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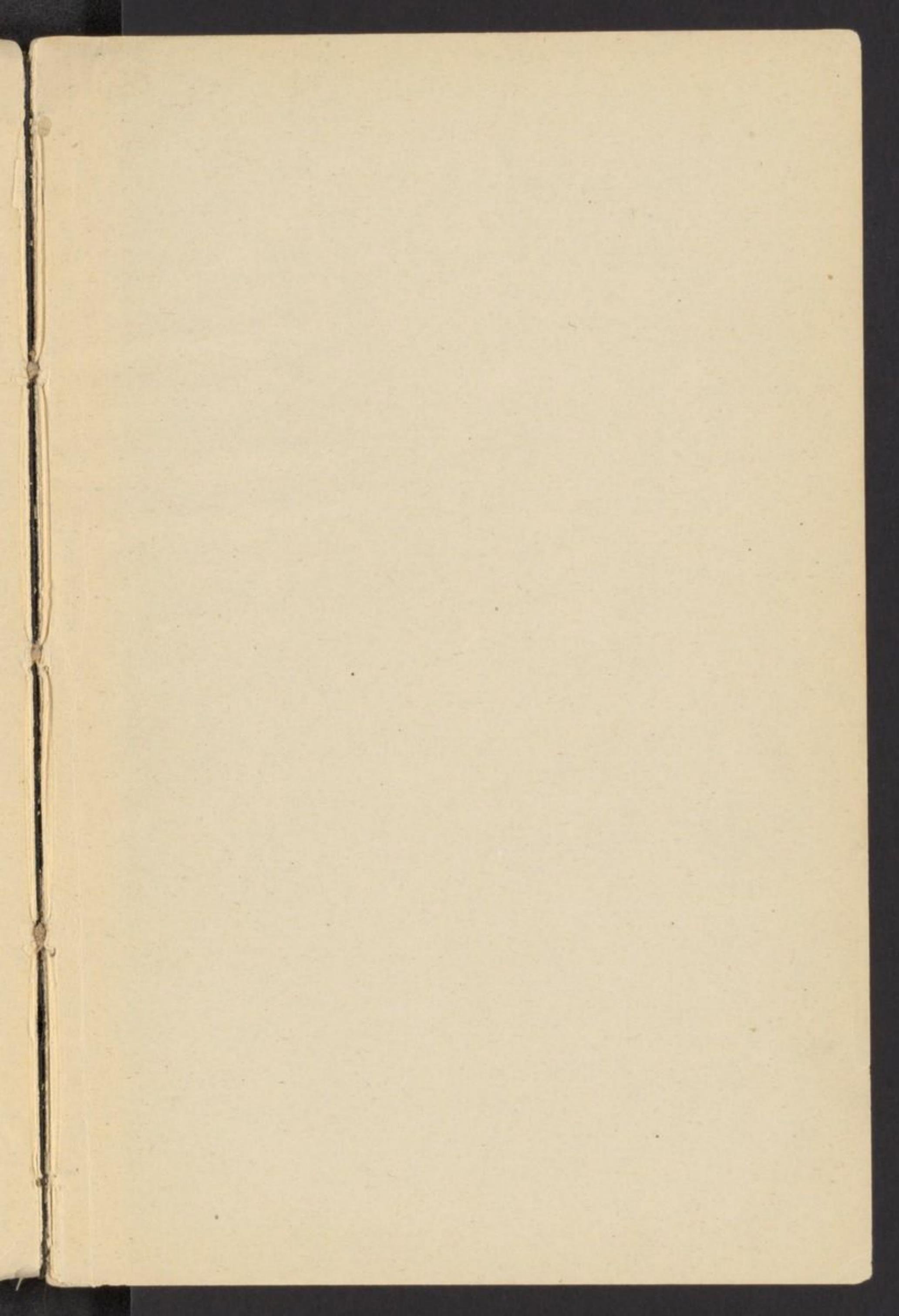
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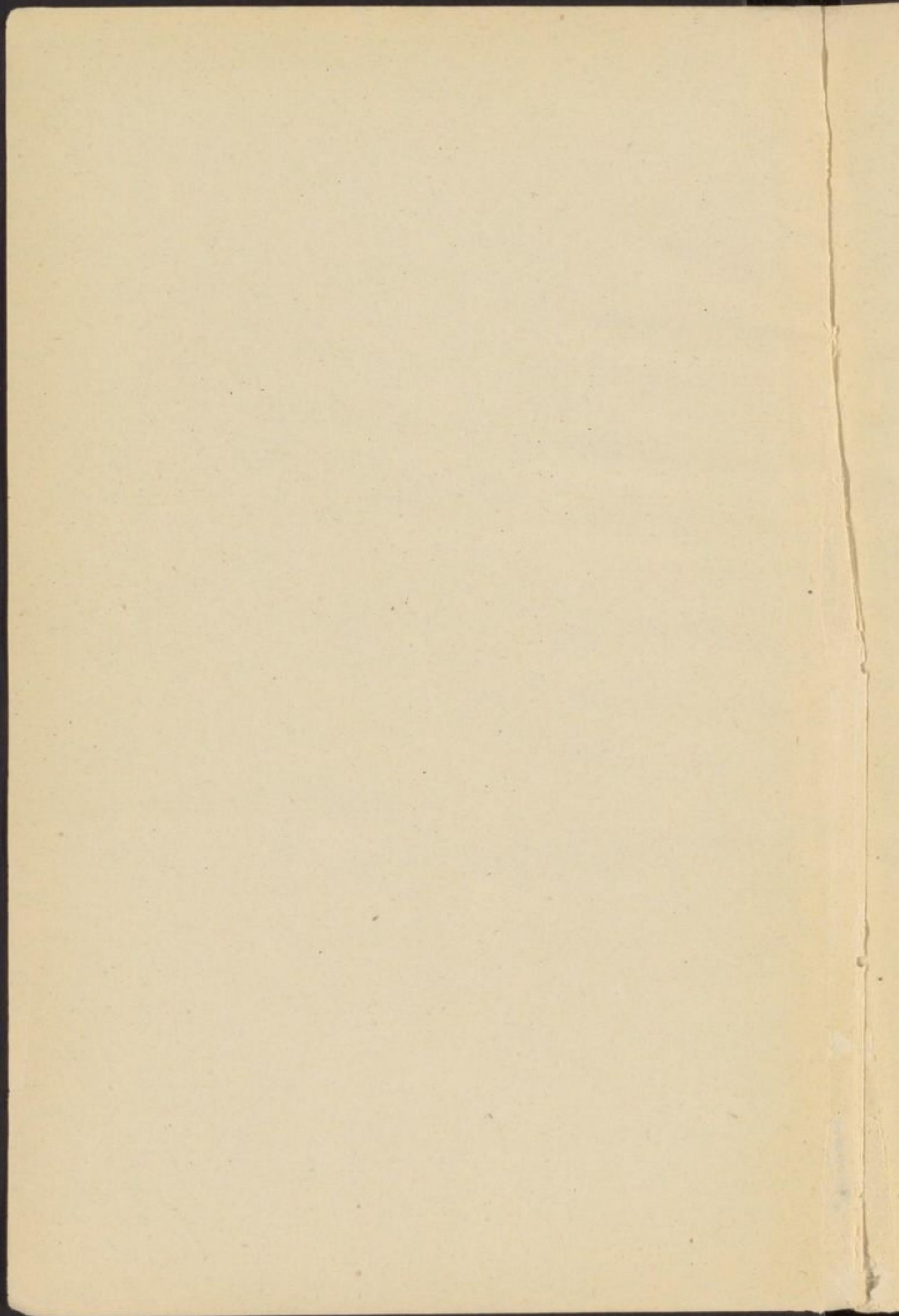
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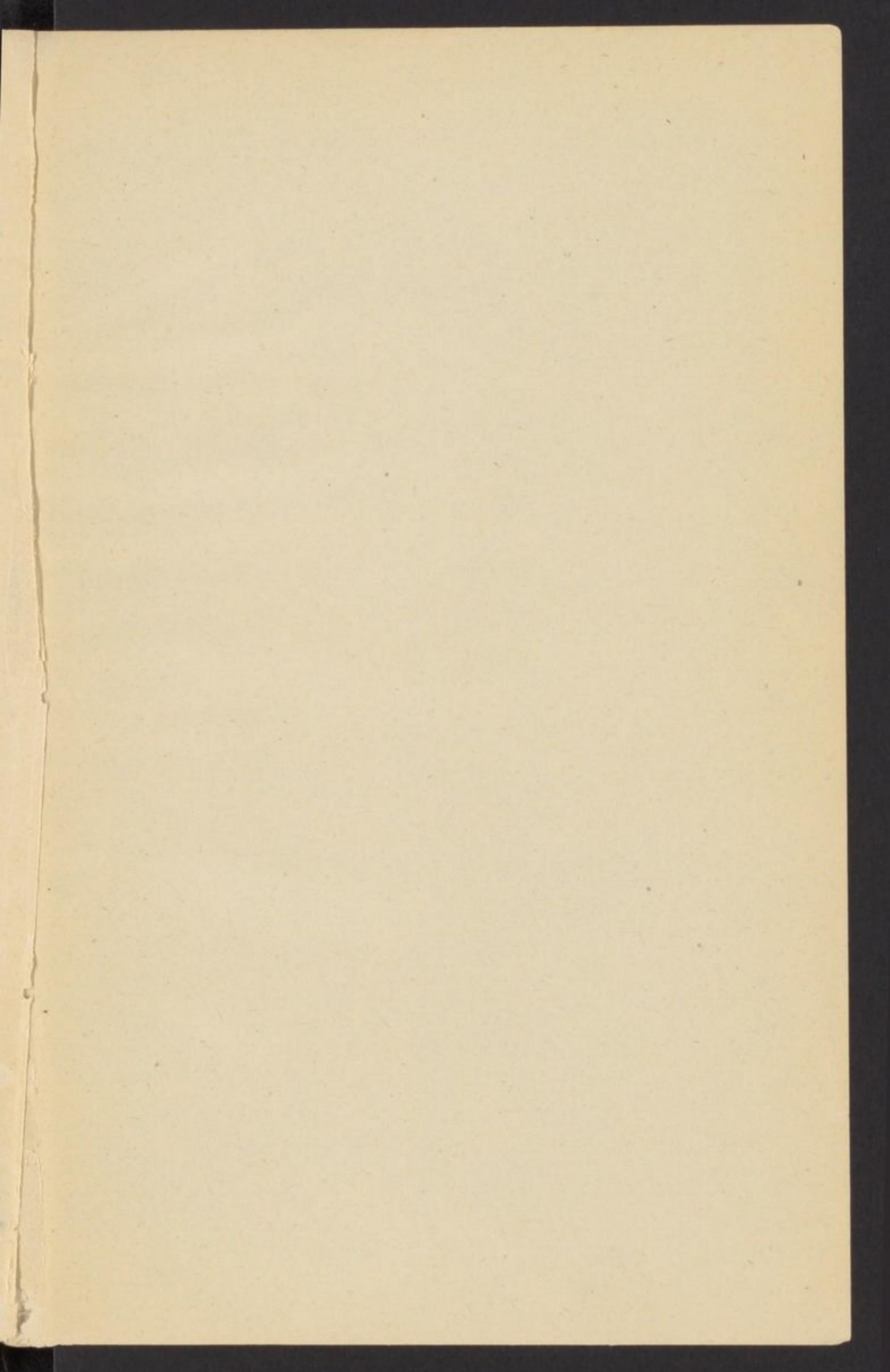




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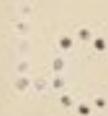
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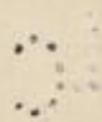
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Editorial Note.

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

January 1920.

Director of the Historical Section.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL	
(1) Position and Frontiers	1
(2) Surface, Coast, and River System	
Surface	2
Coast	3
River System	4
(3) Climate	5
(4) Sanitary Conditions	6
(5) Race and Language	
Race	7
Language	7
(6) Population	
Distribution	8
Towns and Villages	8
Movement	9
 II. POLITICAL HISTORY	
Chronological Summary	10
(1) THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC	
Original Settlements	10
Establishment of Commonwealth... ..	11
Declaration of Independence and Constitution	11
Recognition by the Powers	11
Annexation of Maryland	11
(2) HISTORY OF LIBERIA TO 1904	
Difficulties of the Liberian Government... ..	11
Frontier Delimitation	12
Convention of 1885 with Great Britain	12
The Frontier with Sierra Leone	12
The Boundaries with French Territory	13
The First Foreign Loan	13
Incidents of the 1871 Loan	13
Growth of Nationalist Party	14
Relations with United States	14
Election of President Barclay	14

TABLE OF CONTENTS

[No. 130

	PAGE
(3) HISTORY OF LIBERIA FROM 1904 TO 1914	
The Loan of 1907	14
Amendment of the Constitution (1907)	15
Hindrances to Reform	15
The Frontier Force	15
American Intervention	15
Mission to United States	15
Recommendations of American Commission	16
International Loan of 1912	17
Relations with Great Britain	17
Relations with Germany	17
Liberia declares War on Germany	18
 III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS	
(1) RELIGIOUS	19
(2) POLITICAL	
The Constitution of 1847	20
The President, Senate and House of Representatives	20
Tribal Government	21
(3) MILITARY ORGANIZATION	21
(4) PUBLIC EDUCATION	21
State Schools	21
Schools maintained by Churches	22
Industrial Training	23
Higher Education	23
 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS	
(1) The Problem of Liberia	24
(2) The Native Question	24
(3) The Internal Government	25
(4) The Future of Liberia	26
 IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	
(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION	
(1) Internal	
(a) Roads, Paths, and Tracks	27
(b) Waterways	28
(c) Railways	30
(d) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones	31
(2) External	
(a) Ports	31
Accommodation	31
Nature and Volume of Trade	31
Adequacy to Economic Needs	32

	PAGE
(b) Shipping Lines	32
(c) Cable and Wireless Communications... ..	33
(B) INDUSTRY	
(1) Labour	33
(2) Agriculture	
(a) Products of Commercial Value	34
(b) Methods of Cultivation	36
(c) Forestry	37
(d) Land Tenure	37
(3) Fisheries	37
(4) Minerals	38
(5) Manufactures	39
(6) Power	40
(C) COMMERCE	
(1) Domestic	
(a) Towns, Markets, &c.	40
(b) Foreign Interests	41
(c) Methods of Economic Penetration	42
(2) Foreign	
(a) Exports	
(i) Quantities and Values	43
(ii) Countries of Destination	45
(b) Imports	
(i) Quantities and Values	45
(ii) Countries of Origin	46
(c) Customs and Tariffs	46
(D) FINANCE	
(1) Public Finance	47
(2) Currency	50
(3) Banking	50
(E) GENERAL REMARKS	51
APPENDIX	
EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES	
I. Anglo-Liberian Convention of November 11, 1885	52
II. Franco-Liberian Arrangement of December 8, 1892	52
III. Franco-Liberian Agreement of September 18, 1907	53
AUTHORITIES	55
MAPS	56

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1907

1. Introduction

2. The History of the ...

3. The ...

4. The ...

5. The ...

6. The ...

7. The ...

8. The ...

9. The ...

10. The ...

11. The ...

12. The ...

13. The ...

14. The ...

15. The ...

16. The ...

17. The ...

18. The ...

19. The ...

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21. The ...

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88. The ...

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92. The ...

93. The ...

94. The ...

95. The ...

96. The ...

97. The ...

98. The ...

99. The ...

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE territory of the negro Republic of Liberia is situated in West Africa, the North Atlantic Ocean forming its south-west boundary; on the west it is bounded by the British colony of Sierra Leone, on the north by French Guinea, and on the east by the French colony of the Ivory Coast. Its extreme western limit is the mouth of the Mano river in about $11^{\circ} 32'$ west longitude, its extreme southern limit the mouth of the Kavalli (Cavally or Du) river in about $4^{\circ} 22'$ north latitude. Towards the north it appears to extend to the neighbourhood of $8^{\circ} 35'$ north latitude, while its extension eastwards depends upon the somewhat undetermined course of the Kavalli river; but it seems probable that this nowhere lies east of the mouth in about $7^{\circ} 32'$ west longitude. The country is some 170 miles in extreme depth from south-west to north-east, and some 440 miles in length from north-west to south-east, and covers an area of about 38,400 square miles.

The western boundary starts from the point where the Moa (Makona) river is joined by the Dundogbia (about $8^{\circ} 29'$ N., $10^{\circ} 19'$ W.), and strikes south to the Magoi (Mawa) river, which it then follows as far as about $10^{\circ} 40'$ west longitude (13° west of Paris). From this point the boundary follows the meridian to the Morro river, and that river to its junction with the Mano (Bewa), the left bank of which it then descends to the sea.

The northern boundary starts from the point on the Moa river already mentioned, and ascends the river as far as the confluence of the Sodia river.

Thence it runs on a very irregular course in a general south-easterly direction to the source of the Nuon (Cestos) river, following in part the upper courses of the St. Paul (Diani) and St. John (Mani) rivers.

The eastern boundary, which begins at this point, follows the Nuon river as far as the junction of the Nimoi stream, and then crosses to the source of the Boan, which it descends to the Kavalli river, thence following the right bank of the latter to the sea.

The intention of the various contracting Powers has been to lay down frontiers which either follow tribal boundaries or else natural features of the ground. In the case of that part of the French Guinea frontier which lies between the St. Paul and Nuon rivers, the existing boundary, it is stated, divides the territories occupied by the Monon and N'gere tribes into two parts, and the frontier should therefore be moved to the south and should run from its present lowest point on the St. Paul river to its present lowest point on the Nuon river; if this change were effected Liberia would lose about 3,000 square miles of territory. The difficulties about the boundaries of the republic have arisen mainly from the inability of the Liberian Government to exercise control over all the territory in which it claims authority.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

Liberia is a broken, mountainous country, whose surface falls in a south-westerly direction from the western slopes of the divide of the Niger river basin to a strip of comparatively level land, a few miles wide, bordering the North Atlantic Ocean. It is traversed by numerous rivers, most of which flow in a general north-east to south-west direction.

The coastal region is fairly well known for a depth of 30 or 40 miles, but almost all the rest of the country is unexplored, except where boundary surveys, of somewhat varying value, have been made.

From a shore which is generally low, sandy, and narrow the ground rises slightly and then descends to form marshes and creeks, alternating with extensive grassy plains. Throughout this stretch of country there are necks and "islands" of comparatively high ground, which are inhabited and to some extent cultivated during the dry season. To the north-east the ground rises gradually to the mountains of the interior; this rising ground is composed of clayey soil, very suitable for the cultivation of coffee. All the Liberian settlements are either in this coastal strip, or else higher up the valleys which traverse it. From the foot of the mountains, the dense forest begins and continues as far as the interior boundaries of the State. Some of the hills rise to an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, and on the north-east frontier there are certain peaks whose height has been estimated by different explorers at from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, although it is uncertain whether they are in Liberian or French territory. Almost all these hills are clothed with thick forests up to their summits. The country is in general covered by an extremely dense forest, broken only by clearings for cultivation made by the original tribes. Out of the State's total area of about 38,400 square miles, an authority has estimated that 3,500 square miles are occupied by the Liberian plantations, cultivation, and towns, and 2,500 square miles by the clearings of the tribesmen; the rest of the territory is forest land, except that part of it which forms the Mandingo savanna plateau.

There is a great deal of fertile soil; indeed, if the somewhat casual observations of travellers be accepted, the whole country may be described as unusually well suited for agriculture.

Coast

The coast, running north-west and south-east, is generally low and sandy and only slightly indented, but is broken by the mouths of many rivers and by a

few headlands. The length of the coast is between 350 and 400 miles. It is considered fairly safe for trading vessels, but there are many rocks, and the surf is heavy and dangerous. Steamers have to anchor at a distance from the coast, varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 miles, according to the anchorage. There are bars across all the river mouths, and the landing is bad everywhere except at Monrovia.

There are few lagoons behind the shore, but there are a good many deep creeks, and these serve in some places as a means of access to the navigable channels of rivers. In other cases the creeks provide interior waterways whose utility could, it is said, be increased at small cost by connecting them with neighbouring rivers by means of short canals.

There are no harbours, but it is thought that useful ports could be constructed, without any great expenditure, at the mouths of the Sino, Sanguin (Nibwe), and Cestos rivers.

River System

From the divide of the Niger basin in French Guinea six important rivers flow through the Republic to the sea; their courses have a general direction from north-east to south-west. These are (going from north-west to south-east) the Mano (Bewa), the Loffa, the Diani (with its tributary the Oule), the Mani, the Nuon, and the Kavalli. The Moa (Makona), a seventh river, which skirts without traversing Liberian territory in the north-west enters the sea as the Sulima river, while the Diani, Mani, and Nuon are known respectively in their lower courses as the St. Paul, the St. John, and the Cestos rivers. The course of the Loffa has not been followed to its mouth; it is probably the upper course of the Little Cape Mount River, though by some believed to flow into the Mano. All these six rivers have courses which are probably between 200 and 300 miles in length. The Kavalli, which is the largest, is about 1 mile wide at its mouth.

In addition there are twenty or more other rivers, from about 200 to 50 miles in length, which also flow from north-east to south-west.

At present all the rivers are of little value for commercial navigation, mainly because the administration of the country is so backward that no serious attempt has yet been made to utilize them. The only rivers which, so far as is known, are at present navigable are: (i) the Mano, navigable by canoes for a short distance from its mouth; (ii) the St. Paul, navigable by craft drawing 3 ft. of water as far as the rapids at White Plains, 20 miles from the mouth, and for a considerable distance by canoes from this point; (iii) the Dukwia, a branch of the Junk river, navigable by canoes for 30 miles; (iv) the Sino, navigable by canoes for 15 miles; (v) the Kavalli, navigable by canoes for 80 miles, and by small steamers for 50 miles at high-level river, and for 43 miles at low-level river.

(3) CLIMATE

Little is known with accuracy about the climate of Liberia. For a distance of about 120 miles inland it is said to be equatorial. The *harmattan*, a dry north easterly wind, blows in the north-western part of the country for two or three months during the first part of the year, and during the rest of the year there is a strong sea breeze along the coast which does not penetrate far inland. On the coast the worst months for storms are March and April, but they also occur in November, December, February, and May.

On the coast and in the interior forest country north of 6° north latitude, the heavy rains begin in April and last until the middle of November, with a break in August. The dry season lasts from the middle of November until the end of March. In the interior, south of 6° north latitude, the seasons are very similar, except that the dry season and the summer break in the rains are less marked, and that the rains last until

December. In the coastal region the annual rainfall is about 150 in. (3,810 mm.), and in the interior about 100 in. (2,540 mm.). In the savanna tract the seasons are similar to those in the northern coastal area, except that there is believed to be about half the rainfall, and that the dry season commences somewhat earlier and lasts somewhat longer.

The highest and lowest temperatures occur throughout the country during the dry season. At Sikombe, which seems to be the hottest place in the country, maximum temperatures of 100° F. (38° C.) are common during the dry season, while at Putu, some 30 miles east of Sikombe, the corresponding maximum is about 87° F. ($30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ C.); at both these places the minimum at the same period is about 57° F. (14° C.). In the savanna country during the dry season the maximum shade temperature varies from 86° F. (30° C.) to $91\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. (33° C.), while the minimum varies from 50° F. (10° C.) to 59° F. (15° C.). During the rainy season the coastal extremes are 85° F. ($29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ C.) and 75° F. (24° C.), while in the savanna country they are about 78° F. ($25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ C.) and $65\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. (18° C.), with a mean of from $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. (22° C.) to 75° F. (24° C.). March seems to be the hottest month throughout the whole country.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Liberia seems to be a comparatively healthy country, especially in its northern part. The most unhealthy seasons are the beginning and end of the rains, September and October being the worst months.

The commonest diseases are malaria, dysentery, beriberi, smallpox, conjunctivitis, rheumatism, elephantiasis, and various skin diseases. The jigger and the guinea-worm are prevalent. Sleeping-sickness is known, but does not appear to give much trouble. Malaria is not of a virulent type, and is said to be much less common than might be expected. It appears that Liberians are as much subject to malaria as are

Europeans, but that the indigenous tribes are more or less immune. Very little hygienic work has been done by the Liberian Government.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

The Liberians are the descendants of freed slaves of many African nationalities, some of whom had an admixture of European blood. The indigenous inhabitants may be divided into three main families: (i) the Krus (including the Grebo, Bassa, and De tribes), who inhabit the country east of the Loffa river, and extend into the French Ivory Coast colony; (ii) the Mandingos (including the Vei, Gbandi, Kondo, and Kisi tribes), who live west of the Loffa river and extend to the north into French Guinea; and (iii) the Kpwesis (including the Buzi tribe), who inhabit the central and north-eastern part of the State. There are many ramifications of these families, and there are some tribes who have no connexion with any of them; e.g. the Goras, who inhabit both banks of the middle course of the St. Paul river, the Sikons, the Putus, the Vayas, the M'boros, the Gons, the N'geres, and others who live north and north-west of the Kru country. Of these peoples, the Mandingos, and possibly the Krus, are invaders from the north.

Language

There is a great number of languages and dialects, every tribe having one or the other of its own, each unintelligible to its neighbours. Five groups of languages have been distinguished: (i) Kru, (ii) Mandingo, (iii) Kpwesi, (iv) Gora, and (v) Bullom. The first four, with their many modifications, are spoken by the families and tribes referred to above. Bullom, a language spoken on the Guinea Coast, is used by the Kisis. Of all the languages and dialects only Vei is written; it has an alphabet of its own.

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

It has never been possible to take a census of the indigenous population, and the Government has not even made one of the Liberians; consequently only estimated figures of population can be given, and these are little better than guesses. The civilized Liberians probably number between 50,000 and 60,000, of whom about 12,000 are said to be descendants of freed slaves other than those coming from America; considering that there has been intermarriage between these people and those slaves who came from America, and between both of them and indigenous natives, the last figure must be accepted with great caution. The indigenous natives have been estimated to number between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 millions, and since an authority who arrived at his figures by tribal details gives the latter number it may be the more correct.

Towns and Villages

The Liberians live mainly in more or less isolated farms and settlements in the coffee-producing coastal strip; but there are some towns, most of which lie along the coast and are situated at places where there are facilities for handling ocean-borne trade. Of these towns Monrovia, with a population of about 6,000 (including Krutown), is the chief; others are Robert Port, Marshall, Harper, and Greenville (Sino). There are some townships, such as Careysburg, in the interior of the coastal region, but these are of small size and little importance.

The indigenous tribesmen live in towns and villages which are generally walled or stockaded. The Mandingos, being nomadic, are to some extent an exception to this custom, although they too have their strongholds. Some of the towns are said to contain as many as 5,000 inhabitants; but most of them are

much smaller, their population being numbered by hundreds, and some are stated to contain only from 25 to 50 huts.

Movement

There is nothing to show whether the population is increasing or not. It is said that among the Liberians the birth-rate is comparatively low, and that the farther inland the more numerous the children. On the other hand there is little doubt that among the tribesmen infant mortality is very high in consequence of the hardships of native life and the lack of proper treatment of disease.

Neither emigration¹ nor immigration is believed to exist in any permanent form, the influx of negroes from America having ceased long ago. The Krus who are employed on steamships are not permanent emigrants, except that a few have settled at Freetown in Sierra Leone; and of all the tribesmen the Mandingos alone appear to wander outside the territories of the Republic.

¹ In 1914 an agreement was made between the Governments of Liberia and Spanish Guinea for the supply of Liberian labour to Fernando Po; whither, in the same year, 260 Liberian natives were consequently sent. For the terms and a criticism of this agreement, see *Spanish Guinea*, No. 125 of this series, p. 31.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1816-17 Foundation and organization of the American Colonization Society.
- 1822 Settlement of American colonists in the future Liberia.
- 1833 Foundation of the independent State of Maryland.
- 1838 New Liberian Constitution drawn up.
- 1847 Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Liberia
- 1848-49 Recognition of the Republic by most of the Great Powers.
- 1857 Annexation of Maryland by Liberia.
- 1862 Recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the United States.
- 1871 First foreign loan. "Reign of Terror." Deposition of President Roye.
- 1885 Frontier Convention with Great Britain.
- 1892 Frontier arrangement with France.
- 1903 *Procès-verbal* drawn up for the delimitation of the Anglo-Liberian frontier.
- 1907 Frontier Agreement with France. Second foreign loan.
- 1908 Liberian diplomatic mission to the United States.
- 1909 United States Commission in Liberia.
- 1910 Report of United States Commission to Congress.
- 1911 Frontier Agreement with France.
Frontier Convention with Great Britain.
- 1912 Third foreign loan.
- 1917 Final confirmation of delimitation of Anglo-Liberian frontier (June).
Declaration of war on Germany by the Republic of Liberia (August).

(1) THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

The negro Republic of Liberia was originally founded by the American Colonization Society and other philanthropic bodies, supported by the Government of the United States. It represented an attempt to establish a civilised Christian State in West Africa,

by repatriating liberated slaves, and providing them with the means of settlement, subsistence, and defence.'

The first settlements were made round the mouth of the Mesurado (Montserrado) river in 1822 and during the next few years others were planted at Lower Buchanan, Sino, &c. By 1838, when a new Liberian constitution was drawn up, all these, with the exception of Maryland, were united in one Commonwealth. The establishment of this federation facilitated amicable relations with the native tribes. Its political position, however, was still anomalous; for the supreme authority was in the hands of the American Colonization Society, and British traders and the British Government, therefore, refused to recognise Customs duties imposed by the Liberian authorities. To meet this difficulty the Liberian people in 1847 declared themselves "a free, sovereign, and independent State by the name of the Republic of Liberia," and adopted a constitution based on that of the United States. In 1848 a treaty of Commerce and Amity was concluded with Great Britain, and in 1848-49 England, France, Prussia, and most of the other Powers, recognised the new Republic as a sovereign State. The United States, however, did not formally acknowledge the independence of Liberia until 1862. In 1857 the independent African State of Maryland, started at Cape Palmas in 1833, was, by consent, annexed to Liberia, as the Maryland County.

(2) HISTORY OF LIBERIA TO 1904

From the first the Liberian Government was faced by formidable problems, racial, political, and social. The relations between the slave-descended American-Liberian settlers and the comparatively uncivilized but free indigenous tribes were difficult to adjust, and native risings were frequent. The Liberians themselves were hardly ripe for self-government; but they were.

¹ Report of Fourth Auditor to the Secretary of the Navy, quoted by J. H. T. McPherson, *History of Liberia*; Johns Hopkins University Series, Baltimore, 1891.

not unnaturally, somewhat suspicious of European intervention, and distrustful of the territorial and commercial ambitions of their powerful neighbours, France and Great Britain. The chief incidents in the history of Liberia are foreign loans and frontier treaties, with the attendant negotiations. The attempt to combine the preservation of internal independence with the acceptance of external financial and administrative aid gives a certain continuity to the shifting confusion of Liberian domestic politics.

Frontier Delimitation.—The establishment of a continuous Liberian coast-line and the definition of the Anglo-Liberian and Franco-Liberian inland frontiers were matters of vital importance to the Republic. It was not long before a dispute arose with Great Britain on the subject of the north-west boundary. In 1849 the coast-line extended from the San Pedro river, on the south-east, to Cape Mount, the furthest settlement on the north-west. Between 1849 and 1852 various purchases were made from the natives, covering some 50 additional miles of the seaboard, and extending to She-Bar, near Sherbro Island. But this territory was left unoccupied, and the British traders who had settled in it refused to acknowledge the Liberian claim. Correspondence on this subject between the British and Liberian Governments followed, and in 1870 Lord Granville proposed as a compromise that the River Sulima should be the boundary. The Liberian Senate refused to accept this proposal. In 1882 the British Government insisted that the boundary should be fixed at the Mano river, some 15 miles from Cape Mount. Liberia protested; but the United States advised acquiescence, and the draft convention was signed in November 1885.

Further negotiations followed in 1902, and in 1903 an Anglo-Liberian Boundary Commission drew up a *procès-verbal* which demarcated the Sierra Leone—Liberia frontier with greater exactitude. In consequence of native disturbances in 1905-6, however, the Sierra Leone Government extended its control over

the territory subject to the chief of Kanre-Lahun. The Government of Liberia was subsequently permitted to establish posts at Kanre-Lahun and in the adjacent districts; but the presence of Liberian officials was found to endanger the peace of the territory, and in 1908 they had to be removed. On January 21, 1911, a convention was signed, transferring the territory of eleven Kanre-Lahun chiefdoms to Sierra Leone, in return for a money payment and for an area between the Mano and Morro rivers. The Morro thus became the southern boundary of Sierra Leone, and this delimitation was finally confirmed in June 1917.

Meanwhile, the demarcation of the Franco-Liberian boundaries, after long and tedious negotiations, was determined by an arrangement in 1892, which was confirmed by a law of 1894, and by the agreements of 1907 and of January 13, 1911. The joint Liberian-French survey of the new frontier was, however, still incomplete in 1914. The result of these various agreements was to fix the Kavalli river as the south-eastern Franco-Liberian boundary, and to give Liberia a more definite and natural line of frontier and a continuous though limited territory on the coast, but, on the other hand, to deprive her of a considerable portion of the territory which she had claimed, both on the coast and in the hinterland.

The First Foreign Loan.—The internal politics of Liberia have been to a great extent determined by fiscal necessities. In 1871 the Government negotiated its first foreign loan in London, with disastrous consequences. The terms caused dissatisfaction in the Republic, and the President, Roye, who had approved the loan before the question had been submitted to the Legislature, was suspected of aiming at the establishment of a despotism. An armed rising—the “Reign of Terror” of 1871—resulted, and the President was deposed by the “sovereign people of the Republic of Liberia.” Brought to trial before the Supreme Court of Justice, he managed to escape, only

to be drowned in attempting to take refuge on an English steamer.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century saw the growth of a Nationalist pro-African or so-called "Whig" party in Liberia, which desired to restrict foreign interference and settlement. Liberian politicians were, however, on the whole well disposed to Great Britain; Germany, at the same time, was steadily strengthening her hold on the country, while the attention of European financiers and traders was turned more and more to the commercial and industrial possibilities of the Republic.

Though the United States postponed official recognition of the independent status of Liberia till 1862, their relations with the small Republic were always regarded as "quasi-parental"; and, while the Washington Government clearly stated that it did not exercise a protectorate over Liberia, it frequently intervened when difficulties arose between the Liberian Republic and foreign States, and it consistently expressed its "peculiar interest" in the maintenance of Liberian independence. Unfortunately, during the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Liberian Government had great difficulty in maintaining its authority over the native tribes, many of whom boldly refused allegiance to the Republic. Intertribal wars and slave-raiding were common in the interior, while in the more settled districts the growth of officialism, and the incompetence, apathy, and untrustworthiness which prevailed in the public service threatened the country with bankruptcy. Such was the situation when, in 1904, the election of the full-blooded negro Arthur Barclay to the office of President opened a new and more eventful phase in the history of the Liberian State.

(3) HISTORY OF LIBERIA FROM 1904 TO 1914

The Loan of 1907.—President Barclay had a clear and well-conceived policy of reform. He saw the importance of the support of the native population, and

wished to entrust them with the management of their own local affairs, through their chiefs. In the first year of his Presidency he summoned a congress of native "kings" and chiefs to Monrovia, and he strongly emphasized the African character of Liberia and the kinship between the American-Liberians and the aboriginal citizens. He recognised the importance of education, and advocated Government supervision of the judiciary, reduction in the number of officials, prolongation of the Presidential term of office, and the prompt settlement of the frontier questions. In some directions he was successful (*cf.* p. 25). In 1907 an amendment to the Constitution extended the period of Presidential office from two to four years, and the frontier agreement was concluded with France. But internal reforms were checked by the two obstacles which always hinder Liberian progress, financial embarrassment and lethargic or self-interested officialism. Great Britain, which at this time was, in a political sense, the dominant foreign Power in Liberia, now intervened, and the loan of 1907 was negotiated in London, but only on condition that a British Inspector of Customs should be appointed; while at the same time a Liberian Frontier Force was organized under British officers, and schemes were mooted for the reform of the Liberian judiciary. All these plans, however, resulted in disappointment. The Frontier Force was unpopular; the Liberians disliked the white officers, and objected to the recruitment of men in Sierra Leone; and early in 1909 the Act of 1908 creating the Force was repealed, and a new Act was passed, which reorganized it, and placed it under the command of Liberian officers.

American Intervention.—Meantime, the 1907 loan had not relieved the Liberian Government from its financial entanglements, and in 1908 a diplomatic mission was despatched from Liberia to the United States to solicit aid in negotiating arbitration treaties and securing the integrity of the Republic, and to ascertain the possibility of floating a new loan. In May

1909 an American Commission arrived in Liberia, and in March 1910 its report was laid before the United States Congress, accompanied by a message from President Taft and a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, in which he criticized somewhat severely the British and French policy in Liberia. The Commission made the following recommendations to the Government of the United States:—

(1) That the United States extend its aid to Liberia in the prompt settlement of pending boundary disputes.

(2) That the United States enable Liberia to refund its debt by assuming (as a guarantee for the payment of obligations under such an arrangement) the control and collection of the Liberian Customs.

(3) That the United States lend its assistance to the Liberian Government in the reform of its internal finances.¹

(4) That the United States lend its aid to Liberia in organizing and drilling an adequate constabulary or frontier police force.

(5) That the United States establish and maintain a station for scientific research in Liberia.

The Commission held the view that, without prejudice to diplomatic usage, America might act as Liberia's "attorney and next friend," and "bring to the negotiation of her difficulties the ability and prestige of the United States." Congress refused to consider the question of a treaty with Liberia guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the Republic; but suggested that Liberia might make such a treaty with the European Powers concerned through the instrumentality, though without the participation, of the United States. Finally it was agreed that the Liberian Republic, without losing any of its rights of sovereignty, should be provided by the United States with a

¹ The Commission advised that the Receiver whom the United States were to nominate to superintend the Customs should be an official capable of acting as financial adviser to the Liberian Government.

director of agriculture and officers to organize and command the Frontier Force, and that Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States should consolidate and liquidate Liberia's debt, and should exercise a common financial control over the Customs. In 1912 an international Liberian loan was negotiated, and receivers of Customs representing the Powers were appointed, with the American representative as general receiver and financial adviser to the Liberian Government. The new arrangement, though it has produced some friction and distrust on the part of the Liberians, seems to have worked fairly well, and to have effected a gradual but steady improvement in the financial condition and administrative methods of the Republic, and in the organization of the Frontier Force.¹

The feeling in Liberia towards Great Britain, cold in 1909, fluctuating in 1912-13, became definitely friendly after the outbreak of war in 1914. Germany, on the contrary, who in 1909 was tightening her economic and political grip on Liberia, lost popularity in consequence of the threatening attitude which she adopted after the attacks on German factories in the riots occasioned by the levying of the additional revenue required by the new loan of 1912. The Germans had secured preponderance on the right bank of the river Kavalli, the boundary between the Liberian Republic and the Ivory Coast; and the Liberian Customs authorities hindered the import and export trade with the French. So strong had the German houses, supported by their Government, become, that no French firm could start business on the Liberian side of the river boundary, while the German firm of Woermann carried on a contraband trade in arms in the western region of the Ivory Coast, where French troops were engaged in pacifying the native tribes. German firms sometimes actually ventured to sail their boats under the Liberian flag, which, protected by the United States, was

¹ For the financial details of these loans see below, p. 48.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

As is natural with a negro State numbering among its founders Americans of New England Puritan stock, and freed Christian slaves from the American Continent, the American-Liberians have always professed a somewhat narrow and severe form of Christianity. Though they are comparatively free from the grosser superstitions, they are said to have "erected the Bible into a sort of fetish." Almost exclusively Protestant¹, they belong to various sects: Protestant Episcopalians, Methodist Episcopalians, African Episcopalians, Free Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, &c.

Chiefly missionary in origin, these bodies have to a great extent kept in touch with their parent societies in America. They are maintained by voluntary effort and private endowment; and considerable sums of money are subscribed yearly for their benefit in the United States. They still retain a missionary character, establish mission schools, and endeavour to convert the native tribes. The majority of the original settlers in Liberia belonged to the Baptist Church, and this was the first Christian Church to be organized in the new country; but there has never been an Established or State-aided Church, and the Constitution of 1847 proclaims the "natural and inalienable right" of freedom of worship, and grants universal toleration to all Christian sects, with no exclusive privileges or preference. Of the indigenous population, the Mandingos are

¹ There is said to be one French Roman Catholic mission at work in the country.

Mohammedans, and appear to be winning many converts. Christian missions have met with some success among the Grebo people; but, out of a native population which has been estimated at some two millions, about 300,000 are said to be Mohammedans, and only about 40,000 Christians, while the remainder are fetishists and ancestor-worshippers.

(2) POLITICAL

The Liberian Constitution of 1847 is closely modelled on the Constitution of the United States, though with differences inseparable from the small size of the Republic of Liberia, and the special circumstances of its foundation.¹ Opening with a Declaration of Rights, which prohibits slavery and the slave-trade within the Republic, the Constitution vests the legislative power in an elected Senate and a House of Representatives, the executive power in an elected President, assisted by a Vice-President and other Ministers, and the judicial power in a Supreme Court and such subordinate Courts as the Legislature may establish. These are now represented by the official magistrates, the local monthly Courts of common pleas, and five quarterly Courts.

The President now holds office for four years. Candidates for the Presidency must be 35 years old, possess unencumbered real estate of the minimum value of 600 dollars, and have been citizens of the Republic for five years. Since the passing of the constitutional amendments of 1907 the Senators sit for six years, and the representatives for four years. Their eligibility for election is based on residence, age, and the possession of real estate. There are now eight members in the Senate,² and fourteen in the House of Representatives, representing the four counties of Liberia, and (in the House of Representatives) Cape Mount Territory, on

¹ The differences between the two Constitutions are well brought out by L. Jore, *La République de Libéria*, pp. 70-88.

² Nine with the Vice-President, who is *ex officio* President of the Senate.

the basis of two Senators for each county, and one representative for every 10,000 inhabitants. All elections are by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, has the right of suffrage. The real property qualification incidentally confines the franchise, and also the offices of representative, Senator, and President, to the coloured population; for other clauses of the Constitution provide that no person shall be entitled to hold real estate in the Republic unless he be a citizen of the same, and that none but persons of colour shall be admitted to citizenship in the Republic. Practically then, eligibility for the Legislature, for high executive position, and for the Parliamentary and Presidential franchise, is restricted to a comparatively small number of American-Liberians, and of natives who have adopted Liberian civilization.

The majority of the natives are still under tribal government, organized, as a rule, in groups or clans, with hereditary chiefs or "kings," general councils of the male tribesmen, and custom law. The ancient tribal Constitution of the Grebo people seems to have been of a patriarchal character, with a more or less democratic government, administered by a very full and powerful popular council.

(3) MILITARY ORGANIZATION

There is a Military Department, and, in addition to the Frontier Force, a Liberian militia, divided into five regiments, which are again subdivided into companies. These troops receive rations and pay when on active service. The Constitution of 1847 asserted the right of the people "to keep and to bear arms for the common defence."

(4) PUBLIC EDUCATION

Soon after the foundation of the independent Republic, the Liberian Legislature established common schools, subsidized by the State. School committees were instituted, and, subsequently, commissioners of

education were appointed in each county; and education for three days a week, either in public schools or in other schools, was made compulsory, between the ages of eight and sixteen. By 1900 the number of schools had greatly increased; and a bureau of education was created, with a general Superintendent of Public Instruction, who submits an annual report to the Legislature. In 1901 the Superintendent published a regulation to the effect that school should be opened for four days a week and for five hours a day. In 1903 there were 100 public schools in the four counties of Liberia, with 100 teachers and 3,221 pupils, male and female, of whom 803 (or 24.9 per cent.) were natives. By 1910 there were 113 schools, with 122 teachers, and 4,100 pupils. In his inaugural address in 1904, President Barclay deprecated the political character of the appointments of Superintendents and Commissioners of Education, stated that it was necessary to put life into the dead bones of the system of public instruction, and recommended that the Superintendent of Public Instruction should be made a member of the Cabinet, and that he should be assisted by an advisory Board of Education.

In addition to the common or public schools, Liberia has an educational system maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and another supported by the American Protestant Episcopal Church, with an insignificant number of Baptist and Lutheran schools. The Presbyterian schools, which are said to have formerly exercised a very good influence, have now been closed.

The Methodist educational system includes all grades from the primary to the college course, and in 1904 was maintaining 26 schools, with 43 teachers, and 932 pupils. Its main centre is the College of West Africa, at Monrovia. The president of this College acts also as general administrative superintendent of the Methodist schools. The schools are mainly supported by Methodist missionary organizations, and are in direct touch with the Methodists of the United States.

The Protestant Episcopal school system is administered on much the same lines. In 1904 it had 50 schools, with 1,490 pupils. The Protestant Episcopalians appear to supervise their schools better than the Methodists, and their teachers are much better paid, which makes for greater efficiency.

These Church schools, in accordance with their missionary character, have been active in promoting the education of native children. For the year 1903 it was estimated that rather less than half the total number of children at school in Liberia were natives. In actual numbers the State was educating about 337 more native children than the Methodists, and about 376 less than the Protestant Episcopalians; but the proportion of natives to Liberians in the public schools was only about 24.9 per cent. as compared with about 50 per cent. in the Methodist schools, and about 73.5 per cent. in the Protestant Episcopalian schools. The purely Liberian schools appear also to have done less in the direction of industrial training than the schools connected with missions. These mission schools originally introduced industrial teaching into Liberia, and they still carry it on. In some cases agricultural and domestic instruction is given, and good results have been obtained.

Advanced teaching is provided by both the Methodists and the Protestant Episcopalians; but the chief institution for the higher education of both men and women is Liberia College, about a mile from Monrovia. Incorporated in 1850-51, and opened in 1862, it is managed by two boards of trustees, one in the United States and one in Liberia. It was at first maintained chiefly by America; but since 1890 it has been almost entirely supported by the Liberian Government, which has established preparatory schools in connection with it. The College, which was reorganized in 1900, has four departments, preparatory, law, industrial, and collegiate, and a department for women. In 1904 it had 40 collegiate students, 12 professors and instructors, and a total of 120 students.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

(1) *The Problem of Liberia*

Liberia is noteworthy (i) as being, with the exception of Abyssinia, the only independent State left in Africa; but it can hardly be classed as a native African State, since in its origin it was of the nature of a colony; (ii) as being the one part of Africa with which the United States have been more or less directly concerned; (iii) as illustrating, like Hayti in the West Indies, the difficulties encompassing a negro republic.

The Republic of Liberia is a highly artificial political creation. A native African State, in tropical surroundings, yet with an American language, religion, and form of government, and with traditions inherited from a servile past, it was called on to represent an exotic Christian civilization in the midst of a vigorous pagan tribalism. If the results have been disappointing, the difficulty of the task must also be remembered.

(2) *The Native Question*

The civilized American-Liberian minority has not been able to impose its will on the great mass of the indigenous population. There is still a wide and comparatively uncivilized interior over which the Republic has nominal sovereignty, but very little real control. The native tribes of the interior claim to be independent; they defy the Liberian Government, wage internecine wars, carry on an active slave-trade, and practise cannibalism with impunity. A Department of the Interior was founded in 1869, and entrusted, among other functions, with the extension of Liberian laws to the aborigines, with the negotiation of treaties and alliances with native kings and chiefs outside the jurisdiction of the Government, and with the direction of the native commissioners of counties. Yet here, as in the simultaneous attempt to extend the

Liberian public educational system to the natives of the interior, the administrative machinery seems to have remained practically ineffectual; and, so recently as 1914, it was found necessary to pass an Act forbidding the Secretary of the Interior and all native African district commissioners in towns and villages to claim fees other than those provided by law. President Barclay early in the twentieth century pleaded in vain for a more sympathetic and conciliatory national policy towards the natives—"less *hauteur* of the wrong sort, less of the assumption of a superiority which does not exist." He wished to recognise, support, and cooperate with the leading native families; to organize the tribal territory on the American-Liberian system of townships; to give the inhabitants rights to land situated within a specified area; to grant local self-government and the recognition of customary native law to the people; to supervise the natives by resident commissioners; and to create two new law courts, the court of the native chief, and the court of the district commissioner, with appellate jurisdiction over the native chief's court. But these schemes were not carried out, though a tardy attempt at reform was made in 1914 by an Act regulating the Department of the Interior. Meantime, it was practically impossible to collect the revenue in the interior, and the district commissioners won an unenviable reputation for self-seeking and cruelty towards the natives, and were even accused of slave-dealing (*cf.* p. 14).

(3) *The Internal Government*

In the internal government of Liberia, in the judiciary, in finance, and in politics, it is the same story. Some of the more able and enlightened American-Liberians have admitted the need for reform and have tried to remedy the worst abuses; but the root of the evil probably lies in the character of the material from which the ranks of officialdom have to be recruited.

(4) *The Future of Liberia*

There is, then, practical unanimity as to the existence of a grave Liberian problem; but opinions differ widely on the question of its solution. Some of the leading men of Liberia, among them President Barclay and Dr. Blyden, the distinguished negro statesman and writer, have advocated the abandonment of what Sir Harry Johnston has called Liberia's "pitifully Anglo-Saxon" ideals, and the adoption of a more distinctively African policy of native intermarriage and assimilation, coalescence and incorporation with the aborigines, and the modification of European or American usages to suit the African temperament and circumstances. In answer to those politicians who have lost all patience with the Republic, and all hope of its future regeneration, it has been urged that it has been in existence as a State for less than a century, that its political independence only dates from 1847, and that this is a short period for the trial of an important constitutional and social experiment.

Whatever influence may be brought to bear on Liberia in the future, it should aim at ensuring to the country such opportunities for economic development as will enable the Republic to set its financial system on a sound basis, at training the Liberian citizens in self-reliance and independence of mind, and at opening up the interior of the country and winning the respect and confidence of the native tribes.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

If Liberia is to develop at all, means of communication must be improved. At present there is no railway, the rivers are little used, and there are hardly any roads. The difficulties in the way of road and railway construction are considerable, for it is believed that 80 per cent. of Liberia is covered by tropical forest, while the tribes of the interior are constantly at war, and many are hostile to Europeans.

(a) *Roads, Paths, and Tracks*

The bulk of the American-Liberian population inhabits a triangle of which Careysburg is the apex and the coast-line between the St. Paul and Junk rivers is the base. Such roads as the Government has hitherto made are in this district, but they are very limited in extent and in utility. In 1906, there was a spurt of energy, due to a loan made to the Government by the Liberian Development Company, and a motor road was constructed between White Plains, on the St. Paul river, and Careysburg. The British firm of W. D. Woodin & Co. has recently been importing motor-cars and lorries, in the hope of stimulating road construction, and in the spring of 1918 the road between Monrovia and Paynesville was being made fit for motor traffic. The descriptions and even the photographs published by travellers who have visited the country in

the last ten years show how great is the need for such improvements.

In the interior the traveller has to trust entirely to native paths. Many of these, bordered and overhung by rank vegetation, are mere tunnels, a foot or even less in width, and deep in water in the rainy season. In Eastern Liberia, however, the tracks between the villages are broad and well cleared. Ingenious 'hammock' bridges of twisted vines and creepers span the rivers. Many of the paths were elephant tracks in the first instance, and travellers are occasionally attacked by angry herds. Tribal warfare at times closes the tracks of a district for months together. In short, the whole system is quite inadequate for the passage of any considerable volume of traffic.

Means of transport are equally limited. On the coast oxen are used to draw roughly-made carts; there are also a few horses, and a promise of better things in the motors recently introduced. In the forest goods must be carried by native porters. A *kinja*, or long, narrow basket, strapped to the shoulders, is used for most loads, though European packages are sometimes borne on the head. A porter will carry from 60 to 90 pounds, and the day's march is about 20 miles. In the extreme north, not yet fully explored, there is open savanna country, in which the Mandingos use horses for riding, and horses and donkeys as pack animals.

(b) *Waterways*

A glance at the map of Liberia suggests the possibility of an extensive system of communications by water, for the country is crossed by six large and at least twenty smaller rivers, nearly all flowing southwest, and linking the interior with the coast. Some of them are believed to be of great length, but their upper courses are almost entirely unexplored. At present the rivers are little used, partly because of physical difficulties such as sandbanks and bars, rocks, rapids, and insufficient depth, but mainly because the administra-

tion of the country is so backward that no attempt has been made to utilize them effectively.

Named from west to east, the chief rivers of value for navigation are the Mano, the St. Paul, the Dukwia, (*Rivière du Queah*), the Sino, and the Kavalli.

The *Mano*, the western boundary river of Liberia, is navigable by canoes for a short distance only.

The *St. Paul*, known in its upper reaches as the *Diani*, has been stated to be about 280 miles in length. At its mouth there is a bad bar, but a tidal channel called Stockton Creek connects the river with the Mesurado lagoon at Monrovia, four miles to the south-east. The creek has in places a depth of only 2 feet at low water, but is navigable by steam launches of light draught, which can ascend the St. Paul as far as White Plains, some 20 miles from the sea. Here there are rapids, the first of a series obstructing navigation for about 70 miles. Beyond these the river is said to be navigable by boats for a considerable distance. It might be worth while to make a road connecting the upper and lower reaches.

The *Dukwia*, flowing south-west, meets the *Junk*, which flows south-east, parallel with the coast, and the two reach the sea in an estuary with a bad bar. Canoes can ascend the Dukwia for 30 miles, to Saddle Hill, where rapids prevent further progress. The Junk is really a tidal creek, some 15 miles in length, and if this were canalized and the canal extended westward it would meet the Mesurado lagoon and provide Monrovia with an outlet eastward.

The *Sino* has a very strong current, and an estuary obstructed by rocks and sandbanks. To enter from the sea when the surf is at its worst is a terrifying experience, but the water inside is tranquil, and canoes can ascend for 15 miles.

The *Kavalli*, the eastern boundary river, is probably the longest in Liberia. Small steamers can ascend for 50 miles when the river is at its highest, and for 43 miles even when it is low. Canoes can go up for 80 miles. On account of the bar at the mouth ocean-going

steamers usually discharge cargo at Harper, a few miles to the west. Goods can then be taken to the river either overland, or, for part of the distance, by canoe on the coastal lagoon called Sheppard Lake.

Very little is known about the depths of these rivers. One account of Western Liberia states that changes in the water-level are very sudden, and also that in the dry season nearly all the streams can be forded at about 100 miles from their mouths. In view of the densely-wooded nature of the country, it seems likely that the water is sufficiently evenly distributed to prevent any serious hindrance to navigation by floods.

The Liberian Government has a revenue cutter of 900 tons, and various trading firms maintain steam and motor launches in the creeks of the Mesurado lagoon and on the larger rivers. For most purposes, however, native dug-out canoes are used.

(c) *Railways*

There is no railway in Liberia, though the need for one has long been realized. Railway construction was mentioned in the original charter of the Liberian Development Company. In 1911 a French writer suggested the desirability of building a railway from Monrovia to Beyla in French Guinea, with a westward branch connecting with Baiima, the terminus of the Sierra Leone railway. It was left for the Germans, however, to take the first steps. Wiechers & Helm, of Hamburg and Monrovia, secured in 1913 concessions for the construction of three lines. The negotiations were conducted with great secrecy, and the exact direction of the lines was to be left to the company to determine. Construction was begun at Monrovia and at Boporu, and was to be carried on towards Zinta and French Guinea. The progress of the scheme was interrupted by the outbreak of war. It is an open question whether railway development should precede or follow the construction of a network of motor roads.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones

The postal system is very rudimentary, and there are no inland telegraphs. In 1910 the Germans established a telephone system at Monrovia.

(2) EXTERNAL*(a) Ports*

Accommodation.—The coast of Liberia is sheltered from northerly winds, and southerly winds do not blow with much violence, so that it is considered fairly safe for traders. There are no real harbours, and vessels have to lie out at distances varying from three-quarters of a mile to 4 miles from the shore, according to the anchorage. There are several places on the coast where goods can usually be landed in safety on the open beach by means of surf-boats. The best port is Monrovia, where ships can anchor on a good sandy bottom in anything over five fathoms at a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the shore, and are sheltered from the full force of the sea by a bold promontory. There is a lighthouse, but frequent complaints are made of its inefficiency.

Nature and Volume of Trade.—Customs dues are of primary importance in Liberian finance, and to ensure their collection European traders are confined to specified "ports of entry." In 1913 these included the seaports of Robert Port, Monrovia, Marshall, Buchanan (Grand Bassa), River Cess (Ses), Greenville, Nanna Kru, Sesstown, Grand Sess (or Sesters), Harper, Half Kavalli, and Kablake. A great deal of smuggling, however, has gone on in the past, and many ships have been wrecked in attempts to land cargo on desolate parts of the coast so as to avoid the Customs officials.

The following table, taken from the British Consular reports, shows the shipping entered at Monrovia in 1908, 1909, 1911 and 1912. The return for 1910 included only those vessels which had dealings with

the British Consulate and is therefore useless for purposes of comparison:—

Nationality.	1908.		1909.		1911.		1912.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
British	100	194,789	97	195,173	174	380,198	178	391,304
German	223	449,385	197	384,884	231	536,485	249	568,592
Spanish	9	18,381	13	20,084	24	35,494	24	35,005
Other	11	16,193	2	4,836	4	7,148	—	—
Totals	343	678,748	309	604,977	433	959,325	451	994,901

It will be noticed that German shipping was preponderant.

Adequacy to Economic Needs.—The present harbour accommodation is altogether inadequate, and no thorough inquiry has been made as to future possibilities. A better lighthouse system certainly ought to be maintained, and Monrovia harbour could probably be improved by breakwaters. Further, there are several points, such as the entrances to the Sino, Sanguin, and Sestos rivers, at which useful ports could probably be constructed without involving prohibitive expenditure.

(b) Shipping Lines

Under normal conditions five lines of steamers used to call regularly at Liberian ports. The Elder Dempster line had a fortnightly service from Liverpool, and a monthly service from Hamburg and Rotterdam, but its express steamers called only occasionally and only for special reasons. The Woermann Line, Hamburg, had a monthly mail and passenger service from Hamburg and Dover, and frequent cargo steamers. Vessels of the Compañía Trasatlántica called every two months on their way between Barcelona and Fernando Po. Two French lines, the

Compagnie Fraissinet, Marseilles, and the Chargeurs Réunis, Havre, provided irregular services.

(c) *Cable and Wireless Communications*

Direct cable communication with Europe was established by German cable *via* Teneriffe in 1910, and with New York by the South American Cable Co., a French company, which opened a station at Monrovia in 1912.

There is a French wireless station at Monrovia, with a normal range of 280 nautical miles by day and 550 by night. Another, now dismantled, installed by the Deutsch-Südamerikanische Telegraphengesellschaft, of Cologne, had a range of 320 nautical miles by day and 650 by night.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

The British Consul-General at Monrovia stated in 1910 that "labour is scarce and expensive, and probably the worst in the world." This sweeping statement seems to be justified with regard to the majority of the tribes at present known in the interior, but there are some exceptions. The Vei people, for instance, are obliging, peaceable, fond of agriculture and commerce, and furnish reliable porters, guides, interpreters, and servants. The Kru tribes on the eastern part of the coast provide good sailors, who are capable, hardworking, and obedient when employed, as they largely are, under European control in ships or in neighbouring colonies. In their own land, however, they are noisy, drunken, and self-assertive. No supply of labour need be expected from the descendants of the colonizing element. (See also, as to emigration, p. 9 note.)

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

It is known that the Liberian forests are abundantly supplied with plants of commercial value, but no complete study of them has yet been made.

There is an indigenous *cotton* (*Gossypium punctatum*), besides two exotic varieties (*Gossypium peruvianum* and *Gossypium barbadense*). There seems little doubt that soil and climate are suitable for the cultivation of cotton on a large scale. Vegetable dyes are obtainable locally, yellow from annatto seed, red from camwood, and blue from various species of wild indigo, the most valuable of which is *Indigo suffruticosa*.

Foodstuffs are obtained from numerous plants, some indigenous and others introduced. Many of the latter have spread so abundantly that now they can hardly be distinguished from native varieties. The oily nuts of *Coula edulis* are much prized; the young fruit of one species of *Hibiscus*, called *okro*, is boiled in soup or as a vegetable. The bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*) is common all along the coast. There are many spices valued locally, though too strong for European tastes, such as Guinea pepper (*Xylopia æthiopica*), "African nutmegs," or seed-vessels of *Monodora myristica*, and "grains of Paradise" from the shrub *Aframomum malagueta*. There are many edible fruits: mangoes, limes, pineapples, oranges, wild peaches, plums, pawpaws, guavas, avocado pears, plantains, and bananas. The soil suits ginger, but this root is not grown to the same extent as formerly. Sugar-canes used to be planted along the St. Paul river, and did well, but their cultivation has dwindled since the introduction of beet sugar. The natives grow dry and wet rice, both of excellent quality, cassava (*Manihot utilissima* and *Manihot palmata*), a little maize and Guinea corn, beans, peas, and yams. There is a fine coffee (*Coffea liberica*), which produces large

berries of full flavour, but these are often spoilt by faulty preparation. The prospects for cocoa are promising, and many Liberian planters now grow it in preference to coffee.

The kola-nut tree (*Cola acuminata*) is found in the forest, and has been planted also at points along the coast.

Gum copal, about equal in quality to that exported from Sierra Leone, is obtained from *Copaifera dinklagei*, which is widely distributed.

Palms of various kinds are found. The oil-palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is abundant, especially in the southwestern part of the State, and supplies for export both oil and kernels. The bamboo palm (*Raphia vinifera*) has many local uses, and the piassava fibre obtained from it is exported. The fan palm (*Borassus flabelifer*) furnishes vegetable ivory, used for making cheap buttons. The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*) is not a native, but it grows freely all along the coast, and even as much as forty miles inland, beside the rivers. It would probably richly repay systematic cultivation.

Rubber can be obtained from at least sixteen species of trees and vines,¹ though the product varies greatly in value. Among the best are *Funtumia elastica*, which is said to grow to a great height in the Nidi forest in Sino County; several species of the *Landolphia* vine, the most valuable being *owariensis*; various fig-trees; and *Clitandra nitida*, a climber which yields the red rubber known in the French Sudan. Since 1905 the Pará rubber tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) has been tried in a plantation of 1,100 acres near Monrovia, and also in other parts. It flourishes here better than in most of the neighbouring colonies, and as it yields the best rubber of commerce, its cultivation should lead to important results.

The country seems well suited for the cultivation of *tobacco*, and some experiments have been made.

¹ An exact classification is given by Dr. Otto Stapf, of Kew, in an appendix on *The Known Plants of Liberia* in Sir H. Johnston's *Liberia*, pp. 616-32.

The chief animal product of value is ivory. Elephants are believed still to be numerous in the forests, but are not much hunted, except by the natives of Western Liberia. The tusks obtained are of small size. The hawksbill turtle (*Chelone imbricata*), which is very common, furnishes the tortoiseshell of commerce.

There is an indigenous variety of wild pig, which can readily be tamed when young, and might be domesticated. Its flesh is good to eat.

Of domestic animals, small, plump, short-horned goats are found almost everywhere. Hairy sheep, which give excellent mutton, are found in the forests, and in the north there is a fat-tailed variety. There are two sorts of cattle, a small parti-coloured breed of European origin, common along the coast, and a larger kind kept by the Mandingos in the northern savanna country. These can also stand the forest climate fairly well. It is said that in the interior neither cows nor goats are milked, but are kept entirely for their meat. Fowls, dogs, and cats are kept in most villages. The Muscovy duck, originally introduced by the Portuguese, has become well established in the coastal region. Horses and donkeys are bred in the north.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

Native agriculture is very primitive, though most of the tribes of the interior do farming of a sort. The men clear a space in the forest by cutting down some of the biggest trees and burning the rest. The women and children then hoe the soil, mixing in the wood ashes as manure. The plot is usually abandoned when one crop has been taken. Though the most prominent symbols in the Liberian official seal are a spade and a plough, neither of these implements is used in Liberian agriculture. The native is content with an iron or wooden hoe, a pointed stick to dig with, a *machete* or cutlass, an axe, a billhook, and a few knives. The Liberians have not taken much trouble to introduce better methods, but some of the mission schools teach farming.

There is a great deal of fertile soil, and travellers' observations suggest that the whole country is unusually well suited for agriculture. Stock-raising is not likely ever to become important, for there is not sufficient grass land.

(c) Forestry

The resources of the great Liberian forests have never been fully examined. Such information as is available was acquired mainly through the efforts of successive rubber companies, which started collecting-centres in the interior. The Liberian Rubber Corporation, founded in 1905, has set up numerous stations and sub-stations, with foresters trained mostly in the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, and the Corporation's officials instruct the natives as to the preparation of rubber. It is highly desirable that the whole forestry question should be investigated, with a view to ascertaining the natural resources of the country and protecting the forests against over-exploitation and against destruction by native clearings.

Many valuable timbers undoubtedly exist. These include African mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*), teak (*Oldfieldia*), and ebony (*Dalbergia melanoxylon* and *Diospyros*). *Avicenna africana*, which is common in the coastal marshes, yields a hard wood, and the natives make masts and paddles from *Xylopia æthiopica*.

(d) Land Tenure

By the Liberian Constitution "foreigners," that is, white men, are debarred from owning land in the State. Consequently Europeans have to take long leases.

(3) FISHERIES

The fishing grounds off the Liberian coast are among the best in West Africa. The rivers also contain many kinds of freshwater fish, of which about nine varieties

are thought to be peculiar to Liberia. The estuaries abound in large, insipid oysters, dangerous to Europeans, but eaten freely by the natives. There are freshwater and sea crayfish, and large prawns.

There is no systematic fishing. The natives of the interior spear fish, which they have attracted at night by the glare of torches, or catch them either in hand nets or by means of baskets and weirs placed across the streams, or by poisoning them with acacia bark.

(4) MINERALS

It has long been believed that Liberia is rich in mines, but our existing knowledge, based on investigations on a small scale and on persistent rumours, is not sufficient to justify detailed statements. It is certain that iron ores are plentiful. Anderson, in 1868, spoke of soil in the north-east so ferruginous that the trodden path shone like polished metal. Be that as it may, there is clear evidence of the presence of ores in the fact that the natives everywhere smelt iron for making their arms and implements. Gold is reported to occur in many districts, and may well exist in the quartz rocks. It has already been found in small quantities in some of the streams. A Liberian judge stated in 1917 that he had seen gold nuggets sold in a shop in Monrovia by a man who had worked alone with a pick and a few sieves, helped by three or four native boys. Mandingo women in the north wear gold ornaments, but it is not certain that the metal for these is obtained within the boundaries of Liberia. There have been many rumours about the presence of diamonds, and though some of those reported may have been mere translucent quartz crystals, a British mining association in recent years has discovered genuine stones, small but of good colour. Micaschists exist, and a prospecting syndicate has been at work in search of mica. There is said to be a good deal of corundum in Eastern Liberia, and search has been made there for sapphires, rubies, and topaz, but

hitherto without result. There are reports of the presence of copper, zinc, quicksilver, and mineral oils. These rumours, and the specimens brought by natives, who do not describe the place of origin, must be treated simply as incentives to further investigation. It is most desirable that the country should be inspected by trained mineralogists.

The tribes on the coast boil sea-water to obtain salt, which is made into sticks and used as a trade currency in the interior.

(5) MANUFACTURES

Except on the coast, where European importations have destroyed primitive industries, there are a good many forms of native manufacture. These include basket- and mat-making, the spinning, weaving, and dyeing of cotton, iron-work, pottery-making, and wood-work.

Baskets and mats are made from grass and various fibres, especially those obtained from *Raphia vinifera*. String, ropes, and slings for hurling stones are also made, and in some places bark cloth is beaten out from the bark of a variety of fig-tree.

Cotton spinning and weaving are mainly carried on in Western Liberia. The spinning is done by the women, who pick out the seeds by hand, dry the wool in the sun, card it with a tense bowstring, and then spin the thread and dye it red, blue, or yellow. The colour most in favour is a rather dark blue, but the Mohammedan tribes prefer white. The weaving is done by men on handlooms. They produce an excellent, durable cloth, in narrow widths and short lengths.

Iron is smelted and worked by most tribes, the smiths using the ant-hills of *Termes bellicosus* as furnaces, and producing spears, arrow-heads, knives and swords, iron blades for hoes, chains, rings, bracelets, bells, and musical instruments.

Pottery is made by nearly all the tribes, except on the coast, where native productions have been driven

out by cheap imported goods. The chief pottery centres are the Vei country and the borders of Sierra Leone. The women shape vessels from red or black clay, dry them in the sun, and bake them in the ashes of wood fires. Jars big enough to hold two or three gallons are made, and some of the pots are ornamented with incised patterns and knobs.

Woodwork and carving have long been practised. All sorts of articles are made, from dug-out canoes, bedsteads, benches, stools, and big mortars for pounding grain, down to dishes, masks, spoons, boards to play games on, and tiny mortars for grinding snuff.

(6) POWER

Although the rivers abound in rapids, no waterfall is known which would be suitable for furnishing power.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Towns, Markets, &c.*

Trading centres are practically confined to the coast region. The Liberians themselves have not enough enterprise to open up the interior, and European firms are so much on sufferance that even now, when the embargo which long existed against their trading inland has been removed, they keep mainly to the ports of entry.

The chief coast centres, named from west to east, are Robert Port, on the seaward face of Cape Mount; Monrovia, a well-situated town, but described by a visitor in 1911 as "a hopelessly miserable place"; Marshall, on the Junk estuary; Edina, Lower Buchanan, and Grand Bassa, all at the mouth of the St. John river; Greenville, or Sinnu, which is described by Sir Harry Johnston as a pleasing town with well-built houses; and Harper, on Cape Palmas, which is cleaner and quieter than Monrovia, but less healthy.

Native trade in the interior circulates within very narrow limits. A native will rarely carry any produce except rubber for more than a two-days' journey.

(b) *Foreign Interests*

The only foreign nation which before the war had a real hold upon Liberian trade was Germany. In 1909 Dr. Blyden, writing of the services done to Liberia by the Germans, stated that "more than sixty years of practical experience has given them an intimate knowledge of every nook and corner of our maritime domain." Since that date their progress has been systematic and rapid. Though their local trading-houses were not of the first importance, they sufficed to keep headquarters in touch with Liberian conditions. A. Woermann and Wiechers & Helm, both Hamburg houses, were established at the chief trading centres. Monrovia owed its electric light and telephone system to Germans; Wiechers & Helm had secured the first concession for a railway; the Woermann Company had a regular steamboat service on the Kavalli river; and in July, 1913, the same firm opened the Deutsche-Liberia Bank in Monrovia. In that year the position of Germany was stronger than ever before, and two-thirds of the trade was in her hands.

British interests were much less considerable. Chartered companies with monopolies were a characteristic feature of the early days of Liberian commerce, and British financiers were concerned in these. Such companies did good pioneer work, and attracted capital to the country, but they have not been able to carry out anything like the programme of development contemplated when they first began, and their wide rights have had to be modified, not without friction, in recent years. The existence of these privileged companies, and the steady hostility of the German houses, made it difficult latterly for British firms to get a footing in the country. One company applied in 1912 for a large concession for trade in

palm produce, and was refused point-blank. The conditions produced by the war have opened the way for increased activity on the part of existing firms and for the establishment of new ones.

There has long been a sentimental tie between the United States and Liberia, and America has assumed considerable responsibilities in finance and general direction. Yet there has been no development of commercial intercourse between the two countries, and certain proposals made for concessions by American company promoters in 1913 were summarily rejected. Direct trade between Liberia and New York and Boston has often been talked of, and as a private venture a United States schooner arrived from Boston in 1914 with cement and tobacco, hoping to take back ivory and rubber, but the enterprise failed.

One Dutch firm, the Oost-Afrikaansche Kompagnie is established at Monrovia and elsewhere.

(c) Methods of Economic Penetration

The European firms that first secured a footing in Liberia did so largely by means of giving financial aid to the perpetually embarrassed Government. The Germans did a great deal in this way, and so late as 1912 the Woermann firm was still collecting the head-money tax in satisfaction for an ancient debt. With the natives they pursued a policy of carefully calculated bullying. By a combination of these methods, much more than by legitimate commercial enterprise, they made themselves feared and flattered, though they were secretly distrusted and disliked.

(2) FOREIGN

Very little material exists on which to base a general survey of Liberian trade. Of trade across the inland frontiers there is no record, while for the seaborne trade records are very imperfect. Since 1908 European supervision of the Customs has improved the receipts

considerably, but it is hard to say whether the rise is due to an actual increase in trade or merely to greater efficiency in collection. The general opinion, however, seems to be that there has been a real increase in trade.

The Customs receipts from 1907-12 were as follows¹:—

<i>Year.</i>					<i>Dollars.</i>
1907	...	...	...	...	370,968
1908	...	...	...	...	348,636
1909	...	...	...	...	392,990
1910	...	...	...	...	362,108
1911	...	...	...	...	377,398
1912	...	...	...	...	492,678

(a) *Exports*

(i) *Quantities and Values.*—The value of the exports between 1909 and 1912 was as follows:—

<i>Year.</i>					<i>Dollars.</i>
1909	...	...	...	...	970,516
1910	...	...	...	...	964,097
1911	...	...	...	...	1,013,849
1912	...	...	...	...	1,199,151

The British Consul-General at Monrovia, in the last of his reports published before the war, stated that during the year 1911-12 the chief local products shipped were rubber, coffee, piassava, palm products, cocoa, ginger, ivory, kola-nuts, and calabar beans.

Liberian *rubber* has an unpleasant smell, but is as good as the average product of the West Coast, and is used mixed with other kinds in manufacturing rubber for mechanical purposes. It was not till 1898 that Europeans began to organize its collection in the interior, but since that date it has been systematically exploited. Any person may collect or trade if he gets a licence and pays a royalty of 6 cents per lb., half of which goes to the Liberian Rubber Corporation and

¹ British Consul-General's Reports for 1910 and 1911-12.

the other half to the Government. The total amount shipped in 1912 was 93,822 lb., as against 103,032 lb. in 1911.

Liberian *coffee* used to fetch high prices in the European markets, and was largely exported; but the berries were often spoiled in preparation, and African coffee has had recently to face the competition of South American and other kinds. For these reasons the output in recent years has perceptibly dwindled, as may be seen from the following figures:—

Year.	lb.	£
1909	2,082,540	35,830
1910	1,690,955	32,978
1911	1,851,993	38,508
1912	1,514,193	47,456

It will be noticed that the small output in 1912 realized the highest price—a fact which is somewhat encouraging for the prospects of the industry.

Cocoa, however, may be destined to take the premier place among the agricultural products exported, but at present the trade is only in its initial stages. The export from Monrovia in 1910 was 13,300 lb., value £103, but figures are not to be had for the other ports.

Palm oil and *palm kernels* might acquire great importance if means of communication were opened up. It is interesting to notice that it was a Liberian who first exported palm kernels from Africa, in 1850. In 1910 there were shipped from Monrovia 49,091 bushels of kernels, value £15,404. Palm oil, as at present prepared in Liberia, is too full of dirt and extraneous matter to be very valuable.

Piassava was shipped from Liberia for the first time in 1890, and for some years Liberia was the only country exporting this product. Then other countries began to compete, prices in the European markets fell and the natives to some extent lost interest in it.

Considerable quantities, however, are still exported, the chief centre of trade being Grand Bassa.

Ginger, cassava, ivory, kola-nuts, and calabar beans are all products of secondary importance, with a varying export. The natives hoard their stores of ivory, so that only small quantities leave the country, and those mainly by the land route northwards. Kola-nuts are grown for the African market, and the trade is mainly in the hands of Sierra Leoneans.

Many local products might repay export if their cultivation or collection were made cheaper and more systematic. Long ago *camwood* used to be an important article of export, but was driven from the markets by aniline dyes. The recent shortage of the latter led to a revival of the camwood trade.

(ii) *Countries of Destination*.—Before the war Germany was Liberia's chief customer. In 1910, for example, the total value of the chief exports from Monrovia was £55,533, of which £52,127 went to Germany, and only £3,406 to the United Kingdom.

(b) Imports

(i) *Quantities and Values*.—Between 1909 and 1912 the value of the imports was as follows:—

					<i>Dollars.</i>
1909	...	...	...	...	952,893
1910	...	...	...	...	1,048,772
1911	...	...	...	...	1,154,924
1912	...	...	...	...	1,667,857

It is not to be expected, in the undeveloped state of Liberia, that imports should be voluminous or varied. The needs of the coast population have to be satisfied, but the requirements of the much larger indigenous population are stereotyped and limited. Natives of the interior use as currency among themselves kettles, cutlasses, and tobacco of the same kinds as were introduced by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. Apart from these, the goods chiefly in demand are cotton textiles, boots and shoes, hardware, cheap glass

and crockery, rice, salted stockfish, red herrings, salt, firearms and gunpowder, gin and rum. Salt and rice are imported in large quantities, though both can be obtained locally.

(ii) *Countries of Origin*.—Guns and gunpowder, cutlasses, hardware, boots and shoes, and salt, came before the war mainly from Germany; and, although the cotton goods were nearly all of British manufacture, they were bought, packed, and exported by German firms. Salted stockfish came from Norway, and small quantities of wines from France. The United Kingdom sent flour, tea, mineral waters, spirits and bottled beer, tinned provisions, soap, patent medicines, candles, hats, lamps, enamelled ware, paint and varnish.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

More than 60 articles are subject to specific import duties, and all others, unless specially exempted, to an *ad valorem* duty of 12½ per cent. Of the articles most in demand cotton goods, wearing apparel, hats, patent medicines, and enamelled ware pay the *ad valorem* duty; manufactured tobacco is charged 25 cents. per lb., cigars 33 cents per hundred, and cigarettes 12 cents per hundred; leaf tobacco 8 cents per lb.; hatchets and cutlasses 30 cents per dozen; rice 25 cents and salt 8 cents per hundredweight; brass kettles 5 cents per lb.; herrings a dollar per barrel. The duties on firearms vary from 60 cents to 4 dollars 80 cents each. The duties on spirits vary, according to alcoholic strength, from 1 dollar 20 cents to 2 dollars.

There are not many export duties, the most important being that of 12 cents per lb. on rubber. At the present European prices this heavy charge makes the collection of wild rubber unremunerative, and efforts have been made to induce the Liberian Government to lower it. Coffee beans, hulled, pay 1 dollar 50 cents per bushel; unhulled, 50 cents. Piassava and other fibre is charged ¼ cent per lb., palm kernels 2 cents per

bushel, palm oil 5 cents or 1 cent per gallon according to quality.

The exemptions fall into the ordinary categories, including goods which escape duty if for private use instead of for sale, agricultural and mining machinery, official stores, educational and scientific equipment.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Liberian finance has had a gloomy past. Little check was placed on expenditure; taxes and customs were inefficiently collected, even within the area nominally controlled by the Government; and money intended for the public good found its way into private pockets. While individuals grew rich, the State as a whole was impoverished and obliged to appeal for outside help, which was hard to get because the security offered was not tempting. Three loans were negotiated, in 1871, 1907, and 1912, and the Government was thus delivered from its most pressing difficulties.

In 1912 the total revenue was 534,082 dollars, and the Presidential Statement referred to a steady advance extending over the previous six years. The revenue is derived mainly from Customs and taxes.

The revenue for 1912 was analyzed as follows:--

				<i>Dollars.</i>
Customs	...	...	...	492,678
Poll-tax	...	...	...	12,520
Rubber tax	...	...	...	4,527
Postal receipts	...	...	...	6,302
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	18,055
				<u>534,082</u>

By no means the whole of this, however, is available for internal purposes. Much is assigned to the repayment of loans, of which the history is briefly as follows:—

The earliest loan was negotiated in 1871, through the Consul-General in London. It was for £100,000, and was to bear interest at 7 per cent., secured upon one-fifth of the annual receipts from Customs. In 1874 the Republic made default in the payment of the interest. In 1898 arrangements were made by which the rate of interest was reduced, a sinking fund was to be started for the amortization of the principal, and the arrears of interest were to be redeemed gradually. The duties on rubber and one-half the duties on tobacco and gunpowder were assigned to the service of the debt.

In 1907 a six per cent. Customs loan was negotiated, also for £100,000. It was secured by a first charge on the Customs revenue, subject to the lien previously created, in favour of the 1871 loan, on the receipts from rubber, tobacco, and gunpowder. As a condition of the loan a British Inspector-General of Customs was admitted to Liberia, but he was not allowed any control over expenditure. A year later, the Government called the United States to the rescue, and an American Commission visited Liberia in 1909.

American intervention resulted, after much negotiation, in a 5 per cent. loan of 1,700,000 dollars, negotiated in 1912, through bankers in New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. This was to extinguish all debts of the Republic contracted previous to January 1, 1911. The Secretary of the Treasury, in a report made to the Liberian Senate and House of Representatives in December, 1912, stated that the financial position was as follows:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Registered external obligations	977,295
Registered internal obligations	596,223
	<hr/>
Total debt chargeable to proceeds of 1912 loan	1,573,518

An American Receiver-General of Customs was appointed, with three receivers representing Great

Britain, France, and Germany. The arrangement has, on the whole, worked smoothly, and receipts have increased. A commission appointed to inquire into the debt incurred since January 1911, recorded floating liabilities amounting to about 200,000 dollars, so that the total public debt at the end of 1913 was about 2,000,000 dollars.

The situation as it stands may be grasped most easily by an examination of the estimated receipts and expenditure for the fiscal year 1914, which were as follows:—

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Balance in bank from 1913 ...	35,000
Customs receipts	468,500
Rubber tax	1,000
Poll-tax	10,000
Internal revenues	8,000
Postal revenues	12,000
Total ...	534,500

The total amount chargeable against these receipts was estimated to be 366,610 dollars, the chief items being 207,235 dollars for the Customs receivership (covering interest, sinking fund, and expenses of the service) and 133,302 dollars for the Liberian Frontier Force. This left only 167,890 dollars available for general Government expenditure, though the Liberian Legislature contrived to add 20,000 dollars when amending the estimates.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that finance in Liberia is an unsatisfactory business, in which the burdens of past mistakes combine with the inevitable difficulties of an undeveloped country to create an alarming situation, which was complicated by the outbreak of the recent war. However, it may be noted that the successive loans were negotiated at a diminishing rate of interest, that under proper supervision receipts have undoubtedly increased, and that, therefore, the Republic may ere long be in a position to

offer adequate security for a consolidating loan to cover its debts and start afresh.

(2) CURRENCY

A large number of the natives of the interior have no idea of anything but payment in kind. A wife, for example, is worth about 6 brass kettles, 15 kegs of powder, and 5 pieces of cloth. Sticks of salt and cowries are also used as currency.

The official currency of the Republic consists of dollars and cents, as in the United States. There are a very few Liberian 50 cent, 25 cent, and 10 cent silver coins in circulation, and far too large a number of Liberian copper coins of one, two, and five cents. German, French, Dutch, and English gold is in use, and most of the silver in general circulation is British. Great efforts were made by the Germans to oust it, however, and as recently as 1913 there was a proposal, abandoned only in face of vigorous protest, to secure its withdrawal in favour of a heavy issue of Liberian money, minted in Germany.

Quantities of paper money, valueless outside the Republic and of dubious value even inside, used to be current. The Government issued Treasury bonds, which the mercantile houses accepted at heavy discounts in payment for goods supplied, and then tendered at face value for Customs duties.

(3) BANKING

The Bank of British West Africa was alone in the Republic until July 1913, when the Deutsche-Liberia Bank, an offshoot of the Woermann business, was opened at Monrovia. It prospered greatly at first, but was practically closed after the outbreak of war.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

It is not easy to gauge the future possibilities of Liberia. The Republic has now been conducting its affairs for nearly a century, and yet, with immense natural resources, the country to-day remains almost undeveloped in the midst of a ring of expanding and progressive colonies. Political and economic problems are here closely connected, and the commercial progress of Liberia will depend largely upon a purification of politics, either by regeneration from within, or by external stimulus.

It must be remembered that the Liberians are a mere handful as compared with the total population of the country, and that the strip of coast they inhabit is but a fraction of the whole land. The interior presents the same obstacles as many other parts of West Africa, though perhaps in an exceptional measure. The fighting tribes are said to be more warlike, the forest is unusually dense, and the rivers are badly barred. On the other hand, there are fewer mosquitoes than in some parts, and the natural resources are believed to be exceptionally rich and varied. Time, money, and concentrated effort could probably vanquish all the external difficulties.

APPENDIX

I.—CONVENTION OF NOVEMBER 11, 1885, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND LIBERIA

Art. II.—The line marking the north-western boundary of the Republic of Liberia shall commence at the point on the sea-coast at which, at low water, the line of the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River intersects the general line of the sea-coast, and shall be continued along the line marked by low water, on the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River, until such line, or such line prolonged in a north-easterly direction, intersects the line or the prolongation of the line making the north-eastern or inland boundary of the territories of the Republic, with such deviations as may hereafter be found necessary to place within Liberian territory the town of Boporu, and such other towns as shall be hereafter acknowledged to have belonged to the Republic at the time of the signing of this Convention.

Art. III.—The President of the Republic of Liberia hereby recognises the recent acquisition by Her Majesty's Government of certain portions of territory which make the south-eastern boundary of Her Majesty's Possessions in this portion of West Africa coterminous with that portion of the line of the north-western boundary of the Republic of Liberia, as described in Article II, which commences at the point on the sea-coast at which at low water the line of the south-eastern or left bank of the Mannah River intersects the general line of the sea-coast, and which terminates at the point on the line of the said north-western boundary line nearest to the town of Ngarinja, situated on the right bank of the Mannah River.

II.—ARRANGEMENT OF DECEMBER 8, 1892, BETWEEN FRANCE AND LIBERIA

Art. I.—On the Ivory Coast and in the interior, the boundary line between the Republic of Liberia and the French Possessions shall be laid down as follows, in conformity with the red line on the map annexed to the present Arrangement in duplicate and signed, viz. :

1. The thalweg of the River Cavally, as far as a point situated at a point about 20 miles to the south of its confluence

with the River Fodédougou-Ba, at the intersection of the parallel $6^{\circ} 30'$ N. Lat. and the meridian $9^{\circ} 12'$ of W. Long.

2. The parallel passing through the said point of intersection until it meets the meridian 10° Long. W. of Paris, it being, in any case, understood that the Basin of the Grand Sesters shall belong to Liberia, and the Basin of the Fodédougou-Ba shall belong to France.

3. The meridian 10° until it meets the parallel 7° N. Lat.; from this point the boundary shall run in a straight line to the point of intersection of the meridian 11° Long. and the parallel passing through Tembi Counda, it being understood that the town of Barmaquinola and the town of Mahomadou shall belong to the Republic of Liberia, Naalah, and Mousardou remaining, on the other hand, to France.

4. The boundary shall then run in a westerly direction along this same parallel until it meets on the meridian 13° Long. W. of Paris the Anglo-French boundary of Sierra Leone. This line shall, in any case, secure to France the whole Basin of the Niger and its affluents.

Art. II.—The navigation of the River Cavally, as far as its confluence with the Fodédougou-Ba, shall be free and open to the traffic of both countries.

France shall have the right of executing, at her own expense, on either bank of the Cavally, the works necessary for rendering the river navigable, it being understood, however, that no violation shall through this be made of the rights of sovereignty which on the right bank belong to the Republic of Liberia. In the event of the execution of these works giving rise to the imposition of taxation, it shall be determined by a fresh agreement between the two Governments.

Art. III.—France renounces the rights which she has derived from ancient treaties concluded at various places on the Grain Coast,

And recognizes the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia on the coast to the west of the River Cavally.

The Republic of Liberia abandons on her part all claims to territory on the Ivory Coast to the east of the River Cavally.

III.—AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 18, 1907, BETWEEN FRANCE AND LIBERIA

Art. I.—La frontière franco-libérienne serait constituée par :

1. La rive gauche de la rivière Makona, depuis l'entrée de cette rivière dans le Sierra Leone jusqu'à un point à déterminer à environ 5 kilomètres au sud de Bofosso;

2. Une ligne partant de ce dernier point et se dirigeant vers le sud-est en laissant au nord les villages suivants : Koutoumaï, Kissi-

Kouroumaï, Soundébou, N'Zapa, N'Zébéla, Koiama, Banguédou et allant rejoindre une source de la rivière Nuon ou d'un de ses affluents à déterminer sur place, au maximum à 10 kilomètres au sud et dans le voisinage de Lola.

Dans cette section de frontière, le tracé à délimiter devra éviter de séparer les villages d'une même tribu, sous-tribu ou groupement et utiliser autant que possible des lignes topographiques naturelles telles que le cours de ruisseaux et de rivières;

3. La rive droite de la rivière Nuon jusqu'à son confluent avec le Cavally;

4. La rive droite du Cavally jusqu'à la mer.

Dans le cas où la rivière Nuon ne serait pas un affluent du Cavally, la rive droite du Nuon ne formerait la frontière que jusqu'aux environs de Toulepleu; à hauteur et au sud de la banlieue de ce village la frontière serait tracée entre le Nuon et le Cavally dans la direction générale du parallèle de ce point, mais de manière à ne pas séparer les villages d'une même tribu, sous-tribu ou groupement et à utiliser les lignes topographiques naturelles; à partir de l'intersection de ce parallèle avec la rivière Cavally, la frontière serait constituée par la rive droite de la rivière Cavally jusqu'à la mer.

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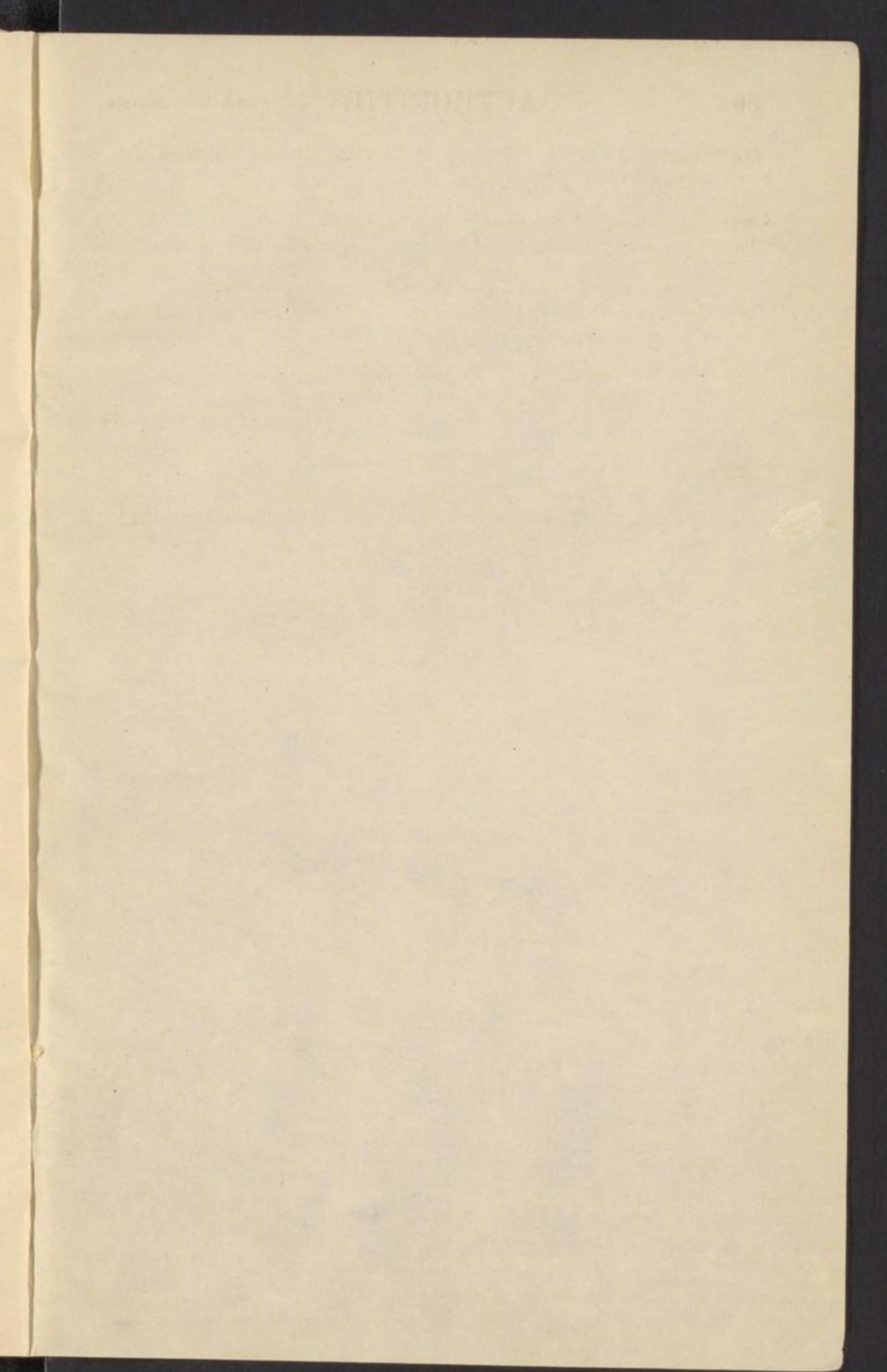
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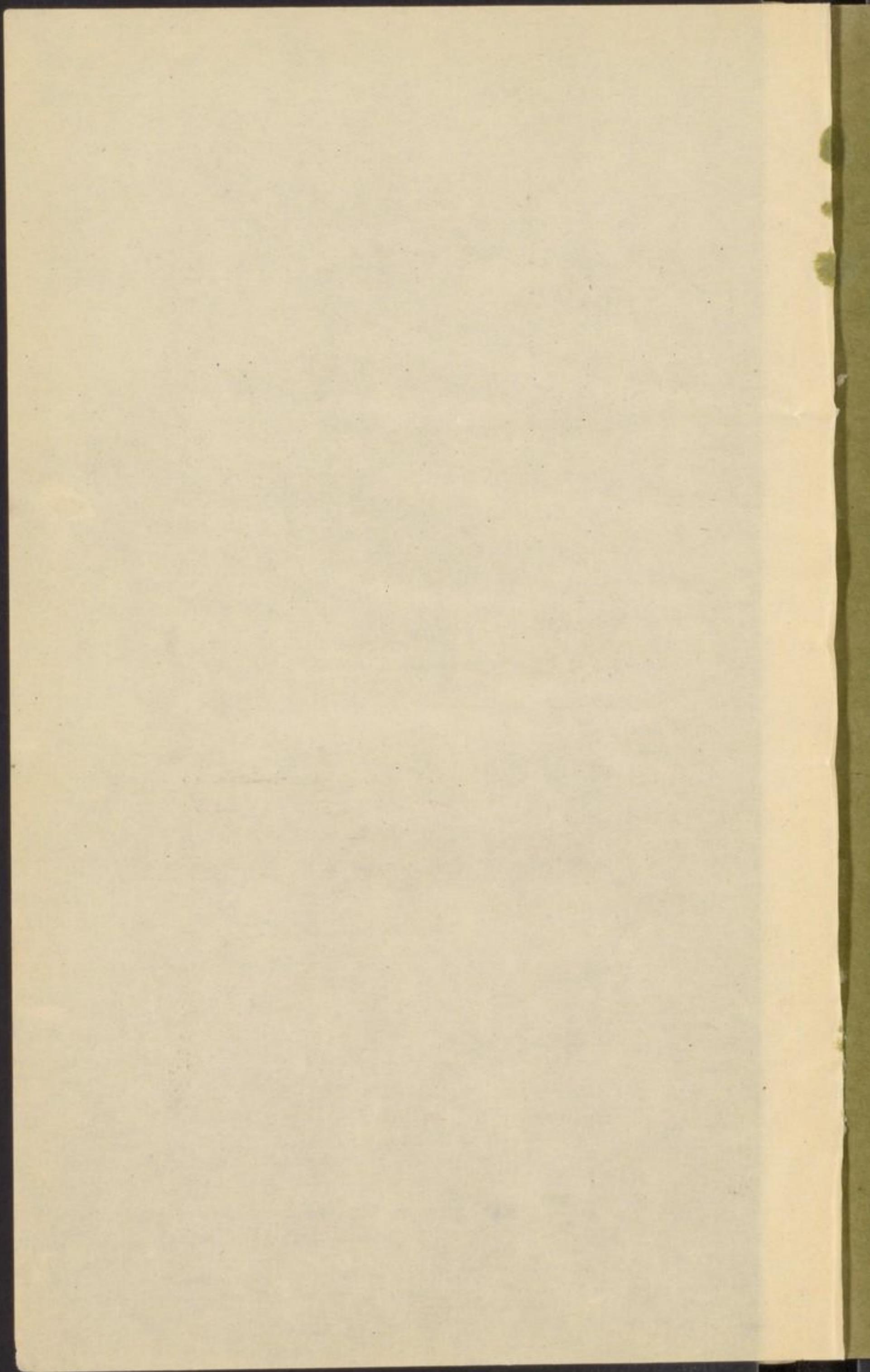
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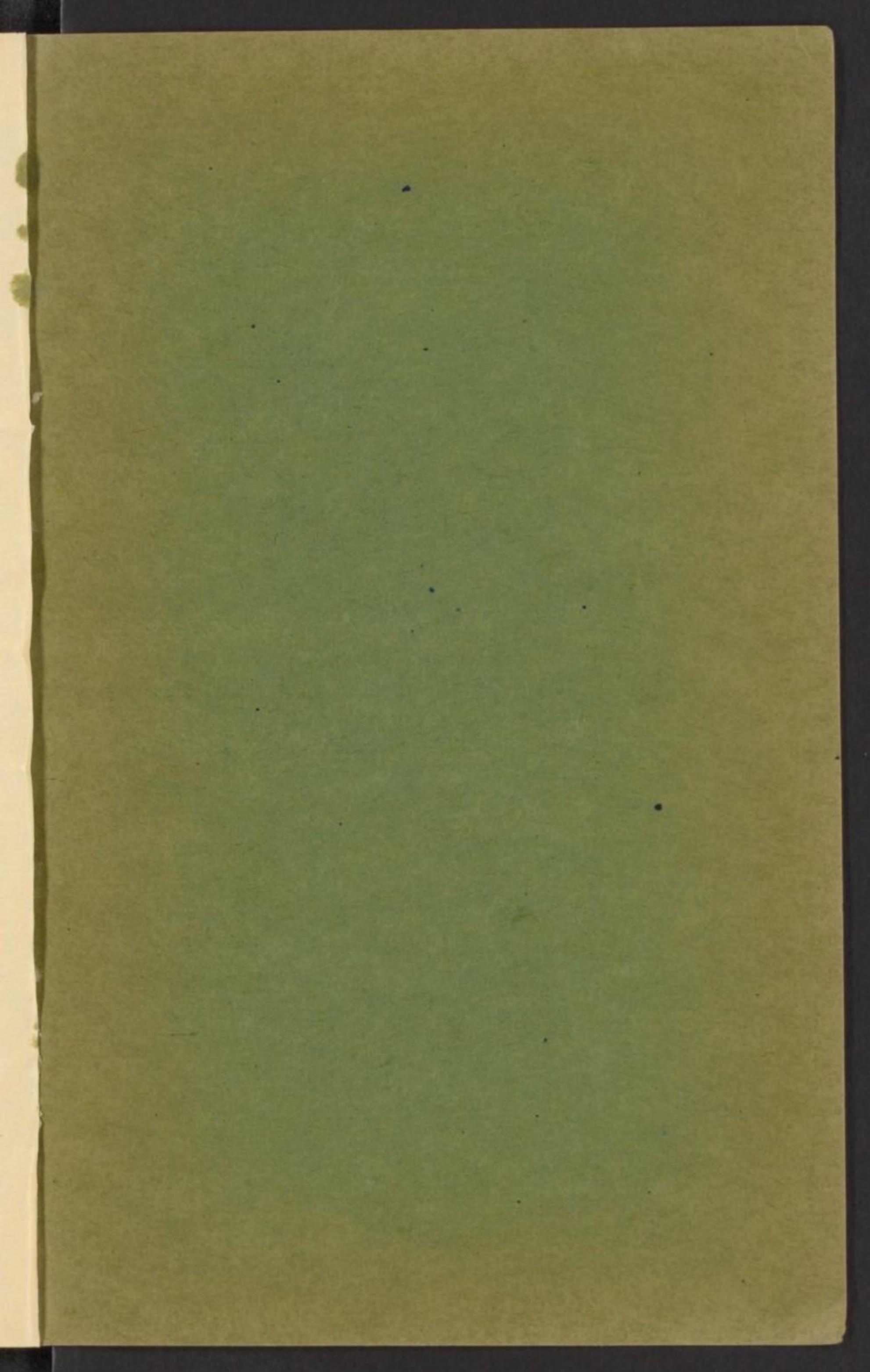
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MAPS

Liberia is covered by the War Office map (T.S.G.S. 2083), on the scale of 1:1,000,000 (1905, boundary corrected to 1914). It is also shown in the War Office General Map of West Africa (G.S.G.S. 2434), on the scale of 1:6,336,000 (1903, additional 1914, boundaries corrected 1919).







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