moral instruction or improvement from the society in which they lived, or rather from which they were excluded; this prevented them from endeavouring to improve themselves, or their condition. He had endeavoured on various former occasions to impress upon the house the advantages likely to result from changing this system, by shewing that the abolition of the slave trade from the coast of Africa would have many very beneficial effects. It would make it the obvious interest of the master that the slave should be kept with as much care as possible, because his place could not be supplied; that after this, means would of course be adopted to take care of the health of every negro, and also of his moral improvement; encouragement would be given to marriage, and other legitimate objects would be pursued, by which they would become populous, industrious, intelligent, moral, and happy; by which we should have a powerful, though laborious and obedient peasantry; instead of a degraded race of beings, actuated only by a brutal impulse; but the house might believe him, they were capable of much improvement; it was dangerous to keep them in this state long; they were capable of reflecting on their physical powers; they might be brought to feel how they might be able to destroy those who made or kept them captive. They might become possessed of that knowledge. There was reason to apprehend, that they would form plans, and devise means for carrying them into execution. They could see a distant object with clearness and pursue the means of arriving at it with vigour, and at the same time with patience. He would have gentlemen, who wished to continue this trade, reflect upon these matters, and take care they did not mistake the matter; for these negroes may reflect on their own situation long enough before they have in their own hands the remedy for their slavery; and if they took it by force, it would be done in a manner very different from that in which those who were their present masters could wish. And here he did not wish to avoid that part of the subject on, which the opponents of the abolition dwelt so much; he meant the eventual emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies. He had never concealed that his hope was 673 that such might be the ultimate effect of the abolition of the African importations but that was a period, the distance of which he had never attempted to calculate, although his opponents had charged him with having it immediately in view. Had that been his object, or even his hope, he should deserve the word humane to be added to his views; but a

shorter one, and that was the word mad, ought to be applied to his object; but although he felt that the immediate emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies could not be expected, for that before they could be fit to receive freedom it would be madness to attempt to give it to them, yet he owned he looked forwards, and so he hoped did many others, to the time when the negroes in the West Indies should have the full enjoyment of a free, moral, industrious, and happy peasantry. Nothing was to be expected from the colonial government: and in the open confession the assembly had made, it had dealt fairly with the house. As far as regarded that institution, no co-operation was to be expected, but this disgraceful traffic was to proceed as long as the patience of parliament, and he would add, the mysterious ways of Providence, would permit its continuance. Let, then, said the hon. gent. the house pause, and contemplate its present duties; the opportunity now offered may never return, and if the present moment be neglected, events may occur which will render the whole of the West India islands one general scene of devastation and horror. The storm is fast gathering; every instant it becomes blacker and blacker. Even now I know not whether it be not too late to avert the impending evil, but of this I am quite sure—that we have no time to lose.

Earl Temple

said, he was not going to delay the discussion for a moment, but there was a point which he could wish to have clearly explained; he came to the house under a conviction that government had entered into a contract with certain West India merchants, for a number of slaves to be purchased at a stated price, and to be furnished at a certain time; the number 5000, and the time, December. His right hon. relation said that no contract had been entered into for soldiers to that amount. But since he had heard that explanation, he had made enquiry, and he understood the matter to be thus, (if not true, his right hon. relation would inform [674](#) him) that government had stated to West India merchants, that if they produced, by a certain time, 5000 black men, 2000 of whom were actually contracted for, government would pay from 50l to 60l. a man for them. He wished to know if that was an agreement which government had entered into with the West India merchants, for it was said they were to be taken up as soldiers in a black corps, not produced as slaves; and that in virtue of that agreement, a merchant at Liverpool was now fitting out a ship for the purpose of fulfilling that agreement.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

said he knew nothing of the transaction to which the noble lord alluded—The question being called for, the house divided upon the amendment of General Gascoyne, when there appeared

For the amendment 77

Against it 70

Majority against the Bill 7

SIERRA LEONE (CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE)

HC Deb 05 May 1960 vol 622 cc1265-9 [1265](#)

[§ *The Secretary of State for the Colonies \(Mr. Iain Macleod\)*](#)

With permission, I wish to make a statement on the Sierra Leone Constitutional Conference.

Constitutional talks were held with an all-party delegation from Sierra Leone and ended yesterday.

On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, I agreed that Sierra Leone would become independent on 27th April, 1961.

Before independence, certain interim changes will be introduced. Most of these will be made within the next few weeks. Among the most important of them are that the Governor will hand over the Presidency of the Executive Council to the Premier, who will become Prime Minister.

Executive Public and Judicial Commissions will be set up and Ministers will be associated with the handling of defence, police and external affairs. Among other matters, the Conference agreed to the inclusion of fundamental human rights in the Constitution on independence and to the procedure for amending the Constitution and entrenching the basic constitutional provisions.

While the Conference was on we held talks about defence and finance. It was agreed that the two Governments will negotiate an agreement for mutual defence co-operation to be signed after independence.

On finance, Her Majesty's Government recognised that the initial burdens of independence including defence and compensation for overseas officers would present some difficulty at a time when normal colonial-type assistance would cease. Her Majesty's Government therefore offered assistance totalling £7½ million, of which £3½ million will be Commonwealth assistance loans and the remainder grants and technical assistance. The compensation scheme will be designed to encourage officers to stay.

[1266](#) I am happy to say that the Conference was marked by great cordiality and friendship. At the end of our discussions the Conference reaffirmed the long tradition of friendship between Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom and the representatives of both made it clear that it was their intention that their co-operation and friendship should continue.

The Report of the Conference will be published as a White Paper as soon as possible.

[§ Mr. Gaitskell](#)

May I say, on behalf of the Opposition, how warmly we welcome the statement of the Colonial Secretary, in particular the agreement on the reference to fundamental human rights in the Constitution, on independence, and also the wise decision to defer negotiations on a defence agreement until after independence? May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there are any outstanding points which remain, or can we now take it that the Conference has concluded and that he does not foresee any further difficulties before independence?

[§ Mr. Macleod](#)

It is always dangerous to say that one does not foresee any further difficulties, but I can see none on the horizon at present. On the question of defence, we agreed in the ordinary way, on the heads of agreement, to leave the fuller document to be drawn up and ratified on independence.

[§ Mr. Tilney](#)

While welcoming the fact that our old and very loyal friend Sierra Leone is to obtain independence next year, will my right hon. Friend say whether, in considering the defence parts of the agreement, the importance of Freetown will be considered?

[§ Mr. Macleod](#)

Yes, Sir. Both sides were very conscious of the importance of Freetown, and that point has been covered.

[§ Mr. Wade](#)

While welcoming the decision to grant independence to Sierra Leone, and, in particular, the atmosphere of mutual good will which was shown, may I ask whether, at the Conference, there was any discussion of any possible need for technical and administrative officers after the granting of

independence, and whether proposals were put forward for helping to provide such officers apart from financial assistance?

1267

§ Mr. Macleod

We spent a great deal of time safeguarding the position of the public servants, which is a matter to which I attach great importance, and I think an admirable public officers' agreement has been drawn up. The details of that will be published in the White Paper which the House will have in about eight or nine days' time. On the question of technical and other assistance, it was agreed that we would do what we could in that way to try to help the country.

§ Mr. N. Pannell

While congratulating my right hon. Friend and the Sierra Leone delegates on the smoothness and cordiality of this Conference, may I ask why the results of the discussions were first issued to the Press instead of to this House?

§ Mr. Macleod

That was because the conclusions of the Conference—and in all conferences in which I have taken part this has been normal—were announced to the Conference yesterday afternoon. They were, unfortunately, announced at 3.30 and, therefore, it was too late for me to be able to make a statement that day. I have taken the earliest opportunity of making a statement to the House.

§ Mr. Hale

Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind, while accepting my humble congratulations, in particular in relation to the declaration of human rights in the Constitution of the new Sierra Leone, that, so long as Her Majesty's Government's ratification of the European Declaration of Human Rights in relation to African territories is limited to complaints made by a Government and not by an individual, or by a sufferer, there is no effective way of implementing this constitutional declaration other than by an agreement subject to the jurisdiction of the European Court on Human Rights, or the setting up of a Commonwealth court of human rights, which would be the biggest single contribution which could now be made to the future welfare of Africa?

§ Mr. Macleod

I think that that is a much wider question. Even so, it does not detract in my view from the great importance of the fundamental principles of human rights which are being written into this Constitution.

1268

§ Sir G. Nicholson

May I ask the Colonial Secretary two questions? First, in regard to expatriate officers, may we take it that the scheme will be rather more simplified than in the case of Nigeria, where it was really complicated and involved? Is that the kind of agreement which may be applied to other territories in these matters? Secondly, am I right in assuming that colonial development and welfare aid will now cease and that there will be nothing of an ad hoc nature put in its place?

§ Mr. Macleod

We learn by experience. The Nigerian scheme was by no means a success for a variety of reasons. The Sierra Leone scheme is based on a different approach. It has been worked out in such a way as to

try to make sure that as many people as possible stay on, and there is an instalment element which I think will help towards it. My hon. Friend will see that in the White Paper which is to be issued.

On the other point, it is normal that colonial-type assistance ceases when a country becomes independent and aid is then given on a Government-to-Government basis. The main channel of aid is usually Commonwealth assistance loans.

§ Mr. J. Griffiths

Is this not another example showing that the Government ought seriously to consider the decision already made that the Colonial Development Corporation shall be prohibited from working in these countries once they become independent? They all need technical assistance and "know-how" and they have built up experience which ought to be made available to them. We all send our good wishes to Sierra Leone and to the responsible Ministers, to whom we wish good luck. Will not the right hon. Gentleman not reconsider the whole question of the rôle of C.D.C., which we think should be continued in countries when they become independent?

§ Mr. Macleod

This is a difficult question, because many countries, understandably, are reluctant to go on being associated with a form of assistance which is particularly geared to the Colonies. It is not quite right to say that the Corporation is prohibited from doing anything in the territory. Schemes which have been started can be completed. Apart from that, it is possible for them to help with managerial and [1269](#) technical "know-how", which is a great asset. I think that after independence probably the best way of arranging these matters is on a Government-to-Government basis. That is why we had these talks.

Taking into account the development needs of Sierra Leone over the next two years, I believe that what we have done is adequate, but the Premier, Sir Milton Margai, said yesterday, "If we get into difficulties, we know who our friends are and where they are". We should be very glad to consult them again.

§ Mr. Marquand

Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that it is particularly satisfying that the announcement of the accession of a new self-governing territory in Africa to the Commonwealth has been made this week? May I be permitted to add the personal congratulations of all who have met and talked to him to Sir Milton Margai on his elevation to the post of Prime Minister?

§ Mr. Macleod

It was largely due to Sir Milton's delightful personality and, incidentally, to the hold that he had upon the entire delegation from Sierra Leone, that the Conference went so well. He played a splendid part.

SIERRA LEONE INDEPENDENCE BILL

HC Deb 22 March 1961 vol 637 cc391-440 [391](#)

§ Order for Second Reading read.

§ 3.40 p.m.

§ *The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod)*

I beg to move, That the Bill be now read a Second time.

I have it in command from Her Majesty the Queen to acquaint the House that Her Majesty, having been informed of the purport of the Bill, has consented to place Her prerogative and interest, so far as they are affected by the Bill, at the disposal of Parliament for the purposes of the Bill.

It is a great pleasure for me to have the privilege this afternoon of moving the Second Reading of a Bill that will bring independence to one of the territories for which we have for a very long time been responsible, indeed, our oldest Colony in West Africa, for we have been in Sierra Leone since 1787. No doubt hon. Members have studied the Report of the Constitutional Conference and will remember that I told the Conference that it was of the greatest importance that the country, before it became independent, should have shown clearly that she had the capacity to cope successfully with the problems of full self-government". For this reason, I was satisfied that it would be wise to allow a period of a year to elapse after the Conference". The Conference agreed to that and 27th April, 1961, was put forward as the date for the attainment of full independence by Sierra Leone.

During the interval since the London Conference the interim changes in the Constitution then agreed have been brought into effect. So the Ministers have had considerable experience of the problems that they will have to face for themselves once their country becomes independent. Last November, the House of Representatives in Sierra Leone passed a Resolution asking us in the United Kingdom to introduce the necessary legislation to enable Sierra Leone to become fully independent from the date I have mentioned. They asked us, also, to support, with other members of the Commonwealth, Sierra Leone's desire to be admitted to the Commonwealth when she had obtained independence. As the House will know, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, during their recent meeting in London, expressed their willingness so to welcome it.

I wish to refer to two matters which have been mentioned to me by hon. Members on both sides of this House. The first is the suggestion that the Sierra Leone Constitution should have been available to the House before the Bill was taken. The second was that the Bill is being taken at somewhat short notice. Although the second matter is valid, and I shall refer to it, the first point is based on misapprehension, because drafts of constitutional Orders in Council are not published before they are submitted to Her Majesty. The procedure we are following now is exactly the same as the one we followed for Nigeria, although, for Nigeria, the drafting of the Constitution was very much more complicated.

This does not mean that the substance of the Constitution is in any way unknown, because the substance of the Constitution in so far as it is new and does not carry forward the existing Constitution is laid down in the White Paper to which I have referred and the Order in Council does no more than clothe that in legal form. It will be published early in April. I think that it was a valid point made at Question Time by the right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand) that publicity should be given to these matters in Sierra Leone. A draft Order in Council, comprehensive more to lawyers perhaps than ordinary people, is not a very suitable medium for that and the Governor is arranging to publish locally descriptive matter relating to the new sections, in particular, of the Constitution and to such matters as citizenship and fundamental rights.

[§ Mr. A. Fenner Brockway \(Eton and Slough\)](#)

Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the members of the Legislative Council in Sierra Leone have had copies of the Constitution?

[§ Mr. Macleod](#)

I think that they have. I should like to check that particular point. There are two legal advisers and draftsmen from my Department in Sierra Leone at the moment. I will check on that point and see whether I can answer it before the end of the debate.

The second point, that we are taking the Bill at short notice, is true. I apologise to the House for that, but it is due to a combination of circumstances which could scarcely be avoided. It was not possible to draft the Bill in final form for presentation to Parliament until we knew for certain whether Sierra Leone would be within the Commonwealth, although one always hoped, and, indeed, assumed, that that would be so. We therefore had to wait for the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference before I could publish this Bill.

Moreover, the first constitutional matter which came before that Conference, the question of South Africa, which we are to debate later today, took much longer to discuss than we had expected. In consequence, the Sierra Leone decision was correspondingly delayed. That was why it was not possible to give any longer notice of the Bill than has been given. It was laid before the House on the same day as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers took their decision and we were able to keep to the timetable for independence on the 27th of next month.

The population and area of Sierra Leone will make it one of the smaller members of the Commonwealth, but that in itself is no bar to a country holding its independence with dignity and ability and playing a substantial part on the stage of the world. Nor is it a particularly rich country, although, as the Report I have quoted shows, we have been able to make substantial provision for financial assistance in the early stages. As those hon. Members who have been there will know, its economy is mainly agricultural, but it has, in addition, rich deposits of diamonds and iron ore, and bauxite has recently been discovered in substantial quantities. I think that there is there a sufficient economic basis for an independent future. Certainly, Sierra Leone is much better off than many other countries which have recently come to their independence.

The Colonial Development Corporation and the C.D.F.C. are assisting in a major work of construction of a dam [394](#) to provide for the water supply of Freetown and that work will, of course, go on. In addition, we have promised to give Sierra Leone technical assistance in the same way as we promised it to Nigeria. The House will recall the announcement of H.M.O.C.S. That has been offered to Sierra Leone and I hope that it will prove the means of assisting the country to obtain the services of overseas staff which it needs. I do not quote any of these things which I have touched on briefly to draw attention to our own generosity or to detract in any way from the splendid efforts Sierra Leone herself is making, but simply to show that our friendship does not consist only of expressions of good will.

The Constitution is not set out in the Bill. This Bill confers independence and for the future removes from this House its special obligations in relation to legislation. The Constitution itself will be set out in the Order in Council. In that there will be, in particular—I mention this because there has been some comment recently—provisions in relation to fundamental rights and these will be entrenched in the Constitution. By entrenching them it means that the Constitution cannot just be amended by the Government, the House of Representatives.

Any alteration of an entrenched provision, as set out in paragraph 20 of the White Paper, requires, first, that the amendment would have to be carried by a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives, then there would have to be a General Election and, after that, the amendment would again have to be carried by a two-thirds majority in the new House. So I think that it is clear that these matters, of which fundamental rights are one of the most important, are deeply entrenched in the Constitution itself.

There has also been a considerable campaign in Sierra Leone on the question of holding a General Election before independence. The position is that when the delegates came to London they represented a number of different political parties, but they then agreed to form a united front and, later, a coalition Government, but, of the 26 representatives in London, 25 agreed that there need not be a General Election before independence, the twenty-sixth dissenting from that view.

[395](#) I make it clear that the life of the House of Representatives will expire in 1962 and that there will have to be a General Election then, or before then, in any event. Although it is right to keep to the decision reached at the Conference, I must make it plain that I am assured that the Government firmly intend to hold elections, as provided in the Constitution, after independence.

At the Conference we also agreed that it would be to the mutual benefit of the two countries to enter into an agreement on defence matters, but we thought it equally right to leave that matter over, and not even to negotiate about it, until Sierra Leone became independent, so that we could then negotiate that agreement as two equal partners, as we will be after the 27th day of next month.

I need not make any particular comments about the Bill itself, which is very much in common form. Clause 1 provides for the attainment of independence and contains what I have described as the Statute of Westminster powers. It says explicitly in subsection (2) that any Act of this Parliament passed on or after the appointed day shall not extend to Sierra Leone and the Government in the United Kingdom shall thereafter have no responsibility for the government of Sierra Leone. Following the Nigerian system, that is absolutely clear.

Clause 2 is the citizenship Clause, and provides both for a transitional period and for the period after Sierra Leone has passed her own citizenship law. The whole of the rest of the Bill is entirely common form and the Schedules, with the obvious and necessary changes, are similar to those who have frequently been before the House. We have agreed with Sierra Leone Ministers that in so far as the Bill will be amendable in Sierra Leone, when it becomes an Act, amendments can be made only by the procedures which I have described for amending the entrenched provisions of the Constitution.

This afternoon's short debate is proof again of the coming to completion of the policies in which we have now been engaged for a long time and of which we are increasingly seeing the fruits. I pay warm tribute to all those who have contributed to this progress in Sierra Leone—to the Governor, Sir Maurice [396](#) Dorman, and Her Majesty's Overseas Service, past and present. It is a great tribute to the Governor and to this country that his name has been put forward as the first Governor-General when Sierra Leone becomes a monarchy under the Crown. But whatever individual tributes one wishes to pay, the real tribute is to the people of the country itself, who are now coming forward to independence, and who, I am sure, will shoulder with courage and responsibility the burdens of nationhood.

There is one personal note which I should like to sound. I am sure that we are all delighted that Her Majesty should have invited the Duke of Kent to represent her at the independence celebrations, and if I wish him the same success as his sister achieved in Nigeria I can put it no higher. She had a tremendous time and I am certain that the Duke of Kent will be equally welcome and equally successful in Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone, incidentally, is very much looking forward to Her Majesty's own visit later this year.

The closing words of the Conference Report read as follows: The Conference reaffirmed the long tradition of friendship between Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom, and the representatives of both made it clear that it was the intention that their co-operation and friendship should continue. It is in that spirit that I commend the Bill to the House and in that spirit that we shall look forward to the future of our relationship with an independent Sierra Leone.

§ 3.55 p.m.

§ [Mr. H. A. Marquand \(Middlesbrough, East\)](#)

On behalf of my right hon. and hon. Friends, I warmly welcome the Bill. We are delighted that the third former British territory in West Africa is to become independent. We are all the more delighted that the recent Prime Ministers' Conference should have welcomed Sierra Leone as a full member of

the Commonwealth. She has decided of her own free will to become a monarchy and we in the United Kingdom, naturally, cannot help but be pleased about that. I join with the Colonial Secretary in all that he said in wishing the Duke of Kent a very pleasant and enjoyable time when he visits Sierra Leone. I am sure that he will have a right royal welcome.

[397](#) The right hon. Gentleman referred to questions which we had put from this side of the House about the delay in presenting the Bill. We were surprised not to have had it before, but I fully accept the right hon. Gentleman's explanation of that delay. I agree that the Bill is in common form and, therefore, does not require detailed consideration after we have discussed it this afternoon.

I was aware that there were difficulties about publishing an Order in Council before it was made, but, none the less, I was anxious to draw attention by the questions I put, to the desirability of making known to the people of Sierra Leone exactly what was in their Constitution.

In December, I had the honour to lead a very small delegation to Sierra Leone I was joined by the hon. and gallant Member for Nottingham, Central (Lieut.-Colonel Cordeaux) and the hon. Member for Bristol, North-West (Mr. McLaren). I hasten to add, lest the House be anxious about it, that I had no difficulty about disciplining my followers on that occasion. They were very well behaved. All of us on that delegation have vivid memories of the beauty of the country and the variety of its scenery and the friendliness of its people.

Wherever we went we were received most cordially, by Sir Milton Margai and his Ministers, by the trade union leaders, by members of co-operative societies, by ordinary people, by important people and by less important people all over Sierra Leone. We were much impressed by the closeness of the connection which the people of Sierra Leone feel with this country, not merely in Freetown, which has been more closely associated with Great Britain over many years than has the Protectorate, but in the Protectorate, also.

With that, however, there was undeniably some feeling of apprehension and as we went around some people asked, "Why are you leaving us?". That was how they expressed it to us. It seemed as though many persons in a variety of occupations and in different places had a feeling of uneasiness. That did not exist among the Ministers, of course. It did not exist among the chiefs. Those people are powerful and are self-[398](#) confident in their new mission. I do not for a moment suggest that they are not, but they are powerful and will be more powerful and they may have good reason not to feel any misgiving.

Nevertheless, we felt that there was a feeling of doubt, possibly because it was only three years between the establishment of a Ministerial system and the giving of full independence. Perhaps the people did not expect it to come quite so soon. Readers' correspondence in the newspapers showed that there was, if not misapprehension, at any rate a good deal of misunderstanding about what independence involved.

Some of this arises because the people have a trust in many of those who have been in charge of their affairs while the Protectorate remained a Protectorate and Freetown remained a Colony. I hope that one good result will be that the feeling of doubt as to whether they are fully ready for independence will translate itself into strong requests to many experienced and skilled administrators and experts to stay on. I hope that the results of the negotiations which we provided for in a recent Measure will prove to be successful. It is clear that large numbers of those people are well liked and trusted. I hope that they will feel that they can stay, when they are asked to do so, to help this small country in its further passage towards being a strong and viable economy.

It is well known that the history of the country has not always been peaceful. In the past, there has been strife between the Protectorate and Freetown. There has been rivalry between various tribes, particularly between the Mende and the Temene. There may be fear in the minds of some people that

this will emerge again. I suppose that the leaders of the All Peoples' Congress, to whose correspondence with some of us the right hon. Gentleman referred, had these various stresses and strains in mind when they put forward their demand for elections before independence.

We took pains to see the representatives of the All Peoples' Congress. We were the guests of the Government, and we had many and frequent contacts with the Prime Minister, with Ministers and other persons in authority, including [399](#) many chieftains. We thought it right and proper that, since representations were being made to us, we should see Mr. Wallace Johnson, who is, in any case, a member of the Legislature, Mr. Stevens and others concerned in the All Peoples' Congress. We gave as fair a hearing as we could to what they had to say, but none of us was convinced of the full case that they put forward.

After all, the Conference in London agreed that it was unnecessary to have elections before independence, and as the right hon. Gentleman said, there was a very large representation at the Conference of people who had been elected by the people, although there were some others. It was decided at the Conference in London that there should be universal suffrage at the next election. It will inevitably take time to register the women voters who will become the electorate.

As far as we could see, there is no real issue to be decided at the moment, because everybody is in favour of independence, even though some of the simple people are not quite sure exactly what it will mean. We were not, and could not be, convinced by the statement that it was Sir Milton Margai's intention never to have elections again and to establish a one-party State. Now that Sir Milton has recommended to Her Majesty that Sir Maurice Dorman be the Governor-General, it is perfectly clear that he could never have had any such project in his mind, otherwise he would not have asked such a distinguished former Governor and so devoted an adherent of the parliamentary democratic system which we have in this country to become the Governor-General.

I extend my hearty congratulations to Sir Maurice and offer him every good wish in his future task. He has piloted Sierra Leone very skilfully towards this stage of independence. I am sure that he will give very wise advice in future when he is asked to do so. Moreover, Sierra Leone has a stout guardian of democratic liberties in Mr. Lightfoot Boston, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is an eminent constitutional lawyer and a great believer in the principles of British common law.

Further, as the right hon. Gentleman reminded us, an elaborate Bill of Human [400](#) Rights will be written into the Constitution. It was agreed in detail at the London Conference. I am still convinced that it would have been wise to publicise this more than has been done. People just did not know about it and how thorough, elaborate, detailed and firm it is. Although I was not convinced by the story that there would be no elections after independence, I want to say how much I welcome the statement that the right hon. Gentleman has been authorised to make this afternoon, namely, that Sir Milton Margai has every intention of having elections within the due time.

The human rights section of the proposed new Constitution says this on page 17 of the Report of the Conference: Everyone who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the reasons for his arrest and of any charge against him. Everyone arrested or detained in accordance with"— so and so— shall be brought properly before a judge or other officer authorised by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release pending trial. There are some who have been imprisoned recently. I take it that the statement we heard today clearly means that those who have offended will be brought to trial quickly if that has not already been done. In the rejoicings and celebrations of independence perhaps those who may not have committed any very serious offence may find that they are released.

While we were in Sierra Leone we had a very interesting discussion in which the hon. and gallant Member for Nottingham, Central and I took part with some distinguished representatives of public life

in Sierra Leone, one of them being Mr. Stevens, who has written so many letters to many of us since we returned. The discussion was about the possibilities of maintaining democratic government in emerging African territories. That is a very live issue in Africa these days, because there are examples in Africa, as we all know, of states where the one-party system prevails and where Parliamentary democracy as we know it does not exist.

The general conclusion of the very active debate which we had was that the forms of democracy might differ and [401](#) that, no doubt as the result of traditional variations, the exact constitution might not be the same everywhere in Africa, but we all felt that it was certainly highly desirable and perhaps absolutely necessary to have within a successful democracy a lively opposition.

Mr. Stevens took part in the debate. I am sure that there are legitimate differences of opinion among the people of Sierra Leone about the present Government, their policies, and their attitude to certain institutions of a tribal character. If there are those differences, that provides an opportunity to Mr. Stevens and Mr. Wallace Johnson and other people engaged in opposition to make themselves into an effective Parliamentary Opposition. I hope that they will now devote themselves to organising an opposition, if they wish to do so, on legal and democratic lines and look forward to getting elected to Parliament when the elections take place.

The Secretary of State rightly said at the Constitutional Conference, and repeated today, that Sierra Leone is not a rich country. There has been a recent large increase in its national income because of an increase in the output of minerals. Nevertheless, that total increase in wealth, though large in proportion, is not large in absolute amount, and the known supplies of diamonds and iron ore will not last indefinitely, to put it no higher than that. There are limits to the present known resources.

Bauxite has recently been discovered, but bauxite is being discovered in many places just now, in Africa as well as elsewhere. The main wealth of the country lies in its land and its ability to produce palm oil, and to grow rice, cocoa, cassava, piassava, cola nuts and, later perhaps, bananas. I believe that they are experimenting very successfully with the banana crop.

But the land of Sierra Leone, which is the main source of its wealth, has been injured much in the past by erosion, as I am sure is known by all who have been there. The country is not to be compared in wealth with Nigeria not to speak of Ghana, which is perhaps the richest country in agriculture and forestry in Africa. Development is badly needed, as elsewhere in such countries, to sustain existing levels of wealth and to provide for an increase in population [402](#) as well as to increase the wealth per head. Funds are needed to be put into the hands of a people who, as far as we can judge, are very willing to help themselves.

I found the co-operative movement in Sierra Leone most inspiring. It has expanded rapidly in recent years. It has 400 societies, with 24,000 members and a staff of 135, and it has been remarkably successful in arousing the interest of women which, as all hon. Members who know Africa will appreciate, is a very important factor.

I do not think that one can exaggerate the potential importance of this movement in improving agriculture, in developing a sense of community and in providing a training ground for democracy; for democracy is by no means only a process of electing members of a Legislature: it must be practised in daily life to become deeply rooted in any nation. The same applies to the trade unions. The mineworkers' union, whose leaders we met and many of whose members we met, too, seemed to us to be in good shape. Its secretary, I understand, is at present at Ruskin College, Oxford, following a course of training for his important duties.

This union and other unions need our help, because they, too, are a training ground for democracy. These institutions can be as African in character as in make-up. No doubt they will develop some forms of association or practice which are different from those of trade unions elsewhere, but upon

these foundations of a keen and eager people, if only we can help them with adequate supplies of investment capital, a flourishing nation can be built.

Sir Milton Margai loves the life and culture of the villages, I know; he goes out and serves his people with his own hands. As he told me with pride and evident satisfaction, he often delivers babies in the bush with his own hands, for he is a gynaecologist, trained in Newcastle.

I am sure that he appreciates and values a thriving life on the land, but much needs to be done in a country of only 2½ million if it is to become strong and able to bear comparison with Guinea. This is very important indeed. As hon. Members know very well, the French have done a great deal in [403](#) developing territories which were formerly under their control. As figures published recently by O.E.C.D. show, they have provided a larger amount of aid to their former colonies than we have provided to ours.

Guinea has benefited from this and is now receiving aid from Czechoslovakia. I should like to see Sierra Leone do at least as well, to be as prosperous as Guinea and to show a good example, under a fully democratic system, of what can be done in an African country. But much needs to be done in the provision of health, communications, housing, fisheries, agriculture and education.

The primary school enrolment in the whole of Sierra Leone was 34,000 in 1950. It had risen to 69,000 in 1958, but much of that progress and improvement had taken place in Freetown, which already had substantial educational advantages. The best calculation which I could make—it may be inaccurate and, if so, I should like it corrected—was that the chance of a child in the Protectorate getting primary education is still only one in ten. The Fourah Bay College, the first college of higher education in West Africa, after all these years has little over 300 students, and half of those are from Nigeria. It is a far less impressive undertaking now than Ibadan, not to speak of the enormous college of technology at Kumasi and the University of Ghana itself.

The Secretary of State has promised £7½ million over the next three or four years in loans and grants. He spoke about this today and gave his reasons for thinking that it was adequate. I hope that he will think again and that, at any rate, he will agree to review this proposition at the end of a year or eighteen months to see whether the funds then provided promise reasonably to yield satisfactory fruit and whether they could be increased.

The major feeling with which I came back from Sierra Leone was that the needs for development are urgent, that the capacity of the population is there, that the willingness of the population to co-operate is rapidly increasing, that independence should give all this a fillip and that we ought to do more. I should like to see a special grant right away [404](#) for the eradication of malaria. Her Majesty's Government refused to give a grant to the World Health Organisation for its malaria eradication campaign because they say that other countries are not paying their whack. That may be true. I do not dispute it. But why not give to Sierra Leone, as a birthday gift, a little extra, a special grant? It seems a shame that malaria should still be so widely prevalent in that country when it has been practically eliminated in British Guiana, which is a country not dissimilar in make-up.

I hope that there will be early provision of adequate funds for a co-operative bank. The co-operative societies are spreading and their growing numbers are becoming very enthusiastic, but they will not be able to carry on their productive functions unless they can obtain credit for the farmers who belong to them. They are not now getting sufficient credit. I should like to see consideration of a special grant for a co-operative bank.

I should like to see this country build a number—I do not say too many, because the teachers might not be available—of primary schools, label them independence primary schools, and put on the front of them, on a notice, "A gift to independent Sierra Leone from the independent British people".

In Sierra Leone, they have had a very long connection with this country. I think that they value it highly. Let the message go from the House this afternoon that we, too, value it highly, that we are proud of it, that we want to strengthen it and that we want it to last through the years. We wish them well. Let us help them to get off to a good start.

§ 4.20 p.m.

[§ Mr. Norman Pannell \(Liverpool, Kirkdale\)](#)

In common with the right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand), I regret the delay in bringing this Bill before the House. Although I recognise the arguments advanced by my right hon. Friend, I feel that it derogates from the authority of Parliament that in this matter we must receive the assent of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers before we can, in our own discretion, grant independence to a Colony.

Even more do I regret the haste with which the Bill is being passed through [405](#) all its stages. A Colony, with which we have had a connection for over 200 years, is being, in a sense, disposed of in a few hours. Whereas, yesterday, we discussed for the whole day a matter of transitory and trivial importance—the salary of one man—today we are disposing of the destiny of 2 million people in less than half that time.

I must confess that, contrary to many hon. Members, I do not greet this Bill with any enthusiasm, but I fully recognise the compelling reasons which render it inevitable. I agree that it is far better to yield gracefully now than to submit later after having put up an opposition which might have caused great resentment, and the loss of the good will of the people of Sierra Leone. Like the right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East, I also had the honour of leading an all-party delegation to Sierra Leone. That was in 1958. Like the right hon. Gentleman, I was impressed by the warmth and friendliness of the people. I was, however, perturbed by certain aspects of Sierra Leone's economy and the fact that its revenue was very small.

The income per head of population was not more than £20, and education was only in its early stages. I estimated that only one child in six had any prospect of any kind of education.

[§ Mr. R. W. Sorensen \(Leyton\)](#)

Will the hon. Gentleman say whose fault that was? Could not education have been started years ago?

[§ Mr. Pannell](#)

I hope to make some reference to that later.

I felt, apart from the reasons for it, that was a rather insecure basis for independence. But, since my visit, a great deal has happened in Africa. So many countries have gained their independence, countries with less financial resources and smaller populations than Sierra Leone, and with less ability to control their own affairs. In that comparison Sierra Leone certainly does not suffer, and it would be quite impossible to withhold from the people of Sierra Leone the independence for which their democratically elected legislature has asked. So I join with other hon. Members, not so much welcoming the independence of Sierra Leone, but certainly in wishing her the best of good fortune [406](#) and the greatest possible prosperity in the future.

There has been a very long association indeed between Sierra Leone and this country. Sierra Leone differs from any other country of Africa to which we have granted independence in that it is not a Colony in the pejorative sense. As hon. Members well know, it was a settlement of freed men towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was regarded as a great experiment of what Africans could do. Although perhaps not all the hopes have been entirely fulfilled, much has been achieved in the intervening period; and I think that the economy and progress of Sierra Leone compares very

favourably with that of its neighbour, Liberia, where a similar settlement was made sixty or seventy years later in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Although we may criticise our Government for not having done everything they should, particularly in the matter of education, we must recognise that they have done quite a lot. It was only after the end of the last war—I think that perhaps all parties are responsible for this—that there was a recognition that this country should give some positive aid to the Colonies. Up to that date all we had done was to marshal the resources of the countries. The resources of Sierra Leone were not as great as those of Nigeria, and in relation to its population they were very much less than the resources of the Gold Coast, or Ghana as it is now called. Therefore, the progress made was less significant than in those other two territories.

A great deal that we had done has not been effective. While I was in Sierra Leone I visited several agricultural stations. They were models of efficiency and certainly showed the African how to cultivate his crops in a much better manner than he is doing by the present method of shifting cultivation. But very little use was made of these stations by the African. He was unwilling to abandon his traditional methods of agriculture, and side-by-side with the rich corn on an agricultural station one could see, on the other side of the road, the poor sparse crop of corn produced by the African.

I think that independence could have a beneficial effect in such matters. The British guided and controlled, but they [407](#) exercised no compulsion and I was much influenced by, and interested in, the fact that when Ghana gained her independence the independent Government were able to stamp out swollen shoot in the cocoa crop, which was threatening that industry, in a manner in which the British had never been able to do.

I do not know whether an independent Government enlists greater support from the people or is able to introduce harsher methods, but at any rate results were rapidly achieved. In that respect, we failed. The same thing may occur in Sierra Leone. The methods of agriculture recognised as beneficent may be introduced by an independent Government, perhaps by a measure of compulsion or because of the enthusiasm of the people for an independent Government which they would fail to exhibit towards a colonial régime.

The right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East, spoke of the mineral resources of Sierra Leone. They are impressive, but, of course, they do not have any great effect on the income of the people, because they affect a relatively small number. They may raise the income per head of the population by £5. As the right hon. Gentleman said, the chief basis of the economy is agriculture, and it is only through an advance in that respect that the standard of living of the people will be substantially raised.

I hope, I confidently believe, that when Sierra Leone attains independence, it will respect the arrangements made with private companies for the development of iron ore and diamonds. A point which is worthy of mention is that, of roughly £15 million worth of diamonds produced each year, one-third is produced by the concessionary company which pays millions of pounds in taxation each year into the revenue of Sierra Leone. The other two-thirds is produced by private diggers. When I visited the Colony there were 80,000 of them.

The revenue accruing to the Government from them is insignificant, as it is founded on export duty. The limited company has to pay over a high proportion of its profits by way of taxation. That is something which I think an [408](#) independent Sierra Leone might well look at. It might be able to use these very valuable resources in a less wasteful manner than by way of private diggings, and also bring much more into the coffers of the State than has been put there hitherto.

In conclusion, I should like to say to hon. Members that a very great deal of the smoothness of the operations for independence is due to Premier Sir Milton Margai and to the Governor, Sir Maurice

Dorman. I found Sir Milton Margai a very wise old gentleman who had a remarkable restraining influence on the wild elements in the country; a man who earned our respect and deserved our respect.

Sir Maurice Dorman has undertaken his difficult task of leading the country towards independence with great ability. I can imagine no man who would so enlist not only the confidence of his Ministers, but also their affection. I am very pleased indeed that he will be the first representative of Her Majesty after independence has been attained.

I wish the newly independent State of Sierra Leone a prosperous future in co-operation with this country and with other members of our independent Commonwealth.

§ 4.31 p.m.

[§ Mr. Arthur Creech Jones \(Wakefield\)](#)

We are today debating the loss of a member of the Commonwealth. At the same time, we are welcoming, as a member of the Commonwealth, one of our Colonies which we feel worthy of the status of independence. All of us, I think, would wish the Colony to thrive, to prosper, and that it should not be founded on the racial principles which have brought about the loss from the Commonwealth of the Union of South Africa.

I welcome the Bill because of my own long-standing friendship with many of the people of Sierra Leone. It was nearly twenty years ago that, in company with Walter Elliot and Sir Julian Huxley, I was asked to investigate some of the social, economic and educational problems of the territory. Later, when I had the privilege of presiding over the Colonial Office, I discussed with Sir Hubert Stevenson and the then Governor, Sir Beresford Stooke, the future political development of Sierra Leone. [409](#) Neither I, nor, I am certain, none of those ex-Governors ever thought that within such a short time Sierra Leone, of its own will, would be independent and the settlement or Colony working in reasonable harmony with the Protectorate.

I should like to pay tribute to the initial work done by Sir Beresford Stooke when he was Governor, and to add that I myself am happy that I had something to do with the pioneer work which brought about the early constitution changes.

The granting of the status of independence is something of a bold experiment. We should recognise that this territory, over the years, has had to contend with very special difficulties. Our thoughts go back, as the hon. Member for Liverpool, Kirkdale (Mr. N. Pannell) reminded us, to the settlement established in a somewhat barbaric country—when an effort was made to found a genuine Colony or settlement for free men from the United States. There has, of course, always been some profound division between the Colony and the Protectorate. That circumstance has been a very real obstacle in constitutional development.

The Protectorate itself was extremely backward, and was, for a very long period of years, mostly neglected. Its resources were poor, which made it difficult to build up any genuine social and economic life, and, in the main, it was regarded by interests in this country as a territory to be exploited for its iron ore, its diamonds, and possibly for a few agricultural crops.

One can quite understand that today there is a degree of uneasiness as to the wisdom of this Bill, an uneasiness which arises from the doubts which exist as to the alleged political immaturity of the people and their limited political experience. Also because of the somewhat limited basis for their economic life. Yet the people are demanding, with the Colony now reconciled to the Protectorate, and of their own will, independent status.

I should like, as did the hon. Member for Kirkdale, to pay tribute to Sir Milton Margai. I had the privilege of meeting Sir Milton nearly twenty years ago in a very obscure corner of Sierra Leone. I

was introduced to him, curiously enough, [410](#) by Mr. Wallace Johnson, who, at this moment, is going through the courts, as he was then. Sir Milton was doing a remarkable piece of medical and social work in the remote corner of Bonthe in Sierra Leone. He was said to be, at that time, the one outstanding intellectual which the Protectorate had produced.

By Sir Milton's skill in handling experiments in preventive medicine, in dealing with midwifery and maternity, and in tackling some of the difficult problems of initiation ceremonies, he showed himself to be a remarkable and unusual person. Ever since, I have retained a close friendship with him and admired generally the political work which he has attempted to do. He came into politics not because of any inner urge on his part but because the people of the Protectorate claimed his services, so that in the end he felt obliged to give them.

I think that it should be remembered, when people talk of the immaturity of Sierra Leone, that, after all, Freetown, over a very long period, has been a great centre of political discussion and agitation. I recall some of those who acted as leaders of the people there, who tried to give wise guidance. There was the late Mayor of Freetown, Dr. Taylor-Cummings, who served with distinction on the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. There was Dr. Bright, also, and even Wallace Johnson, in his turn, contributed something to political discussion and the political scepticism which is so necessary in the developing political life of a country.

Let us not forget, also, the great work and influence of Fourah Bay College and the pride which the people of Sierra Leone entertain for that college. We owe a debt to Durham University for standing in the shadows over a long period of time and helping the college along, in building up its standards. The college has trained Africans and done much for the general life and indeed, in inspiring education all along the West Coast. We should remember, that some of those who have taken an active part in leadership in West Africa, with moderation and with wisdom, in Nigeria, in Ghana, received their training in Fourah Bay College. One can hope that the college will go on to full university status and that, with the advice [411](#) which has so frequently been given to it, particularly of late by Mr. Fulton and Dr. Daish, it will before long attain that goal.

I feel obliged to voice several doubts which come with independence. The first relates to the old division existing between the Colony and the Protectorate. It is perfectly true that there has over the years been an intertwining of interests and of personnel and an effort to bring the two regions together in a common political activity and interest. I hope that the prejudices of the past will completely die and that in legislation and in development there will be a sustained balance between the claims of the Colony and the claims of the Protectorate and harmony fully established between the peoples of the two areas. At the moment, they are integrated sufficiently to demand a common Parliament for the whole territory.

My second apprehension arises from the degree of political inexperience which the people have in the working of democratic institutions. I feel that this must be said. I am sure that Sir Milton Margai will insist on the highest standards of integrity in the political life of the country. In the past, we have heard ugly stories of corruption and nepotism, and we hope that the new country will turn its back on all that sort of thing. In the evolution from traditional forms of society to a modern democratic State, there are very real difficulties to be overcome. I hope that there will be displayed sufficient tolerance and good will, in the working of political institutions so that modern forms of democracy as we know them, modified in the light of the traditions of the country, may be well-established.

I welcome the announcement by the Secretary of State of his insistence in his discussions with the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone about the inclusion in the Constitution of a Bill of Rights embodying the principles of toleration and respect for minorities and Opposition. In a new territory, working for the first time towards a genuine democratic system, these things are of fundamental importance.

Because any new territory needs a very strong system of administration and of technical assistance, I urge that we should go as far as we can to persuade our [412](#) colonial civil servants to stay and help in the future development of the country. As we have been reminded today, their service has been of a very high quality in the past, and that service is still indispensable for the future prosperity and good life of the country. I hope very much that the administrative framework will not collapse, but that Africans will be quickly trained to take their place in the Service while, in the meantime, our own overseas civil servants are employed in strengthening and helping along the country's life and administrative arrangements.

Whenever a territory reaches independence, particularly a territory which is financially weak, with comparatively limited resources, one factor always stands out. How is it to face the future with confidence when there is still an infinite amount of development work to be done both in equipping and building up the economic resources of the territory and in securing a good standard of life, including the provision for those social and educational services which are so important for its general well-being?

Colonial development and welfare grants will now come to an end for new schemes. The Secretary of State said that about £7½ million in the immediate future may be available by way of grants and loans, but for this very poor country to progress and to establish the standards it will require there will be needed not only technical aid, but a great deal of further financial support from this country. After all, this is our responsibility, and it is a responsibility which we cannot altogether shirk even when a country achieves independence. I hope, therefore, that the Government will take a very generous view of the needs of the territory so that the work of development, both economically and socially, may go ahead.

I join in congratulating Sir Maurice Dorman, Sir Milton Margai and the people of the territory who have made independence both possible and practicable. Finally, if I may, I congratulate the Secretary of State on his courage and audacity at this time in bringing forward the Bill. He has been going through a somewhat bitter period, and it speaks well for him that, in spite of the opposition which has made itself felt among certain supporters of the Government, he nevertheless remains guilty of what I might call a degree of liberal enlightenment.

[413](#) I am a fellow sympathiser with the right hon. Gentleman. When I held office I, too, was frequently attacked because it was alleged that I was dismembering the Empire and removing colonial status from the dependencies; in fact, I was making efforts to build up a Commonwealth fellowship. The people who are bitter in their attacks on the Secretary of State today are the same people who attacked me when I was engaged in a similar job of trying to build a Commonwealth. The Secretary of State may console himself with the fact that at least a number of those who sit behind him now speak my language and now wear the clothes of Labour's policy. All that is to the good. I therefore congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on what he has done. I hope that the Conservative Party will have the good sense to sustain him in office so that his free and liberal work in the Continent of Africa and, indeed, in what is left of the Colonial Empire, may go on.

I congratulate Sir Milton Margai, the Governor and the people of Sierra Leone on this Bill, and I wish the country all success in the days ahead.

§ 4.51 p.m.

[§ Sir Peter Agnew \(Worcestershire, South\)](#)

In no part of the House has there been any wish to delay, much less to hinder, the passage of this Bill, which will give the people of Sierra Leone their independence. This is a notable occasion, because it is one on which the smallest number of people so far to achieve independence are attaining a position

in which they will have to sail out on the comparatively uncharted sea of management of their own affairs, subject only to the good wishes that we give them at the outset of their voyage.

Having said that the sea is uncharted, I should add that my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State has sought partially to chart it. He has told the House that there will be inserted in the Constitution, by what he described as entrenched provisions, a kind of standard of political conduct in the relationship between the Government and the people which should guide all those who find themselves, after the passage of the Bill into law, in the position of having to conduct the affairs of the territory and dominion of Sierra Leone.

[414](#) However, I think it is right to utter a note of caution about entrenched provisions being placed either in this Constitution or in the constitution of any other territory which, in the fullness of time and sooner or later, may be the subject of legislation passed through this House. It is true that in the Second Schedule of the Bill there is a provision which states that Nothing in this Act shall confer on the legislature of Sierra Leone any power to repeal, amend or modify the constitutional provisions otherwise than in such manner as may be provided for in those provisions. We can insert those words in an imperial Measure that we are shortly to pass, but, after we have passed it and independence is achieved, it will be then that the people of Sierra Leone, through their Government, will have unlimited power to change their Constitution as they will, and they will have power to jettison, if foolish enough to do so, the Bill of Rights which is being entrenched into that Constitution by us today and an accumulated code of wisdom such as we have collected together over many hundreds of years of Parliamentary history.

It is right, therefore, that, in taking up their freedom, which is also their burden of responsibility, the people of Sierra Leone should recognise that if they are to make independence a success it is not only independence of the British Government and of Whitehall that they are achieving. If they are to run their Constitution properly, it is the independence and freedom of each individual within the Constitution of Sierra Leone which is at stake. Therefore, we are right in passing this Measure through as quickly as may be, and I think that the Secretary of State has the support of the House in what he has done. In passing the Bill, we hope that in Sierra Leone, in its new-found freedom, there will prevail those counsels of moderation that we have sought to write into the code which we hand to them with our best wishes.

I join other hon. Members in wishing the Government, Parliament and people of Sierra Leone every success in the great experiment which they are shortly to undertake.

[415](#)

§ 4.58 p.m.

[§ Mr. Robert Edwards \(Bilston\)](#)

It is always a great joy to be in the House on occasions such as this when yet another African State and another African people are about to win their freedom. It indicates the great changes which have taken place in this country when we are willing to accept the great nationalist revolutions of our time, trying to make our peace with them and to give them a constructive direction. Like every other hon. Member, I warmly welcome the Bill. Having said that, I hope the House will forgive me if I make one or two critical remarks which I feel should be made because this House is interested in human freedom.

I was very pleased to hear the opening statement of the Secretary of State, namely, that there would be a general election in Sierra Leone within a year or perhaps before the year is out. I welcome that statement very much, particularly in the light of what is unfortunately happening in Sierra Leone at this moment. The Colonial Secretary mentioned the Constitutional Conference in London in 1959. He

referred to the fact that only one vote, namely, that of Siaka Stevens, was cast against independence before a general election. Unfortunately, today in court, at Bow Street, Siaka Stevens was to be ordered to be deported to Sierra Leone under a warrant. It is sad, but symbolic that on the very day that we are discussing independence—

[§ The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies \(Mr. Hugh Fraser\)](#)

Mr. Siaka Stevens is returning to Sierra Leone. He is not being deported, but is returning to Sierra Leone voluntarily to stand any criminal prosecution he may incur there.

[§ Mr. Edwards](#)

Nevertheless, the point I was making, which I think is a valid point, for the sake of the future and for the record, is that on this very day, in Bow Street, the first Minister of Mines and Minerals in Sierra Leone, the leader of its first organised mineworkers union, the head of the one opposition party that exists in that country, has had to face a warrant issued against him in his own country. That has [416](#) happened here, in the metropolis of the Commonwealth this very day.

I take a poor view of a situation of this nature, and it might very well be that if this good man, Siaka Stevens, had not been able to communicate with me last Thursday, when he was arrested by four policemen in a most crude fashion, he might have been deported. The four policemen first went to his son's home, a boarding house, looking for his father, and then went to Mr. Stevens' hotel. He was taken to Bow Street and put into the cells, and, if he had not contacted me, it may very well have been that next day he would have been shipped off to Sierra Leone in handcuffs and on a warrant.

I make this point because I think it is dreadfully important for the future of the people of Sierra Leone. Here we are discussing independence and human freedoms, and when we do so, no evil consequences can arise for a people by the pursuit of truth, and that is why I am being so frank, though I am still a supporter of independence for Sierra Leone. At the Constitutional Conference, four parties assembled in London—three major parties and two independent representatives from the diamond area of Kono. Here in London, without any discussion in Sierra Leone, without any discussion in the House of Representatives, these twenty-six people got together and formed a Coalition Government by issuing posts in the new Government with the allocation of jobs to Ministers and Junior Ministers.

No wonder they got an almost unanimous vote for independence before an election. After all, the Government of Sir Milton Margai, with all due respect to him, had only one year to go, and that is not a long time in the history of a country which has not had its freedom for 250 years. One year is not a long time in the great struggle for human freedom, and it seems to me that they could have waited another year, could have had their elections and then independence. I think that is the democratic way of doing things. I think that it is a violation of democratic principles for a small group of articulate politicians to come to London for the constitutional conference and to form a [417](#) Government here, without consulting their own people at home and without discussing it in their parliament.

On their return to Sierra Leone, the one voice of the opposition, that of Mr. Wallace Johnson, a great agitator—but all the great things that have happened in this world, all the rights and freedoms we enjoy, have been won by men like Wallace Johnson who were never afraid to fight for human rights, irrespective of the personal sacrifice which they had to make—was silenced. The one opposition voice in the House of Representatives was silenced, because he was arrested, and they threw the book at him, just as they threw it at Siaka Stevens—sedition, conspiracy, criminal libel, the whole lot. These phrases and charges are meaningless in African politics, and they are meaningless when we listen to what is said in election campaigns in any country in Africa. Wallace Johnston is out on bail of £700, and the one opposition voice is silenced in the House of Representatives.

There was another representative from the diamond area who was also a little doubtful about independence before the election. What happened to him? He went back and he was tried—an elected representative of the people with a very big majority—by a tribal court, against which there is not appeal, and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for attacking the paramount chief. I do not know if there is any reference in this new constitution which checks the power of the tribal chief in the tribal court, against which there is no appeal, in regard to the trial of a member of the House of Representatives. It seems to me that there is to be no change in this tribal system.

I know the trade union movement in Sierra Leone very well. I have been in contact with it for many years, and, in its own modest way, my own trade union in this country has helped it. I received a petition from the Sierra Leone Council of Labour, which is a very moderate body, as I stated in the House the other day, and, up till now, has been a non-political body. It has never involved itself in politics at all, but has kept right out. It was purely and simply working for trade unionism, is 30,000 strong, and it has a fine system of wage negotiations.

[418](#) It sent a protest to me, which I passed on to the Colonial Secretary. What did the protest say? It said that before the present House of Representatives there are certain amendments to the law—the Juries Amendment Ordinance—and it insisted that this means that the system of trial by jury may come to an end. There are three systems of courts in Sierra Leone and the Protectorate. There is the tribal court, trial by jury, with a judge and a jury, and another kind of court with a judge and three assessors. This new ordinance will give the judge appointed by the Prime Minister exclusive control over the courts, with no jury, with no assessors, and with no appeal.

I hope that that will be put right, and I am sure they will put it right. I hope they will read the HANSARD report of this debate, and that the Government of Sierra Leone will think again about this ordinance, which will deny many people, particularly political people and trade unionists, the right to trial by jury or trial by assessors. I hope they will think again before they pass legislation of this nature through the House of Representatives. However, I have received much assurance today from the statement that a general election will take place. This is what worries people like me and many of my hon. Friends on this side of the Chamber who are concerned that the people will get the opportunity of discussing the future of their country and that there will not be imposed on any new African State a single party dictatorship, and that the trade union movement, which has grown to strength and power and great influence under colonial rule, will not lose the privileges it gained even under colonialism in a new independent African State.

Having made these critical observations, which I think just had to be made in the light of the present situation in Sierra Leone, may I say how very much I welcome this Bill, and how very much I enjoy these occasions when we can say to millions of people that, after a certain date, they are free to elect their own Governments and run their own countries in their own way without interference from abroad.

We need to assist Sierra Leone for some time to come. Some of the assistance required is not massive sums of [419](#) capital investment. From my own experience, I suggest that assistance in small, strategic directions is of great immediate importance to these small African countries whose economy is based on agriculture. They need help to extend their co-operative buying and selling. They want a few technicians to explain to them how to keep the books, how to buy and sell at the right times, how to develop means of mutual aid and self-help, how to run their co-operative banks, as my right hon. Friend the Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand) so rightly said.

These countries need to be shown how to operate credit facilities, so that the farmers' co-operatives can obtain credit for nine months in the year until they harvest their crops. They need advice on the development of small handicraft industries. It is this kind of help, which does not involve hundreds of millions of pounds but goodwill and wise advice, which is needed. It involves sending out people to

countries like Sierra Leone who believe in human freedom, who understand the need for mutual aid and self-help, who are dedicated to the job, and who understand the simple needs of African agriculture.

If we can have a continuous flow into Sierra Leone of people like that, there will be no danger of a single-party dictatorship, because out of the co-operatives and trade unions the people will learn democracy. They will learn how to run their own farms, villages and little industries, and out of this experience they will know how to run their own government, and no one party will be able to deny them the rights which they should be assured by this Bill.

§ 5.13 p.m.

§ Mr. Philip Goodhart (Beckenham)

Along with many other hon. Members who have spoken in this debate, I have great admiration for the way in which Sir Milton Margai has led his country forward to the state in which many of us welcome the introduction of this Bill. It is undeniable that he has been better capable of holding his followers together than has the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. But I cannot share the view, which seemed implicit in the remarks of the hon. Member for Bilston (Mr. R. Edwards)—who, I know, [420](#) takes a very deep interest in the affairs of Sierra Leone—that the General Election which is coming along will be "cooked" and will not be a free one. That seemed to be the tenor of his remarks, but I am sure that that will not be so.

A transitional period is a difficult one, particularly for overseas civil servants. It redounds much to the credit of Sir Milton Margai and his Ministers that this transitional period in Sierra Leone should have been so free of friction. A great deal is due also to the wise management of Sir Maurice Dorman. No better monument to this period of co-operation could have been given than the choice of Sir Maurice to be the first Governor-General of independent Sierra Leone.

In many ways, Sir Milton has a close political relationship with Earl Attlee. Both men are deceptively strong. Both have a considerable fund of common sense, and both shun the political and social limelight. I, too, had the advantage of being a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Delegation that visited Sierra Leone. Sir Milton, as Prime Minister, was good enough to give a reception for us. At that reception, a new recruit to the secretariat, imbued no doubt by the British Council's ideal that people should meet people, went up to a lonely figure standing in the shadows and asked him whether he could introduce him to any of the people at the reception. That lonely figure turned out to be our host, the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone.

Sir Milton and his successors will, I am sure, always be welcome in this country. I have no doubt that they will make a valuable contribution to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference when they come. But the introduction of this Bill prompts some thoughts on the problems of what happens to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference following this Bill. Tanganyika and the West Indian Federation will almost certainly be making application to become full members of the Commonwealth within the next twelve months.

There is a possibility that Western Samoa, with a population of about 100,000, will also be making such an application. British Guiana and other [421](#) countries are certainly not far down in the queue. It seemed to me that we had already become dangerously close to the level of farce at Chequers the weekend before last, when Prime Ministers seemed to scurry in and out. If that is a model for the future, then there is considerable room for disquiet.

One can imagine that no sooner is His Beatitude the President of Cyprus putting a tasty morsel of chicken into his mouth than the butler will blow a whistle, the plate and chair will be swiftly taken

away and a new place laid for the Prime Minister of British Guiana. It seems to me already that the whole nature of the Prime Ministers' Conference is changing.

Once we were told that the whole Conference was an informal meeting of minds. Now, however, things are very different. Only yesterday, in answer to a question from the right hon. Member for Easington (Mr. Shinwell), my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said: ... I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that not only do we have the plenary discussion but, now that quite a number of Prime Ministers are concerned, we have a number of informal discussions between groups of Prime Ministers on various subjects £"—[[OFFICIAL REPORT, 21st March, 1961; Vol. 637, c. 206.](#)] It seems that, with the increase in the number of Prime Ministers, informality is moving from the body of the Conference itself into the ante-chambers. To me, that seems to be a move much to be regretted, but this afternoon legitimate concern about the way in which the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference goes should in no way detract from the very warm welcome which we give to Sierra Leone as a new member of the family of the free Commonwealth.

§ 5.20 p.m.

§ [Mr. James Boyden \(Bishop Auckland\)](#)

It so often happens in debates on independence Bills that the debates take place in an atmosphere of crisis, the Government finding themselves facing an impossible situation and having to deal with it. This is a very welcome exception to that generality, and I congratulate the Colonial Secretary very warmly indeed on anticipating the legitimate aspirations of the people of Sierra Leone. Undoubtedly the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone and the present Governor have made a very great contribution towards what I think is the fairly uniform [422](#) spirit in Sierra Leone towards independence.

I do not take the view that the present Coalition is a forced coalition. I found when I was there not long ago a desire among all sorts of people at this moment to be united in, as it were, presenting a case to the British Government, and then afterwards going to the polls. I found it very pleasing that Christians and Muslims in the Protectorate, Creoles, ordinary trade union leaders from the branches, and the chiefs were all thinking of independence through—at the moment—this Coalition. I think one can congratulate both the people of Sierra Leone and the Colonial Secretary on bringing to pass this Bill to enable the people to realise their proper aspirations.

Sierra Leone is a very loyal country. It has a very fine tradition of Christian education and Christian self-help. I had the pleasure of visiting the original Fourah Bay College at Regent, founded in 1827, which has made a remarkable contribution to the governing of the Commonwealth and Empire, and it is a very great tribute to the energies and forethought of the people of Sierra Leone. The Church Missionary Society, which founded the college, as far back as 1827, set about training the local people, their teachers, their clergymen, and, in a lesser degree, administrators, to run Sierra Leone and, incidentally, to make a contribution towards the development of Nigeria. I am very proud that I have been associated with the University of Durham in giving this institution in latter days a modern touch. Some of my own staff, when I was at Durham University, went out to found there extra-mural work which, after a number of vicissitudes, is again flourishing. One of my friends will be going out, I hope, in a few days' time, to help in a crisis in a department of the university.

One particular example of this friendliness towards Britain and loyalty to Britain can be found at Bo, the capital of the Protectorate, where the Prime Minister and the people of Bo and the Government have made a very massive contribution to the building of the British Council's headquarters there. Some months ago the Select Committee on Public Accounts made some suggestions about the British Council financing part of its work from the countries in [423](#) which it works. In poor Sierra Leone—I mean in the monetary sense—there is this massive contribution to the encouragement of interest in Britain. I think that the friendliness of the people and Government towards the British Council was remarkably demonstrated in developing that centre.

Wherever I went, wherever I was, I found the very greatest friendliness towards British people. For instance, at a most lively lecture in the Union Society of Fourah Bay College and at a very charming reception from the Women's Co-operative Guild at Bo.

I enjoyed the most heart-warming contacts in the extra-mural classes in Freetown, Newton and Lunsar. Everywhere I got the feeling of a developing solidarity based on the coming of independence, and I hope that this will be a good sign that in the future the Government will develop still further democratic forms capable in looking after Sierra Leone's real interests.

Having said that, I cannot share the Colonial Secretary's complacency about the manner in which the constitutional provisions have been made. It may be that there were difficulties about the Commonwealth Conference and the timing of the Bill, but certainly there needed to be much more publicity in Sierra Leone with a clearer setting out of what was coming, and no where is this more important than in the financial arrangements.

I found that at Fourah Bay College the whole future was most uncertain. They were telling me they might be faced with cancelling further building contracts and the dispersal of the direct labour force which has done such a wonderful job of late. They cannot get any certainty about next year's capital grants. I think that this points to very serious flaws in the relations between the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Departments which deal with C.D. and W. grants.

I was very pleased that yesterday the Prime Minister announced the setting up of a Department of Technical Co-operation, and I hope very much indeed that in future developments of this sort that Department will be able to make a much smoother transition on the financial side than there has been in Sierra [424](#) Leone. Wherever I went I found examples not exactly of the break down of co-operation but of uncertainty as to the future where there ought to have been pushing forward with new developments.

To take another example, about which I have written to the Colonial Secretary, and I am inclined to agree with his answer. In the Protectorate there is magnificent work in teaching literacy. The Literacy Bureau is in great difficulties. It is struggling to teach enough people to read and is having difficulty in providing them with enough to read when they have become literate. For a long time it has made requests for an automatic printing press to enable it to print far more. When I wrote to the Colonial Secretary and asked him if he could do anything about this at this late hour his reply was, I think, perhaps constitutionally right, that it was late in the day to pick out particular items for development, but I think it would have been very much better if the financial terms and details had been so published that they would have given some hope to the college and the Literacy Bureau and a pointer to the way they could go in the future. I know that now these matters are for the independent Government, but I think that this is the sort of thing we should safeguard when we make other arrangements in the future.

Take another very impressive scheme, the Guma Valley water and electricity scheme. Five years ago I was taken round to see some of the work. It is still not complete. The whole scheme is beyond the unaided financial resources of Freetown. Dams are very unfortunate things in the history of the Conservative Party. The Aswan Dam started consequences which have not finished yet. It is true that the Guma Valley scheme is a much smaller one and not charged with the dynamite of failure as was the Aswan Dam, but there is very great need for things to be done and things to be said to bring a successful termination to projects of this magnitude.

The Colonial Secretary probably knows that there are now no internal airlines in Sierra Leone. The three aircraft which were maintained are grounded, and will be grounded permanently, for I doubt very much whether they can fly again. Here again is something which it seems to me [425](#) ought to be dealt with speedily and ought to be dealt with as a contribution to the development of Sierra Leone.

The past history of the Colonial Office in the building of roads in Sierra Leone is deplorable. Five years ago the tarred road from Freetown went 51 miles. Now, five years later, it goes only 91 miles. More bridges have been built, and there has been some progress with dirt roads, but if we compare the progress in Sierra Leone with that in Ghana, then Sierra Leone stands out as a black spot on the record of the Colonial Office.

I could go on enumerating these projects concerning which I found it very distressing that there was not more hope for the future and more tangible evidence of things about to be done. I have written to the Colonial Secretary about the training college and about one or two other matters as well. One particular project in connection with Fourah Bay College in which I think the Colonial Secretary should take more interest is the question of the staff being treated on the same basis as civil servants. Certainly something ought to be done to put the staff of Fourah Bay College on the same level as civil servants in relation to compensation and superannuation. I hope that the Colonial Secretary will apply his mind to that matter.

We are certainly not doing enough in the way of putting forward our own material in Sierra Leone, not in the way of propoganda but in the way of making it easy for its people to learn what is going on in England and to have easy opportunities of learning about England. Could not Her Majesty's Stationery Office publications be made available to Commonwealth universities and university colleges free? Could we not have some reciprocal arrangement with the Commonwealth by which our universities would have much easier and cheaper access to their Government publications?

I found it upsetting, for example, when in anticipation of this debate I wanted to get a number of publications from the Crown Agents about Sierra Leone. I found, first of all, that I had to buy them and then that they were not available either in the Library of the House or immediately in the Crown Agents Office. Surely some imagination could be applied to this matter. Russian propoganda goes into every grammar [426](#) school in Sierra Leone. The Russians go to great trouble to provide scholarships, and a number of Fourah Bay College students and sixth form students find their way from time to time to Russian and Czech universities, and, I think, to Chinese universities.

We really must be more positive in our relations with Sierra Leone. The people there are loyal and friendly. They have this very long tradition and we must certainly brighten up our ideas in providing easier and more information about Britain.

I was very pleased to see that in Nigeria there is being developed what looks to be a most excellent scheme for the vacation training of teachers. I hope that Sierra Leone will work out something of that sort, as well, in collaboration with the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Ministry of Education.

Finally, I hope that in the matter of low-cost houses, even when Sierra Leone is independent, our Government will take some practical steps to see that housing there is developed with capital invested by us. When the Governor addressed the House of Representatives on 11th February, 1960, he said: "Sierra Leone's gravest problems will not be concerned with most of the matters mentioned just now"—that is, the struggle for independence, with constitutional forms, with the exercise of political and other power, or with the winning of democratic rights. Those are hers now. The struggle Sierra Leone has on its hands is primarily economic and financial. I hope very much that when the Parliamentary Secretary replies he will be able to speak constructively about what the Government's opinions are, not only on spending the £7½ million but with regard to seeing that the development of the country can be continuously aided by Britain and that from an improving economic base its democratic traditions can be advanced.

§ 5.34 p.m.

§ [Mr. John Tilney \(Liverpool, Wavertree\)](#)

Like the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Boyden), in general terms I welcome the Bill. I propose to take up the time of the House for only a very few minutes because many hon. Members on both sides know Sierra Leone better than I do. I remember the beauty of [427](#) the old Colony. I was tremendously impressed with the iron ore development, and I enjoyed greatly the superb port facilities of Freetown. But what I remember most of all is the great friendliness of the people of Sierra Leone.

I count among my particular friends not only Sir Milton Margai and many members of his Cabinet. Only a few weeks ago Mr. Siaka Stevens, to whom the hon. Member for Bilston (Mr. R. Edwards) referred, was a guest in my home. I do not want to judge in any way what is a matter which must be sub judice, but I think it is well to remember that, as far as I know, every single Sierra Leone party in the last general election stood for independence for Sierra Leone within the lifetime of the present Parliament. That is apt to be forgotten.

It is not for me to balance the arguments of Mr. Siaka Stevens who, after all, stood at that election. It was found that his election was invalid because of corruption and bribery. He told me in my own home of his fear of customary or tribal justice to which the hon. Member for Bilston has referred. I am only glad that he is returning to Sierra Leone of, I gather, his own free will and is not being directed in any way by the Government of this country.

I must apologise to the House for not having been present throughout the whole debate, but I had to receive the Parliamentary delegation from Eire. The leader of that delegation, the Speaker of the Dail, first came to this country as a guest of Her Majesty, as a political prisoner in Wandsworth Gaol. How lucky, I am sure we can all agree, that the relations between this country and Ireland have taken an immense turn for the better. How much more lucky are we really that the relations between this country and Sierra Leone are what they are and that nothing of that sort has ever happened in the past. We can indeed be grateful for the moderation and the common sense of men like Sir Milton Margai, who reminds me very much of the statesmanship of his opposite number on the east coast of Africa, Mr. Nyerere.

I should like to add my commendation to the words of other hon. Members on the appointment of Sir Maurice Dorman at the request of Sir Milton Margai as Her Majesty's Governor- [428](#) General. I should also like to say what pleasure we feel that Mr. J. B. Johnston, whom many of us will remember as Lord Boyd's private secretary, should be our future High Commissioner in Freetown. I only hope that in due course he will have a better house in Freetown than the present High Commissioner has in Lagos.

I agree with the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland in his fear for the economic future of Sierra Leone which is dependent on iron ore and bauxite, which, of course, is found the world over, and on diamonds. I am delighted that the revenue from diamonds has gone up in the last year from £6 million to about £15 million through stopping the passage of diamonds over the border. But, even so, Sierra Leone is going to be a very poor country, and I am wondering whether she can afford all the embassies which so many countries in Africa and Asia try to support. Naturally, she must be represented in a major way at the United Nations and in this country, but it may well be that she could be represented by another Commonwealth country, be it Nigeria or Ghana, or even by ourselves, in many other territories of the world. I understand that it costs at least £10,000 a year to keep one representative overseas, and we have got to balance the panoplies of diplomacy against the immense need in countries like Sierra Leone for development and for education.

One final word on education. In the primary schools there was an enrolment of only 69,000 in 1958, which was only one-quarter of the children in the country, and no more than 6,000 enrolled in the secondary schools. Of all the territories in Africa, east or west, Sierra Leone has, I think, the lowest percentage of children of school age receiving education. I am not proud of that, because, after all, the United Kingdom has been responsible indirectly for Sierra Leone for a very long time. I am merely

stressing this fact because of the immense need of outside assistance and technical aid which will exist for a long time in Sierra Leone.

In Fourah, I am told, last year only 189 pupils passed the West African G.C.E., and of the 400 students at Fourah Bay about one-half came from Nigeria and, no doubt, will return to Nigeria. So Sierra Leone is going to [429](#) be desperately short of intelligent and well-educated people to govern, expand and develop her territory. But she at least enters independence united. No longer is there tremendous feeling against the Protectorate or a feeling in the Protectorate that the people there are treated as backward people by the Creoles of the Colony.

Sierra Leone is now one country. She has been an old friend of ours for many years. From the earliest days she has been attracted to Europe and, above all, to this country. She has shown her friendship to us in two major wars. May she continue to show her friendship and may we continue to extend our help to Sierra Leone.

§ 5.42 p.m.

[§ Mr. A. Fenner Brockway \(Eton and Slough\)](#)

I am sometimes a critic of the Government's colonial policy, and therefore it gives me special happiness now to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the introduction of this Bill, and not only the right hon. Gentleman but statesmen in Sierra Leone and all those who have contributed to this achievement.

This Bill marks an amazing development in West Africa. It follows Ghana and Nigeria, and I should think that something like 50 million Africans in West Africa who were in our Empire are now self-governing and independent. That is quite an extraordinary development. There is left only Gambia, with very special circumstances, which may have to become incorporated in other territories rather than becoming independent itself.

I want to put a point to the Secretary of State concerning procedure. I am not critical of the delay in the introduction of the Bill. I think it was inevitable in the circumstances. But I ask the right hon. Gentleman seriously to consider whether the whole procedure by which we discuss these Bills should not be revised. The constitutional conference took place ten months ago. I suppose I am one of the fortunate Members, because I saw the draft constitution then, studied it in detail and gave some African members of the conference advice about it. But this House today is passing this Bill without ever having seen the constitution at all.

[430](#) I believe I am correctly informed that at least until three days ago the members of the Legislature in Sierra Leone also had not seen the constitution. I appreciate that this is a matter of protocol, but I am asking the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether it is not possible to have some revision of these arrangements. It is unsatisfactory that this Parliament should be passing a Bill without knowing what are the contents of the constitution, and it is also unsatisfactory that Members of the Parliament in Sierra Leone, which is to have its independence, should still be unaware of the contents of the constitution. This matter affects not only our Parliament but their Parliament, and it is of great importance that, if there is to be real democracy in Sierra Leone, the people of Sierra Leone should be informed about the constitution.

I wish to make only one comment on the constitution as I have seen it. I welcome the Bill of Rights. My only criticism of that would be that human rights take a rather subordinate position to rights of property. The rights of property are actually in the body of the constitution. The Bill of Human Rights is an appendix to that constitution, and I think that is a wrong priority.

As I have said, I welcome the Bill, but nevertheless one must appreciate that there is some uneasiness in Sierra Leone at this moment. I am glad that the old conflict between the Protectorate and the

Colonies has become so much eased and that there is now much better feeling between them. But the Secretary of State knows that there is uneasiness in Sierra Leone on other matters. Two members of the Legislature have been arrested, are on bail and are to be tried. In addition, members of the executive committee of the opposition party are in a similar position.

I am very concerned that Sierra Leone shall start on the course of independence with political rights and liberties. Only yesterday in the House, after I had put a certain question, an hon. Member opposite rose and by implication suggested that I had not been critical when liberties had been denied in Ghana. In fact, I have been critical. I have raised those issues with the President of Ghana both privately and publicly, as the right [431](#) hon. Gentleman knows. I want to see Sierra Leone starting out in a spirit of democracy and with personal liberties which shall not be spoiled as they have been spoiled in certain other African countries.

Because of that I also welcome the right hon. Gentleman's statement today that there will be a general election in Sierra Leone within one year. I am glad that an assurance to that effect has been given him by the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. I hope that that provision for an election within one year of the acceptance of independence will lessen the fears and tensions now operating in Sierra Leone.

I want to make one personal appeal to Sir Milton Margai, the Prime Minister, who will be the head of the independent Government. I appeal to him, before independence is introduced, to declare an amnesty so that Members of Parliament and members of a party executive who are now charged may be liberated. In this way, the independence of Sierra Leone can begin in an atmosphere in which there will be hope for full democracy, full liberty and, because of those things, with the full co-operation of the people.

To that appeal to the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, I add an appeal to the Secretary of State to the Colonies and to the Government. Evidence has been given from both sides of the House of the absence of education, of economic development and even of roads in Sierra Leone. We in this Parliament have a great deal of responsibility for that. I am asking the Secretary of State to say today that, despite the fact that Sierra Leone will become independent, we shall give the greatest possible help to remedy those defects, that we will give the greatest possible help in industrial development, in road building, particularly in schools and in crowning the elementary schools with secondary schools.

I am appalled to hear, as I have heard in this House this afternoon, that the campaign against malaria in Sierra Leone is being held up because our Government have not given adequate contributions for that purpose. There need not be in three years' time a single case of malaria in Sierra Leone. We have ended it over vast areas of Africa. [432](#) It could be ended if there were adequate expenditure upon it and proper technical aid so that this should be done.

I ask the Secretary of State, not merely to have the honour of introducing this Bill to extend independence to Sierra Leone, but, before the Bill is passed, to assure this House and the people of Sierra Leone that we will provide a social and economic foundation upon which that independence can develop, not only to true democracy, but to true happiness in the ordinary life of the men and women of the territory.

§ 5.54 p.m.

[§ Mr. Martin McLaren \(Bristol, North-West\)](#)

I have promised to be very short and I will be. As the right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand) said, I was a member of the delegation which he led in December to Sierra Leone and of which, I might add, the right hon. Gentleman was a kindly and stimulating leader. It is rather attractive that when so many other parts of Africa are stormy we should be able to turn for a short time to Sierra Leone where independence is coming so smoothly and happily.

It is fortunate that the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone is Sir Milton Margai. Those who know him know how well qualified he is to lead the country into independence. His work as a gynaecologist has made him widely known in the parts of the country where he practised. That has made many people look on him as their friend and feel personal gratitude for him. In that way he has built up a fund of personal good will. It is characteristic of his vitality that even now, when he is in the middle sixties, he is still no mean athlete.

It is excellent news that Sir Maurice Dorman, now the Governor, is to be the first Governor-General. Those who know how closely he and Lady Dorman have identified themselves with the life of the country and who know the warm regard that is felt for them will think that no better choice could have been made.

In recent years the grants which this country has made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts have been very valuable, but there is still much that remains to be done to develop the social services, to expand education, [433](#) to improve the road communications, to which the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Boyden) referred, to build more bridges and to clean up the slums of Freetown. There is no system of social security yet. When people fall out of their employment they have to live off the charity of their relations.

When one travels by boat along Freetown Harbour, one finds a moving sight, the historic stone stairs up which the thousands of slaves climbed to find themselves free men on setting foot in Sierra Leone. That is why the capital is called Freetown. The settlement was started at the end of the eighteenth century by Granville Sharp, who was a friend of William Wilberforce, for rescued slaves and Africans repatriated from the West Indies. He did it as a generous attempt to atone for the horrors of the slave trade. The descendants of those people, the Creoles, are still influential in Freetown.

Here at Westminster, one of the best and most disinterested chapters has been the moral campaign for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. In a sense, we are today writing the final chapter in that long and honourable story when we welcome Sierra Leone as a fully independent member of the Commonwealth.

§ 5.58 p.m.

[§ Lieut.-Colonel J. K. Cordeaux \(Nottingham, Central\)](#)

It would be a pity if all the hon. Members who have spoken from both sides of the House in this debate were to have avoided, as it has perhaps so far seemed almost ostentatiously, following up the main part of the speech of the hon. Member for Bilston (Mr. R. Edwards). Therefore, although I do not want to go into the matter deeply, because I have no doubt that it will be dealt with by my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State when he replies to the debate, having met Mr. Stevens on two occasions when I was recently out in Sierra Leone and on one occasion recently in this country, I should like to say that it certainly is tragic that the events described by the hon. Member for Bilston should have come to our notice on the very day that we are taking the Second Reading of this Bill, which in the ordinary way should be an entirely happy occasion unmarked by any tragedy of this nature.

[434](#) I shall be brief, not because I feel that this debate on such an important subject should be cut down to make way for a full five hours on the troubles in South Africa but because, as I am the last speaker to be called before my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary sums up the debate, most of the points that could be made have already been made by others.

I certainly do not want to repeat them, but out of gratitude alone I should like to say something because I was, as has been mentioned, a member of the delegation to Sierra Leone three months ago which was led, if I may say so, with such charm of manner and with such ability by the right hon.

Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand). The tremendous kindness that we received from everybody there, from Sir Milton Margai, the Prime Minister, down to the ordinary villagers in the most distant villages of the Protectorate, is a memory I shall treasure for a long time.

Hon. Members have very differing views about the value of that type of visit. Many hon. Members think that all such Parliamentary delegations are a complete waste of time and money, and have some extremely acid comments to make about people who come back after visiting for about ten days some part of the world that they have never seen before, and then set themselves up as experts on the country concerned. There are others, of whom I am one, who think that there is inestimable value to be obtained from such visits, and that the more of them that can be paid by hon. Members the better.

The principal impression that I obtained from my visit to Sierra Leone was of the remarkable harmony and sense of partnership with which two different races, our own people and those of Sierra Leone, were working together for the good of the country and its advancement towards independence.

Only one controversial point came up during the Constitutional Conference last April, and it has not so far been referred to in this debate. I speak of the defence agreement that it was decided should be negotiated between ourselves and Sierra Leone after independence had been granted. That part of the agreement was challenged by the newly-forming Opposition under Mr. Stevens and Mr. Wallace [435](#) Johnson, and it has also been commented on adversely to me by some people from Sierra Leone whom I have recently met in this country.

A lot of them see in the defence agreement a sort of hangover of colonialism on our part. It is true that such an agreement with Sierra Leone would be of use to us. Anyone who can remember the vast conveyers assembling during the last war in that magnificent harbour at Freetown will hardly challenge that. But whereas such an agreement may be useful to us, I think that it is of far greater potential value to the people of Sierra Leone.

Some of them have asked me, "What do we get out of that, except a certain amount of embarrassment? Who on earth would we want to be defended against? Who will attack us?" Well, if one looks around Africa as it is today, and as it has been in the last few years, I think it would be agreed that it would be a very complacent citizen of Sierra Leone who would say that never in the future did he think that the people there might be glad to have someone close at hand and able to help them, someone such as ourselves, who, I am certain they all believe, will ever remain one of their best friends.

Another matter referred to by a number of speakers is the definite feeling of what might be called unease that members of the delegation sensed amongst many people in Sierra Leone about the advent of independence. I believe that when my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool, Kirkdale (Mr. N. Pannell) led a delegation to Sierra Leone some two years ago, he said that there was widespread enthusiasm there for independence. I can well believe that, but it always happens that when these events become imminent people begin to have their doubts. Some of the people living far out in the Protectorate in Sierra Leone certainly cast their eyes across the border to other countries in Africa where independence—that word that many of them so vaguely understand—has become a fact, were not entirely pleased with everything they saw.

However, my belief is that the people of Sierra Leone need not be too nervous about the coming of independence, quick [436](#) as it is. The constitutional steps taken towards it in the last year or two have admittedly been rapid, but I feel that they have been very well timed and that, as a result, the transition will be smooth. It only remains for me, therefore, to join with previous speakers, and, I am sure, with every other hon. Member, in wishing the very best of luck and the greatest prosperity in the future to our new partner in the Commonwealth.

[§ 6.6](#) p.m.

§ *The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Hugh Fraser)*

We have had more than a formal debate this afternoon on this great step forward for Sierra Leone. On all sides there have been well-informed Members advising both the Government and those who will inherit power on certain steps that it would be mutually advantageous for the two countries to take after April, when the people of Sierra Leone will have power devolved upon them. It is only fair, therefore, that in the short time at my disposal I should attempt to answer some of the main points that have been made.

Reference has been made to the delay in the publication of the Bill, but we have had to wait. It will be seen from the Title that this is a Bill to Make provision for, and in connection with, the attainment by Sierra Leone of fully responsible status within the Commonwealth. We had to wait until the Commonwealth Conference took place. We could not publish this Title until that Conference had welcomed Sierra Leone's joining the Commonwealth.

A point has also been made about lack of publicity of the precise terms of the Constitution. This is a matter at which my right hon. Friend and I will look but, of course, we are up against problems of precedent. It is fair to say that this draft Constitution will contain only those provisions agreed by the Conference last year. They could, in fact, have been published earlier and I agree that, perhaps, in the future we should have a wider degree of latitude. Looking back, what we should perhaps have done was to make more public the findings of the actual Conference in London last May. I shall certainly look at that matter again.

The right hon. Member for Middlesbrough, East (Mr. Marquand) said that [437](#) there was need for a lively Opposition in the new Sierra Leone. There, we fully agree.

The main point raised from the benches opposite was on the question of financial aid to a territory which is not, by its nature, rich. I want also to answer some of the detailed matters raised by one of my hon. Friends who has just returned, and by the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Boyden), who referred specifically to aircraft and the Guma Dam. First, the contract for the dam has been awarded. Secondly, from colonial development and welfare funds we are replacing the Rapide by the new Pioneer aircraft.

On the wider issues, we have here a territory which, compared with other territories in Africa, is not rich. I am sure that when hon. Members on both sides say that the true and abiding wealth of Sierra Leone lies in its land, they are right. As one of my hon. Friends remarked, the output from the diamond industry has gone up with improved control of the industry, and the iron ore and bauxite possibilities of the country remain great; but the main wealth must remain in the land.

I think that the offer of my right hon. Friend to continue to provide the Sierra Leone Government with technical assistance after independence is of great importance. Also, the provisions decided upon at the Conference are of great importance. First, there are the financial aids, which will continue, though here again, because of the change of status, there will have to be some alteration in the C.D. and W. and even the C.D.C. assistance. But I can say that all schemes already entered into will be completed. The C.D.C. has an important part to play in the water supply scheme, which is going forward, and in other schemes.

Beyond the existing schemes, I think it worth reminding the House that there are the chances of assistance from the C.D.F.C., and that, already, £400,000 is going into the large water scheme from this source. There are also other international funds which are available for development and, in addition, recourse to the London market as an independent country. I am sure that the statement recently made by Sir Milton Margai about the importance of capital and the [438](#) fact that his Government had no intention of embarking upon any nationalisation will be of great benefit when finance is sought, as, indeed, Sierra Leone must seek it, from overseas.

I must correct the hon. Member for Eton and Slough (Mr. Brockway), who said that while human rights were covered in the Bill of Rights, they had less priority in the Constitution than property rights. The hon. Member is ill-informed. It is really a question of reading the White Paper, and if the hon. Member looks at paragraph 20 (a) he will find that fundamental rights are fully enshrined in the procedure which my right hon. Friend described.

[§ Mr. Brockway](#)

It is the hon. Gentleman who has misunderstood me. What I quite clearly said was that the protection of the rights of property is embodied in Clauses of the Constitution. The Bill of Rights is an appendix to the Constitution. It is enshrined in the Constitution by a particular reference in the body. My complaint was that the Bill of Rights is an appendix while the justification of property rights is in the Clauses of the Constitution itself.

[§ Mr. Fraser](#)

Certainly, fundamental human rights are entrenched, and that is the vital thing. Where they come precisely in the Constitution is a different matter.

One of our first considerations is, I believe, how we can be of further assistance to Sierra Leone after independence so that we can make certain that the economic future of the country is assured.

The other wide area that we have discussed is the question of the Constitution itself and the feeling both in this House and in Sierra Leone that it was essential that proper human rights should be safeguarded. My hon. Friend went at some length through the safeguards and the entrenchment clauses which will make certain that there can be no alterations to these fundamental rights, to the fundamental rights of Parliament and to the fundamental rights of the judiciary without, first, a two-thirds majority passing it in the Sierra Leone House, then a General Election, and following that, again a two-thirds majority. If one considers this process one finds that the entrenchment of these rights is satisfactory.

439 The cases of certain members of the Opposition, and, in particular, the case of Mr. Siaka Stevens have been raised. I am unable to comment on these individual cases, as they are, and must be, sub judice, but I should like to point out to those who have raised these matters that even the Government of a country which is on the verge of achieving independence must ensure that the due course and process of the law runs. If there are to be charges of criminal libel and other things, these cases must be permitted to proceed. This is what the Government of Sierra Leone have done. Various things have been said on both sides of the House regarding these matters, and I hope that many of the things which have been said this afternoon will receive a ready ear in the territory.

As we look forward to 27th April, I think that it will be a proud day for Sierra Leone. It will also, I believe, be a proud day for this country. Politically, all parties in this House will see the achievement as a main objective of our colonial policy, that of granting independence to our dependent territories. I believe that all those who have visited Sierra Leone will agree that no people among the emergent peoples are more deserving of this grant than the people of that territory.

If our political sense should be stirred by this event, so, too, should, I think, be our historical imagination. As one looks back on the course of history over 440 the last 190 years, one recognises that in Sierra Leone, on 27th April, there will be the culmination of an expression of freedom worked for by many in this realm far beyond the confines of this House of Parliament. Freetown was truly named. It is not too fanciful to say that its freedom traces back to the famous judgment of Lord Mansfield; indeed, James Somerset was among its first citizens. It was not merely in the High Court of Parliament or in the courts of justice here that these aims were pursued. There have been many

people from this country—soldiers, administrators, missionaries and traders—who have given their lives for Sierra Leone. Let us, on this occasion, pay tribute to them.

I think that we, as a people, can be satisfied in truth and in honour; but, of course, the great pride is for the people of Sierra Leone themselves. **This is a small country compared with the other great States of Africa. Before them lies a new span of history, but I feel sure that in their sense of national destiny and purpose, with the support of ourselves and, indeed, of the whole Commonwealth, they will surmount the problems lying ahead of them.**

§ Question put and agreed to.

§ Bill accordingly read a Second time.

§ Bill committed to a Committee of the whole House.—[Mr. J. E. B. Hill.]

§ Bill immediately considered in Committee; reported, without Amendment; read the Third time and passed.

SIERRA LEONE INDEPENDENCE BILL

HL Deb 27 March 1961 vol 230 cc23-40 [23](#)

§ 3.50 p.m.

§ Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

[§ THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR COLONIAL AFFAIRS \(THE EARL OF PERTH\)](#)

My Lords, I have it in Command from Her Majesty the Queen to acquaint the House that Her Majesty, having been informed of the purport of the [Sierra Leone Independence Bill](#), has consented to place Her Majesty's prerogative and interest, so far as they are affected by the Bill, at the disposal of Parliament for the purposes of this Bill. I beg to move that this Bill be now read a second time.

When I first came to occupy a place on the Front Bench in your Lordships' House I had to move the Second Reading of the [Ghana Independence Bill](#). I remember that I ran into quite a lot of trouble on that Bill. Subsequently I had the honour to introduce the [Federation of Nigeria Independence Bill](#). Now we are considering the independence of the third of the West African Territories, leaving only Gambia which has not yet become independent in the whole of that area.

Sierra Leone is the oldest of our Territories there. It was nearly 200 years ago, in 1787, when we first assumed an interest in the Colony. Many of your Lordships will remember that the occasion for that was the existence of many homeless Africans in London and elsewhere as the outcome of changes in the slave trade. We find a reminder of this in the name of the country's chief port and capital—Freetown. About 100 years later the jurisdiction of Her [24](#) Majesty was extended to the hinterland of the country, to the Protectorate as a whole.

A year ago the Constitutional Conference took place at which the decision was taken that April 27, 1961, should be the date on which Sierra Leone would become independent. The account of that Conference is to be found in the White Paper, Cmnd. 1029. Since the Conference an immense amount of work has been done to give effect to the decisions then reached. I would make only one comment—namely, that during the past year we have been very much confirmed in our belief that the people of Sierra Leone and their Government are ready to run their own affairs, under their eminent Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai.

Last November the House of Representatives of Sierra Leone passed a Resolution calling for independence, on April 27, 1961, within the Commonwealth. As your Lordships will recall, this Resolution was considered at the recent Prime Ministers' Conference, which gave a welcome to Sierra Leone as a member of the Commonwealth, once the necessary legislative process had been completed. This Bill is one of the main instruments of that process. I would apologise to your Lordships because we have not had much time to consider the Bill, but I think that your Lordships will realise the circumstances. As the entitlement of the Bill shows, it is to make provision for...the attainment by Sierra Leone of fully responsible status within the Commonwealth. It was not possible to draw up the Bill until it was known that the Prime Ministers' Conference, which took place such a short time ago, had approved the Resolution passed by the Sierra Leone House of Representatives. While I regret that the presentation of the Bill has had to be rather hurried, I think that it does not contain anything that is controversial. The Bill follows the usual pattern of Independence Bills.

The White Paper which set out the background to the independence of Sierra Leone was published in May of last year. As your Lordships will know, Sierra Leone will be one of the smallest of the Commonwealth countries: in size, it will be about the same as Scotland, and in population about the same as New Zealand. Sierra Leone will be able [25](#) to stand on its own feet economically. It will not be a very rich country. Its main economic development lies in agriculture, and must always lie in agriculture, but there are several other important sources of wealth. In particular there are the diamond mines. Last year no less than £15 million worth of diamonds were exported from Sierra Leone. There is also an important and growing export of iron ore.

We are most anxious of course to do all that we can to help Sierra Leone in her future development. Shortly after the Constitutional Conference we announced our intention of giving aid, at the moment of Sierra Leone's independence, to the tune of £7. million; about half under Commonwealth Assistance Loans and the other half as a gift to take care of Colonial Development and Welfare schemes not yet completed. And we are only too ready to give what help we can in the way of technical assistance. Only last month the Director of Technical Assistance of the Commonwealth Relations Office went out to discuss with the Government of Sierra Leone what more we might be able to do to help them in this way. Again, since the announcement of our help, the [Overseas Service Bill](#) has been passed, and if Sierra Leone 'wished, we should be able to help her in meeting the expenses of civil servants who wish, as we hope they will, to continue to serve in that country.

We have had the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation working on the Guma Valley hydro-electric scheme, which is very important for the country's development. But we want to help Sierra Leone not only on the economic side but also in the development of her educational facilities. Your Lordships will know of the Fourah Bay College, the establishment of which was so generously helped by Durham University. We want to do all we can to help on the educational side, in so far as Sierra Leone may wish it. So much for the background, my Lords.

What will be the form of the new Constitution? That, of course, is not contained in the Bill itself but will be the subject of an Order in Council, as is the usual practice in such cases. The White Paper giving an account of what happened at the Constitutional Conference last year (Cmnd. 1029) sets out in [26](#) considerable detail the lines which we are going to follow for the Constitutional Instrument. For example, and importantly, there will be protection of fundamental rights, and that will be in a form similar to that which was followed in the case of Nigeria. Then one will find that the independence of the Judiciary, the independence of the Civil Service, the life of Parliament and so forth will all be prescribed in the Constitution; and they will be, and importantly, entrenched clauses in the Constitution. The entrenched clauses are, if I may put it that way, really entrenched, in the sense that it is going to be very difficult to change them, save if there is an overwhelming desire on the part of the country itself for a change. The procedure laid down is that for any change one must start by getting a two-thirds majority in the Sierra Leone Parliament, the House of Representatives. Once that

has been done, then there has to be a General Election, fought, presumably, if it is a controversial matter, on the subject of change. Then there will be the need for passing the same change again by a two-thirds majority. So I think your Lordships will agree that the entrenchment is a fairly strong one; and that is of great importance.

May I now turn to the Bill itself? In Clause 1 we see that Sierra Leone is to be part of Her Majesty's Dominions on April 27, 1961, and that after that date she will no longer be subject to the laws passed in the United Kingdom: her laws will prevail. That is, of course, the essence of independence. Clause 2 deals with the question of nationality. Like all these nationality clauses, it is very complicated, but I think the result is that there is to be established a Sierra Leone citizenship, in the same way as there is a citizenship of Ghana, and of Nigeria. That citizenship will cover both the Colony and the Protectorate. The citizen of Sierra Leone will become a British subject or Commonwealth citizen under the laws of the United Kingdom and Colonies. Clause 3 is consequential, and Clause 4 is the Short Title to the Bill. Then we have the Schedules, which I hope and feel explain themselves.

My Lords, there is only one other item on which I would touch, and that [27](#) is the question of defence. Again referring to the White Paper (Cmnd. 1029), in paragraphs 23, 24 and 25 your Lordships will see that the question of defence was considered at our meetings. It was agreed that, while a defence agreement between the two countries would be highly appropriate and desirable, none the less it would not be appropriate to try to work out any details until after Sierra Leone was entirely independent and on her own, so that nobody could possibly say that this was in some way a condition of the agreement for independence. We are doing it in the right way; that is, once Sierra Leone is independent, we will enter into discussions, if they so wish, and together, as equal parties, hammer out what is appropriate in the way of a defence agreement.

It is nearly 200 years, as I have said, since we first went into Sierra Leone. One has some sorrow, in a sense, that an association of 200 years is coming to an end. But that sorrow is quickly replaced by happiness, because, after all, it is the end of a purpose which we set out to achieve—for Sierra Leone to be independent. I think the balance is on the side of pride and of thanks to all those who have made this achievement possible—to the missionaries, to the traders and to the civil servants. Generally it is invidious to pick out names, but I do want to mention the present Governor, Sir Maurice Dorman, and the great compliment that has been paid to him by the people and Government of Sierra Leone in that they have asked Her Majesty whether it will be possible for him to be the first Governor-General of Sierra Leone. But, as always, the real tribute is due to the people of Sierra Leone themselves, because if they were not as they are, and if they had not had the leaders they have, we should never have reached this stage.

Above all, one recalls "the Doctor", as he is known to all the people of Sierra Leone—the Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai. I remember well how I first had the occasion to meet him four years ago at the Independence celebrations for Ghana. Quite naturally, at that time we had a talk, and in some degree it turned to the prospects for his own country. I was very much struck not only by his moderation and his charm, but also by his wisdom, which had in it [28](#) a certain firmness of purpose. We have seen that firmness of purpose over the years as he has been leading his country to this end, which will be finally given effect to on April 27 next when Sierra Leone is to become independent. I feel that it is a country which will be well launched under his guidance and the guidance of others of his Cabinet. I beg to move.

§ Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(The Earl of Perth.)

§ 4.7 p.m.

§ [THE EARL OF LISTOWEL](#)

My Lords, when your Lordships pass from the domestic policy of the Government to their colonial policy, as we have done this afternoon, there is usually a perceptible drop in the wind of controversy. That may not be so in all cases, but it is certainly true in the case of this Bill. We are all equally delighted that our oldest African Colony will achieve its independence next month, and that this transition from colonial to independent status has, thanks to the goodwill and co-operation that has existed on both sides, been brought about very smoothly and without any after-taste of bitterness. It is most gratifying that Sierra Leone has chosen to stay with us as a member of the Commonwealth, as the noble Earl pointed out, and that this wish has been endorsed by the other Commonwealth countries at the recent Prime Ministers' Conference. Though we may regret that the Bill had to be hurried, I am sure we should all agree that it was vital to have the endorsement of the Commonwealth countries for Sierra Leone Commonwealth membership before the Bill was introduced.

It is also most satisfactory that Sierra Leone intends to remain one of the Queen's realms. As somebody who knows from personal experience the enormous affection and respect felt for the Royal Family in West Africa, I am certain that Her Majesty The Queen will have a tremendous welcome when she goes there this autumn; and the Duke of Kent will have a no less happy time when he represents Her Majesty at the Independence celebrations in April. His mother's charm is well remembered in Ghana; and his sister had a great success in Nigeria. So he will find his family already established in the affections of West Africans.

[29](#) It is certainly a compliment to this country—and I am glad the noble Earl mentioned it—as well as to the personality of Sir Maurice Dorman, that the Government of Sierra Leone have chosen him as their first Governor-General. I heard a great deal about Sir Maurice Dorman before I had even met him, because he had served as head of the Welfare Department in Ghana, and during his time in that service had given the Gold Coast, as it then was, the most advanced system of community development in the Colonies—something of which we were all very proud. When, subsequently, I did meet him, and he was kind enough to ask me to stay with him in Freetown, I realised that administrative ability was not his only quality and that he was universally liked, both in the Colony and in the Protectorate. I should like to join with the noble Earl in offering him our congratulations and wishing him all success in his new office.

I was also glad that the noble Earl referred to that great figure, Sir Milton Margai. I think Sierra Leone is particularly fortunate to have in Sir Milton one of the wisest political leaders in Africa. I know that that judgment is one which would be shared by all who know him. He belongs to the old school of African statesman, both in years and in chiefly descent. As a doctor he has travelled all over the country, he has delivered babies almost everywhere, and he had become a popular, if not a national, figure long before he made his mark in politics.

There is, of course, still a certain amount of suspicion and distrust between the Colony and the Protectorate. Sir Miles himself is liked and trusted by everyone, and he is therefore in the best possible position to bring about a better understanding and to create that sort of loyalty to the nation that a new country, still divided by tribal and local loyalties, has gradually to acquire. Sir Milton has also established extremely satisfactory relations with his neighbours in Liberia and Guinea, and that is not always an easy thing to do in Africa, because national boundaries cut across tribes, and you find members of the same tribe living on different sides of these boundaries. But he has acted with great statesmanship in forming the happiest possible relationship with the political leaders in both these countries.

[30](#) Sierra Leone, as the noble Earl has said, is not a wealthy country. Indeed, I am afraid it would be true to say that it is a poor country, and needs a great deal of assistance. It is not merely essential to give Sierra Leone technical and capital aid; it is also essential to avoid saddling the country with a heavy additional burden of public expenditure with the coming of independence. Defence and diplomatic representation are the two most expensive items in the budget of a new country, and I hope

Her Majesty's Government will do their best to help Sierra Leone in both these respects. The noble Earl mentioned that an agreement about defence will be negotiated after independence. I am glad that it is being done in that way, so that Sierra Leone can negotiate as an equal.

The noble Earl did not mention this question of diplomatic representation, but I hope that both the United Kingdom and, indeed, other Commonwealth countries, will put at the disposal of Sierra Leone any services that may be required from their missions overseas and in that way, of course, save this country a very large additional expenditure. That is the other side of the picture—the provision of more aid from this country. The noble Earl mentioned the capital aid of £7½ million in the form of loans and grants which Her Majesty's Government have decided to give. Of course, that will not be a net gain to Sierra Leone, because it will be losing Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, and it will also lose fresh investment from the Colonial Development Corporation. So that will set off what Sierra Leone would otherwise lose as a result of independence, I do not know to what extent, but the noble Earl may be able to give us some information in that regard, although I did not give him notice of this point.

I am still not at all satisfied—and this is my only criticism—that the Government are doing enough to help these new Commonwealth countries., especially the poor ones like Sierra Leone, in the early years of independence, when their need is most urgent and when they are deprived of funds they have had during the period of time when they were a Colony. In regard to assistance from public funds to independent Commonwealth countries our record compares badly with the record of France, [31](#) and I hope that is something we shall not continue to accept for any considerable length of time.

I was delighted to hear what the noble Earl said about a new Constitution for Sierra Leone. It certainly sounds as though it was extremely well drafted, and I think everyone will welcome the inclusion of the Bill of Rights and the entrenchment of certain provisions basic to the Parliamentary system of government and for preservation of freedom of the individual citizen. These things are taken for granted in this country, but they are not so easily retained in Africa, and it certainly shows wisdom and prevision to entrench provisions of this kind and to make them difficult to alter. I am sure we would all join with what the noble Earl said in wishing the people of Sierra Leone the utmost success in this great adventure in freedom.

[§](#) 4.17 p.m.

[§](#) *LORD OGMORE*

My Lords, I should like to associate my Party and myself with the welcome which the two noble Earls who have spoken have given to this Bill, and also, of course, to the new member of the Commonwealth who will take her place with the others on April 27. As the noble Earl, Lord Perth, said, we in this country have had a long association with Sierra Leone, the longest of any with the West African Territories. As your Lordships know, our first association with West Africa was in the reign of the first Elizabeth, when we went there for the purpose of slave trading. Although it is quite true that we put down slave trading, it is equally true that we started it. It was started in the reign of the first Elizabeth, and I am happy to-day that in the reign of the second Elizabeth we have been making amends to the people of the West Coast for the activities of our forbears.

As the noble Earl has said, this is the fourth (I think he said the third; but it is the fourth, for there are the Cameroons) Territory on the West Coast which will no longer be under our guidance and supervision. In the course of the last few years, these vast Territories, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Cameroons have become, or will shortly become, independent, leaving us only with Gambia, which stretches along the Gambia River, a distance of some 200 miles, 10 miles in width, as our sole [32](#) remaining Colonial Territory. Not only is Sierra Leone the oldest Territory, but it also happens that this Colony was created in an intimate and curious way, so far as this country was concerned. It really arose out of the great and historic judgment of the noble Earl, Lord Mansfield—not the present one, of

course, but his ancestor—who was Chief Justice in the eighteenth century. Lord Mansfield made the celebrated and historic judgment that everyone who arrives at these shores and lays his foot on the soil becomes free.

As your Lordships can imagine, a great number of people tried to do that—a very estimable thing to do. So much so that in the course of time, with the activities of the Royal Navy, which was also scouring the seas to stop the slave trade, a large number of former slaves arrived in this country, and with a combination of shrewd judgment and philanthropy it was possible to establish the Colony, a philanthropic Colony and a religious Colony to some extent, on the shores of West Africa.

Anybody who may think we have had difficulties in our time with colonial development might read the experiences of those early colonial developers headed by the Reverend Zachary Macaulay, who was the father of Thomas Babington Macaulay, the historian. Not only did they meet great hostility, as can be imagined, from the people already there, but they also ran into a sort of backwash of the French Revolution. Shortly after the Colony had been established, a cruiser squadron of revolutionary Frenchmen arrived, and proceeded, in the way in which revolutionary armies and navies are inclined to, to wreck the Colony; so much so that they destroyed poor Mr. Macaulay's chickens, cut the throats of his pigs, took away the grain and left him and the Colony in very poor shape. But of course the Colony survived; and from that day to this it has had a particularly strong and intimate association with our country and with the religious life of this country. Your Lordships will remember the missionary college at Fourah Bay. This College long supplied educated people right down West Africa. If a clerk or a station master or some officer of that kind was wanted in other parts of West Africa, one generally went to Sierra Leone to get him.

[33](#) Now Sierra Leone has almost completed, and next month will complete, her full stature in the Commonwealth, and I join with the noble Earl, Lord Perth, and the noble Earl, Lord Listowel, in welcoming the fact. The Queen is to be the Queen of Sierra Leone as well as Head of the Commonwealth. I hope to have the honour of being present on April 27 in Freetown, when His Royal Highness The Duke of Kent is to perform the ceremony of Independence, and it will be for me a great joy to be there on that occasion.

There are just one or two points that I should like to ask the noble Earl. The first concerns the Privy Council. I take it that the Privy Council will be the ultimate, authority, so far as appeals from Sierra Leone are concerned. As your Lordships know, many of us in this House have regretted from time to time that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has not felt inclined to be a little more mobile, so far as these Territories are concerned. Some of the members, I am quite sure, would be more mobile if their colleagues would allow them. I feel that if they are not prepared to travel and hold Court occasionally in West Africa, particularly, and maybe in East Africa too, we shall lose that very important link that we have with them; and, far more important, they will lose the benefit of this most eminent Court, one of the most eminent Courts in the world, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to supervise their legal life.

The noble Earl, Lord Perth, has said that there will be in the Constitution entrenched clauses relating to these matters of humanity. This point is never very clear to United Kingdom people, because we, not having a Written Constitution, and not having a Supreme Court, as there is in the United States, do not see the need for it. But if you have entrenched clauses, if you have human rights clauses entrenched in your Constitution, it is very important to have the most eminent Court, if necessary, to interpret them and enforce them. That is another reason why, especially in a comparatively small Territory like Sierra Leone, it is very important that anyone aggrieved should have the opportunity of carrying his case to the Privy Council.

I do not think that the Privy Council will be able to sustain these links with [34](#) Nigeria and Sierra Leone—the links have gone, unhappily, with Ghana—unless occasionally the Privy Council goes

there. I believe that the noble and learned Lord, Lord Denning, has sat in Sierra Leone. He took part in an interesting innovation there, because he sat in a Peer's robes. That was, I think, an interesting circumstance, because, of course, members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Law Lords of this House, have no robes as such. The only robes they can wear are Peers' robes. That is one way, I believe, in which we can overcome this difficulty of robes. Of course, if the Privy Council does sit in these Territories, the members will have to sit robed; they cannot sit, as they do here, in lounge suits. With that one query and one hope, may I most warmly support this Bill, and say that I hope the Territory of Sierra Leone, the new independent member State of Sierra Leone, will have every possible good fortune in the future.

§ 4.27 p.m.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN

My Lords, last Thursday in this Chamber we had rather a sad debate, but to-day it is a happy one. I would rise from these Benches just to welcome the Bill and the fact that Sierra Leone next month will become a fully independent member of the Commonwealth. The noble Earl, Lord Listowel, in the name of noble Lords opposite has welcomed the Bill. In passing, I would say how glad I am to see the noble Lord, Lord Mathers, back in his seat. I hope he is now well on the way to complete recovery. The Bill has also been welcomed from the Liberal Benches by the noble Lord, Lord Ogmores. I must say that I feel that if the noble Lord, Lord Ogmores, went in for television competitions on the matter of history, he would be sure to make a great deal of money. He has really a great knowledge of it.

I am glad that Her Majesty's Government are going to give all the help they can., in the way both of direct and indirect finance and also of technical help, to Sierra Leone when she becomes fully independent. As to defence, I am glad that the defence solution is going to be made after the date of her independence, because, as has already been said, she can then make it as a fully fledged member of the Commonwealth. I congratulate all the people of the country [35](#) itself, and the Government and all the helpers behind the scenes who have made this independence possible at this time. My great hope is that Sierra Leone will enjoy being a member of the Commonwealth as much as we shall enjoy having her as one.

§ 4.29 p.m.

§ THE EARL OF SWINTON

My Lords, as an old Colonial Secretary and as a Resident Minister who spent many days in Sierra Leone during the last war, I should like—and I know my noble friend, Lord Balfour of Inchrye, who succeeded me, would wish to be associated with this—to extend our best congratulations and the warmest welcome to Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone played an important, indeed an indispensable, part in the last war in winning victory for us. Of all the ports in the world Freetown was perhaps the most important. Certainly, without Freetown it would have been almost impossible to carry on the war. It was the assembly point on which converged all the convoys coming from the South and North. All the independent tankers and food ships coming across the Atlantic concentrated in the port of Freetown which, happily, remained to them a free port all through the war.

I well recall four or five critical days when I happened to be in Sierra Leone, when we had 70 or more ships at risk coming from all over, and little to defend them with. The little M.Ls, which were meant really for river traffic, were going far out to sea, and there were, for certain, as we saw on the chart in the War Room, fifteen enemy submarines—there may have been more. Many attacks were made. Three certainly, four probably, of those submarines were sunk. One was sunk by a Wellington bomber with a young New Zealand pilot in charge. I well recall this because it was a Commonwealth episode

in every sense of the word. The plane was lost. There was a little rubber dinghy afloat and we hoped that this contained some of the airmen, but it did not; it turned out to have aboard the German commander of the submarine which the aircraft had sunk.

When he came ashore he told the story of how his submarine had been sunk. His was one of the largest new [36](#) German submarines. It was surfaced, and he said that this aeroplane came over and dropped a stick of bombs but missed him. He "opened up" at it with everything that he had got—and he had quite a number of guns. He said that the aeroplane was not only badly hit but was blazing from stem to stern. It managed to turn, to come back again and to drop a final stick of bombs on the submarine, which sank, and the plane crashed into the sea just in front of the submarine. That German commander said that if ever any man deserved the Victoria Cross it was the captain of that aeroplane. The Admiral and I were able to send that story home. The only evidence was that of the German submarine commander and, on the strength of that evidence, the young New Zealander was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross.

That is the sort of Commonwealth story that one likes to remember on an occasion like this, and I am quite sure that if ever—pray God it may not be!—the need came again, that port, the free port of Freetown, would be freely at the disposal of the forces of freedom. Not only did Sierra Leone provide that port and the men—tens of thousands of them, who did an enormous amount of work at the docks, on installations and in regard to water supply, because every ship has to be watered there, and on the airfields which were vitally important—and many of them enlisted freely in the forces of the Crown, and not a few served with the Army in Burma.

I am happy to think that Sierra Leone has other assets. Certainly it has its agriculture, but there are considerable assets besides. There are the diamonds, which are of enormous value. I recall that when I was Colonial Secretary I made the agreement with the Selection Trust for the exploitation of the diamond mines, I must say with great credit to the company, on extremely favourable terms. They did all the exploration and the Sierra Leone Government got 27½ per cent. of the profits. I think that was a pretty good deal. I remember that when Lord Balfour of Inchrye and I were in Africa the Government's diamond share then, in the war, was bringing in something between £350,000 and £400,000 a year. Then I remember—I do not suppose it is exhausted [37](#)—the considerable iron ore supply, with a railway to get it. I imagine that iron ore is still coming from it. There was quite valuable timber as well.

The Prime Minister of Sierra Leone has, as has been said, shown himself an able and responsible man. I believe that these people will be able to discharge the great responsibility as well as the rights which now devolve upon them; and they will start with the warmest good wishes, not only of both Houses of Parliament but of all the people of this country.

§ 4.38 p.m.

[§ LORD DENNING](#)

My Lords, it was my privilege last year to go to Sierra Leone to open the new Court of Appeal, and, as the noble Lord, Lord Ogmores, has said, I attended the sitting of the Court wearing a Peer's robes together with a full-bottomed wig. Indeed, it was a great occasion to see that the people of Sierra Leone are perhaps in advance of the other countries, because the people there have trained up their own lawyers, and from those lawyers have produced their own judges; so that in Sierra Leone you now have judges and magistrates of the country very much attached to the Common Law which they have inherited from this country, and at one in upholding the fundamental human rights which are now to be in their Constitution. Their attachment to the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is to be ensured, and the independence of the judges, which also is to be ensured by the fact that a judge cannot be removed except after inquiry there and eventually on an appeal to the Privy Council, means that they are carrying through the principles which they have inherited from this

country. With that strong bulwark, I am confident that they will play their full part among the emergent countries, and I would add my word of welcome to this Bill.

§ 4.40 p.m.

§ THE EARL OF PERTH

My Lords, I am not surprised at the welcome which has been given by so many of your Lordships to this Bill, for it is a Bill in which we all rejoice, and this is a very happy occasion. I was particularly glad to hear, and I am sure the House welcomed, the words of the noble Earl, Lord Swinton, for not only had he been Colonial Secretary but—more to the 38 point on this occasion—he was for a long time Resident Minister during a critical period. The noble Earl recalled the great service that the people of Sierra Leone gave, particularly those around the port of Freetown, and that so many of them volunteered to serve in our common cause at that time. It was a pleasure, also, to see the noble Lord, Lord Balfour of Inchrye, here, for as your Lordships will know, he succeeded the noble Earl, Lord Swinton, as Resident Minister.

Then we heard words of welcome from the noble Earl, Lord Listowel, who mentioned particularly how fortunate it was that His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent should be going out to represent Her Majesty at the Independence celebrations. I know we all rejoice at that and feel it is very appropriate, in that there is this, as it were, special relationship with that family, in the link between Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent and Ghana and Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra and Nigeria. That is particularly happy. One can express no higher expectation than that he will perform that duty as well as other members of his family have done.

The noble Earl asked me a question on economic assistance, and, in particular, whether we would help in such matters as diplomatic representation. I have no doubt that the answer is: if we can help on the diplomatic side, as we have done on other occasions, we shall be only too pleased to do so. No doubt, so will other members of the Commonwealth, if that should be appropriate and in accordance with the wishes of the people of Sierra Leone. It is true that, to some degree, in comparison with the aid given by France to her overseas territories our aid may be somewhat less; but it certainly does not warrant any unfavourable comparison being made, for I believe that it stands out as second in the world in relation to the wealth of a country. And, after all, it has to be borne in mind that, besides the help given by the Government, there is help given by private individuals.

As your Lordships will know, from those two sources together, something 1¼ over per cent. of our gross national product is now being invested abroad; and we have to be careful not to do 39 more than that, for a reason of which your Lordships all know; namely, that we must avoid strain on our foreign exchange. There has, therefore, been some limit to what we are able to do. I can assure your Lordships, however, that we will continue, under technical assistance or otherwise, to give all the help we can. For example, £3½ million of the £7½ million I mentioned will be in the form of Commonwealth assistance loans which will replace, and may perhaps more than replace, aid which might have been given to Sierra Leone as a Colony.

The noble Lord, Lord Ogmore gave us some interesting historical comments on Sierra Leone. In particular, he asked—very appropriately and properly, I thought—whether the right of appeal to the Privy Council would remain. In Command Paper 1029, to which I have referred several times this afternoon, it is stated in paragraph 20 (j), on page 8, that: The rights of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in matters concerning the interpretation of the constitution, and also the existing rights of appeal to the Judicial Committee... should be "entrenched" and remain. The noble Lord was very right in stressing the importance of that right remaining. It was good to hear the noble and learned Lord, Lord Denning, speaking of his experience last year, and making the important point that the people of Sierra Leone are well served in judicial matters, having both their own lawyers and judges—for which, I suspect, Fourah Bay College is largely responsible. We heard from

the noble Viscount, Lord [40](#) Goschen, that after last week this was a happy occurrence; and I very much agree with him.

My Lords, I think there is nothing more for me to do except join with other noble Lords who have spoken in wishing the people of Sierra Leone every happiness and prosperity in their new venture into independence.

§ On Question, Bill read 2^a: Committee negatived.

§ Then Standing Order Number 41 having been suspended (pursuant to the Resolution of March 23), Bill read 3^a, and passed.