

R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

AFRICA (WESTERN COAST);

TOGETHER WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.



Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
26 June 1865.

Martis, 21^o die Februarii, 1865.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to consider the State of the British Establishments on the Western Coast of Africa.

Veneris, 3^o die Martii, 1865.

Committee nominated of,—

Mr. Cardwell.	Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.	Mr. Baxter.
Sir Francis Baring.	Mr. William Edward Forster.
Lord Stanley.	Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.	Mr. Cheetham.
Sir John Hay.	Mr. Cave.
Mr. Buxton.	Mr. Adderley.
Lord Alfred Churchill.	

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

Ordered, THAT Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

Lunæ, 6^o die Martii, 1865.

Ordered, THAT the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members.

Ordered, THAT the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Henry Seymour be added to the Committee.

Lunæ, 26^o die Junii, 1865.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to report their Opinion, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, to The House.

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R E P O R T.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to consider the State of the BRITISH ESTABLISHMENTS on the WESTERN COAST of AFRICA;—HAVE considered the Matters to them referred, and have come to the following RESOLUTIONS, which they have agreed to report to the House :

Resolved,—

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee :

1. That it is not possible to withdraw the British Government, wholly or immediately, from any settlements or engagements on the West African Coast.

2. That the settlement on the Gambia may be reduced, by McCarthy's Island, which is 150 miles up the river, being no longer occupied ; and that the settlement should be confined as much as possible to the mouth of the river.

3. That all further extension of territory or assumption of Government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient ; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone.

4. That this policy of non-extension admits of no exception, as regards new settlements, but cannot amount to an absolute prohibition of measures which, in peculiar cases, may be necessary for the more efficient and economical administration of the settlements we already possess.

5. That the reasons for the separation of West African Governments in 1842 having ceased to exist, it is desirable that a Central Government over all the four settlements should be re-established at Sierra Leone, with steam communication with each Lieutenant Government.

6. That the evidence leads to the hope that such a central control may be established with considerable retrenchment of expenditure, and at the same time with a general increase of efficiency.

7. That in the newly acquired territory of Lagos the native practice of domestic slavery still, to a certain degree, exists, although it is at variance with British law ; and that it appears to your Committee that this state of things, surrounded as it is by many local difficulties, demands the serious attention of the Government, with a view to its termination as soon as possible.

26 June 1865.

 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Jovis, 9^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Buxton.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Cardwell.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Cave.

Mr. ADDERLEY called to the Chair.

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Monday, 20th March, at Twelve o'clock.]

Lunæ, 20^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Lord Stanley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Henry Seymour.

Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.
Mr. Cardwell.
Sir John Hay.

Mr. *T. F. Elliot*, examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.]

Jovis, 23^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Sir John Hay.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. W. E. Forster.

Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Stanley.

Colonel *Ord*, examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at half-past Twelve o'clock.]

Lunæ, 27^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Buxton.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Cave.

Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.

Colonel *Ord*, further examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 30^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Buxton.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Henry Seymour.

Colonel *Ord*, further examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 3^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Gregory.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Cheetham.
Marquis of Hartington.

Colonel *Ord*, further examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 6^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair. Afterwards Mr. W. E. FORSTER in the Chair.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Gregory.
Lord Stanley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.

Mr. Arthur Mills.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. *M'Coskrey*, examined.

The Committee deliberated.

Mr. *M'Coskrey*, and Colonel *Ord*, further examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday, 27th instant, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 27^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Lord Stanley.
Sir Francis Baring.

Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Baxter.
Marquis of Hartington.

Captain *Richard Burton*, examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 1^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Buxton.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cheetham.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Cave.

Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. *William Wilde*, examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 4^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Baxter.
Sir John Hay.
Sir Francis Baring.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Sir *Benjamin Pine* and Rev. *Elias Schrenk*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 8^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Cave.

Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. W. E. Forster.

Vice-Admiral Sir *Frederic Grey*, Captain *Leveson Wildman*, R. N., and Mr. *Lyons Macleod*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 11^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Gregory.
Lord Stanley.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Buxton.

Captain *W. Edmonstone*, R. N., Captain *J. A. Clarke*, R. E., and Mr. *J. V. Crawford*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 15^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Lord Stanley
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Cave
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Gregory.

Mr. *Andrew Swansea*, Mr. *John Harris*, and Mr. *David Chinnery*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Two o'clock.

Jovis, 18^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Cave.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Buxton.

Mr. Baxter.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. *Aspinall Tobin*, Capt. *James Croft*, Dr. *Livingstone*, and Mr. *Henry Barnes*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 22^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir John Hay.
Lord Stanley.

Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Arthur Mills.

Rev. C. A. Gollmer, Rev. Gottlieb Bühle, and Colonel Edward Conran, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Two o'clock.

Jovis, 25^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

Mr. *Gerald Ralston*, examined.

Colonel *Conran*, further examined.

Mr. *William Hackett*, examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 29^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Gregory.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir Francis Baring.

Mr. Cheetham.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Cave.

Mr. *D. Robertson*, Dr. *Henry Eales*, Rev. *J. W. Berrie*, and Rev. *George Sharp*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 1^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Sir John Hay.

Mr. *Richard Pine*, examined.

[Adjourned to Monday, 12th June, at Twelve o'clock.

Lunæ, 12^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir John Hay.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir Francis Baring.

Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Gregory.

Mr. *Samuel Well-sley Blackall*, Mr. *William A. Ross*, Colonel *Conran*, and Mr. *Richard Pine*, severally examined.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 15^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.
Sir John Hay.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. *Joseph Martin*, examined through an interpreter.

Colonel *Ord*, further examined.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at One o'clock.

Lunæ, 19^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. W. E. Forster.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Gregory.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. Cave.

Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cheetham.
Marquis of Hartington.

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned to Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 22^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Sir Francis Baring.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Mr. Gregory.

The Committee deliberated.

Draft Report, proposed by the Chairman, read 1^o, as follows:—

"The Committee appointed to consider the State of the British Establishments on the West Coast of Africa, have agreed to the following Report. They have taken Evidence from several Civil, Military, and Naval Officers, Merchants, and Missionaries, and from one Native Envoy. They have had the advantage of a very able Report from Colonel Ord, sent by Her Majesty as a Commissioner for the purpose of this Enquiry.

"FOUR SETTLEMENTS.

"There are four British Settlements on that Coast: 1. on the Gambia; 2. at Sierra Leone; 3. on the Gold Coast; 4. at Lagos.

Elliott, 30.

"2. The Gambia was occupied by trading companies for the purpose of Slave Trade from the time of Queen Elizabeth. By the arrangements of the Treaty of Paris, the French Government took the mouth of the Senegal, which they maintain as a strong military station, and the English settled themselves at Bathurst.

175.

"The abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807, has been followed by a languid commerce, chiefly supplying the French with ground-nuts.

35.

"This Settlement, with all other British possessions in West Africa, was put under the government at Sierra Leone, in 1821.

Elliott, 3.

4. 6.

"3. The peninsula of Freetown, Sierra Leone, 500 miles south of the Gambia, was ceded to the British by Native Chiefs in 1787, and entrusted to the management of a chartered company, of which Wilberforce and Sharp were members. Their purpose was to make a settlement of liberated Slaves.

"After the abolition of the Slave Trade, the Crown assumed the government; and when Sierra Leone was made the central seat of British West African Government in 1821, the company was abolished.

5. 7.

51.

Ord, 814.

Elliott, 71.

516.

"On the Gold Coast successive companies, called African Companies, from the close of the Dutch war, 1667, were chartered to hold and govern Forts without territory, for the purpose of Trade in Slaves and Gold, with annual subsidies, rising from 13,000 *l.* to 20,000 *l.*

"In 1821 the Crown dissolved the Coast Company, and assumed the government; as, owing to their profits having sunk with the abolition of the Slave Trade, the Company was unable to maintain the government, costing 17,000 *l.* a year.

57. 622.

"The Crown retained only four Forts, and put them under the Government at Sierra Leone; but in 1828, disgusted with the cost of the Ashantee war which ensued, gave them again to a Company of Merchants, with an annual subsidy of 4,000 *l.*

831-6.

1050.

"The Company's government, under Captain Maclean, was in many respects most successful.

839-973.

"5. Certain complaints being made of connivance at the Slave Trade, a Committee of Inquiry was appointed in 1842, with reference to these three Settlements, and made the following recommendations:—

Ord, 849.

Elliott, 56.

"1st. That the Gold Coast Government should be made completely independent of all connexion with commerce, and resumed by the Crown separately from the Government of Sierra Leone.

"2d. That several forts abandoned in 1828 should be re-occupied, and more constructed, though expressly with no view to extension of territory, but solely for obtaining a better control over the chiefs.

"3d. That a better judicial authority should be established, and that an assessor to the chiefs of the neighbouring territory should be appointed.

"4th. That the military force should be increased; and more effectual steps taken to reduce Slavery and the Slave Trade, and block-houses should be built along the coast.

"5th. That the Gambian government should be again separated from that of Sierra Leone, and have a Legislative as well as Executive Council, and a separate judicial establishment.

Ord, 850.

"Most of these recommendations were carried out.

"INCREASE OF TERRITORY.

"6. Each of these settlements has, from time to time, in spite of injunctions from home, increased in territory.

43-169. 38.

168-477.

(Blackall.)

359-61. 39.

113.

49.

"7. That on the Gambia, by the occupation of M'Carthy's Island, 150 miles up the river, purchased as an outpost for the protection of trade, in 1820; of Cape St. Mary, at the mouth of the river, for sanitary purposes; of a strip along the north bank of the river, taken from the King of Barra, 1826, to keep the natives at a distance (the post of Albrede on this strip was lately exchanged by the French for Portendik); and of British Combo, taken from the Chiefs, 1855, on account of their continual interference with our people—this is peopled with liberated Africans.

There is no British protection extended over the tribes in this neighbourhood, except so far as may be implied in any treaties.

- " 8. The settlement of Sierra Leone had annexed to it the Bullom shore northwards, and the Rokelle bank to the south, between the years 1819 and 1824, with a view to keeping the natives at a distance; and the Isles de Los, which have been alternately occupied and abandoned ever since 1819, in which are now a station costing 200 *l.* a year.
- " The Isle of Bulama, still disputed with the Portuguese; Quiah, ceded by treaty, 1861, on account of disturbances; and Sherboro, further south, taken at the request of the inhabitants, 1861.
- " 9. The raising of a revenue by custom duties is an additional object alleged in justification of these extensions of frontier; the suppression of slave trade, and opening of legitimate commerce being the ultimate object of all.
- " 10. The Gold Coast forts have been added to by the purchase of the Danish, 1851.
- " A Protectorate also is assumed over the tribes, between the forts and the kingdom of Ashantee, though not defined by any treaty, but only implied in the terms of the Poll Tax Ordinance, since repealed. The British Government, however, in levying that tax on the protected tribes, treated them more or less as subjects.
- " The limits of actual British territory are wholly indefinite and uncertain.
- " The assumption of further posts, east of the Volta, has been recommended, and the present policy inevitably tends to extension. The Dutch—the only other European power remaining on this coast besides the English—hold forts intermixed with the English, and interfering with their government. Negotiations have been entered into, without result, for better mutual relations.
- " 11. Lagos has been added to the West African settlements, 1861. A consulate has been established there ten years previously by treaty with the native king Akitoye, his cousin Kosoko being ejected as an usurper. Akitoye's son and successor, Docemo, was deprived and pensioned off on the ground of incapacity of government and infraction of treaty.
- " The posts of Palma and Leckie were occupied, 1862, and Badagry was ceded, 1863. An indefinite territory, including all these places, is understood to be more or less under British Government, bounded only on the left of the Ogun by the Lagoon, on the right without any frontier.

12. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

- " At all these settlements there is a governor and colonial secretary, with an executive and a legislative council, established by charters.
- " 13. At Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast merchants are excluded from the executive, and are pressing for an elective legislature.
- " At the Gambia, and elsewhere, there are merchants on both councils.

14. JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

- " There is a chief justice at each settlement, and a Queen's Advocate, and several stipendiary police magistrates and clerks at head-quarters, and at every out-station.
- " On the Gold Coast the office of a judicial assessor to the native chiefs is added to that of chief justice, under the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1843, a bond being made with the chiefs. The magistrates at all the outposts are military men wholly ignorant of law professionally.
- " Towards the cost of all these civil establishments, there is an aggregate charge in the British Treasury amounting last year to 14,000 *l.*
- " 15. There is a mixed commission court at Sierra Leone for the adjudication of such slave ships as may be captured in its neighbourhood, but very little is done in this court now.
- " 16. There is also a charge on the British Treasury for liberated Africans settled on our territory, and for missions.

" 17. FORCES.

" Of black troops, officered by Englishmen, there are—

- " Three companies at the Gambia, and there is a steamer always on the river.
- " Five companies at Sierra Leone, besides cavalry and artillery.
- " Eight now, but ordinarily three, companies on the Gold Coast.
- " Two companies at Lagos.

" Taking the average at 16 companies with 50 officers, the military annual cost to the British Treasury is 130,000 *l.*, besides the charges for barracks, hospitals, stores, &c. The barracks are generally reported to be in bad order, and unhealthy.

" 18. There are police at each station; but every attempt at raising forces in the nature of local militia has failed. There is an unembodied militia at Sierra Leone.

486.	(Blackall.)
14. 16. 492.	478. 501. 481.
854. 873. 985.	59. 64.
124. 895. 66.	
880-3. 939. 979.	71.
1043. (Ord.)	
526.	
948. 993. 998.	(Ord.) 1105.
81.	
1151.	
96.	
1020. 1023.	
529. 102. 59.	
538. 102. 194.	844. 6933.
6743. 48.	
Ord, 258.	Gambia, 541.
547-644.	Jud. Ass. 64.
851-866.	547. 865.
903. 913.	Lagos, 101. 6.
589. 774.	2772. Wyld.
573. 747. 610.	404. 800.
(Ord. 127. 897.)	509. 383. 561
242.	App. Gen. O'Connor and Clarke.
960. 593. 6.	

" 19. REVENUE

of each settlement is chiefly derived from customs.

- Ord. " At the Gambia it was last year 13,000 *l.*, and the expenditure 19,000 *l.*;
 6672, Robertson. " At Sierra Leone it was last year 45,000 *l.*, and the expenditure 47,000 *l.*;
 " At the Gold Coast it was last year 4,000 *l.*, and the expenditure 9,400 *l.*;
 " At Lagos it was last year 18,400 *l.*, and the expenditure 22,800;
- the deficiencies being made up by grants from the British Treasury, amounting to 14,000 *l.*, but leaving growing debts at Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast.
6919. " A house and land tax has been levied at Sierra Leone. A poll-tax was attempted at the
 983. Gold Coast, but failed. A license duty on the sale of spirits is now being exacted.

" 20. TRADE RETURNS.

- Ord. " At the Gambia exports, chiefly ground-nuts to France, are falling off; and imports,
 6672, Robertson. chiefly from Manchester, very stationary.
 " At Sierra Leone, trade has about doubled in the last 10 years.
 " On the Gold Coast trade is declining, and small in amount.
 1207. " At Lagos, if peace can be kept, a palm oil trade may grow up.

" 21. MISSIONARIES.

- 3203, 6655, 7204.
 7308, 324, 686.
4633.
 4935, Harris.
 6956, 7151.
 7269, 7283.
 8665, Gollmer.
 139.
- 2270, 2308, 5935.
 7321, 1442.
- " The work of civilization by missionaries, and its independence of protection by British Government, is variously stated. Great efforts have been made by the Church and Wesleyan and Basle Missionary Societies. There is a Bishop at Sierra Leone; and schools, and places of worship, and a native agency have been everywhere established. The success of education of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone seems questionable; and the suppression of barbarous customs, such as human sacrifice and custom of the dead, is everywhere described as so ineffectual, that our withdrawal would instantly be followed by their revival. On the Gold Coast the missionaries have encouraged industrial pursuits with some success, though at first with great sacrifice of their own lives. The Sierra Leone missionaries at Abbeokuta have been in opposition to the Government at Lagos.

" SQUADRON.

" 22. The British squadron maintained on the West African Coast consists, in its ordinary strength, of 13 ships, besides two small river gun-boats, and two hulks, and is stationed in three divisions: First, North of Liberia; Second, The Bight; Third, from Cape Lopez to Little Fish Bay.

" 23. The naval officers who have given evidence state, that without more strength, its service is necessarily restricted to blockading slave export in shore, and that more and faster ships would be required for capturing slavers at sea.

- 2706, Wyde.
 3527, Grey.
 465, Ord.
- " 24. They think that with such increase, the squadron alone could stop the export of slaves (as far as its stoppage is possible during the continuance of any demand), without the aid of forts or settlements along the shore.

5297.
 3582, Sir F. Grey.
 4109, Edmonstone.
 3747.
- " 25. They agree in the opinion, that after a cessation of Slave Trade, fewer ships could afford all the protection which British commerce on the West African Coast would require against pirates, and all the support which any Governors or Consuls might need for enforcing claims of British subjects.

- Sir F. Grey, 3586.
- " 26. The squadron is now constantly drawn off from its service against the Slave Trade for the protection of trade, or because of wars with the natives, or disputes with traders.

3492. " 27. Its cost to the British Treasury is stated to be 157,869 *l.* a year.

- 3648, 3760. " 28. The service is very trying and invaliding to officers and men, and on its present footing gives but small compensation in prize money.

3507. " 29. The French have not maintained their squadron since the Russian war, our convention with them having ceased.

3511. " The Americans have withdrawn their cruisers, both from the West Africa and Cuban coasts, since the breaking out of their civil war.

3516. " The Spanish and Portuguese keep a few ships off their own stations.

" The British Navy alone is now engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade off the coast of West Africa, and under Commodore Eardley Wilmot this service is extremely active.

" CONSULATES.

- Wyde, 2722. " 30. At Loanda the British Government maintains a Consul, who is also a Commissioner; and a Vice-consul, who is clerk to the Commission.

2726, 2728. " There is a Consul also at Biafra, who is considered necessary to settle disputes between the merchants and natives, and to prevent the supercargoes acting arbitrarily; he looks to the squadron to enforce his commands.

" The

"The Governor of Lagos has acted also as Consul for the Benue; but the mixture of offices has been found inconvenient.

98.

"Consular agents are placed at other out-ports, not within the British Government.

6985.

"TREATIES.

"31. The British Government is engaged with Foreign Powers in Treaties of three different kinds for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

2646. Wylie.

"1st. There are Treaties for mutual right of search of merchant vessels of either nation, within certain limits; and with right of detention if found with slaves on board, or equipment for slaves; the adjudication being by Courts of mixed Commissioners of each nation. These are with the Netherlands, Sweden, Brazil, Spain, Portugal, and Argentine Confederation.

"2d. Similar Treaties: the adjudication being by tribunals of the country under whose flag the capture is made. These are with Denmark, Sardinia, Hanse Towns, Italy, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Hayti, and Mexico.

"3d. Without right of search or detention, but engaging the contracting parties to keep a certain naval force on the seas for suppression of Slave Trade. These Treaties were with France and the United States, until the occurrence of the Crimean and American wars successively led to their withdrawal.

"32. Slavers taken without flags, are sent before the Admiralty Courts, as of no nationality.

"33. There are countless treaties with native chiefs of West Africa; Mr. Elliott, the Under Secretary of the Colonial Office, states that there are 107 with the Government of Sierra Leone alone. The majority are for territorial cession, amity, and commerce, and suppression of slave trade: some for protection of native tribes. It does not appear that the terms of these treaties are often distinctly understood by the contracting parties. A treaty has even been entered into by a naval officer, binding the Crown of England to permanent engagements with African chiefs, on his own responsibility.

114.

6727.

205-7.

39, 91, 118, 140.

6730.

"The most intelligible and binding consideration in any of these treaties is an actual pension to the contracting chief, charged on the British Treasury for ever, though the suppression of the slave trade, for which it is given, may be accomplished to-morrow.

"There is a form kept in the Foreign Office on which treaties of amity and commerce with these barbarous chiefs are modelled, but their real effect depends much on the judgment and conduct of various governors.

116. and App.

4925.

"COMMITTEES OF ENQUIRY.

"34. The chief object in all these undertakings, since the Act for the abolition of the slave trade, has been its suppression.

"35. A Committee in 1848-9, on the best means for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, reported its opinion that forcible means were impracticable, but that missionary efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce ought to be encouraged, as the most effective means of suppressing slave trade.

"36. A Committee of the Lords, 1849-50, on the same reference, reported that the four means employed, namely, treaties with civilised states; treaties with native chiefs; maintenance of forts along the coast; and a squadron; had all proved efficient for the purpose, and only required improvement to be completely successful.

"37. A Committee of this House, 1853, appointed to inquire into the treaties between Great Britain, Spain and Portugal respecting the Slave Trade: and the sums paid by Great Britain to those Governments for their concurrence in its abolition, reported that the slave trade had nearly ceased, owing to the closing of the Brazilian market; and that if the Cuban demand were stopped, the whole object would be finally attained.

"38. The first of these three Reports was in favour of less forcible means being employed to stop the supply of slaves; the second recommended that the means employed should be reinforced; the third that operations for suppression should rather be directed against the demand than the supply.

"39. Your Committee consider that, though the supply of slaves from West Africa can never be wholly suppressed while a profitable demand continues; the British Settlements have prevented the export of slaves from their neighbourhood, in co-operation with the squadron which, without them, would have required a larger force for the purpose.

"40. The British West African establishments, ashore and afloat, have also fostered a certain amount of legitimate commerce which has superseded the previous slave trade.

"41. But if the promotion first, and afterwards the suppression of slave trade had not been the objects of those establishments, commercial enterprise would never have selected the Gold Coast for its locality, nor would the British probably have undertaken any settlement whatever in West Africa; still less would the Crown have implicated itself in government there, or in treaties of protection, nor indeed could any mere missionary enterprise have led

Swamy, 4697.

to such consequences as have followed the work of liberation, such as the transference of large bodies of Africans from one part of their country to another, and undertaking their settlement and care.

"42. But the slave trade, the suppression of which is now the chief object of the British establishments in West Africa, is rapidly diminishing, by the diminution of any external demand for slaves. The only remaining demand comes from Cuba, where the officers of a government long in treaty with England for the suppression of slave trade make a regular income by connivance at its continuance.

2678. "The interest of a small number of planters, and the profit corruptly made by the Lieutenant Governors, cannot be long maintained against the resolution of the Governor General Dulce, supported by a large anti-slavery party, which only wants constitutional means to attain for itself a similar success to that recently achieved in Brazil.

2700.

Crawford, 4517.

"A slight alteration in the laws of the island would suffice to enable the highest authorities to enforce the engagements which their nation has entered into, even through the means of such reluctant courts of Justice as the Audiencias.

217. 396.

(Crawford, 4520.)

Swazzy, 4662.

"The noble efforts of Great Britain, so imperfectly aided by the most faithful allies, so treacherously deserted by Spain and Portugal, have so far succeeded, that though slavery may remain as prevalent as ever in Africa, yet the increased cost of an exported slave has insured his better treatment, and it appears in evidence that the present condition of a slave in Cuba is even better than that of an emancipado.

2691.

"The Cuban planters are beginning to look to immigration of coolies, and the natural increase of population for the supply of labour.

"Late events in America and Santo Domingo have impressed their minds with the necessity of a speedy termination of the slave trade.

"43. Your Committee think it would have been better if the actual assumption of government had in all cases been at first avoided in countries which the English race can never colonise, and where British law is inapplicable to native customs, which have been connived at, but which might have been eradicated by the gradual influence of commerce without such interference.

1396, McCookry.

"The annexation of Lagos was a strong measure, of which not only the wisdom may be questioned, but the alleged justification also, namely, the incapacity and faithlessness of a king, who was first set up by the English against a very doubtful usurper, and whose powerlessness over his subjects was much caused by their interference. The wisdom of the act may be tested by the consideration that, had we refrained from assuming the government, we need not have been implicated in the Egba wars, nor in the perplexity of having to recognise, at the same time that we prohibit, slavery within our own territory.

Ross.

"The protectorate of tribes about our forts on the Gold Coast assumes an indefinite and unintelligible responsibility on our part, uncompensated by any adequate advantage to the tribes. It is even the opinion of the Colonial Secretary of that Government that it has enervated and disunited the protected chiefs, and that so far from training the chiefs to a better conduct of their own affairs, it only leads them to lean on the English.

"It rests on no documentary evidence or conditions; excites vague expectations among the chiefs, and practically engages the English Government in maintaining weak tribes against their former sovereigns, and in keeping peace among them all, or even in compensating for losses mutually occasioned by invasion, and generally in administering a territory which we cannot even tax as subject.

"44. Even for the object in view, of suppressing slave trade, simple commercial treaties with native powers, or the occupation of posts without adjoining territory, might have been a wiser policy.

"But in the sole interests of trade the evidence of merchants is that it is better that their agents should feel the necessity of keeping on good terms with native powers, than that they should be backed by English Governments, or even by consuls, more than is necessary for a reference of disputes to constituted authorities.

"45. Your Committee also deprecate the needless employment of English officers and military on such a shore as costly to this country, not only by actual mortality, but by the numbers invalidated in mind and body, and rendered unfit for other active service. The discipline also of the naval service in Africa is stated to be most trying and severe.

"46. The scattering of forces, both naval and military, in such parts of the world, is an additional evil, which, in case of general war, would be of serious consideration.

"47. To govern effectually such settlements would require much larger expenditure than has yet been made, and more thorough occupation, and undertaking of public works of much larger extent than we are ready to recommend, or Parliament would be likely to consent to.

"RECOMMENDATIONS.

"48. Your Committee recommend that the cessation of the last remaining demand for slaves should be expedited by more pressure on the Spanish Government to pass the laws which are required for the purpose in Cuba, and without which the West African establishments must fail of complete effect for their main purpose.

3619.

Wylde, 2713. 4894.
Barnes, 6737. 5329.

" 49. In the hope of a speedy termination of the slave trade, they conceive that it would be wise at once to forbid any steps being taken by any officers of the Crown in West Africa, to retrace which might be difficult though desirable upon such an event.

" 50. All further extension of territory or assumption of government in West Africa, or any new treaty implying protection of native tribes, should be pre-emptorily prohibited and carefully prevented.

" 51. It may be impossible at present to withdraw from settlements and engagements already made, but even these may be capable of immediate reduction and consolidation; and when their chief object, the suppression of the slave trade, is achieved, and the protection of commerce becomes their sole remaining object, they may be still further modified and partially abandoned. Immediate reduction will be an overt act, duly notifying this intention, and most effectually checking the extension, without hazarding the efficiency, of the present governments.

" 52. Your Committee recommend, in consonance with almost unanimous evidence, that the four existing settlements should be again concentrated under a supreme government at Sierra Leone. 1470. 2708. 4709. 3562.

" The reasons which led to their separation, on the recommendation of the Committee of 1842, no longer exist. Rapid communication by steam will enable military and judicial arrangements to be made now, which in 1842 were impossible.

" The reasons for re-concentration are not only economical, but more, the desirableness of uniform policy, and the hope of contracting our growing engagements, and extricating ourselves as much as possible from anything in the nature of colonizing in Africa, and from a fatal service, or the possible implication in native wars. Simple retrenchment cannot be recommended if African government, now too much stunted for efficiency, is to be continued. 6175.

" 53. The Governor of Sierra Leone should be re-constituted Governor over all the British Settlements in West Africa. 6778. 6868.

" The present number of troops there will suffice, and police may gradually be raised to supersede some of them; nor is there any alteration in the present Government establishment required by the change, except that a steamer should be kept always at the Governor's disposal, to enable him to visit his sub-governments, or to transport troops. Blackall.

" The Chief Justice will also be required to make an annual circuit of the other settlements. 6719.

" The Governor's salary should be raised to 3,000*l.* a year, and this additional charge, together with that of the steamer, will be amply compensated by reductions elsewhere.

" 54. Gambia should have only a Lieutenant Governor, with a small Executive and Legislative Council, local ordinances being subject to the sanction of the Governor. From M'Carthy's Island the three or four officers and half company now stationed there should be withdrawn, and all Government establishments as much as possible confined to the mouth of the river; and the remaining troops, reduced from three to two companies, should be placed in healthy barracks on Cape St. Mary; Fort Bullom being also occupied on the opposite shore. 4292, Clarke

" The steamer now plying there will then be no longer required to be maintained by the Government.

" The Judicial Establishment may be reduced to magistrates only, the Sierra Leone Chief Justice undertaking the more serious cases on his circuit.

" 55. On the Gold Coast there is no possibility of raising a sufficient revenue while the Dutch remain, and thwart our policy.

" The forts we now retain, to say nothing of the Danish Forts which we added by purchase, in 1851, are, with the exception of Cape Coast Castle, more or less in ruins, and in some cases subject to earthquakes. 4061. 4345.

" The cost of putting them in habitable order would be considerable, even without fortifying them, and the whole cost would fall on the Home Treasury.

" None of these forts should be restored, but barracks should be made tenable at Accra, and perhaps one other healthy site, besides Cape Coast Castle. 4350, Clarke.

" The protectorate should only be retained while the chiefs may be as speedily as possible made to do without it. Nothing should be done to encourage them to lean on British help, or trust to British administration of their affairs, whether military or judicial. 4352. 4057.

" The judicial assessor does not fulfil the first intention of the office, assisting the chiefs in administering justice, but supersedes their authority by decisions according to his own sole judgment. This office, instituted with the best intentions, seems, by the evidence of a Commissioner from the native king of Cape Coast, to have led to the introduction of needless technicalities and expense, and the employment of attorneys when the natives had better speak for themselves. 1020. 4639. 4731. 871.

" The chiefs should be rather left to exercise their own jurisdiction, with only an appeal, when necessary, to the English magistracy. Queen's advocates seem wholly unnecessary, and trials by jury inapplicable in many cases. 8329. 8353. 8370. 4702. 4707. 543. 644.

" The forts on the Gold Coast should be under the command of a Lieutenant Governor at Cape Coast Castle, under the orders of the Governor of Sierra Leone, with a small Council, legislative and executive, subject to his sanction of their proceedings: and the exercise of his government should be as much as possible confined to the forts actually occupied.

" Three companies now stationed on the Gold Coast may be reduced to two, and police should be organized to supersede part of this reduced force as speedily as possible. Blackall, 307.

861, Blackall.

"The Judicial Establishment should consist only of magistrates, important cases being reserved for the Chief Justice's circuit from Sierra Leone.

"The whole of this reduced establishment would be paid for by little more than the present Parliamentary Grant, and all attempts at raising a revenue, either by taxes or customs, futile as both have proved, would be spared, as well as the assumption of partial sovereignty over the neighbourhood, implied in such attempts.

2240.
2252. 4368. 2282.
4376. 1622. 5059.
4071. 5877. 3560.
6100. 3774. 7081.
3580. Sir F. Grey.
7016. 1158.
1201.

"56. Lagos will require an English Commandant until the native rule can be re-established, when he would resume the office of consul, or rather, confine himself to that office, which he now incongruously holds with the Government of Lagos, as Consul of Benin.

"The Houssa police should suffice for all military purposes.

"Nothing but the most necessary establishments should be retained, or put in order, on the island itself, trusting to the squadron preventing any slave export reviving from that shore.

"The assumption of territory round Lagos, while domestic slavery continues, under our legal prohibition but practical recognition, seems most undesirable; nor is it possible at once to abolish slavery. Possibly English commerce, with less of Governmental interference, may gradually effectually eradicate the custom."

4972. 6893.

The Committee deliberated.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Committee do proceed by way of Resolutions"
—(Mr. Henry Seymour)—put, and agreed to.

[Adjourned to Monday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Luna, 26^o die Junii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. ADDERLEY in the Chair.

Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Sir Francis Baring.

Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Cave.
Mr. Gregory.
Mr. Cheetham.

Motion made, and Question, "1. That it is not possible to withdraw the British Government, wholly or immediately, from any settlements or engagements on the West African Coast"—(The Chairman)—put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question, "2. That the settlement on the Gambia may be reduced by McCarthy's Island, which is 150 miles up the river, being no longer occupied; and that the Settlement should be confined as much as possible to the mouth of the river"—(The Chairman)—put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "3. That all further extension of territory or assumption of Government, or new treaties implying any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be rather to transfer to the natives the administration of all the Governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone"—(The Chairman).—Amendments made.—Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "rather," in order to insert the words "to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more"—(Mr. Cardwell)—instead thereof.—Question put, that the word "rather" stand part of the Question, put, and negatived.—Words inserted.—Verbal Amendments made.—Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.—Resolved, "3. That all further extension of territory or assumption of Government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to the natives the administration of all the Governments, with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone."

Motion made, and Question, That this policy of non-extension admits of no exception, as regards new settlements, but cannot amount to an absolute prohibition of measures which, in peculiar cases, may be necessary for the more efficient and economical administration of the settlements we already possess—(Mr. Cardwell)—put, and agreed to.]

Motion made, and Question, "4. That the reasons for the separation of West African Governments in 1842 having ceased to exist, it is desirable that a Central Government over all

all the four settlements should be re-established at Sierra Leone, with steam communication with each Lieutenant Government"—(*The Chairman*)—put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question, " 5. That the evidence leads to the hope that such a central control may be established with considerable retrenchment of expenditure, and at the same time with a general increase of efficiency"—(*The Chairman*)—put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question, " 8. That in the newly-acquired territory of Lagos the native practice of domestic slavery still to a certain degree exists, although it is at variance with British law; and that it appears to your Committee that this state of things, surrounded as it is by many local difficulties, demands the serious attention of the Government, with a view to its termination as soon as possible"—(*The Chairman*)—put, and *agreed to*.

Question, " That these Resolutions, together with the Minutes of Evidence, be reported to the House,"—put, and *agreed to*.

Ordered, To Report.

EXPENSES OF WITNESSES.

NAME of WITNESS.	Profession or Condition.	From whence Summoned.	Number of Days absent from Home, under Orders of Committee.	Expenses of Journey to London and back.	Allowance during Absence from Home.	TOTAL Expenses allowed to Witness.
Daniel Robertson - -	Colonial Secretary -	Thornton, near Pickering, Yorkshire.	4	£. s. d. 5 5 -	£. s. d. 4 4 -	£. s. d. 9 9 -
James A. Croft - -	Captain of ship -	Liverpool - -	3	4 - -	3 3 -	7 3 -
				TOTAL - -	£.	16 12 -

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Lunæ, 20^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Adderley.
 Sir Francis Baring.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. Cave.
 Lord Alfred Churchill.
 Mr. Cheetham.
 Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.

Mr. William Edward Forster.
 Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
 Mr. Gregory.
 Sir John Hay.
 Mr. Henry Seymour.
 Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

THOMAS FREDERICK ELLIOTT, Esq., called in; and Examined.

1. *Chairman.*] You are Assistant Under Secretary of the Colonial Office?—I am.

2. Can you give the Committee the preliminary history of the four British settlements in West Africa, and the official documents connected with those settlements?—I can do so.

3. Will you state what was the origin of the British settlements on the Coast of West Africa?—They originated in enterprises of trade. There were English companies for trading with the Coast of Africa from the reign of Queen Elizabeth; one of them lasted till the middle of the 18th century, but was then in difficulties, and was dissolved by an Act of Parliament of 1750. Another company was substituted, which lasted till the year 1821. That company also got into difficulties, and was abolished by an Act of the 1st & 2d George the Fourth, and all its possessions, including numerous forts on the Gold Coast, were annexed to the Crown colony of Sierra Leone.

4. Will you now state briefly the history of the British Government at Sierra Leone?—Our possessions at Sierra Leone began with a cession from some of the native chiefs in 1787. In 1791 a company was formed, including Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Wilberforce, and others, called the Sierra Leone Company, and they managed the place until the year 1807.

5. By what authority did they manage the place?—As a chartered company.

6. Having powers of government?—Yes, having powers of government, but they gave it up afterwards, and in 1808 the Crown assumed the government, which it has retained ever since. In the year 1821, upon the abolition of the African Company, all the outlying possessions in 0.39.

Gambia and on the Gold Coast were annexed to this Colonial Government of Sierra Leone. *T. F. Elliott, Esq.*

7. Will you state to the Committee whether the abolition of the slave trade did not intervene between the last two dates?—Yes, between the last two dates. The abolition of the slave trade took place just before the Crown took the government of Sierra Leone.

8. That was in the year 1807, was it not?—Yes.

9. After the annexation of the other settlements to Sierra Leone in the year 1821 what followed?—From the year 1821 to the year 1843 all the possessions on the coast of Africa remained annexed to Sierra Leone; but in 1843, in pursuance of the opinion of a Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in the year 1842, the Gambia and Gold Coast were separated and formed into distinct Governments.

10. Can you state to the Committee what was the extent of Sierra Leone at that time, and what additions have been made to it since the year 1843?—The colony of Sierra Leone at that time consisted only of the peninsula of Sierra Leone.

11. Can you state the subsequent cessions that have been annexed to that settlement?—The principal accession of territory conterminous with Sierra Leone is what is called British Quia place besides that the Government has annexed territory at the mouth of the Sherbro. The and also there were annexed at an early period in form Isles de Los and the Island of Bula but all the

12. Were the annexations made by the Government?—By treaties of cession with merchants in London.

13. In every case?—In every case, and through their own officer on

14. Is it not the fact, servant, and through which

T. F. Elliott, Esq.
 20 March
 1865.

T. F. Elliott,
Esq.
20 March
1865.

which merchants the Government of the Crown derived all its information about the Gold Coast. The officer selected by the merchants was Captain Maclean, a name well known in the history of the West Coast of Africa.

52. Under what authority or distinct requirement did this committee of merchants, together with their officer, exercise the Government of the Gold Coast?—There were certain fundamental rules laid down by the Home Government for the guidance of the merchants, in October 1828. A copy of them will be laid before this Committee.

53. Can you state to the Committee what forts on the Gold Coast were maintained between the years 1827 and 1843 by the committee of merchants?—Doctor Madden, who made his report before the authority of the merchants was put an end to, said that the chief forts which had existed, but no longer continued, were the following: Winnebah, Whidah, Apollonia, Succonda, Comenda, Coromantin, and a place called Tantumquerry. Those are the seven forts which had then fallen into neglect. He also mentioned four which were still maintained, namely, Dixcove, Cape Coast, Annamahoe, and Accra.

54. The committee of merchants were then only maintaining four forts on the Gold Coast at the time of Doctor Madden's report?—Yes.

55. I believe that your next period in the history of the Gold Coast is the year 1843?—Yes.

56. What happened then?—In the year 1843, in pursuance of the opinion of a Committee of the House of Commons, the Crown resumed the forts on the Gold Coast, and erected them into a separate Government, which still continues. A new Governor was appointed in 1843, although the new Letters Patent were not issued until the 24th of January 1850.

57. Can you state whether the Crown, in resuming the Government, took the four forts into its maintenance which you have just mentioned?—It did.

58. And no more?—And no more.

59. Will you now state to the Committee whether Lord Grey, as Colonial Secretary, did not negotiate with the Danish Government for the purchase of certain other forts in the year 1850?—In the year 1850, Lord Grey acquired from the Danish Government their forts, and agreed to pay a sum of money, which was called the price, not of the forts, but of the guns and stores.

60. What was the number of forts purchased, and what was the sum paid?—The number of forts were five, and the sum paid for them and all guns, ammunition, and other stores, was 10,000 l.

61. Can you give the Committee the names of those forts?—Accra, Augustaborg, Ningo, Adda, and Quittah. I have on purpose given the names of the places where they are situated, and by which they will best be recognised; but the Danes have special names for them as fortresses.

62. When you mention Accra as a Danish fort, we having also a fort in Accra, do you mean that, previously to the English forts, there were Danish forts?—There were both English and Danish forts, and there is now a Dutch fort; there are three European forts close to one another at Accra.

63. Under what authority is the separate Government at the Gold Coast held?—It is constituted under Letters Patent of the 24th of January 1850.

64. Can you state the nature of the appoint-

ment of the judicial assessor, and under what warrant it was established?—The appointment of a judicial assessor sprang out of an Act of Parliament of 1843, which allowed of conferring foreign jurisdiction. In the year following that Act of Parliament, namely, in the year 1844, the chiefs of the natives inhabiting the countries which are familiarly known as the British Protectorate, assembled at Cape Coast and executed an agreement which is often referred to by the name of the Bond. It is dated the 6th of March 1844. They acknowledged the power and jurisdiction of the Queen; they renounced human sacrifices and other barbarous practices, and agreed that murder, robberies, and other crimes should be tried by the Queen's officers, moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law. On the 22d of November 1844, Lord Derby, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote a despatch to the Governor explaining the measure; he said that the system upon which Mr. Maclean had proceeded in the exercise of judicial powers over the natives was to be taken as a guide for the future exercise of the powers of the assessor. He was to combine with an impartial investigation of the cases the mitigation of the severity of the sentences which in such cases would be awarded by native judges. He was to aim at a lenient exercise of the discretion entrusted to him, but in the event of his deeming capital punishment in any case inevitable, he was to take care that the capital execution should be carried into effect by the native authorities, and that it should take place in the country in which the offender was tried. In the Parliamentary Paper of the 11th of July 1855 will be found a copy of a Warrant of the 17th of December 1847, appointing Mr. Fitzpatrick to be judicial assessor.

65. Can you state the nature of a local ordinance in the year 1852, establishing a poll-tax?—There was a so-called local ordinance, under date of the 19th of April 1852, establishing a poll-tax; it was, in point of fact, a sort of agreement entered into with the native chiefs, who assembled for that purpose. I can put in a copy of that document if the Committee desire it.

66. Is there anything material in that local ordinance which has since been construed into an understanding of protection offered by Her Majesty's Government?—Yes, there is; the document declared that that assembly of chiefs was to be recognised as legally constituted, and called the Legislative Assembly of Native Chiefs, and it then goes on to say that, having taken into consideration the advantages which the natives and chiefs derived from the protection afforded by Her Majesty's Government, they consider it reasonable and necessary that the natives generally should contribute to the support of the Government by paying a tax, and thereupon they agree to pay a tax. But it is material to remark that they have ceased paying any tax.

67. Your inference I suppose is, that any claim to protection founded on the payment of the tax must have ceased with the cessation of the payment of the tax?—At all events it admits of that argument.

68. Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald. How long did they go on paying that tax?—They seem to have gone on paying some tax until the year 1861, but it rapidly fell off from its very first year, namely, 1853.

69. Was that from difficulty in the collection of the tax?—It was from the great dissatisfaction which they felt with the tax, and their reluctance to pay it.

70. Was that tax ever attempted to be enforced?—There was not any compulsion.

71. *Chairman.* What limit is there to British authority around each of the forts on the Gold Coast?—It is exceedingly indefinite; but there is certainly an impression, as the authorities on the spot represent to us, that the Crown has power over a great deal of the land round about Cape Coast Castle.

72. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.* Should you not say that there was no more territory claimed by the British Crown around the forts than is necessary for the defence of the forts?—I really should not say that; I know that at times the Government has felt very much embarrassed with the difficult question of slavery, and they would have been very glad to reduce the range of the British Government to the narrowest limits. But all the authorities resident on the spot from whom I have seen any report, declare that the natives know of no other authority than that of the British Government on the ground near the fort at Cape Coast, and that we should throw every thing into confusion if we disclaimed that authority.

73. It is clearly the case that the town of Cape Coast Castle is not British territory; there is a native king who is elected, and one has recently been elected?—There is a so-called native king, but he is described as a mere shadow.

74. *Chairman.* There is merely an indefinite understanding with regard to the limit of British authority, that understanding resting on no formal document?—Yes.

75. Are there not Orders in Council dated 1864, relating to the Gold Coast, and limiting the British territory at Cape Coast to the forts and adjacent ground?—There is no such Order in Council. One was contemplated to that effect, but the local authorities strongly deprecated it as unsuited to the circumstances, and calculated to produce confusion.

76. Is there jurisdiction exercised over the natives by the judicial assessor, and the magistrates under him, similar to that exercised over British subjects in the judicial courts?—No. He is desired in general terms to mould the native customs as far as he can towards the principles which are felt by civilised nations to be equitable and humane.

77. Does the nature of his jurisdiction appear in a warrant, or any Act of Parliament?—Not that I know of. The principles on which he is to exercise his jurisdiction appear in the despatch from Lord Derby, in which he first treated of the appointment.

78. Then the judicial courts in which Her Majesty's subjects should be tried are distinct, as established under the general authority of the charter?—Yes.

79. Now will you state the history of the British settlement at Lagos?—Lagos was ceded to Great Britain by Docemo, in a treaty dated 6th August 1861, which is printed in a Paper presented to Parliament by Command, on the 2d May 1862.

80. Can you state the nature of the proceedings between the British Government and the Chief of Lagos in the year 1851?—There were proceedings at that time which appear in a Paper presented to Parliament by Command, on the 2d

May 1862, but those were proceedings before it became a colony. I know nothing more of them than appears in the printed Papers.

81. But if that cession in 1851 was by treaty, have you no means in the Colonial Office of giving the Committee the terms of that treaty?—In the year 1851 the Chief of Lagos engaged by treaty with Great Britain to stop the export of slaves, to open the port to regular trade, to put an end to human sacrifices, and to permit and encourage the establishment of missionaries.

82. At that time did the British Government place a consul there?—Yes.

83. And the Government also stationed a man-of-war there?—Yes; a man-of-war was frequently there; I do not know whether it was always kept on the spot.

84. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.* Did we not, in the year 1851, interfere for the purpose of driving out a usurper at Lagos, who was addicted to the slave trade, and restoring the lawful king, who bound himself to give up the slave trade?—Yes, we did so.

85. *Chairman.* Will you now proceed with the history of Lagos after the cession of 1861?—In 1861 it was ceded to the British Crown.

86. Her Majesty then changed her relations with Lagos from a protectorate to the actual occupation of the territory, I believe?—There was no previous protectorate of Lagos. The Chief of Lagos had executed an Anti-Slave Trade Treaty.

87. But what did the Chief of Lagos expect in return for his promise to put an end to the slave trade, human sacrifices, and so on; was it not implied that he expected protection?—That is a question which it is impossible for me to answer, because I cannot tell what was in the mind of the African chief who made the treaty. The question goes to the root of all the numerous treaties made with black chiefs, by which they engage to renounce the slave trade.

88. The relation of Her Majesty with the chief by treaty ceased on her occupying the territory, the relation then becoming a relation of actual sovereignty?—The Queen is now the Sovereign of Lagos.

89. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.* Was not this the state of things previous to the cession of Lagos, that Great Britain exercised towards the Chief of Lagos a protection but not a protectorate; that is to say, that he had been protected against his slave-trading rivals, and might expect to be protected again, but there was no British territory and no British governor at Lagos?—I think that is so.

90. *Sir Francis Baring.* Are the Committee to understand you to say that, wherever there are those treaties with native Powers who bind themselves to put an end to the slave trade, they have a right to any special protection from us?—I should say not; but the case of Lagos, to which the last question and answer referred, is quite a peculiar one. In the case of Lagos we had by a British force expelled one chief because he would not keep the terms of the treaty, and we had substituted another chief. I think in that peculiar case, if the chief whom we substituted keeps his word, he is entitled to expect that we would support him.

91. *Chairman.* On what consideration was Docemo, the Chief of Lagos, induced to make this treaty?—In every treaty with any power, whether African or European, you can only take

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the motive or the consideration from the terms of the treaty itself; they are quite explicit in this case. Docemo says that, in order that the Queen may be better able to prevent the destructive wars so frequently undertaken by Dahomey and others for the capture of slaves, he cedes this territory, with an expectation that he would receive an annual pension equal to all the annual revenue which he has hitherto enjoyed.

92. Is there any pension mentioned in that treaty with the chief?—Yes, a pension equal to the net revenue hitherto received by him; but at the end of the same Parliamentary Paper, in the last paragraph of the whole Paper, I find a statement by Mr. Consul Freeman, that the king had agreed to assess his claim at the annual value of 1,200 bags of cowries, equal, at the current rate of exchange, to 1,030 *l.* sterling.

93. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue.*] Do you understand that treaty to bind the British Government to go to war with any of the native tribes?—No, clearly not: the chief merely shows his confidence in the Queen of England having greater power than he has to prevent mischief and war.

94. *Chairman.*] But, without strictly binding the British Government to do so, do not such treaties raise an expectation on the part of the chiefs that the British Government will take part in their wars?—The terms of this treaty raise an expectation that the Queen of England will do all she can to prevent the slave trade and wars undertaken for the sake of the slave trade. I believe that the Queen will keep that engagement, and will not feel it in the least burdensome.

95. Do we not pay a pension also to the usurper whom we have ousted, to Kosoko?—He has an allowance, I think, of 400 *l.*

96. Can you state the documents by which Badagry, Palma, and Leckie, on the east, have been subsequently annexed to the British settlement of Lagos?—Yes. There is an acknowledgment by Kosoko of the British right to Palma and Leckie, dated the 7th February 1863. There is a cession of Addo on the 27th June 1863, Pocrab on the 29th June 1863, Okeodan on the 4th July 1863, and Badagry on the 7th July 1863.

97. Sir *Francis Baring.*] The king who replaced Kosoko is dead, is he not?—Yes, he is.

98. Can you recollect at all what took place when Docemo was made king?—All the events that are now referred to were prior to Lagos becoming a British colony, and therefore, officially, I have no familiar knowledge of them. The Foreign Office and the Admiralty would give better information on that subject than I could.

99. But in the Parliamentary Paper there is a statement of the mode in which Docemo was elected and made king, is there not?—Yes.

100. You are not able to speak with regard to that subject, however?—I would rather not speak to it, because my knowledge would not be accurate or full.

101. *Chairman.*] Can you state what is the judicial establishment of the British Government at Lagos?—There is a chief magistrate and a police magistrate.

102. Sir *Francis Baring.*] What is the constitution of Lagos, if there is one?—It has the same constitution as all the small colonies; it has an executive and legislative council.

103. Is that done by Order in Council, or by Act of Parliament, or on what is it all founded?

—Upon a commission to the Governor and Royal instructions.

104. *Chairman.*] Of what date is that?—The 30th March 1862.

105. Sir *Francis Baring.*] In what position do those acquisitions that have been made now stand?—For the present they are treated as British territory, but Her Majesty's Government has not yet given any final instructions with regard to the boundaries of the Colony.

106. But upon what authority are the laws executed in Badagry, for instance?—They are executed under the Governor's commission, which is so worded as to give him the control of all the British possessions between certain degrees of longitude and latitude.

107. What power has he over natives who have committed offences out of his territory?—I should imagine that he has no power, and for this reason; there is an Act of Parliament which enables the Crown to give what we call, shortly, foreign jurisdiction over offences committed outside of British territory, but that power has not been exercised with regard to Lagos. It has been exercised with regard to the Gold Coast.

108. But I see, in this report of Colonel Ord, that in one particular case a man of the name of Carew has been tried at Lagos for a theft at Portonovo, which is not within the British territory?—No, it is not.

109. You do not know by what power that trial took place, under which he was sentenced to two years' hard labour, it not being mentioned whether he was a native of Lagos or not?—I am unable to answer that question.

110. Do you know the practice at those trials, whether they are held in public or not?—I think that, upon those practical matters, the Committee would have much better information from Colonel Ord, who has just returned from the spot.

111. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue.*] Is it not the case that the only British territory connected with Lagos, besides the Island of Lagos itself, consists of Badagry, Palma, and Leckie?—I believe so.

112. Lord *Alfred Churchhill.*] How is the jurisdiction of the Crown over the boundaries managed?—The whole thing is very new: it has but just sprung up.

113. *Chairman.*] There is a civil commandant at Badagry and Palma, is there not?—I think so.

114. I observe, in the Report of the Committee of 1853, it is stated that at that period the British Crown had entered into 42 treaties with native chiefs on the West Coast of Africa: can you give the Committee any general statement of the number of treaties now existing between Great Britain and native chiefs on that coast?—I have got a list of the treaties and the different colonies separately; I have got a list of 82 treaties with the Sierra Leone Government.

115. Now existing?—Now existing; but of those I would observe a few are territorial cessions relating to Gambia, before Gambia became a separate Government. Then I see there are made by the Government of Gambia separately 18 treaties.

116. Can you distinguish, in those 107 treaties, between treaties which were once active, but which were like treaties of cession, and treaties which are constantly alive and which keep us in certain existing relations with the chiefs?—I can, in a certain way; for example, in Sierra Leone

Leone 57 treaties are what are called treaties of amity and commerce, renouncing the slave trade, and 25 are territorial cessions.

117. Can you distinguish those treaties in the same way at Gambia?—That is rather more difficult: there are four territorial treaties; the great majority of the rest are for amity and trade, but some are for a settlement of peace between contending natives. I propose to put in, first, for Sierra Leone a list of all the treaties, and then copies of a few of the more recent; and I propose to do the same for Gambia, but with copies of rather more of them, because they are less uniform.

118. Now, what is the number of treaties on the Gold Coast?—On the Gold Coast there is almost nothing, except the Tripartite Treaty, between the Colonial Government, the King of Ashantee, and the kings of the so-called protected territories. I call them so for the sake of shortness, without meaning to imply anything with regard to the extent of the right of protection.

119. What is the date?—1831. It was a most important treaty. I know but of this one treaty with the Gold Coast worth mentioning.

120. Was not the first treaty with the Ashantees in the year 1807?—In 1817; but that has been abrogated, because a war has intervened.

121. So that the ruling treaty with the Ashantees in the neighbourhood of the Gold Coast is the Treaty of 1831, concluded with the King of Ashantee and Governor Maclean?—That is the fact. *It was an exceedingly important treaty; more important than any of the others in the African settlements.

122. In what sense was it so?—Because that is the treaty on which hinges any question of peace or war with the neighbouring chiefs.

123. Can you state any particular terms in that treaty which justify you in so saying?—The essential question with regard to the Gold Coast, is how far you are pledged to a so-called protected chief to go to war for him. Now, on searching most diligently the records, I do not find the shadow of a word implying that you are to give this kind of protection, except only that passage which I read from the Poll Tax Ordinance. The Poll Tax Ordinance said, that in consideration of the protection derived from the Queen, it was fair that they should pay a tax; whether that sentence implies that you are to hold yourself bound to go to war, seems very doubtful, for it implies that you are to keep good order, and have good police quite as much as that you are to go to war in case of need; but at all events, they have ceased to pay the tax, and there is thus an end of that Ordinance; whilst as to treaties in which you engage to become protectors to the extent of going to war for the natives, I know of no treaty now in force, except the one signed in April 1831.

124. Do you mean that the British protectorate on the Gold Coast has no other foundation but this treaty?—That is my opinion. There may be a distinct question whether, if they obliged you, you ought to oblige them and be friendly to them. But what does the Treaty of 1831 say? If the Committee will permit me, I will read it: "We, the undersigned, namely, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle and British settlements, on the part of his Majesty the King of England; the Princess 'Akianwah' and the Chief 'Quagna,' on the part of the King of Ashantee; 'Aggeny,' King of Cape Coast; 'Adookoo,'

King of Fantee; 'Ammonoo,' King of Amamabee; 'Chibboe,' King of Dinkara; 'Ossoo Okoo,' King of Tufel; 'Animinee,' King of Wassaw; 'Chibboo,' King of Assin; the chiefs of Adjameon and Essacoombah, and the other chiefs in alliance with the King of Great Britain, whose names are hereunto appended, to consent to and hereby ratify the following treaty of peace and of free commerce between ourselves and such other chiefs as may hereafter adhere to it: First, the King of Ashantee having deposited in Cape Coast Castle, in the presence of the above-mentioned parties, the sum of 600 ounces of gold, and having delivered into the hands of the governor two young men of the Royal family of Ashantee, named 'Osso Ansah,' and 'Ossoo In-grantamissali' as security that he will keep peace with the said parties in all time coming, peace is hereby declared betwixt the said King of Ashantee, and all and each of the parties aforesaid, to continue in all time coming. The above securities shall remain in Cape Coast Castle for the space of six years from this date. Secondly, in order to prevent all quarrels in future which might lead to the infraction of this treaty of peace, we, the parties aforesaid, have agreed to the following rules and regulations for the better protection of lawful commerce. The paths shall be perfectly open and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic, and persons molesting them in any way whatever, or forcing them to purchase at any particular market, or influencing them by any unfair means whatever, shall be deemed guilty of infringing this treaty, and be liable to the severest punishment. Panyarring, denouncing, and swearing on or by any person or thing whatever are hereby strictly forbidden, and all persons infringing this rule shall be vigorously punished, and no master or chief shall be answerable for the crimes of his servants unless done by his orders or consent, or when under his control. As the King of Ashantee has renounced all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Dinkara, Assin, and others, formerly his subjects, so, on the other hand, these parties are strictly prohibited from insulting by improper speaking, or in any other way, their former master, such conduct being calculated to produce quarrels and wars. All palavers are to be decided in the manner mentioned in the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to by the parties to this treaty. Signed in the Great Hall of Cape Coast Castle, this 27th day of April 1831, by the parties to this treaty, and sealed with the Great Seal of the Colony in their presence." And then follows the signatures. All I submit is, that though we have in that treaty of peace a final renouncement by the King of Ashantee of sovereignty over the people with whom we are friendly, who on the other hand promise that they will not insult him by "panyarring," or the use of oaths, which are held to be very injurious to a chief, there is no engagement that we are to be allies for either offensive or defensive purposes.

125. Lord Stanley.] As a matter of fact, do you think that the British Government is not bound by any obligation to protect those districts of Dinkara, Assin, and others?—What I submit is, that the British Government is not so bound by any treaty or record; whether they are morally bound, or what should be the extent of any obligation of the kind is a different question, which admits of a great deal of discussion.

126. But that you think has been left entirely vague

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vague and undefined, like so many other things in connection with those African affairs?—Quite so; the case seems to be the same as that of a relation with any minor European power which shows great deference to the wishes of England, and which England may be proportionably inclined to help.

127. Mr. Forster.] With regard to this treaty, do you know what steps are taken to enable the Ashantee Government to know what they have undertaken to do?—They are a party to that treaty.

128. I suppose two copies were taken of the treaty when signed, one being preserved by the Ashantee Government, and one by the English Government; is that the case?—I do not know; but I do know that the Ashantees are perfectly cognizant of the importance of treaties. They continually refer to this treaty, and they have never begun a war with us without over and over again appealing to any existing treaty.

129. But can you inform the Committee generally, by what means an African chief keeps himself informed with regard to the nature of engagements in treaties?—It is a matter of notoriety and tradition. A treaty like this is of the utmost possible importance to them; it has now existed for 30 years and more, and they have been continually in the habit of appealing to it.

130. But can you tell the Committee whether they keep it as a written document in their possession?—That I cannot tell, but it is probable, because they are exceedingly fond of what they call “a book,” which is any written document, and I have no doubt they do attach importance to written records of their agreements. It will not escape the attention of the Committee that the last article in the Treaty of 1831 says that “all palavers are to be decided in the manner mentioned in the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to by the parties to this treaty.” That refers to some other document, apparently. I am told that whenever any questions arise in Africa, everybody looks to the Treaty of April 1831, but that passage evidently does point to the existence of some other terms. My own opinion is that the Treaty of 1831 is quite enough; all our best white authorities continually refer to it, and the native authorities do the same; still I have made search to ascertain what that reference could mean, and I have found certain terms and conditions proposed in the year 1828 to the King of Ashantee; they were rather favourably entertained by him, but after keeping us four years in negotiation he ended by only signing the short treaty which I have already read. However, if any question happened to arise of what could be the meaning of that reference in the last article of the Treaty of 1831, I think it must be answered by turning to those conditions of 1828 which I have got a copy of.

131. Can you quote from the Treaty of 1828, which I presume was the treaty at the end of the great Ashantee War, the passage which you suppose is referred to in the Treaty of 1831?—Those terms of 1828 are an abortive treaty. The King of Ashantee, though he coquetted with the terms, never would sign the treaty, but you can only refer to that as being supposed to interpret the last article of the other treaty if necessary.

132. The Treaty of 1828 was never signed?—It was never signed. The Treaty of 1831 is perfectly harmless, but those terms of 1828 contain some much less safe clauses. The terms of the

Treaty of 1828 provided for a reference of disputes between the natives to the British Government. The 6th clause said, “If any of the allied kings or chiefs shall be the aggressor or aggressors as aforesaid, and if such aggressor or aggressors shall refuse to abide by the decision of the Governor, or his representative with the chiefs assembled with him in council, in that case he or they will no longer be considered as of the confederacy and must arrange his or their disputes as they best can.”

133. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Have you any reason to think that either party thinks itself bound by that document?—No, I think not; I only feel bound in good faith to mention that that document exists.

134. Chairman.] Will you inform the Committee the number of the treaties which were entered into in the neighbourhood of the Gambia in the year 1840?—Yes; they arose in fact out of the Niger Expedition. At the time of the Niger Expedition there was a feeling that the squadron had failed, and that some new method must be tried to suppress the slave trade, and immense store seems to have been set by treaties. The instructions to the Niger Commissioners supplied them with a model treaty, urged them to do all they could to get treaties signed; to go a second and third time to the chiefs if necessary; to use all manner of arguments to show them that human sacrifices were bad and the slave trade injurious, and make every effort to get the chiefs to sign the treaties. Nearly identical instructions were sent at the same time to the Governors of the Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and that is the reason why you find so many treaties for Sierra Leone and the Gambia. The Gold Coast was at that time under a company of merchants who never had those instructions; so that at that place we are spared having such numerous treaties.

135. What is the general nature of those treaties?—The chiefs renounced the slave trade, and promised to protect all lawful traders, whether white or black; and to refrain from wrecking. In some cases, a certain percentage on the value of the trade was to be allowed to the chief, so long as he observed the terms of the treaty; but they have not come to much practically.

136. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Is it not the case that our protectorate at the Gold Coast (such as it is) has taken the place of those numerous treaties that you have described in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and has enabled us to exercise the same kind of influence there that we exercise by means of the treaties in the neighbourhood of the other two settlements?—That is very true.

137. Chairman.] Consequently, on the somewhat modified colonial policy adopted in this country, was there about the years 1840 to 1844 any change made in the general terms of the treaties on that coast which restricted the implication of this country in the protection of the tribes?—Yes; I find that was so in some of the earlier cases. The Governor of Gambia, for example, in his zeal to get those treaties signed, held out a promise of protection to one of the chiefs; but no sooner did this come home than Lord Deby, who was then Secretary of State, immediately seized on that point, disallowed it, and informed the Governor that he must never give any pledge of protection.

138. Mr. Forster.] Did I understand you to say that you thought those treaties had had but little

little effect?—I fear that I may have expressed myself indefinitely, but what I intended to convey was that they have never taxed this country with any burdensome efforts on behalf of the chiefs.

139. Do you think that they have not at all produced the effect of diminishing the slave trade or human sacrifices?—I think that probably they have been of service by giving us a right to remonstrate against those practices.

140. Colonel Ord, in his report in speaking of Sierra Leone, says, "In the majority of instances the treaties are generally faithfully observed;" he adds, "it is unquestionable that by means of these treaties the Sierra Leone Government exercises an influence over a large extent of country from which it would otherwise be excluded, an influence which is most useful in securing the safety of its trade and the protection of its people;" and then he proceeds, "the slave trade, understanding thereby the export of slaves to America, is unknown in Sierra Leone," would your experience lead you to differ from that opinion?—Not the least, I entirely agree with every word of it; what I meant was, that the treaties had had no effect inconvenient to us, but they have produced the good effect wished for from them.

141. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Is it not the case that the ordinary and the most powerful means of enforcing those treaties, is the granting of small annual stipends to the chiefs, on consideration of faithful observance of the treaties?—Yes, in Sierra Leone that is the case, and I daresay it is well worth the expenditure.

142. *Chairman*.] Can you put in any treaty which would serve as a model treaty for the Committee to refer to?—Yes; at the end of the list of Sierra Leone treaties, I propose to put in the latest treaty of amity and commerce, which will give the Committee an idea of what most of them consist of, and also copies of two or three of the latest territorial treaties at Sierra Leone. The two latest acquisitions of territory have been Quiah and Sherbro, and they have been extremely valuable to the Colony.

143. Will you also be good enough to put in copies of any Despatches which show how any of

those treaties have been received?—Yes. With regard to the Gambia, some of the treaties there are for endeavouring to settle disputes between the native chiefs themselves, and to prevent native wars; and I do sincerely believe that they have been very salutary; our own territory there is very limited, so that it is indispensable to try to keep the peace among our black neighbours, and that has been done without causing any wars of our own for that purpose.

144. *Sir Francis Baring*.] There was a convention, I believe, between England and France, by which both countries were prohibited from appropriating or annexing any French territory on the African Coast?—That may be the case; but it is out of my province; I do not remember that, at this moment.

145. *Mr. Forster*.] Are those possessions that you have given the Committee information about, the whole of Her Majesty's possessions on the West Coast of Africa?—Yes.

146. Have there been any other annexations within the last 10 years?—None that I know of.

147. There is nothing near Bonny, is there at all?—None.

148. *Chairman*.] Are there any treaties or any specific relations between the British Government and the Government of Liberia that you are aware of?—There have been various communications with the Government of Liberia upon boundaries.

149. *Mr. Cheetham*.] There is no treaty that you are aware of?—No treaty that I know of.

150. *Lord Alfred Churchill*.] Is there not a dispute now between the two Governments with regard to some outlying portions of the country?—There has been some discussion about the boundaries.

151. I believe that the Liberian Government are rather anxious that we should decide that at once, are they not?—I have not heard anything very recently about it; the question arose last, I think, out of our taking Sherbro.

152. *Mr. Forster*.] Do you know whether Fernando Po was ever under the Colonial Office?—It was for a short time.

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Jocis, 23^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Colonel ORD, R. E., called in; and Examined.

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153. *Chairman.* I BELIEVE that you are a Colonel in the Royal Engineers and also Governor of Bermuda?—I am.

154. You have just returned from an inspection of the British settlements in West Africa, and have made a report on each of the four settlements, have you not?—I have.

155. Will you state to the Committee what previous acquaintance you had had with the West African Coast?—I had made two visits previously to the West African Coast; one in 1850, under orders from the War Department, to make an inspection of all the establishments, a duty which occupied me about eight months; and again in 1855 and 1856, as a Commissioner from the Colonial Office to the Gold Coast, and some of my inquiries were also directed to the Gambia, a duty which occupied me about six months.

156. The first inspection, I understand you to say, was on the part of the War Office, and was chiefly, I presume, relative to the defence of the four settlements, and the second on the part of the Colonial Office to inquire into the circumstances of the Gold Coast at that period?—That was so.

157. Have you since that last date, 1856, kept up from time to time a correspondence with the Colonial Office upon the subject of the West African settlement?—I have.

158. The Colonial Office, in fact, have referred to you for information, which your experience enabled you to give them?—They have done so on various occasions.

159. Will you now state to the Committee very briefly the chief heads of the instructions which were given to you by the Colonial Minister previously to your recent inspection?—I was instructed to examine the state of the public establishments and their efficiency; to investigate the financial condition of the settlements and their taxation, their revenue and expenditure; and to consider whether their efficiency and economy might not be promoted by establishing a better communication between them, or possibly by some consolidation of the Governments; to consider our relations with the natives, the influence we exercised over them, the negotiations and engagements existing with them, and the subject of their taxation; those were the principal heads of inquiry to which my attention was directed.

160. Will you state the course which you pursued in consequence of those instructions, the

period when you left England, and so on?—I left England at the end of October, and proceeded to the Gambia.

161. Will you be good enough to inform the Committee the time you spent at each place?—I remained at the Gambia about 10 days; I then proceeded to Sierra Leone and to the Gold Coast, making about the same stay at each place, and finally to Lagos, where my visit was somewhat more prolonged; I returned home, calling at each of the other settlements, passing a few days there, and reached England at the beginning of February.

162. I fear that at some period on this journey you caught the fever, did you not?—I had an attack of fever after finally leaving the coast, on my return to England.

163. That did not impede your inspection, though it has somewhat impeded, perhaps, your arrangement of your report?—I am sorry to say it has had that effect.

164. I suppose you are conversant with the report of Dr. Madden, who was sent out for a similar inspection in the year 1841, namely, to inquire into the Governments on the West African coasts, their advantages and disadvantages, and certain alleged connivances by members of the Council at Cape Coast Castle with the slave trade, and into the plans of the proposed emigration of negroes from there to the West Indies?—I am.

165. I suppose you know that a Select Committee was appointed in the following year, 1842, to inquire into that subject, and that their report was based on Dr. Madden's report?—I do.

166. Though they expressly do not, in their report, endorse Dr. Madden's views?—I am aware of that.

167. I believe that that report, amongst other circumstances, chiefly led to the Crown resuming the government of the Gold Coast, and also separating the Governments of the Gambia and the Gold Coasts from Sierra Leone?—It did so.

168. Now, proceeding to deal with your report upon these settlements successively in the order in which they occur, and taking, first, the Gambia, let me ask you this: you state in your report on the Gambia (as we have it already in Mr. Elliot's evidence) that Great Britain has now six occupations of territory there which have accumulated at the dates of 1816, 1820, 1826, 1840, and 1855. I wish to know your opinion as to what have been the causes of this constant increase of territory?

—The

—The causes, I believe, to be various. In one instance, that of the territory on Barra, opposite Bathurst, I imagine the object was to acquire a piece of land on which the natives should not have the right to settle, and so to keep them at a distance. Cape St. Mary I have also understood was acquired on sanitary grounds, it being a very healthy spot, and upon high ground, at no great distance from Bathurst. The land in Combo was taken from the chiefs in consequence of their repeated interference with our people. We fought with them and chastised them, and annexed a portion of their territory, in which we located some pensioners from the black troops, and some liberated Africans, who were, of course, more penceable and better neighbours than the previous inhabitants had been.

169. So that there have been several objects in view; a barrier against the native races, a healthy station, the prevention of disturbances in the neighbourhood, and the furtherance of trade?—No doubt this last had something to do with it; in the case of Combo it is very good land, and we, of course, insured its being always well cultivated, instead of only when the natives were disposed for peace. But I have always understood MacCarthy's Island was taken solely on account of its being an advanced post for the protection of trade.

170. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] As a depot for produce I suppose?—Not so much that as for an advanced post; we have a few soldiers there, but it is used as a depot unquestionably.

171. Chairman.] I see on your maps of the Gambia, a little below MacCarthy's Island, a place coloured, as belonging to Great Britain, called Kayage Island; is that a part of the occupation of MacCarthy's Island, or is it a separate occupation?—Kayage Island is not British territory, it has been wrongly coloured in the map.

172. Can you at all state the number of liberated Africans located in Combo?—I have no means of answering that question.

173. I see in Dr. Madden's report in 1841, it is stated that there were then liberated Africans in the Gambian settlement to the number of 1,500, which was 15 years before British Combo was occupied; do you suppose that the numbers have increased since then?—I am unable to say; I believe that British Combo was settled by Africans who were recently captured, not by the descendants of liberated Africans alluded to in Dr. Madden's report: a single cargo I think it was.

174. Have they been found in the Gambian settlements at all a troublesome population?—I have never heard that they have given any trouble; those in Combo are thought very well of by the Governor.

175. You state in your report I think, that there is another tribe at a place called Essow, which wishes to come within the limits of the British Government?—It is rather the inhabitants of a town than a tribe.

176. What is the ground of their having expressed such a wish?—I believe it is from the consciousness of their weakness; they had a very narrow escape of destruction when Maba, the Mahomedan fanatic, burned all the towns in the neighbourhood, and being what are called Pagans, they are fearful that this fate will some day befall them, and therefore they wish to obtain protection from Great Britain.

177. Do you conceive that it will be the general tendency of the neighbouring people to seek

to come within British protection?—No; I have no reason to suppose there is any such wish on the part of the mass of the people; certainly not among the Marabouts.

178. Will you state to the Committee what, in your opinion, is the use to Great Britain in that part of the coast of having at the mouth of the Gambia more than a station similar to that which the French have at the mouth of the Senegal?—The establishment of the French at Senegal consisted in the year 1860 of 1,500 soldiers, composed of one European regiment, one black regiment, two field batteries, and 100 spahis. At Goree, they have 600 Europeans; between the two settlements they have 12 steamers of war, and they have also arsenals at Goree and Senegal, where all their repairs are done. In the year 1854 the French possessed no jurisdiction, except in the neighbourhood of the settlements; but in the year 1860 they had extended it as far as the Falls, and had brought all the Foulah chiefs into French allegiance. The revenue which they raised was 20,000*l.*, and the expenditure was 160,000*l.*; the cost to France being 140,000*l.* The French merchants speak of the trade of the settlement as having suffered very much from what they call the warlike policy of France.

179. In fact, the French used their station at Senegal as a great military station, in the same way that the English use Gibraltar, for instance?—Yes; but I am not aware with what object they have done this.

180. You do not suppose, do you, that all that military force is wanted for West African purposes, but for a general garrison for national objects?—I am unable to say with what object they maintain those establishments.

181. Do you suppose that the English could not have a single station at the mouth of the Gambia for the purposes of trade, or for the assistance of the squadron, without so large a garrison as that?—We could maintain a station for the assistance of the squadron and the protection of trade, I believe, with even a smaller garrison than we have; but we could not maintain it without the present establishments, which are necessary to raise the revenue, unless the Imperial Government assumed the maintenance of the station.

182. Then I presume from that answer you think that the extension of territory around Bathurst is chiefly for the purpose of raising the revenue to pay the expenses of the Government at Bathurst?—No; I do not think so. Those accessions of territory have been made at different times, and for various reasons. I do not know of any case in which an increase of territory was made solely with the idea of augmenting the revenue, nor do I believe that it was so in any one instance.

183. Do you consider generally that the spots occupied by the English around the Gambia have been well chosen?—Bathurst, certainly, is badly chosen, having regard solely to healthiness, Cape St. Mary is far healthier; but Bathurst affords great facilities for trade.

184. What objection would there be to removing the site of the Government from Bathurst to Cape St. Mary, which seems to be at the mouth of the river, and which is on high ground, and healthy?—The objection would be, that the merchants would not, on account of its healthiness alone, consent to incur the heavy expense of removing their storehouses and long-established places of business from the safe anchorage and

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the convenient landing-places of the river to the exposed situation of Cape St. Mary, which is in no respect so well adapted for the purposes of trade.

185. I think, from your report, you doubt the expediency of retaining MacCarthy's Island, which you say has only been occupied as an advanced post for trade?—I do not doubt the expediency of retaining MacCarthy's Island; but I think that its maintenance is now effected at a greater cost than is necessary. I believe the military establishment which is kept up there might be modified with advantage and economy.

186. Why was the establishment at MacCarthy's Island made so large?—It is not in itself very large; it has three or four officers and 30 men; but these are soldiers of the black regiments, and the expense of maintaining any regular force, particularly in this part of the world, is very heavy. It is on that ground solely that I think any alteration in the present arrangement desirable.

187. Has not the extreme unhealthiness of the spot been one reason for the number of men employed there?—That is so in the case of the officers; a larger proportion of officers is constantly retained there than would be necessary at a more healthy station.

188. A considerable portion of the officers being always invalidated, I suppose?—Not only that, but on account of the distance from Bathurst; for in the event of sickness no aid can be obtained; and they cannot be relieved speedily.

189. Can you state to the Committee whether the French make any occupation up to Senegal, or whether they do not connect their force at the mouth of the river with the gunboats and steamers up the river?—I possess no information respecting the French settlement at Senegal, except what I have already given.

190. Lord Alfred Chesham.] How often does a steamer ply between Bathurst and MacCarthy's Island?—About once a month.

191. Not more than that?—Not more than that regularly.

192. Therefore in the event of sickness among the officers of MacCarthy's Island it would be a whole month before they could communicate with Bathurst, would it not?—No; because they could come down in sailing boats, a journey which occupies six days.

193. Chairman.] The Government of the Gambia consists of a Governor, a Legislative Council, and the Executive Council, does it not?—It does.

194. Do these Councils consist chiefly of the chief merchants there?—They are by the constitution of the colony composed partly of certain officials and partly of civilians who are usually the leading merchants of the place.

195. The Governor can, I suppose, act independently of the Executive Council, but not independently of his Legislative Council?—Such is invariably the rule, and is the case here.

196. You have stated in your report that the tribes in the neighbourhood of Bathurst may chiefly be comprehended under two classes; the Mahomedan, which is the greatest, and the Pagan tribes, and that those two tribes are in perpetual hostility?—They are two sects. A Marabout and a Soninke may be brothers; they are not distinct tribes.

197. Are they both Negro races?—Yes.

198. Have the Mahomedans no mixture of Oriental blood?—None that I am aware of.

199. You have stated that England maintains

a strict neutrality between those people. I suppose that you mean that England keeps them both in order impartially?—When called upon to interfere for the protection of local interests the Government acts with the greatest impartiality.

200. The neutrality is not non-interference, but impartial interference?—It is non-interference, unless we are compelled to interfere for the protection of local interests.

201. What are the Soninkees, strictly speaking; are they lax Mahomedans, or are they Pagans?—They are nominally Mahomedans.

202. Who are treated by the Marabouts as no better than Pagans?—Yes, exactly.

203. Chairman.] What are the Serawollies?—I only know that they are a tribe found in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, which is given to cultivation.

204. Are they at all analogous to the Kroomen near Sierra Leone?—No, not at all.

205. With regard to the relations of the British Government with those tribes, you say that there are numerous treaties between the two since the year 1826; do you mean treaties of cession of territory, or treaties of commerce, peace, or amity, or both?—I mean both.

206. Is it your belief that the Colonial Office has some record of all those treaties, and that none can be made without the knowledge of the British Government at home?—The Colonial Office has, I believe, a list of all the existing treaties; none of the treaties that may be made will be valid until confirmed at home.

207. Are all those treaties made by the governor or with his authority?—The treaties made with the tribes in the neighbourhood of the settlements are, I think, without exception, made by the governor or with his authority. Naval officers have been in the habit of making treaties chiefly with regard to the suppression of the slave trade with the tribes with whom they may come in contact, but I only know of one instance in which a treaty has been made by a naval officer with any tribe in the neighbourhood of a settlement independently of a governor.

208. What did that treaty to which you allude, and which was made by a naval officer without the authority of the governor of the settlement, amount to in its terms; how far did it implicate the British Government?—That treaty was made between Commander Wilmott in the name of the Queen of England, in February 1864, with the High Priest of the town of Gonjoor, and the King of Combo, and the head men of some neighbouring Pagan towns. Its object was to secure peace between the people of Gonjoor and Combo, and those towns. It provided that all future differences between them should be referred to the Governor of the Gambia, "who will in Council with his head men award judgment." It provided that chiefs and others who by their improper conduct distressed a beautiful district full of corn and cattle, putting it to fire, sword, pestilence, and famine, should be held accountable for their actions to the Government of England and the allies of the Queen of England; and that should the treaty be broken by any of the natives who had signed it, it should be lawful, and permission was accordingly given, for the soldiers and others of the British Governor to enter the territory of the refractory party, and compel him to observe the engagement contained in that treaty.

209. There was no allusion in that treaty to

the suppression of the slave trade?—None whatever.

210. It was, in fact, a treaty for keeping the peace amongst the tribes?—It was so.

211. Even that amounted to offering a sort of British protectorate over the peace of the neighbourhood, did it not?—It might be so understood.

212. You seem to think in your report that those treaties, including as they frequently do stipends to the native chiefs, are beneficial as affording to England an opportunity for intervening, but you think that that plea may have its disadvantages as well as its advantages?—I assume, of course, that the intervention would only be made wisely; it is very advantageous, I think, to possess the power of interfering.

213. The origin of the Gambia Settlement long ago was for trading in slaves and gold, but the Abolition Act of 1807 put an end to that trade; and in the year 1816, when, after the Treaty of Paris, the division between France and England gave Senegal to one and Gambia to the other, there was in fact, was there not, a re-settlement by the English of the Gambia, with a new object; namely, the suppression of the slave trade and the encouragement of commerce?—I believe so.

214. Do you think generally that since that date what was the new object in the English settlement of the Gambia has been successfully carried out?—With regard to the suppression of the slave trade I have every reason to believe that it has been perfectly successful.

215. Taking the question of the slave trade first, can you at all tell the Committee what amount of slave trade there was there before, which, supposing there is now none, we may give the settlement the credit of having put down; whether in point of fact the Gambia was previously a great locality for the slave trade?—I am not aware of any statistics which would furnish the means of answering that question; there are none that I know of which show the places from which slaves were exported, but it is certain that slaves were exported from the whole of the West Coast of Africa, from the Gambia on the north to the Bights on the south; that, in the year 1807, Great Britain endeavoured to suppress the slave trade, and that those endeavours have been successful wherever there are settlements, and appear to have failed everywhere else.

216. Do you believe that the Gambia was originally the farthest point north for the slave trade?—I think so.

217. Will you state to the Committee what is the agency of slave trading with natives which you allude to at the top of page 6 of your report?—In the wars that are constantly taking place in the interior prisoners are made on both sides. It is in many instances thought undesirable to retain those prisoners as domestic slaves to work in the immediate neighbourhood of the places where they have been taken, and their captors are generally anxious therefore to sell or barter them away. There is a strong suspicion that coloured traders and trading agents when following their avocations up the river out of British jurisdiction do engage in this trade. It is a suspicion, I believe, amounting to a certainty, though there is no positive proof which can be adduced.

218. It is a sort of internal slave trade in prisoners of war?—It is so; slaves have been liberated by the present governor when being transported across the river, when they have been in point of fact going from one part of the country to another for sale.

219. With regard to the second object of what we have just called the resettlement of the Gambia after the abolition of the slave trade, what is your opinion as to its success in the advancement of commerce; you state in your report the exports from the Gambia as having declined in the period of 10 years, to which your table refers, from 173,000 *l.* to 148,000 *l.*; now I observe in Dr. Madden's report, which gives a similar table between the years 1836 and 1840, that the exports were then declining from 147,000 *l.* to 124,000 *l.*; between the two periods there seems to have been a rise, although in the last 10 years there is a repetition of the decline; can you at all account for that?—The fluctuations have not been very great.

220. Although the fluctuations are not very great, yet is it not clear that in the long period from Dr. Madden's first date, 1836, down to your last date of 1864, there has at all events been no development of trade?—In the year 1858 the exports had reached 227,000 *l.*

221. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] They fell in the year 1860, and now they are rising again?—Yes.

222. Chairman.] The fluctuation may be stated to be between that maximum and the 124,000 *l.*, which was the amount in 1840; but at all events, is it not plain that, though there have been considerable fluctuations, there cannot be considered to have been any great development of trade?—No, there has been no great development of trade since Dr. Madden's time.

223. What should you say is the cause of the British trade not developing there?—I am not prepared to say.

224. Is it not generally this; that the neighbourhood is constantly disturbed, and that capital is not tempted to a neighbourhood which is constantly disturbed?—That is given as a reason for the falling off which has taken place of late years, and I believe that that reason is given with justice.

225. It is not only the disturbances among tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, but the generally disturbed state of the interior of Africa which checks the export of commodities which are collected in the interior?—To some extent that is so, and that disturbed state of the interior also prevents natives in the interior from coming down to cultivate the ground-nut, which is a great article of export in the Gambia.

226. Supposing those disturbances to be permanent and irremediable, do you think that there is any chance of trade developing in the way of agriculture on the coast?—I see no reason if the ground-nut continues in demand as it now is, and peace can be maintained even in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gambia for a few years, why there should not be a very large increase in the exports from those settlements.

227. I see in your report that you do not very much encourage expectations of the culture of cotton, is that from the nature of the plant itself, or from the character of the labouring population?—I entertain considerable doubts about cotton; because the natives are accustomed to the cultivation of the ground-nut; it suits their habits well, and gives them a very good return for their labour, and is moreover cultivated during only a short period of the year, thus leaving a good deal of that idle time to themselves which they require. I doubt whether it was wise for the merchants to attempt to stimulate the cultivation of cotton at this particular time.

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228. You allude to the American war, I suppose?—Yes.

229. Have you any way of accounting for the great difference in many cases between the value of the exports and imports in your return?—Some account of that is given in the body of the report.

230. Mr. Gregory.] Has the large importation of petroleum from America affected the cultivation of the ground nut?—It has not affected the cultivation of the ground nut, nor do I think it can ever do so. Petroleum is a mineral oil, and is chiefly used for burning; but the ground nut is chiefly used for domestic purposes. It is alleged that the greater part of the ground nut which is sent to France is converted into oil which is sold as olive oil.

231. Lord Alfred Churchill.] I believe that petroleum comes into competition with palm oil, and has diminished the demand for it?—I am not aware of that.

232. Chairman.] Your general opinion is that the trade in mineral oil will not interfere with the trade in vegetable oil, is it not?—Exactly.

233. Mr. Cave.] There is very little labour required for the ground nut, I believe?—Very little.

234. Chairman.] You say in your report that the trade is chiefly French, and in French ships; that will cease to be the case under the French treaty, will it not?—I am not aware of that.

235. Mr. Forster.] Is the cultivation of the ground nut confined to the Gambia?—No, it is carried on in Sierra Leone, and until you come to the oil district. It is not cultivated on the Gold Coast.

236. Is there any special advantage possessed by the Gambian territory for its cultivation?—Yes; it is a light and sandy soil.

237. Chairman.] You say in your report that the French merchants bringing specie to buy the nuts escape the import duties, which has led to a general substitution of export duties for the revenue. Can you state any reason that has prevented French commerce being developed in return for the importations on their side?—I imagine that English goods are better suited to the African market than French. Finding that the natives would take specie, they preferred bringing silver to laying it out in the purchase of our goods and trading with them afterwards.

238. Is that French trade at all carried on by the French Government, to your knowledge?—I have no reason to suppose that the French Government has anything to do with it.

239. By your return it appears that nearly a quarter of the revenue consists of a Parliamentary grant of 4,000*l.* Can you state to the Committee whether that Imperial Parliamentary grant is appropriated or is paid into the general revenue?—The appropriation of the Parliamentary grant is as follows: the Governor's salary 1,000*l.*, Chief Justice 800*l.*, Colonial Secretary 300*l.*, Commandant of MacCarthy's Island 130*l.*, and in aid of the maintenance of the steamer "Dover" 2,000*l.*, making a total of 4,230*l.*

240. I see in Dr. Madden's returns that the expenditure at the Gambia is stated at 18,000*l.*, of which it is said that England paid 12,000*l.*; I presume that that difference between the sum of 12,000*l.*, as paid by England, and the 4,000*l.* shown in your tables arises from this, that in the first item the pay of the troops is included?—So I understand it.

241. Can you at all state to the Committee

what additional expenses generally the British Treasury is at in the settlement of the Gambia besides the 4,000*l.* granted by Parliament the appropriation of which you have just given?—I know of no expenditure entailed on the Imperial Government for the settlement of the Gambia in addition to that already alluded to except the charge in the Army Estimates for military purposes, which amounts in the present year to 24,097*l.*

242. I think that you will find in this very estimate, if you look under the head "Buildings," another item, expressly for the Gambia, of 5,000*l.* for additional barracks, and you will see in the same page that for the same object 3,000*l.* were voted last year, and I presume that something is voted every year?—The return from which I quoted, at page 100 of the Army Estimates for 1865-66, states the amount to be "for military purposes, exclusive of arms, accoutrements, barrack, hospital, and other stores, to be supplied from this country during the year, the value of which cannot be ascertained;" I understand that that sum includes the charge for military buildings.

243. Can you state at all the amount of police force maintained by the Gambian Government?—It is fluctuating, and I have reason to know that the question of the amount of the police force is being debated at the Gambia.

244. Is that with a view to its increase or the reverse?—With a view to its increase, in consequence of the Militia Act not having been re-enacted.

245. I observe that you allude in your report to the Militia Act having been allowed to expire; can you state generally the cause of that Act being dropped and that force being allowed to cease?—It was principally on account of the expense which it involved. There was also some local jealousy, but the principal cause was the expense; and as the Act was about to expire, it was not thought expedient to re-enact it.

246. What is supposed to be the service to which the militia are liable?—They have actually done good service on several occasions in the field against the natives.

247. Were they called out every year for drill?—They were.

248. Were they at all employed for police duty?—In no way.

249. You would say that the most useful force in a country like that is a local police force, would you not?—I believe that a local police force under proper regulations is the very best force that can be employed on the coast of Africa.

250. Would you say that troops are more expensive and less efficient for the duties required there?—They are more expensive, and the rules of the service forbid their being employed in many ways which would be very advantageous to the local Government.

251. Supposing that we were to reduce the number of our troops there, do you suppose that the Government would increase the police force?—It must depend on the resources of the local Government. I question whether its revenue could be materially increased by any arrangements for an altered system of taxation; but possibly economy might be introduced by a more effective administration, which would enable a larger expenditure to be applied to police purposes.

252. I presume that if the Government could, either by economy or by the development of trade,

trade, obtain the means of doing so, they would desire, in the event of a reduction in the British troops, to increase the police force?—They are fully convinced of the necessity of such a measure.

253. In the items public works, buildings, and roads in your table of expenditure at Gambia what details are chiefly included; the sum varies from 1,000 *l.* to 2,000 *l.* per annum, I observe?—I can give a detail of the estimate for the present year, 1865-66. The estimate for works and buildings for the current year was 386 *l.*: 200 *l.* was taken for the repairs of public buildings, 30 *l.* for the construction of a sluice gate, 20 *l.* for facing some sea wall, 30 *l.* for iron gates for the gaol, and 106 *l.* for some paving stone for pavements.

254. I observe in that list there is no item for roads. Has much money been expended by the Gambian Government in the way of opening up the country by roads?—Much expenditure of that kind is not required at Gambia, in consequence of the river, which is the finest highway that a colony could possess; but a good deal has been done by the present Governor in the immediate neighbourhood of Bathurst.

255. I observe that every year, with the exception of the year 1862, the expenditure has been in advance of the revenue, so that there must be an accumulating debt without any prospect of diminution. Have you any remark to make to the Committee upon that point?—The colony is unquestionably in debt; but the amount of the debt, compared with its resources, is not great, and a little more attention than has been hitherto paid to the subject would no doubt relieve them from their present embarrassment, and prevent a recurrence of it.

256. It is, in fact, your opinion that, without great taxation, the expenditure might be brought within the revenue?—My opinion is that the expenditure ought invariably in every colony to be brought within the revenue.

257. Mr. Forster.] By revenue you mean the income arising from either the revenue raised in the colony or from assistance given by the Central Government?—I do.

258. Chairman.] With regard to the judicial establishment at the Gambia, is it not the fact that, since the report of the Committee of 1842, a judge has been appointed to the Gambia?—It is so.

259. Under letters patent, dated 1843?—Yes.

260. Has that distinct judicial establishment, to your knowledge, been found sufficient and satisfactory?—It has. If the Committee will allow me, I will observe that I see a clerical error at page 4 in my report. With regard to the administration of justice, it says, "British law is administered in the colony through the agency of a Supreme Council;" of course it should be "Supreme Court."

261. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] You have been asked if you saw any use in maintaining more than one station at the mouth of the Gambia. Is the Committee to understand that it is your opinion that MacCarthy's Island cannot be given up without ceasing to attain as fully as we do the objects for which such a station as the Gambia is maintained?—It is my impression.

262. With regard to Bathurst itself, is it not the case that the territory which we have acquired bit by bit around it is still very small?—It is so; and I may add that the largest portion of territory which we possess, the mile on Barra, has not only

never been made any use of by us, but I very much question the possibility of our turning it to any account.

263. That is a strip of territory a mile wide along the shore, is it not?—It is a strip of territory of that width along the shore on the north, or right bank of the river.

264. For the purpose of giving us a control over that shore?—That was probably the object of it; I have no doubt it was thought that the enemy might come down and harass the boats or shipping.

265. Then the territory of Cape St. Mary in British Combo is a very small district in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Bathurst?—Yes.

266. That was acquired mainly for the sake of the security of the town, was it not?—Partly with that object, and partly on account of its healthiness.

267. Would you not be inclined to say that in fact, with the exception of MacCarthy's Island, we have actually only one station at the mouth of the river?—I consider that St. Mary and British Combo really form but one station; they are only separated by a narrow creek.

268. You have spoken of the French stations at Senegal and Goree, and the large establishments maintained there; do you suppose that those establishments, whether successful or not, are maintained by the French with a view to African interests and African trade; they can hardly be maintained with a view to any non-African policy, can they?—The only surmise that I have heard expressed on the point is, that they desire eventually to connect their Algerian, and their present African possessions, and become possessors of the whole of the north of Africa.

269. Should you say that the results which we have been trying to obtain by peaceful means, by treaties, and so on, the French have tried to take a short cut to by violent measures?—I cannot think that they have had in view the same object, namely, the extension of commerce, but they have certainly been unsuccessful; their trade has fallen off during the period of their augmenting their military establishments, whilst ours has not gone back. The French Government undoubtedly professes to take very great interest in the encouragement of French commerce; and it is asserted that French commerce requires a nourishment which British commerce repudiates; that is the theory of the French officials, but there does not appear to have been any trace of such an object in the policy of the French in West Africa, between the years 1854 and 1860.

270. But should you say that the French policy, like ours, is an African policy, which therefore admits of comparison with ours; and that of those two policies ours has been the most peaceful, the most economical, and the most successful?—There can be no question of the fact that it has been so.

271. You say in your report, that the treaties we have entered into with neighbouring chiefs for the improvement of commerce, and the suppression of the slave-trade have rarely, if ever been broken, and that they have been decidedly beneficial to the colony; that is the case, is it not?—It is so.

272. It is your opinion, that that system of inducing the chiefs to enter into those treaties, has rarely driven us into foreign intervention, and has promoted the objects for which the Gambia is maintained?—I am not aware of any instance

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instance in which it has driven us into foreign intervention, and I believe that the system has promoted the object for which the Gambia is maintained.

273. Do you think that a merely passive attitude at the Gambia, refraining from any kind of interference with neighbouring tribes would promote those objects?—That is almost our position; we never do interfere, except an opening is given us by an appeal in some shape or form. There was indeed one case in which we interfered when Maha was destroying towns on the right bank of the river; when he came close to our little fort near Essow, we interfered, but we simply drew up in the rear of the town, and the Governor negotiated with him without threatening him, and prevailed on him to leave the town without destroying it.

274. Our object was self-defence?—Yes.

275. In any rare instances, when we have had recourse to arms, it has been for the purpose of maintaining peace in our immediate neighbourhood, and preventing the annihilation of the trade?—So far as my knowledge goes, I believe that in every instance in which we have had recourse to arms, it has been after repeated insults, plundering or illusage of our people, or aggression on our territory; we have only had recourse to arms when there was no other mode of securing ourselves against the continuance of those aggressions.

276. Do you recollect when the last occasion was, that we were obliged to have recourse to arms?—The last important operation was against Baddiboo, on the north bank of the river.

277. What year was that in?—1861.

278. Mr. Cave.] Was that under Governor O'Connor?—No, under Governor d'Arcy.

279. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Do you believe that with prudent management, we may keep up and extend our useful influence without being driven into native wars?—I think that all history leads to the inference, that where civilized races are in immediate contact with barbarous and warlike tribes, no matter how careful the former may be, there must be occasional collisions.

280. Then, you would say that if we were to maintain our useful position on the Gambia, we should be prepared for occasionally, though very rarely, striking a blow against some aggressor?—We must be prepared for that result occasionally, though much, and indeed almost everything, depends on the tact and judgment that are displayed by those who are in authority on the spot.

281. You do not conceive that there is, with common prudence, any danger of being involved in any serious operations whatever?—Certainly not.

282. Do you conceive that the passage of the Dover steamer up and down the river between Bathurst and MacCarthy's Island to be a very effectual and economical means of maintaining the peace of the river?—I think it is the most effectual and most economical means that could be devised.

283. You said something about the internal slave trade, by which I presume you meant the passage of slaves from one part of the coast or country to another; do you suppose that that is carried on, on a large scale?—When large wars take place between tribes, a great number of prisoners are taken at one time; they are probably

all disposed of as quickly as possible; several hundreds may be sold at once.

284. Do they ever pass through the British territory?—They pass over the river, over which, of course, we claim jurisdiction, and they have been liberated by the present Governor in crossing the river.

285. But beyond the boundaries of the settlement?—In part of the river; at all events below McCarthy's Island, we exercise the right of liberating them at once.

286. If you caught a canoe full of slaves on any part of the river, you would set them free?—The people are at once told that they are free, and they generally ask permission to come down to Bathurst, where they probably go to work for a time; after that they go to other parts of the country; if peace is restored they return to their own country.

287. We do not meddle with the domestic slaves on the banks of the river, do we?—Not in any way; if we have found prisoners of war, or men who were manacled or tied, being conveyed across the water or through the British territory, we have at once liberated them.

288. Sir Francis Baring.] But with regard to *bona fide* domestic slaves crossing the river, do you interfere with them?—No; they are never interfered with.

289. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Do you think that the stimulus that has been given to the cultivation of the soil has had any effect in increasing this internal slave trade, by making labourers valuable for the purpose of raising produce?—I do not; I think that there is quite sufficient inducement in the religious animosity which exists to account for all the wars we know of or hear of in the interior; we know of no wars made in this part of the world for the purpose of making slaves.

290. You speak in your report of the progress of Mahomedanism, which you say is slowly but steadily making its way south; do you conceive that that progress will have any important effect on our own position?—I believe that it will always subject the country in our neighbourhood to those disturbances, which are such impediments to trade until Mahomedanism has carried all before it.

291. Do you conceive that we shall find the Mahomedans more difficult to deal with than the Pagan natives?—In some respects I think we shall; but, perhaps, not on the whole.

292. You are probably aware that some people well acquainted with Africa are convinced that the progress of Mahomedanism among Pagans has a civilizing influence; do you agree with that view?—Externally it is so; they cease to drink, which is perhaps the greatest and worst vice which affects the African.

293. It puts an end to human sacrifice, does it not?—It would put an end to human sacrifices entirely; but they do not exist to the north.

294. Do you believe the Mahomedan native to be a more energetic and intelligent being than the Pagan?—He is probably more energetic, but I question his being a more useful member of society; he will not labour so freely as the Pagan.

295. Probably he makes the Pagan labour for him?—Yes; when he has converted all the Pagans to Mahomedanism that is very likely to be the end. Generally speaking, in a family of Soninkees (which is the proper term, and not Pagan) one son will be devoted as a Marabout, and he is then

then sent to the priest and taught to read and write, and he grows up a staunch follower of the tenets of Mahomedanism.

296. Mr. Forster.] Are the Committee to understand that the Marabouts can generally read and write?—Yes, a very large proportion of those that you meet in northern Africa can read and write.

297. Mr. Gregory.] Arabic?—Yes, Arabic; they carry the Koran about with them.

298. Mr. Forster.] Can they carry on a conversation in Arabic?—Yes, I think so.

299. Which tongue they could not have known until they had learned it as Marabouts, I suppose? I presume that they can carry on conversation in Arabic; I have known them addressed in Arabic, and I have known them to reply, but whether they can all do that is a question that I cannot answer.

300. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Then should you not say that the progress of Mahomedanism so far as it goes, irrespective of any convenience or inconvenience which it may be to us, tends to the improvement and elevation of the African people?—I think it does.

301. Mr. Forster.] Do you know any instance in your experience on the West Coast of Africa of Mahomedans selling to white men, or for the foreign slave trade, other Mahomedans?—No, I know nothing of the nature of the transactions under which the export trade is conducted; I have never had an opportunity of witnessing that.

302. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] You have spoken of the police at the Gambia; out of what materials is the police force formed?—I believe that any native of the colony who is willing to enter the force can do so; I am not aware that any particular selection is made.

303. Could a liberated African enter the police force?—Certainly; I should say all classes. I think the police of the Gambia, which is not a large force, may include any native who is willing to enter it, and I know that it contains liberated Africans.

304. Have you formed any opinion of the efficiency of that police force?—I am not prepared to express an opinion on that subject.

305. Do you conceive that an armed police force could be formed out of the available materials there which would be fit, in case of need, to make head against neighbouring tribes?—I should think not; or, at all events, not without great difficulty.

306. Then, how would you propose to form such a force?—By obtaining natives from other parts of the coast. I would rarely employ the natives of any particular settlement as police in that locality. I would not do it, if it could be avoided.

307. You have stated that you considered the black troops not as useful as they might be for local purposes?—No soldier of the regular army can be as useful for local purposes, owing to the regulations of the service, as a policeman would be.

308. You believe that a civil force, under the direct orders of the Governor, would be more available for ordinary purposes than black troops?—I think that they would be more available than any troops; I do not make any comparison between the black and white.

309. You think that more is to be got out of a civil force, for the ordinary purposes of Government, than can be got out of any body of troops?—I think so.

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310. Mr. Gregory.] In fact, you must actually have this civil police force to supplement the other under any circumstances?—The Governor would be at liberty to make use of the police in many ways where he cannot avail himself (except with great difficulty) of the services of the regular troops; for instance, he has a complaint of some mal-treatment by a chief or some of his people of some British subject, and he sends a man who is a civil officer to investigate it on the spot and to bring the chief to reason. Of course, he would prefer, if going some distance into the interior, that he should be accompanied by a guard; if he applies to the commandant of the troops, that guard can only be furnished under regulations which very much impair its usefulness, and the officer in charge of the negotiation, if he is a civilian, can have no control over it, although he is probably the best qualified to turn services to account. But if, with the aid of the native police, he takes with him a guard (small or large according to the circumstances of the mission) it is not large enough to effect any aggressive operation, but at the same time the mere presence of armed men is not without its influence on those chiefs.

311. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] You were asked by an honourable Member, whether you thought the colony, from its own revenue, could pay for an increased body of police; what is your opinion on that point?—A modification of the financial arrangements of the colony might possibly enable them to do this.

312. In what direction do you think that any savings could be made from the local expenditure?—I am not prepared to state in detail what such modifications should be; I think that they would be far better considered on the spot, and when the financial arrangements of all the colonies were taken into account at the same time.

313. But you have no doubt that even if the colony were aided by the Imperial Government in maintaining an armed police, there might be a considerable saving effected on that item in the amount of the estimate?—Some saving may be effected at the Gambia, but I fear not a very large one; the force at the Gambia is but three companies of black troops, still I think that an expenditure of 24,000*l.* for such a force must be susceptible of reduction.

314. Then you would expect some deduction to be made at the Gambia, although not so much there as in the other settlements?—I believe that a large reduction may be effected on the military expenditure of the whole of the settlements by an entire re-arrangement of the military system.

315. Can you tell the Committee anything about the state of education and the progress of Christianity within our territory at the Gambia?—I fear that neither has made much progress at the Gambia.

316. Are the liberated Africans nominally Christians?—There have been no liberated Africans sent to the colony of late years, except a few which are settled at Combo; they are nominal Christians, and the local Government makes provision for the education of their children.

317. It appears that the trade at the Gambia has been somewhat stationary for a good many years; but would you say that, although not very large, it is sufficient to have a powerful effect in checking the slave trade in those parts?—I believe that the mere presence of the British establishments in the settlement at the Gambia is quite sufficient to do all that is now done in the way of

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suppressing the slave trade. No doubt the encouragement of agriculture, to which our presence gives rise, tends to aid that result.

318. There must be a considerable number of native chiefs whose interest it is to continue on good terms with us, and to prefer legitimate trading to slave trading; is not that so?—There are a large number of natives who are brought into contact with us through the cultivation of the produce which we export, and that contact with us for the purpose of commerce is an inducement to them to refrain from slave trading, if they have any such tendencies.

319. The presence of cruisers has not been found necessary at the Gambia or the neighbourhood for a long time past, I believe?—The cruisers were withdrawn from the northern part of the coast in February 1864, under the impression that the slave trade had entirely died out; but at the expiration of eight months slaves were again exported.

320. Mr. Forster.] From where were they exported?—From between the Gambia and Sierra Leone.

321. Mr. Clăcheater Fortescue.] On the Nunez?—They commenced operations nearer Sierra Leone.

322. It is your belief that the existence of our small settlement at the Gambia has been, and is, of considerable use in preventing slave trading from that coast?—I believe so.

323. Sir Francis Daring.] You have mentioned several cases of annexation; can you inform the Committee historically whether they were done with the previous sanction of the Government, or by the local authorities?—I cannot. That is a question respecting which information could be better supplied direct from the Colonial Office.

324. You have stated also, with regard to the civilization of Africa, that there has been no great progress in education, or in the spread of Christianity. There are instructions to the Governor to promote religion and education among the natives, but that has been unsuccessful, you say?—I fear that it has not been as successful as could be desired.

325. Is the trade carried on merely by European merchants or by natives?—It is carried on by European merchants, through the agency of native assistants.

326. Do you mean the natives who reside at the Gambia, or those who live up the country?—The heads of mercantile establishments usually reside at Bathurst, and they send native agents up the river and into the interior to carry on the trade.

327. Then, in fact, there are no native merchants employing agents under them; they are merely the agents of other merchants?—The principal merchants are certainly Europeans. I am not prepared to say that there are no natives who carry on business on their own account.

328. But not of any considerable importance?—No; at the Gambia the trade is chiefly in the hands of Europeans.

329. Can you give the Committee generally any account of the state of civilization, and the conditions of the blacks in the settlement under our control on the Gambia?—As far as my experience goes, they are very much in the same condition as negroes in all our other colonies. I see very little difference between them and the negroes in the West Indian Colonies.

330. Are they as well off there as the negroes are in the West Indian Colonies?—Yes, they are

as well off. They have everything they can desire, for their wants are few.

331. How are they housed, for instance?—They live in what we should perhaps call very uncomfortable hovels, but which to them are all that they desire.

332. Have you any means of comparing them with the negro who is not under our protection?—I have no good means of doing that. I have never visited the interior.

333. But I mean, speaking from a mere bird's-eye view taken in going through the streets?—He is better off in this respect, that he is perfectly free, which no other African is.

334. I want to know his physical condition; is he better housed?—Not at all.

335. Is he better clothed?—Yes; he would probably wear more clothing in the neighbourhood of a settlement than in the interior, though not necessarily so.

336. Does he appear to be better educated at all?—No.

337. You have spoken of the police, do you contemplate the employment of the police to be entirely under Europeans, or under natives and officered by them?—I conceive that the force of police that would be required in any one of those settlements could very readily be officered by, at the utmost, two men, who would probably be at the same time magistrates.

338. Those would, of course, be Europeans?—They would be Europeans unquestionably.

339. Is there any other official employment of any sort or kind, which is held by natives at the Gambia?—Natives are employed in all the subordinate offices in all the settlements, and in some of the superior offices; the fact of a man being a native is no bar to his advancement.

340. Is it generally found that the natives behave well, and that they perform their duties to the satisfaction of their superiors?—I have every reason to believe so.

341. With regard to the collection of debts; supposing a debtor runs away over the line, can that debt be recovered?—We wait until he comes back again.

342. You have no power to "collect" the debtor himself?—No.

343. Is that very much complained of?—I imagine that it is a subject of complaint; I cannot say that I have ever heard it made a subject of complaint, but that may be because there was clearly no remedy for it.

344. Mr. Forster.] You have not given the Committee, in your report, the population of the Gambia; can you give it to us?—I can only quote from the Parliamentary Return of 1863.

345. That is based on the census of 1851 really?—It is.

346. Will you just read to the Committee the population of the Gambia by that return?—The population of the Gambia, according to the latest return was 191 whites, and 6,748 coloured, making a total of 6,939.

347. By those natives who you said were employed in different offices in the colony, you meant Africans born in Africa, and not coloured men coming from the West Indies?—I did; there may be amongst them, occasionally, coloured men from the West Indies, but the majority of them are African born.

348. Do you think that there is any perceptible number of that 6,000 of native population who are Mahomedans?—No doubt there is the same average

average proportion of Mahomedans that would be found in any neighbouring district.

349. An honourable Member has asked you about the condition of these people; do you consider that they are content to be under British rule?—Unquestionably; because they can withdraw at any time.

350. No complaints have been made by them of the British rule?—None that I know of, in the Gambia.

351. One advantage that they would have is that their property would be quite secure?—Undoubtedly that is a great advantage.

352. Will you turn to the map of the Gambia at the end of your report; are the Committee to understand that the British jurisdiction is not exercised over any country that is not coloured red on that map?—Yes; nor is British jurisdiction exercised over any part of the territory coloured red, on the right bank of the river, except the small spot occupied by Fort Bullen.

353. Then what is the exact relation to the British Government that is borne by that extensive tract of territory on the right bank of the river that is marked red?—It belongs to us if we think it expedient to exercise our rights over it.

354. Do we attempt to keep order in that territory?—We do not interfere in any way with it.

355. Should we think it more necessary to stop the internal slave trade in that territory than in any other part near our colony?—Practically, we treat it just as we do any other part that does not belong to us.

356. Does your experience lead you to suppose that the fact of our having a sort of right to it may involve us in future in disputes?—I see no reason why it should do so.

357. Do you see any advantage in retaining your occupation of Fort Bullen?—Yes, in a military point of view, it is expedient; it is always undesirable, unless there be strong grounds for so doing, to recede from a position, especially a military position, which you have once taken up amongst savages.

358. You have spoken of jurisdiction being exercised on the river in stopping the internal slave trade; what is the exact sovereignty or power which the Colonial Government thinks it has a right to exercise over the river?—I believe that they exercise the same right there that is exercised by cruisers on the ocean, although not in the same way.

359. I see that Albreda is just marked in the map as if there was a station there?—Yes, Albreda is a small piece of land on the right bank of the river, which was excepted from the cession of the remainder of the territory. It having been ceded to the French, it remained a French possession, as much French as any part of the soil of France, until a very recent period, when arrangements were effected between the two Governments by which, in exchange for certain rights which we possessed to the exclusive trade in gum with the Arabs at Portendic, to the north of Senegal, the French were induced to cede Albreda to us; and thus we have now the exclusive right to the entrance to the river.

360. Does that put Albreda in the same position as Fort Bullen?—It does.

361. Then, our actual occupation on the north bank of the river is confined to Fort Bullen and Albreda?—Yes.

362. What does that occupation consist of?—

Fort Bullen is a small stone fort, 40 or 50 yards square, close to the water's edge.

363. Is there a company of soldiers kept in it?—No; it is usually garrisoned by six or seven men.

364. What does Albreda consist of?—Albreda is simply a piece of ground on the bank of the river, the boundaries of which are marked out by stones, and which is considered British territory.

365. Are there any men kept in it?—No.

366. Are there any of our subjects that cluster around those places?—There is a small missionary establishment in the immediate neighbourhood of Fort Bullen (I think Wesleyan). Albreda, from having been long occupied by the French, had acquired a title to security which would not necessarily be found in any other spot in the neighbourhood, and has become a seat of trade.

367. The inhabitants around Albreda consider that they have a right to British protection, do they not?—I should say certainly not; they claim no right of protection, and we exercise none.

368. Are they not aware that it is claimed as British territory?—I do not think it is generally known.

369. The French did exercise a jurisdiction there, did they not?—Only over a small spot of about 200 yards square.

370. Then are the Committee to understand that it is your opinion that, so far as the north bank of the river is concerned, there are no natives that consider they have a claim to British protection?—On the contrary, I believe there are towns within that mile that would be very much surprised if they were told that we consider we had any rights over them.

371. What is the population of MacCarthy's Island?—I cannot say what the population of MacCarthy's Island is. I was told that there were only two resident merchants there last year.

372. I suppose the Committee may deduce from your evidence that in the settlement of the Gambia there is not anything in the slightest degree comparable with our relation with the protected territory of the Gold Coast?—Nothing whatever.

373. And, therefore, that the question really lies between total withdrawal and the continuance of the small settlement of the Island of St. Mary and the small bit of territory called British Combo close to it, and also of MacCarthy's Island up the river?—So I apprehend.

374. You would, I presume, consider that there would be an alternative between continuing as we are with those two small settlements at the mouth of the river, and with the occupation of MacCarthy's Island 150 miles up the river; and, on the other hand, the giving up of MacCarthy's Island?—Of course there is an alternative. I am not myself in favour of abandoning MacCarthy's Island, supposing the other establishments to be retained.

375. What do you think would be the effect of an absolute withdrawal upon, in the first place, the possibility of the reopening of the slave trade?—By our entire withdrawal we should render possible the reopening of the slave trade by means of the river. The commerce of the country would suffer from the entire absence of any protection; and it is believed by the merchants that trade would be annihilated in consequence.

376. You do not consider that there is anything in the present condition of the natives around the Gambia that would prevent the slave trade being reopened if the British withdrew?—I

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conceive that if we withdrew entirely, the wars which now take place would of course continue, and that captives would continue to be sold from one side to another. It is extremely probable that if a successful native chief had brought a large body of slaves to the bank of the river to send them across, and he found that the way down to the mouth of the river was open, he would be very glad to dispose of them in that way, and I cannot conceive that there would be much difficulty in finding purchasers for them.

377. What becomes of the captives now?—They become domestic slaves in other parts of the country.

378. Are any of them carried off in the slave trade carried on by the Moors for Tripoli, Tunis, or Morocco?—I cannot say what communication there is between the northern parts of the river and those coasts.

379. I suppose that what was called the free emigration of blacks from Senegal to the French West Indian Colonies has now entirely ceased?—It has entirely ceased from all parts of the coast.

380. Are you aware whether slaves that were bought in the internal slave trade near the Gambia found their way to Senegal for that purpose at all?—I do not know.

381. Understanding from your answers that you consider that the continuance of the colony is very desirable so long as we are to attempt to stop the slave trade, and that you consider the occupation of MacCarthy's Island is necessary for the proper preservation of the colony; let me ask this, have you any suggestion to make, either for or against the propriety of putting the Gambia more completely under the Government of Sierra Leone?—I consider that the Gambia might advantageously be placed under the Government of Sierra Leone in the same manner as the small West Indian Islands are placed under the control of the larger West Indian Colonies.

382. In your Appendix No. 31, you give an estimate of the cost for the year 1865 of the colonial and military establishments, and the aid provided from imperial and colonial funds; do you consider that the table gives, not only for the Gambia, but for the whole of the four colonies, the total cost to this country of these colonies?—With the single exception of the items mentioned in a note to be found at page 106 of the Army Estimates for the present year, I believe it does represent the total cost to the Imperial Government.

383. That note being "Exclusive of army accoutrements, barrack, hospital, and other stores"?—Yes.

384. Mr. *Cheetham*.] You have explained to the honourable Member, Sir Francis Baring, the mode in which the English merchants conduct their trade by sending boats up the river to carry on the trade in the interior; can you say how far those boats go?—I believe that they not only send boats up the river as far as they can go (there are falls), but that they also send goods by the agency of native traders inland to a considerable distance.

385. Would not the effect of such an intercourse be to cultivate habits of peace amongst the natives?—Undoubtedly such ought to be the effect, and it probably does cultivate a taste for peace among the people, but whether that influences the chiefs by whom these wars are principally organised is, I fear, doubtful.

386. You have stated that the chief article of export is the ground-nut, but that recently some

merchants have been endeavouring to stimulate the production of cotton; previously to that there was no cultivation of cotton in the district, was there?—I think, none whatever for export.

387. Did that arise from the climate and soil being unfavourable?—No, not at all; there has been always a cultivation of cotton among the natives; they weave a large quantity of native clothes for their own use.

388. But that cultivation is not along the bank of the river with which we are connected?—Not to any extent.

389. Are you of opinion that the wandering habits of the natives, and the great difficulty of cultivating cotton, will for ever prevent its cultivation in this district?—I should, perhaps, explain that I was comparing the advantages of introducing an entirely new cultivation with those of retaining one which has been a long time in existence, and which answers very well. I have no objection to the cultivation of cotton for export, but I find that the natives have already applied themselves to a remunerative, useful, and very easily carried on description of cultivation; and my own impression is, that it would have been wise to let well alone with regard to the Gambia.

390. In fact, notwithstanding the high price which cotton has lately reached, there has been no cultivation of cotton along the Gambia previously?—I do not know that any cotton was exported before the American war.

391. I see from your report that the exports and imports are not increasing; can you account for that?—I can only account for it in the way I have mentioned there, namely, that it is attributed to the constant wars which are taking place in the interior.

392. You have stated that the whole of the labour in the Gambia is a system of domestic slavery?—Yes.

393. Mr. *Forster*.] But is there any slavery within the colony itself at all?—No, no slavery of a domestic or any other description is recognised within the colony; if it existed, and if it were discovered, the offenders would assuredly be punished.

394. The British law absolutely forbids its existence in the colony, does it not?—Yes.

395. Mr. *Cheetham*.] I understood from some answer which you gave, that domestic slavery existed in all the districts of the Gambia?—Slavery is not recognised within that portion of the colony comprised in the Island of St. Mary's, British Combo, Cape St. Mary's, or MacCarthy's Island.

396. Mr. *Forster*.] But I suppose that domestic slavery does still exist in that territory on the north bank of the river, which already we have made some sort of claim to, though it has not attempted to be possessed as British territory, and is not so understood?—Unquestionably, domestic slavery does exist there, though I am not aware that we have ever advanced any claim to exercise any right there.

397. Do you not think the fact that there is such slavery, and that we have some sort of claim to it, is a reason why we should more completely define our position there, or relinquish any claim to a territory over which we do not exercise any power?—That is a question which would require great consideration. There would be certainly an apparent advantage in withdrawing from our nominal connection with this territory (for our present connection is merely nominal); but there would be possibly other disadvantages in the effect

effect that it might produce on the minds of the natives, who, I believe, are not aware of the existence of any such rights; and I think that it would be better to let matters remain as they are.

398. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] You would not advise our relinquishment of that territory by a proclamation or any public Act?—I would not.

399. Mr. *Cheetham*.] You have stated that the military expenditure is 24,000*l.* per annum; is that necessary for the protection of commerce?—I consider the maintenance of a certain force of regular troops at the settlement to be essential to the security of the Gambia; but it is of course open to question what expense must necessarily be incurred in the maintenance of that force.

400. Of course, a portion of that expenditure you would consider expended for the extension of commerce in that colony?—I hardly think so. I think that the police would be more instrumental in protecting commerce than her Majesty's troops. I think their main object would be that for which the army is now maintained in our colonies, namely, the security of the colony.

401. You would then say that a proportion of this 24,000*l.* is devoted to the prevention of the carrying on of the slave trade?—The whole of it.

402. Are you aware whether in any of our treaties with native chiefs we have made any provision for a debtor escaping from our colony and not paying his debts?—I am not aware of any such provision.

403. Do you think that any such provision could be inserted in a treaty?—I should not like to pledge myself to what may have been done at any time in those treaties; questions relating to treaties may be better answered by Mr. Elliott.

404. I observe in your report that a grant by the Government of 100*l.* per annum is made to the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan mission at St. Mary's, I think for the purpose of education; now what is the state of education among the people there, and has this grant been of any service?—It has had probably the result of teaching a certain number of negroes to read and write.

405. Then you think that grant has been beneficial?—To that extent unquestionably it has.

406. Mr. *Gregory*.] Did you visit the schools?—I did not visit any but the schools in Combo; there is very little done in that way, and there is not much to attract attention.

407. Lord *Alfred Churchhill*.] You have mentioned to the Committee that there are pensioners who are quartered in British Combo; those are from the three black regiments which you have already alluded to, are they not?—Yes, from the black regiments.

408. Are there any duties ascribed to them; are they liable to be called out in aid of the civil power?—Yes, they are; just in the same way as all pensioners from the British Army are liable to be called out; they are clothed and armed at this moment.

409. What number are there of those pensioners?—I do not know.

410. Are they native-born Africans, or blacks who have enlisted in the West Indies?—Probably the majority of them are native-born Africans.

411. Have they any grants of land?—They have.

412. A sort of military settlement, I suppose?—It is so.

413. Now what is the extent of MacCarthy's Island?—It is about five and a half miles long by one mile wide.

414. Would it be possible, or, if possible, 0.39.

would it be politic, to form a military settlement on MacCarthy's Island, so as to relieve the troops that are now there?—It would be a very good arrangement if it could be effected, but I am not prepared to say whether it could or not. It is questionable whether the soil, which I know is very swampy, would be suitable for cultivation. I fear that that would be the objection to it.

415. If it was intended to keep MacCarthy's Island you think that it would be a good thing to turn attention in that direction?—Yes; if the troops were withdrawn, the local Government would be compelled to devise plans for retaining the influence which the position of MacCarthy's Island gives us. If their means were found insufficient to effect this, the Imperial Government would probably be asked to supplement them as far as might be necessary.

416. Do you think it would be probable, in the event of an arrangement of this sort being carried out, that the British merchants might found a dépôt there for commercial purposes, either for European produce or for the collection of native produce?—I fear that the unhealthiness of MacCarthy's Island would be a bar to the formation of any extensive dépôt under European management.

417. But it would not be a bar to it under the management of the natives, I suppose?—None whatever; it is used as a dépôt already.

418. You mention in your report that three-fourths of the trade of the Gambia is conducted by France?—Yes.

419. Do the French conduct their trade in a manner to give the native the best chance of obtaining the highest value he can for his produce?—I believe that the trade is conducted quite as fairly by the French as by our own merchants.

420. They do not adopt what is called the credit system?—I am not aware that they do, except that the introduction of dealing in specie may have modified the credit system, which is universal in the African trade.

421. I mean the credit system as conducted by some of the English merchants in the oil districts, where the natives are induced to incur great liabilities which it is impossible for them to pay off, and by that means the merchants obtain the monopoly of the trade?—I have heard of that, but I imagine that it has always brought its own punishment; the system of making advances to the native to secure his produce is universal.

422. You speak in your report, under the head of "Treaties," to the following effect: "The practice which has been long and successfully followed at Sierra Leone, of paying the chiefs small stipends to encourage them in observing these engagements might advantageously be introduced at the Gambia." To what extent do you think that could be introduced?—I found, when at the Gambia, that they had but few treaties with the native chiefs, but that it was the opinion that those treaties were very valuable; that they were not entered into without great consideration on the part of the natives, and that as far as the experience of the local Government went, they had been faithfully observed. Moreover, it was believed that they would be observed. I found that at Sierra Leone they had a large number of treaties, and their opinion with regard to their usefulness was much the same; but they had introduced at Sierra Leone the principle of paying to the chiefs a small stipend, and that payment, small though it was, was found to be a strong inducement to the natives to keep faith.

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423. What do you call a small stipend?—It varies from 5*l.* to 100*l.*

424. Is that according to the nature of the engagement, or the rank of the chief?—Chiefly according to the rank of the chief.

425. With regard to the drainage of the swamps at Bathurst, you say in your report that Major Clarke asserts that for an expenditure of 7,000*l.*, we could drain nearly 1,000 acres of the swamps, would it materially alter the climate of St. Mary if it were so drained, and make it more healthy for Europeans?—I cannot doubt that it would be more healthy.

426. And so give greater inducements for the British merchants to locate themselves there for the purpose of commerce?—So it may be fairly presumed.

427. Has the Government there expressed any wish or desire to effect this drainage?—It has already made considerable efforts, which have not been persevered in, through causes beyond the control of the local Government. Advantage was taken of the recent visit of an officer of the Engineers to obtain from him his opinion, which was to the effect stated in my report, that for 7,000*l.* they might drain about 1,000 acres close to the town.

428. Would it not, in your opinion, be desirable to carry out some of these arrangements for the purpose of improving the trade of the colony?—The colony must get its monetary affairs in better order first.

429. But assuming that to be so?—Yes; if its financial affairs were once placed in better order, I think that would be desirable.

430. Do you think that MacCarthy's Island would be capable of drainage in the same way?—Speaking from my own recollection of it, I should say not, except at an incommensurate cost.

431. Now, are the wars between the Mahomedan and Pagan tribes purely for the purpose of propagating the Mahomedan religion?—So I am informed.

432. Suppose a Pagan tribe, or a portion of the tribe, were to conform to the Mahomedan religion, the wars would immediately cease I suppose?—Possibly; their primary object is to make them conform to strict Mahomedanism.

433. You have stated that the prisoners taken in the wars are converted into slaves for domestic purposes?—They are.

434. Mr. Cave.] When you state that there is no slavery within the actual British colony, how far does that apply to agriculture; does the agriculture which you have mentioned, mean the agriculture within the British colony, or in the district around it?—The agriculture in the colony is entirely carried on by free people; the agriculture outside the colony, from which a great part of the exports are derived, is carried on by the aid of domestic slaves.

435. Is the agriculture carried on both within and out of the colony, that of the ground-nut cultivation?—It is.

436. You have stated that the ground-nut cultivation was more adapted to the habit of the negroes than cotton, on account of the natural idleness of the people; how does this apply to that which is carried on outside the territory by means of forced labour?—It does apply; the nature of the control exercised over the slave is so very slight, that his position is not very far different from that of a free man within the territory.

437. You mean that you cannot compare this slavery with that which exists in Cuba, for instance?—They are entirely different; they bear no relation to each other.

438. Is there a sufficient population within the British territory for the cultivation which is maintained there?—No; in some parts of the British territory of Combe, which are alleged to be private property, the natives come from without and cultivate the ground, paying rent for it.

439. Then by that means, as well as the labour of the actual residents, is the ground sufficiently cultivated?—It is fairly cultivated.

440. Then there would be no great advantage in having immigration into the British territory?—No.

441. If you had any considerable immigration into the British territory you would have more people living in idleness than in industry?—The want of immigration has never been complained of within the British territory.

442. Are there any number of people living in positive idleness, such as paupers supported by anything like rates or charity?—A sum of 100*l.* is allowed by the Local Government for charitable purposes, and is divided amongst the minister of the Church of England, the Wesleyan minister, and the Roman Catholic minister.

443. That sum being so small, the probability is that it is only for casual sick?—There is very little pauperism.

444. I see in the Parliamentary Return (Statistical Tables relating to Colonial and other Possessions) that predial wages are mentioned as being 1*s.* a day; do you know how many hours a day would be a day's work for 1*s.*?—I can only say that labour is difficult to obtain. There is no work which requires constant and regular labour so as to establish any fixed rate of wages for a given period of work.

445. You mean that it is difficult to get labour?—It is difficult to get people to work steadily or regularly at anything or for anything.

446. Do those people who work, work anything like the same number of hours as a labourer does here?—They probably do not give more than one-half the amount of work in the same time that an English labourer does, and probably only work half the time.

447. Their wants being few, they only work for money to supply those few wants?—Yes.

448. When they have got that, they lie idle until it is spent?—When they have any particular want to gratify, they labour until they have got the money they require.

449. Possibly, if you had people who did an ordinary day's work, as we understand it in this country, you would have too large a population for the requirements of the colony?—That is possible.

450. I see that the hospital is mentioned in your report as being very useful to sailors; is there any rate levied on tonnage for the purpose of supporting that hospital?—I do not think that any special tax is levied for the support of the hospital.

451. But the ships contribute voluntarily, I suppose?—Payment is made for all sailors who may be sent to the hospital.

452. You have mentioned the companies of black troops which there are at the Gambia, and have stated that they are recruited partly from West Indian negroes and partly from Africans; have you seen Indian Coolies among those troops?

—I have

—I have seen Coolies in the black regiments on the West Coast.

463. Do you know whether the practice of recruiting them is less carried on than it was formerly, or is it increasing?—I only remember seeing two in one regiment.

464. You have mentioned missionaries being within the settlement; do you know whether it is safe for missionaries to teach beyond the settlement?—I have no reason to suppose that it would be unsafe, though the Mahomedans would probably not submit to an attempt to proselytise among them as quietly as the Pagans do.

465. When you said that the slave-trade had died out between Sierra Leone and the Gambia, you meant, I presume, that the presence of the cruisers had stopped it?—The presence of the settlement and the presence of our cruisers had, I believe, entirely put a stop to the slave-trade from the northward of the Gambia to the south of Sierra Leone.

466. I do not infer that you consider the habits of the natives have sufficiently changed to prevent them resuming the slave-trade if the pressure was taken off?—The mere fact that within eight months of the withdrawal of the squadron, slaves were exported between the two colonies appears to establish that.

467. I see in the Parliamentary return, that the proportion in the population of females to males is the wrong way; do you know whether that applies to the resident population, or whether that is caused by that influx of labour which you mentioned from the country around?—I have no doubt that it results from the practice which prevails among some of the natives of leaving their wives behind when they come to work in the colony.

468. Does the population of the British colony increase by natural causes?—I am not prepared to say.

469. You stated a little while ago that you thought commerce would suffer from the immediate withdrawal of our settlement; do you see any future prospect of the settlement being withdrawn without that disadvantage?—I do not.

470. You do not see that progressive improvement in the people which would give you that hope?—I do not.

471. The revenue of the chiefs, I suppose, is generally derived from the slaves?—It is generally derived from the labour of the slaves and from tributes imposed upon those who are under their authority.

472. Is any large part of the revenue derived from the trade in slaves around the settlement?—I should say that no chief derives a revenue from trading in slaves.

473. Then what you have said elsewhere with regard to stipends to native chiefs would not apply to those chiefs around the Gambia?—I do not look upon it that those stipends have for their principal object the putting an end to the slave-trade; I think that they have more for their ob-

ject the security of our own people: no doubt the treaties could contain a proviso to that effect, but if the chief lives immediately in the rear of a British possession, he would not be geographically in a position to do much towards assisting the export of slaves, and it would still be very advantageous to form a treaty with that man by which all the trade that passed through his country should be protected.

464. Are the slaves generally embarked anywhere except at the mouths of the rivers?—On the Gold Coast and in the bights they are embarked from the open beach.

465. You do not think that cruisers stationed off the mouth of the Gambia would have as good an effect as the presence of our station there?—For the mere suppression of the slave-trade, I have no doubt that cruisers would be quite as effectual as the presence of the settlement.

466. Would such cruisers as we have hitherto had there be effectual?—That is a question which pertains more to the naval branch of the service than my own.

467. Lord Alfred Churchill.] What is the nature of the currency at the Gambia, is it conducted in cowries?—No; cowries are unknown in the Gambia.

468. Mr. Cace.] What was the cause of the war carried on under Colonel O'Connor, when he was the Governor of the Gambia?—The original cause of the war was, I believe, the incursions of the people of Sabbagee into the British territory.

469. Were they Mahomedans?—Yes, Mahomedans.

470. Mr. Gregory.] Are those kingdoms marked on your map Barra, Baddiboo, Sabba, and Nyaminah, exclusively Mahomedans?—I am not sure whether any one of those is yet exclusively Mahomedan.

470. But are the chiefs, generally speaking, Mahomedans?—No; the people have contrived hitherto to insist that their chiefs shall be Pagans, although the greater part of the country may be in the hands of Mahomedans; it is a point on which they seem to insist; they seem fearful of the ruler of the country being a Mahomedan, and he is almost invariably a Souinkee.

472. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Mandingo is a tribal name, is it not?—It is so.

473. Lord Alfred Churchill.] If the French navigation laws were altered so as to enable English vessels to carry ground-nuts to France, I suppose that that would stimulate enterprise in that quarter?—It would be a great encouragement to the British trader; some of our merchants have become proprietors of French vessels in order to have the carrying trade in their own hands.

474. Do they hoist the French flag?—I do not know how it is managed, but I have the authority of a leading merchant there to say that he is part owner of ships that sail under the French flag.

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Lima, 27^a die Martii, 1865

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.

Mr. C. Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Colonel ORD, R.E., called in; and further Examined.

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475. *Chairman.*] BEFORE we proceed to Sierra Leone, I think you expressed a wish to state summarily the recommendations of the Committee of 1842 with regard to the Gambia?—The recommendations of the Committee of 1842 with regard to the Gambia were, that it should be separated from Sierra Leone, that a distinct judicial officer should be appointed, that the Governor should have a council to assist him, that the Island of Bulama should be reoccupied to check the slave trade and to encourage commerce, that block houses should be erected up the rivers, as Gallinas, &c., to protect trade and prevent the reappearance of the slave trade.

476. Perhaps you will be kind enough to finish your evidence on the Gambia by stating which of those recommendations have been carried out and which of them have not?—The separation of Sierra Leone has been effected; but the altered circumstances and the great facilities which are now afforded for communication between the colonies do not render it apparent that the continuance of the arrangement is the best for the colonies. A distinct judicial officer has been appointed, an arrangement which has been very advantageous. The Governor has also been assisted by councils, executive and legislative. Bulama has recently been reoccupied. That, undoubtedly, will have an influence in tending to check the resurrection of the slave trade, and it ought to be an encouragement to commerce. The suggestion with regard to the erection of the block houses has not been carried out, nor does it appear to me advisable that it should be.

477. To question 358, relating to the jurisdiction exercised on the River Gambia in stopping the internal slave trade, you answer that the Colonial Government exercises the same right as is exercised by the cruisers; is there any addition that you wish to make to that answer?—It appears that the right of the Colonial Government to exercise sovereignty over the River Gambia is granted by a treaty made on the 15th of June 1826, between the Governor of Sierra Leone and the kings of Barra and the River Gambia with the various chiefs and head men in the neighbourhood; by the second clause of which treaty they make over to the Governor on behalf of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, the full, entire, free, and unlimited right, title, sovereignty, and possession of the River Gambia, with all the branches, creeks, inlets, and waters of the same.

They relinquish every right, claim, or demand for customs or duties on British or other vessels entering or navigating the river or any of its waters.

478. Then with regard to Sierra Leone you stated that Great Britain has six acquisitions at this part of the coast, five in addition to Freetown Peninsula, which was occupied by Mr. Wilberforce and others late in the last century, for liberated negroes, for blacks who had served in the English army in America, and for disbanded soldiers. Those additions were made in 1819, 1824, 1860, and 1861. What should you say has generally been the cause of the spread of territory there against the express policy of this country?—The only accessions of territory there within what may be called a recent period are those of Sherboro, the main land opposite, and of Quiah. The cession of the Sherboro territory was accepted by us at the express desire of the inhabitants, and the acquisition of Quiah appeared to be expedient with a view of removing to a further distance its troublesome inhabitants.

479. With regard to Sherboro, was it not annexed very much, though at the express desire of the inhabitants, with a view on our part of having a territory from which by agriculture we might derive a revenue?—No doubt the prospect of obtaining considerable advantages by the acquisition of a territory which was rich in agricultural produce, and the resources of which might be still further developed, was a motive on the part of the Governor for accepting the offer of the inhabitants.

480. I observe in the evidence given before Mr. Hume's Committee of 1853, that there seemed to be a great desire on the part of our Government to attempt to make those settlements self-supporting, and Sherboro was then mentioned as a place where the double object of preventing the export of slaves, and the improvement of the revenue by agriculture might be attained by the British Government annexing it; are you aware of that double object having induced the British Government to accept the desire of the inhabitants that Sherboro should be occupied in 1860?—I cannot speak more positively with respect to the motives which influenced the Government in accepting the offer of the people of Sherboro.

481. I see that the annexation of Quiah was recommended by the Committee of 1842 in their report; can you state more in detail the nature of that cession, and the treaty by which it was effected—

effected in 1861?—The origin of the differences between the inhabitants of Quiah and the Sierra Leone people was the invasion of the Island of Tambo, in the Sierra Leone river, by some war people belonging to Bey Cantah's country of Quiah. They plundered the place and ill-treated the people: these complained to Governor Hill, and a force was sent up to obtain redress. Bey Cantah came down to Freetown to ask for peace, and agreed to pay the expenses and compensation. After a palaver his request was granted. Two towns belonging to the king were retained possession of by the British Government. In October 1861 further disturbances took place, and towns in British Quiah were attacked by the people in the neighbourhood. A factory belonging to a Mr. Jolly was plundered, and the disturbances became very serious; and on the 21st of November 1861 a force was again sent up, which occupied a town called Madonkia, situated in the centre of Quiah; another force was moved up the river. Various skirmishes took place between the troops and the natives, and at length in January 1862 the chiefs of Quiah came down and sued for peace, when the treaty was signed: that portion of Quiah which is now in our possession was retained as British territory. One advantage of the occupation of Quiah is said to have been the checking of the use of the overland route by the slave dealers. Previously to our occupation those men were in the habit of driving their slaves from the Bombay, Ribbey, Sherboro, and Cockbro Rivers to the Soosoo country, a practice which has now been effectually stopped. It has also had the effect of establishing the English reputation in that neighbourhood. We had suffered in the estimation of the natives through the want of success which had attended previous operations. Since the Quiah war the English traders have been respected in all those parts, particularly by the kings and chiefs of the Melacorie and Scarories Rivers. It has also been the means of introducing a great deal of grain into the Sierra Leone market, and the country where the internal slave trade formerly prevailed has become much more agricultural.

482. You think that the occupation of Quiah stops the export of slaves from the Soosoo country, which is north of Sierra Leone?—They drove them from the rivers which I have named through Quiah to the Soosoo country.

483. To export them from the mouths of the rivers lying between Bulama and Isles de Los?—Possibly with a view to their export if opportunity offered, but certainly in pursuance of the internal slave trade which prevails throughout that country.

484. Were the disturbances which you have alluded to in Quiah the same as those stated by Dr. Madden as existing as early as 1840 between the natives of the Quiah and the merchants of Sierra Leone?—They were a savage race there, and they were always quarrelling with the merchants and traders, taking advantage of their want of protection to plunder them when they could do so.

485. You refer to quarrels not between the tribes but between the people of Quiah and the English merchants of Sierra Leone?—The quarrels between the people of Quiah and Sierra Leone were the origin of the war which led eventually to the acquisition of Quiah.

486. Were there not two acquisitions of a prior date, namely, Bullum shore and Rokelle Bank,

in the years 1819 and 1824, and the Isles de Los and Bulama about the year 1860?—There were.

487. What was the cause of our annexing the Bullum shore and the Rokelle Bank?—I am unable to say with certainty. I imagine that in both instances the same causes were operative which I have alluded to in the case of the right bank of the river Gambia, namely, the desire to remove the natives to a distance from the river with a view to the maintenance of peace.

488. Do you suppose that there was also in that case the object of having a territory from which to derive a revenue in hope of making those settlements more self-supporting?—It is very difficult to form an opinion with regard to the motives which led to acquisitions of territories so far back as the year 1819; but I should hardly think those motives were the influencing causes.

489. Do you suppose that you may say generally that the acquisitions from time to time have been against the wish of the British Government, who have expressed in nearly all their instructions a wish that their policy should be non-extension of territory?—So far as my information goes, the Government has never sanctioned one of those acquisitions without being satisfied of the soundness of the grounds on which it was recommended by the local authorities.

490. It appears from Dr. Madden's report that there was a third object sometimes in the mind of the governors who recommended such acquisitions, namely, the gaining of more influence over the adjoining natives?—I believe that that has been also an object.

491. Both for the purpose of civilising them, and in the hope of keeping the peace between them?—I believe that has generally been the motive.

492. Can you state now whether the Isles de Los are at this moment occupied, and why they have been from time to time sometimes occupied, and sometimes not occupied?—The Isles de Los are at present occupied by a small establishment, which costs the local Government about 200*l.* a year. It consists of a superintendent, who acts as a magistrate, of a schoolmaster, and of two policemen.

493. Can you state at all the population of those little islands?—I cannot; I have never visited them.

494. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] There are no soldiers in that establishment, are there?—I am not certain whether the small force at the Isles de Los has been yet withdrawn or not, but it is contemplated to withdraw it.

495. *Chairman*.] Has not the occupation of the Isles de Los varied from time to time, and sometimes ceased altogether?—It has.

496. What should you say was the object of the occupation of those islands?—Primarily to aid in the suppression of the slave trade, by having a British establishment in a locality so favourable to this object; secondly, the maintenance of peace and order amongst the people who are British subjects; and, thirdly, the protection of trade in the neighbourhood.

497. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] In your report you say that the Isles de Los have been unoccupied of late years?—That alluded to the military occupation; but as I have already stated, they are now occupied by a superintendent, a schoolmaster, and two policemen. But the fact is, they are occupied, and that occupation is withdrawn just as the exigencies of the time suggest, and the resources of the colony admit.

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498. *Chairman.*] Are there any cruisers off that coast now?—I was informed that the whole of the cruisers were withdrawn from the northern part of the West African settlement in February 1864.

499. By the northern parts, do you mean the space between the Gambia and Sierra Leone?—That is what would be so understood; they were I believe actually withdrawn as far as Cape St. Paul, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Quittah.

500. I presume that the varied occupation of the Isles de Los, according to the exigencies of the time, means according to whether there was a cruiser there or not?—No doubt that would be a consideration with the local Government in deciding whether to occupy or maintain the occupation of the Isles de Los; but the other considerations which I have alluded to would also weigh with them.

501. You have mentioned Bulama also as acquired by us, but is it not still under dispute between the English and the Portuguese to whom it belongs?—So I understand.

502. What is the object of the English Government in holding the Island of Bulama?—Bulama would be held for the same reasons as the Isles de Los.

503. Taking the commercial reason, how would Bulama be more useful even to our own trade when in our hands than when held by a Portuguese garrison?—A Portuguese garrison would, probably, not consider itself bound to obtain redress from the natives in the immediate neighbourhood by whom the traders might be plundered.

504. Neither Bulama nor the Isles de Los are held by the English under any formal documents, are they?—No. I have not got the treaty, but the Isles de Los were ceded to the British Government in the year 1818.

505. By whom?—By those who claimed the title.

506. Was it by the Portuguese or by the natives?—By the natives, I understand.

507. Is there a similar document by which the English claim against the Portuguese the right to the Island of Bulama?—The question with regard to our right to hold Bulama being yet under consideration between the British and the Portuguese Governments, probably the Colonial Office would be better able than I am to furnish information upon any point connected with that subject.

508. What I want to know is, if you can inform the Committee, whether the dispute turns on the terms of any document?—I cannot.

509. Can you state the population of the settlement of Sierra Leone?—The population of Sierra Leone, according to the last return in the year 1862, was 99 white males, 32 white females; 21,115 coloured males, and 20,560 coloured females, making a total population of 41,806.

510. *Lord Stanley.*] Is that including all the dependencies of Sierra Leone?—No; it only includes the Peninsula and Quittah. There are no means of obtaining the population of the other dependencies.

511. *Chairman.*] Of what tribes does that coloured population consist?—Of Mandingos, Kroomen, the native inhabitants, and also a large proportion of liberated Africans.

512. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] What are the Akoo's, of whom we hear so much in connection with the affairs of Sierra Leone?—The term

Akoo is a general name for the Yoruba nation, including the Kjobus, the Egbas, and all who use the salutation "akoo," which means, "I wish you well." It is used at Sierra Leone only as a party cry to rally all belonging to Yoruba in clanship, generally in resistance to the Government or white people. I may add, that at Lagos, which from the large number of those people who are found there, ought to be its head quarters; it is not known, the tribal differences between them effectually preventing any such coalition.

513. *Chairman.*] You state in your report the Timmanees to be a quiet pagan race, are the Mandingos Mahomedans?—Yes, the Mandingos are Mahomedans.

514. And, as in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, the more vigorous race of the two?—Yes.

515. What are the Kroomen?—The Kroomen inhabit the coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas; they chiefly employ themselves as sailors.

516. What race are they?—They are a distinct race, occupying the country in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas.

517. Now, you state in your report that all those people live under chiefs, who govern, more or less, the country from the Pongas River to the north of Sierra Leone, and to Gallinas to the south of Sierra Leone, and that the English are more or less engaged by treaties with those chiefs, which treaties bind them to a certain course of conduct, the suppression of the slave trade and human sacrifices, and such and such offences, and that they receive in return a stipend from the English Government. That being the case, how are you enabled to state in your report that there is no protectorate in this neighbourhood, or anything analogous to it?—I have here copies of 73 treaties, made at different times between the British Government and various chiefs in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, or of territories then dependencies of Sierra Leone, the character of which is as stated in the question. But I do not infer from those treaties that any right to protection is promised by them to any of the chiefs with whom they are made.

518. But do you think it practically or morally possible that a great power like England should enter extensively into such treaties with those tribes to keep the peace without some sort of implied protectorate, or at least without leading those tribes to assume the existence of such a protectorate?—I feel certain that those treaties have not led the tribes to believe, or to assume, that such a protectorate exists.

519. Does it not involve England in their internal quarrels?—I have not heard of any instance in which it has done so.

520. Do you know of any instance in which the tribes have referred their quarrels to the English Government for arbitration?—I believe that there are instances in which a reference has been made to the British Government; but whether the tribes themselves made the first proposals, I am not able to state.

521. I think that you make use in your report of the expression, that you think the paying of stipends to the chiefs gives the English Government an influence over a large extent of country, and enables it to interfere on occasion between the natives. That being the case, is it not your opinion that those treaties do involve the English Government in, at all events, an interference between

between the natives?—Not necessarily. I believe that the first great advantage is, that the influence secures the safety of trade and of the people of the settlement.

522. Are the liberated Africans located on the Sierra Leone territory generally good subjects?—Yes.

523. Do they settle quietly, and engage in trade?—Yes.

524. Can you state their present numbers in the settlement of Sierra Leone?—I cannot.

525. [Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Do you suppose that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone proper are liberated Africans or their descendants?—I do.

526. [Chairman.] Are there any cases in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone such as you have stated in the neighbourhood of the Gambia of the native tribes offering to give up their territory to the English Government?—I was informed at Sierra Leone that some people in the neighbourhood of Gallinas and Liberia had expressed their desire to be placed under British rule, but that it had been done informally, and no notice had therefore been taken of the offer.

527. Do you conceive it to be the tendency from time to time of the native tribes surrounding the British settlement to wish to come within its Government?—I do not.

528. The Government of Sierra Leone, you say, consists of a Governor, Executive Council, and Legislative Council. The last Constitution having been created in consequence of the Report of the Committee of 1842, can you state whether those councils consist mainly of the chief merchants of the place?—The Executive Council of Sierra Leone consists entirely of officials; the Legislative Council consists partly of officials and partly of merchants.

529. When you say that the Executive Council consists of officials, that does not exclude the merchants, does it?—Yes.

530. But the merchants may be officials, may they not?—No; in no case.

531. Are there any native merchants in the Legislative Council?—There is one.

532. What is his name?—Mr. John Ezziddio.

533. Is there any wish expressed on the spot for a change in the form or constitution of the Government?—Some time since the merchants of the colony formed themselves into a Chamber of Commerce, and a wish was expressed by that body that one of their members should be appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council; Her Majesty's Government acceded to this request, and the gentleman nominated by them, Mr. Ezziddio, has been accordingly granted a seat in the Legislative Council.

534. Was that recently?—That was in December 1863.

535. Is the Legislative Council nominated by the Governor?—Both Councils are nominated by the Governor, and approved by the Secretary of State. The members sit by a warrant from the Queen, I think.

536. Is there anything at all in the nature of an election?—Nothing, except in this particular instance.

537. What, then, is the nature of the change of constitution which the Chamber of Commerce wished for?—That is the only change of constitution which had been suggested by them up to the time of my leaving the colony in January last.

538. Do you know that the Chamber of Com-

merce wish for a more elective council, and that the people should send at least three or four members to the council by election?—I have heard such a report, but I am not aware that it is well founded.

539. What is your opinion with regard to the suitability of an elective government?—I think that the colony is not ripe for it.

540. Do you conceive that the present form of government is the best for the colony in its present state?—I do.

541. You have stated that in consequence of the Report of the Committee of 1842 the judicial establishments of the other colonies were separated from that of Sierra Leone. Can you state whether the administration of justice has been improved since the complaints which were made in the year 1842 before that Committee?—It was the opinion of Dr. Madden, the Commissioner of 1842, that "justice was fairly, impartially, and considerately administered at Sierra Leone," and I believe this to be the case now, although difficulties have been experienced in obtaining in some instances satisfactory verdicts in civil cases tried by juries.

542. [Lord Stanley.] Is that on account of prejudices of colour?—To some extent.

543. [Chairman.] Do you consider that trial by jury cannot be conducted satisfactorily in that settlement?—I consider that trial by jury may be satisfactorily conducted in the colony. Some modifications have been introduced by law with a view of rendering it more so, and probably a still further modification will be required.

544. What has generally been the tendency of the local Ordinances of 1854 and 1864 amending the judicial constitution under the charter of 1821?—The Ordinance of the 29th of November 1853 abolished the grand jury, altered the qualifications of jurors and the nature of the challenge. The Ordinance of the 19th of July 1854 allowed the verdict of two-thirds of a jury to be received by every court in the colony as the verdict of the whole jury in all causes, civil or criminal. The Act of the 11th May 1864 repealed and amended various clauses of the previous Acts with regard to the qualifications of persons liable to serve on a jury, and it remodelled the jury lists.

545. [Sir Francis Baring.] Was the effect of that Act to raise or lower the qualification for serving on juries?—The Ordinance, 29th November 1853, fixed the qualification at 10*l.* a-year income from freehold, or 20*l.* from lease, or 30*l.* rated as occupier of a house. The Ordinance, 11th May 1864, qualified every man between 21 and 60, understanding or speaking English, if possessing a freehold of 20*l.*, or paying a rent of 30*l.*, or being a clerk receiving a salary of 120*l.*

546. [Chairman.] Do cases come to trial at Freetown from Sherboro? or is there a judicial officer at Sherboro?—There is a magistrate at Sherboro.

547. Who is the magistrate at Sherboro: is he a civilian or a military man?—I am unable to say whether the office is at this moment filled by a military man or not.

548. Are there any Superior Courts except at Freetown?—I believe none, except for the temporary detention of prisoners.

549. Are there any gaols except at Freetown?—None.

550. Then all cases, except those summarily disposed of by magistrates, come to Freetown for trial?—Yes.

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551. With regard to the exports. It appears by your return that the exports are increasing more at Sierra Leone than any other settlement on the West Coast?—It is so.

552. Comparing your return of exports for Sierra Leone, which gives for 1854, 154,126*l.*, and for 1863, 295,853*l.*; with the last return of Dr. Madden, in the year 1843, of 72,000*l.*; it appears that during the whole of that period the trade has been steadily increasing?—It is so.

553. Whereas, in other places, it has appeared stagnant?—It has not made progress at the Gambia.

554. I observe in the evidence before Mr. Hume's Committee, in 1853, that it is stated as a remarkable thing that the exports, immediately before the abolition of the slave trade, and immediately after it, presented this remarkable increase from a sum of 13,000*l.* to a sum of 900,000*l.* Presuming that there is anything like truth in the last return, it would appear that the whole aggregate exports of the four settlements of which you give a return do not amount to so much as the exports immediately after the abolition of the slave trade. Should you say that the Committee might infer from that that the trade generally, from the whole of the West Coast of Africa, since the abolition of the slave trade has been stationary, to say the least, taking it in the aggregate?—Yes, so far as it relates to that part of the coast where we have our settlements.

555. Do you attribute the especial increase of trade at Sierra Leone to the decrease of the slave trade disengaging and throwing a large labouring population upon cultivation, and other means which produced an export trade?—I do not think that the diminution of the slave trade can in any way account for the great increase that has taken place in the last 10 years in the exports.

556. I observe in your report that you do not yourself consider that cotton culture will have much chance against the collection of nuts there; is that the prevalent opinion at the place?—I believe the merchants to be very desirous to take advantage of the present high price of cotton to encourage its cultivation by the natives, but I have been told by the merchants that there have been recently discovered so many new sources from which oil can be obtained, that it is questionable whether the cultivation of cotton will be successfully prosecuted.

557. The revenue you state has increased from 29,000*l.* to 47,000*l.*, of which the Parliamentary grant is only 2,000*l.*; is not the whole of that grant appropriated to the governor's salary?—It is.

558. But when you state that is the only aid given by the Imperial Parliament, do you not omit the other expenses which fall on the Imperial exchequer for the government of Sierra Leone?—I am not aware of any other expenses connected with the Government of Sierra Leone or its civil establishments which are defrayed by the Imperial Government.

559. Can you state to the Committee the expense to the Imperial exchequer of the military establishments at Sierra Leone?—The army estimates for this year show that it is proposed to expend 34,871*l.* for military purposes at Sierra Leone.

560. That sum appears in our military estimates of this year for military expenses at Sierra Leone?—Yes.

561. I believe that that includes not only the

pay of troops but buildings and other expenses?—I believe it includes every expense except arms, accoutrements, barrack, hospital, and other stores, the amount of which cannot be ascertained.

562. Is the revenue generally considered adequate to the wants of the place, or should you say that improvements such as roads and other matters are retarded for want of revenue?—The revenue of Sierra Leone has for the last 10 years been in excess of its expenditure, and but for the expense entailed by the Quiah war and the acquisition of new territory, there would have been a large sum available for internal improvement.

563. But the acquisition of new territory increases the revenue as much or more than the expenditure, does it not?—It does so, except when it has been acquired by a war.

564. I observe in the revenue of Sierra Leone, that part of the revenue arises from direct taxation on houses, lands, and roads; I believe that Lord Grey was the first Minister to introduce direct taxation in the settlements from which he had formed great expectations of increase of revenue; will you state whether these taxes have generally been successful?—They have been very successful in raising a considerable revenue.

565. I observe, it is stated in the evidence before the last Committee, that there are many defaulters under this tax, so that a considerable number got into prison; is that the case now?—With regard to the road tax, I find that in the year 1861 there were upwards of 4,500 people assessed, of whom 320 were exempted; 1,005 gave labour in place of payment, and 69 were committed to prison in default. In the year 1862, 12,778 people were assessed, of whom 270 were exempted, 498 worked in payment, and 57 were committed to prison for not paying the road tax.

566. Mr. Seymour.] What was the amount of the road tax; is it a personal tax?—It is a personal tax. There are two taxes; there is the house and land tax, and there is the road tax.

567. Chairman.] The road tax is a poll tax paid by everybody, either in money or in labour, is it not?—It is a poll tax of 1*s.* 6*d.*

568. Can you state whether the revenue arising from the road tax, is wholly appropriated to road making, and similarly whether the house and land taxes are appropriated to those special objects, or go into the general revenue?—They go into the general revenue.

569. Mr. Forster.] Does that answer apply to both taxes?—It applies to both classes of taxes.

570. Is there a first charge on the road tax for the roads, or does it go at once into the general revenue?—It goes at once into the general revenue.

571. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] The road tax is in the nature of a fine on parties refusing to give work on the roads, is it not?—It is optional; any person neglecting or refusing to pay the road tax is liable to do, either in person or by a male substitute, six days' labour.

572. Chairman.] Can you at all state what was Lord Grey's view in having so great a preference for this direct taxation in settlements like this?—I believe that Lord Grey's object in recommending the imposition of the house and land tax, was to impose the necessity of some exertion on the rudest class of liberated Africans inhabiting the colony.

573. I observe in the evidence before the Committee in 1842, and in Dr. Madden's recommendation,

mendations, great complaint is made of the liberated Africans being too much supported and protected by the Government, and the recommendation was that they should be left more to themselves like any other persons; are they still so protected and supported as almost to be paupers hanging on the public for support?—I believe that nothing of the sort takes place now; very few liberated Africans are brought to Sierra Leone; they are very soon disposed of, in many instances, by emigration to the West Indies, and those who have been any length of time in the colony are settled in the different villages, and are left to take care of themselves.

574. Is there a general wish on the part of liberated Africans to emigrate, or do they generally remain contentedly where they have been located?—I believe the principal emigration has been of recently captured Africans.

775. When recently captured Africans wish to emigrate, do they wish to emigrate back to their homes again, or do they wish to emigrate to the West Indies?—The only means of emigration afforded by the Government are to the West Indies.

576. Do you know of your own knowledge, whether it is supposed that the emigrations have been satisfactory in their results, and that the emigrants have not sought to come back again from the West Indies?—I have never heard that the captured Africans emigrating to the West Indies were dissatisfied with their lot; I should expect that they would on the contrary be well pleased with it.

577. The slave trade having so much ceased in the neighbourhood of the British settlement, there can be very few captured Africans liberated now at Sierra Leone, can there?—I have no means of obtaining precise information on that subject; but few captures have been made of late.

578. Mr. Forster.] To what extent has the emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies taken place within the last few years?—The only African emigrants introduced into Jamaica and the other British West India Islands are Africans captured in slave ships by Her Majesty's blockading squadron on the Coast of Africa, and carried into Sierra Leone or St. Helena. These Africans become free on capture, but as the Government has no means of employing them in Sierra Leone or St. Helena, they are offered passages to the West Indies, on condition that on their arrival there they will take service under indenture for periods varying from three to five years, with such employers as the Government may provide for them. On their taking such service they are entitled to the same wages as unindentured labourers, and come under the government of a special code of laws framed for the protection of emigrants from the East Indies and other countries. The number of African emigrants varies from year to year according to the number of captures made by Her Majesty's cruisers. In the five years from 1860 inclusive, the number was 5,757, of whom there were conveyed to Jamaica 1,837; British Guiana 1,985; Trinidad 696; St. Lucia 179; St. Vincent 227; Grenada 385; St. Kitts 223; Tobago 225.

579. Are the Committee to understand from your last answer that those captured Africans have no choice but to go to the West Indies?—They are offered passages.

580. But if they do not avail themselves of

those passages, what then?—They remain in Sierra Leone and join their friends.

581. Chairman.] Are all those who remain in Sierra Leone taken care of by the Government and apprenticed, or is any occupation given them?—The children are placed in the charge of the Church Missionary Society, by whom they are kept and educated; the others are allowed to dispose of themselves in different villages to join their countrymen.

582. Do they not, then, practically become a charge on the Government for their maintenance?—Only for a short time.

583. But as long as they are unable to find, or even pretend to be unable to find, a maintenance for themselves, they are a charge on the Government, are they not?—No.

584. Mr. Seymour.] What is the amount expended by the Government of Sierra Leone in the maintenance of liberated Africans since the year 1860?—I have no means of knowing that.

585. Mr. Forster.] Can you inform the Committee the number of captured Africans who have been brought into Sierra Leone since the year 1860?—I believe that the number released from slavers taken into Sierra Leone in the year 1860 was 34; in 1861 it was 1,096; in 1862 it was 12; and in 1863 it was 334.

586. Then the difference must consist of those who are taken into St. Helena?—Yes.

587. Do you know the number that has been taken to St. Helena?—I do not; it is a very imperfect return.

588. Can you state what is the number of captured Africans that have been brought into Sierra Leone since the year 1860, and the number of those who have emigrated?—I cannot.

589. Chairman.] All the slaves captured on the West Coast of Africa are brought to Sierra Leone, the mixed commission court being at Sierra Leone and St. Helena?—Yes, to Sierra Leone and St. Helena.

590. Have you any remark to make about the position of the mixed commission court at Sierra Leone with respect to the Report on that subject from the Committee of 1842?—The Committee was of opinion that the removal of the prize court might be expedient, but it has not been removed.

591. Have you any opinion to offer to the Committee on that subject yourself?—I have not.

592. You have stated that the whole military force at Sierra Leone is composed of five companies of black troops; can you state now how they are detached to the outposts, and how many outposts there are?—By the latest returns there were at—

	Officers.	Men.
Freetown - - -	10	375
Quiah - - -	4	51
Bulama - - -	2	19
Sherbora - - -	3	39

593. You say that there is a militia containing one regiment of infantry, with some cavalry and some artillery; can you tell when and how those forces were raised?—The militia has been in existence since the year 1801; there are laws regulating it from 1811. In the year 1844 it consisted of 100 men, and in 1846 it consisted of 500 men; it is not now embodied.

594. Is that militia regiment drawn generally from the population without distinction?—It must originally have been drawn solely from the

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free population; it is now, of course, composed of all classes.

595. Is it at all your opinion that the militia might be increased, so as to allow a reduction of the military force?—I think not.

596. What is the police force at Sierra Leone?—The fixed establishment of the police consists of a superintendent, two inspectors, 10 sergeants, 20 corporals, 200 privates and 10 detectives.

597. Is it your opinion that this force is capable of increase?—It is.

598. Do you think that it would be desirable to increase it?—If the numbers of troops were to be diminished, it would be necessary to do so.

599. Which of the two forces should you consider most suitable for the service of the settlement?—I consider that the same arrangement which I suggested, as expedient in the case of the Gambia, could be applied with advantage to Sierra Leone, and for the same reasons.

600. Is not also a regular force more available for the services usually required by the governor of such a settlement?—It is; the military force is intended, and is almost exclusively used for the defence of the colony.

601. Is not also a regular force at a settlement like Sierra Leone much more expensive from the necessity of relief, and also from the difficulty of recruiting, than a police force?—The police in those settlements can be maintained at a very much less expense than the regular troops.

602. Does the police consist of men born on the spot, or is there anything like an interchange of police at Quial and Sherbro, for instance?—I am not aware that there is any system of employing the police of one part of the settlement of Sierra Leone exclusively in another.

603. With regard to the ecclesiastical establishment generally, which consists of a bishop and various other officials, how is the expense borne?—All the salaries are paid out of local funds.

604. There is no charge on the Imperial Treasury for the ecclesiastical establishment of Sierra Leone?—None.

605. I observe that the missionary bodies bore the first charges for churches; but as the colony has been left more to supply itself, funds have arisen, have they not, from the congregations, and from the colony itself, for that purpose?—They have so.

606. You have stated in your report that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supports a Mission at Sierra Leone; do the missionaries go beyond the settlement in their operations?—Not that I am aware of.

607. Do you know whether they consider themselves, or in your opinion are they, dependent on the British Government for protection?—As they reside within the colony, I presume it is to be inferred that they are dependent on the British Government for protection.

608. But are their operations such that you consider the absence of a British Government would render them impossible to be carried on?—In the event of the withdrawal of the British Government, they would be exposed to the same dangers as the other inhabitants of the colony.

609. Can you give the Committee an opinion with regard to the character of the schools conducted by private societies at this place?—I had much reason to be pleased with what I saw of the schools of the Church Missionary Society. I had no time to visit any others.

610. Is there not a grant from the Imperial Parliament to the amount of 2,700*l.* for the schools for the liberated Africans?—A payment is made of so much per head for each child taken out of the slavers, and for that payment they are brought up and educated by the Church Missionary Society.

611. Have you any means of informing the Committee what in recent years has been the charge on the Imperial Treasury for this purpose?—I have not.

612. In your report at the middle of page 10, you speak of the purchase and sale of slaves, and the transport of domestic slaves. Is that a transaction going on at Sierra Leone similar to the internal slavery which you describe as going on in the Gambia?—Yes; the practice that prevails at the Gambia also exists at Sierra Leone; but in addition to that there is a good deal of internal slave trade carried on by the natives.

613. When you say that "the slave trade is unknown on this part of the coast," how long should you think that has been the case?—I am afraid that I could only give the same reply that I did in the case of the Gambia, when I was only able to state in general terms that the slave trade had been put down in the neighbourhood of the settlements.

614. But I understand you to report, that at one place at all events, between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, namely, the River Nunez, the slave trade is still going on?—The ships of the squadron were withdrawn from the northern parts of the settlement in January 1864, and in the autumn of the same year it was ascertained that a vessel had been visiting the rivers in the neighbourhood of Pongas and the Nunez, for the purpose of shipping slaves, in which she had partially succeeded.

615. There being the mouths of a great many rivers between the settlement of Sierra Leone and the settlement of the Gambia, what means have you for knowing, there being no cruisers on that coast, that the slave trade is not going on at the mouth of every one of those rivers?—It is considered that it is impossible for slaves to be exported from any spot in the neighbourhood of the settlement without the fact coming to the knowledge of persons in the settlement, or of those who will communicate it to the residents, and that thus it is made known to the local Government.

616. Are there any slave factories at the Gallinas now?—I believe not.

617. But can you state that as a matter of fact, or is it only an opinion?—I have never heard it suggested that it was possible there could now be slave factories at Gallinas.

618. In the evidence given before the Committee in 1842, it is stated that a very extensive slave trade was going on at many of those places outside the settlements; do you consider that that has ceased in the last 20 years?—I do; in fact our communications with this coast are so constant that it appears impossible that the slave trade could be carried on without its being known.

619. There being no cruiser there, do you think that the simple influence and terror of the British Government at Sierra Leone and the Gambia restrains the slave trade on the whole of the intervening coast?—I think that although the influence of the Gambia and Sierra Leone settlements tends to prevent the slave trade from

breaking out in their immediate neighbourhood, that influence would certainly not operate over the whole line of coast between the two colonies.

620. To what, then, do you attribute the smallness of the amount of the slave trade which you conceive you know to exist in that large interval of coast?—It is well known that very few slaves have been captured of late years in the northern part of the West African Settlements. That so very little slaving has taken place there, is due partly to the presence of the settlements and partly to the repression exercised by the squadron over such parts of the coast as the colonies could exercise no influence over.

621. But if the slave trade has diminished so much in a part of the coast distant from any settlement, and where there is no cruiser, may it not rather be attributed to the falling off of the demand for slaves?—There have been cruisers on that part of the coast occupied in repressing the slave trade until January 1864, and I believe that they are now engaged in the same duty again.

622. With regard to domestic slavery at Sierra Leone, do you consider that that has almost ceased?—Domestic slavery was never recognised in the peninsula of Sierra Leone, and I believe that there is no domestic slavery in the territory which we have recently acquired.

623. Do you mean by saying that there is no domestic slavery in the territory which we have recently acquired, that it does not exist, or that it has ceased to be recognised?—It was never recognised in the territory, and it is stated that it never existed in the peninsula.

624. But it existed in Sherbro and Quiah, did it not?—In Sherbro and Quiah, although it existed before their cession to us, this is said, to be not the case now.

625. Do you conceive that it really has ceased to exist, or that it is no longer a recognised system?—I can only speak from information that was given me on the spot; but I was assured, and I have every right to rely on the correctness of this information, that there had been no domestic slavery in the recently acquired territory since it became ours.

626. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Is it your opinion that the numerous treaties which you have told us have been made from time to time by the Government of Sierra Leone with the native chiefs, have extended the influence of the settlement, so as to prevent slave trading, and give safety to commerce without involving us in war with native tribes?—I think that they must have had the effect stated, and I am not aware that they have ever involved us in collisions with the natives.

627. Are you aware that any of those treaties bind us to protect the chief with whom the treaty is made, against his enemies?—I am not aware that any treaty contains or implies such a provision.

628. Then, it is not your opinion that those treaties constitute any obligations amounting or approaching to a protectorate in that part of Africa?—I do not think so; nor is it understood by the local Government to imply any such obligation.

629. Do you say that the population of Sierra Leone proper consists mainly of liberated Africans, and their descendants?—So, I believe.

630. Are those people Christians, or nominally so?—Yes.

631. Have you formed any opinion of the cha-

acter of those people; for instance, are they industrious people?—Yes.

632. In what way are they industrious; is it as tillers of the soil, or as traders?—Principally as traders, and to some extent as tillers of the soil; there is a good deal of ginger now exported from Sierra Leone, which is grown in the peninsula, and which must, therefore, be raised principally by liberated Africans.

633. But they are very fond of petty trading, are they not?—That is universally the taste of Africans.

634. Are they settled upon grants of land upon our territory?—They are settled in villages which have been regularly laid out by the Government in suitable localities in different parts of the peninsula.

635. But do those among them who cultivate the land live on their own land, or work as labourers for others?—I believe that they do both; but there are a large number of persons in the peninsula who return themselves as occupiers of small plots of land. In the year 1861, nearly 6,000 persons returned themselves as occupiers of one acre of land, and paid the tax upon it, but this number had fallen off in 1862 and 1863.

636. Are those plots of land gardens, in which they raise provisions for sale in Freetown?—They are so to a great extent; they also raise ginger and other produce for export.

637. Mr. *Cave*.] Has there been an increase in other items to make up for the falling off in the return of small cultivators?—No; I am unable to give any information further than that there has been some reduction in the number of occupiers of one acre, and an increase in the number of occupiers of three acres. There has been a falling off from 5,998 to 4,646 in the one acre occupiers.

638. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Do you know whether the Sierra Leone native traders make their way much into the interior?—They make their way into the interior, but I cannot say to what extent. They also make their way down the coast.

639. Do they trade with the neighbouring tribes or their agents, or as agents for the Sierra Leone houses, or in both ways?—In both ways.

640. Have you ever heard them accused of doing a little slave trading on their own account?—I have not heard a Sierra Leone trader accused of slave trading; but there is a strong impression that coloured traders do engage in the internal slave trade.

641. Do you mean liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, when you say "coloured traders"?—I mean any coloured person engaged in trade; those need not necessarily, even in Sierra Leone, be the descendants of liberated Africans. I can only speak from the impression, which is as strong as it can be, that coloured persons do engage in the buying and selling of children, whenever they have a chance.

642. You mean coloured persons from our settlements?—Yes; and coloured persons who have nothing to do with our settlements.

643. You speak of the internal slave trade?—Yes; the internal slave trade.

644. You were asked some questions with regard to the judicial system of Sierra Leone, and you stated that there is a Chief Justice there, and various judicial officers; do you think that the system is well adapted to the wants of such a settlement as Sierra Leone?—Except in so far

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as some alteration is necessary to improve the administration of justice under the present jury system, I think that the present arrangement works well.

645. Do you think that a simpler and less pretentious system would work as well?—It might do so; but there would possibly be difficulties in the way of introducing it.

646. The Sierra Leone people have the character of being somewhat litigious, have they not?—They have.

647. Are there any complaints of the delay or expense of our courts?—The complaint that I have heard most of has been the difficulty of obtaining justice where a white man has assaulted a coloured man; in this case the coloured man, in place of resorting to the police court, before which such an offence would naturally and properly be cognisable, and where a proper punishment could be afforded for it, is in the habit of bringing his action for damages, which are often laid at a very high rate, and the result of such a proceeding is, in many instances, that the white man is induced to compromise the action by paying a heavy sum of money to the man he has injured, instead of taking it into court.

648. Do you mean that a white man does not expect a just verdict from a native jury?—Such is the belief in the colony. I know of a case in which a white gentleman struck or thrashed his groom, who entered an action against him, and laid the damages at 200*l.* With considerable difficulty, and by the interference of the leading member of the coloured party, who was personally interested in the gentleman, the case was compromised by the payment of 50*l.*

649. Then is it your opinion that trial by jury is successful at Sierra Leone; that is to say, that honest verdicts are generally obtained from native juries?—I think that in cases such as that I have quoted, fair verdicts cannot be relied upon. In other respects, I do not believe the jury system has worked badly at Sierra Leone.

650. Perhaps you have often heard it stated that an Akoo jury will never convict an Akoo, and that they will never acquit a white man or a Timunsee, and that the verdict of an Akoo jury is generally agreed upon out of court before the trial comes on; how far do you think there is truth in such a statement as that?—I cannot speak with any certainty, but I think it quite possible that this is the case.

651. Do you think that much reliance can be placed in an Akoo jury where their interests or prejudices are concerned?—I am not prepared to answer that question.

652. Are you able to state what proportion the direct taxes of Sierra Leone bear to the whole taxation?—The taxation of the colony is about 10*s.* per head, of which the direct taxes are about one-fourth.

653. Have you formed any opinion with respect to the extent to which the troops at Sierra Leone could be reduced, according to your suggestion, and a military police substituted for them?—I think that the force at Sierra Leone might be safely reduced to 300, or at the utmost 400 men. Some increase of the police will be necessary, but as the police cost so much less than soldiers, there would be a considerable saving even though as many police were employed as the number of soldiers reduced.

654. I suppose that in a small settlement surrounded by native tribes, and containing but a

handful of white people, some force is absolutely necessary which can be relied upon for the protection of the settlement?—So I consider.

655. Do you conceive the existence of a settlement such as Sierra Leone, to be a valuable auxiliary to the squadron in the suppression and prevention of the slave trade on the neighbouring coasts?—I do.

656. Do you suppose that the influence of the settlement of Sierra Leone extends to a considerable distance along the coast?—I imagine that the influence which our occupation of Sierra Leone gives us is felt as far as the limits of the neighbouring settlement of Liberia on the south, and to some little distance to the north. But I think the peculiar character of the coast between Sierra Leone and the Gambia broken by numerous rivers, and with a great number of chiefs and persons in authority over tribes which probably have little in common, prevents our influence from extending so far in that direction as it might do under other circumstances.

657. But do you think that the interests which are created by the legitimate trade of which Sierra Leone is the centre, and the knowledge thereby acquired of what is passing at various points of the coast, tends to check the slave trade?—I believe that it tends to check it, but its recent outbreak at Nunez, when the squadron was withdrawn, shews that it will not altogether prevent it.

658. The River Nunez is at a very considerable distance from Sierra Leone, is it not?—It is so, and yet the first slaves were shipped at no very great distance from Sierra Leone; a vessel appears to have gone on a cruising expedition, picking up slaves in the rivers, so far perhaps establishing that there was no complete organisation for the reopening of the export of slaves.

659. Do not the outlying posts of Bulama on the north, and Sherboro to the south of Sierra Leone, command a number of rivers very important either for slave trading or for legitimate commerce?—They do so.

660. Is it not the case that the island of Bulama commands the mouth of the important rivers Jeba and Grande?—It does so.

661. And that the small settlement in the Sherboro commands several important rivers?—Yes, there are a number of settlements there, all of which afford great facilities for slave traders.

662. Then do you suppose that the maintenance of those two posts would be found useful for the purpose of encouraging commerce and checking the slave trade?—Unquestionably.

663. Sir Francis Baring.] I observed that in your answer with regard to the working of the jury system, you made a distinction between verdicts in civil cases and in criminal cases, are you of opinion that in criminal cases the verdicts are bad?—I am not.

664. Do you think them fair?—I am not prepared to say that, in criminal cases, their verdicts are unfair.

665. Do the natives attach much value to the institution of trial by jury?—I imagine, as the institution has been so long in existence, that it must be valued by the people.

666. I observe in one of the petitions appended to your report, that certain natives of Sierra Leone at Lagos, mention the jury system as one of the privileges that they are anxious to introduce; do you think that that is the general opinion of the Sierra Leone people?—I think that

that the natives who are known as Akoos, would be extremely sorry to part with the power which, it is alleged, trial by jury now gives them in that colony.

667. That is for their own purposes, but my question referred to the general opinion of the coloured people?—I am sure that persons not Akoos, would be very glad to see a modification of the present system, but I cannot say whether they would wish its entire abolition, even if a remedy were not to be obtained in any other way; it is a question of degree entirely.

668. You mentioned a case where a white gentleman was good enough to horse-whip his groom, and compounded the action for 50*l.*; does that appear to you to be very scandalous damages?—I believe that in England, or in any other colony, the result of such a proceeding would have been the infliction of a fine in a police court, of from probably 5*l.* to 10*l.*, which appears to me quite sufficient to meet the merits of the case.

669. If my right honourable friend in the chair were to horse-whip his groom, would he not, in your opinion, be a very lucky man, if he got off by a compromise for less than 50*l.*?—I should think not; I should both think and hope that he would meet what I should conceive would be nearer the justice of the case.

670. You have stated that there is a member of the Council who is a native; are there not several natives in positions of trust?—There are.

671. Could you mention some of the positions; is the Marshal of the Vice Admiralty Court a native?—He would not come within my knowledge; he is not a colonial officer.

672. But you do not know whether he is a native or not?—I do not. The Collector and most of the officers of the Customs are coloured people. Some of the highest situations in the colony are filled by coloured gentlemen, and almost all the subordinate situations.

673. But without asking you with regard to the characters of particular individuals, I will ask you, are those officials supposed to do their duty properly?—They perform their duty with perfect efficiency.

674. Generally speaking, taking the better class of the natives, are they intelligent or not?—They are decidedly intelligent.

675. Taking the merchant, for instance; is the trade entirely in the hands of Europeans, or are there a considerable number of native merchants?—There are a considerable number of native merchants at Sierra Leone.

676. Are they trustworthy men?—Yes, they are trustworthy, and highly respectable gentlemen.

677. Are any of those gentlemen of whom you speak liberated Africans?—Some of them are.

678. And they have risen, I suppose, entirely by their own exertions?—By their own exertions entirely.

679. Are there horses and carriages at Sierra Leone?—Yes.

680. To whom do they belong; are they all the property of Europeans?—No; those gentlemen live exactly as Europeans do: their houses are as well furnished, and their mode of life is similar to that of Europeans; there is no difference between them.

681. Then with regard to education; comparing, for example, native clerks in the Customs there with European clerks in the Customs; are they better or worse educated?—There would

probably be little or no difference in that respect between them.

682. Going a little lower in the scale, and taking the population generally, should you say that they are well off?—They have the means of supplying all their wants.

683. Do they or do they not live in hovels as they do in the Gambia?—They look so externally, and would probably be so considered by Europeans unacquainted with the native habits and the native requirements, but having regard to the climate they are probably all that is requisite.

684. Have they gardens generally?—Gardens as we understand the term are not usual; they cultivate vegetables on their plots of land.

685. Are those plots nicely cultivated?—Land is not scarce enough to make it necessary to pay so much attention to its condition when under cultivation as would be necessary under different circumstances.

686. With regard to the education of the lower classes, is there a considerable number able to read and write?—I imagine not a large proportion.

687. Has the proportion fallen off since the year 1842 then?—I am unable to say.

688. Lord Stanley.] You spoke just now of the influence over neighbouring states and neighbouring chiefs which was created by the British occupation of Sierra Leone. I did not quite understand you to define what you meant by that.

Do you mean influence in the sense of fear, or preference for legitimate trade over the slave trade; or do you mean that there is a wish on the part of the surrounding chiefs to govern their states in the same way as we govern our colony?

—I did not mean that the influence was exactly of the nature that the question specifies; I meant, that by entering into engagements with those people (and there seems to be something in their habits which makes them readily appreciate an engagement) we make them understand the value which we attach to the points which usually form the principal objects of those treaties. The suppression of the slave trade of course forms one point, but that to which I believe most of those engagements chiefly point is the protection of our people and their trade from the lawless acts of those chiefs and their subjects. We show them the value that we attach to this. We make them understand that we are anxious to afford protection to our people, and that we possess the means of doing so. At the same time, by giving them a small stipend, we encourage them to do that which they feel and know to be just and right, namely, to give this protection to our people and trade. That is the principal way in which our influence is exercised.

689. You put it in this way, then, that on condition of receiving a small stipend from the British Government, the chiefs will give up the plunder and spoliation of the English traders who go among them?—Hardly on that account only; I think that the presence in their towns in the interior of a British officer, probably accompanied by his guard, representing to those chiefs the power of Great Britain, and the interest which Great Britain takes in people about whom he has hitherto supposed nobody cared, has its effect in inducing him to accede readily to an arrangement which his own sense of right and wrong shows him to be reasonable.

690. But you have spoken of engagements between the British Government and those chiefs,

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Now, the natives, on their part, undertaking to protect our traders and to give up slavery, what do we undertake to give them in return for that besides their very trifling stipends?—Nothing whatever.

691. Then in what sense do you use the word engagement?—I understand it as an engagement, though not an engagement in return for which we give them any material advantage.

692. It is simply a promise without any consideration in return?—There is the consideration of the stipend, which varies from 5*l.* to 100*l.*

693. In the case of such a treaty or such an agreement as you speak of, where a chief binds himself to protect English traders, and to abandon the slave trade, although you say that no protection is promised in return by the British Government, yet if he were attacked by a slave-trading power, and of superior force, and were in danger, would he not look to the British Government as being under at least some moral obligation to defend him?—I have never heard of a chief having made any such demand upon the British Government, or having expressed to any officer of the British Government his belief that he had any right or title to make such a demand.

694. Then it is clearly made known to them that they are not to expect it as a matter of right?—I do not believe that the question is ever mooted when these treaties are made.

695. Therefore, there is no means of knowing, in fact, what they do expect or what they do not expect?—I have no reason to suppose that they do expect anything of the kind; from what I have heard and seen, I believe that the idea of those treaties or engagements affording them any claim to protection from the British Government never occur to the chiefs who make them.

696. You spoke of certain outlying posts as commanding the entrance to several rivers, do you mean by commanding the entrance to several rivers that they would command it if we occupied it by a military or naval force?—We have ascertained that wherever the British Government is established, the slave trade disappears from that neighbourhood; it is probably found unsafe to carry it on in the proximity of a settlement; the islands of Bulama and Sherboro are situated at the entrance of rivers, which might be made use of for the export of slaves, and their occupation would probably be quite sufficient to prevent the export of slaves without the co-operation of the squadron for that purpose.

697. Then, what do you mean by "occupation;" do you mean occupation by a military force, or occupation by establishing officers of the Government there, or partial colonisation by liberated Africans or otherwise?—I mean by occupation, the establishment of officers of the Civil Government, and the collection of such revenues for the colony as can be levied there of right, and the presence of such a force of troops or police as may be necessary to preserve order, and enforce obedience to the laws.

698. Then, in fact, though it may be to a very small extent, every such occupation does involve an increase of either the naval or military forces?—I do not consider it need so; certainly not the naval force. It would enable a reduction of the naval force to be effected, since the occupation of a settlement does that which can otherwise only be done by the squadron, and although it entails the presence of a military force, yet I believe that military force may be a very small

one, and that by altered arrangements the substitution of a police force may be effected very economically.

699. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] There are actually at this moment small detachments of black troops, both at Bulama and at Sherboro, are they not?—Yes.

700. Lord *Stanley*.] You think that you can trace it as cause and effect, that when a British settlement is established, then within a certain distance the slave trade decreases?—I believe that the slave trade disappears from a settlement and its neighbourhood.

701. Can you explain the process; is it the expectation that information will be given to the squadron?—I have already stated that I believed it was impossible for slaves to be exported from the neighbourhood of any settlement without its coming to the notice of the officials residing there, and the knowledge of the fact is sufficient to ensure its being put a stop to.

702. Then to carry out that policy in full, you ought to occupy at greater or less intervals, the whole line of coast along which the slave trade is carried on, ought you not?—If the suppression of the slave trade be the great object, I know of but two ways in which it can be affected; by the agency of a squadron, or the occupation of various points along the coast.

703. And the more numerous those points the better, I suppose?—I do not myself consider it advisable to increase the number of those points.

704. You think that the four main points which we now occupy with the small detached settlements from them, are sufficient to establish such influence as you spoke of over the whole line of the Western Coast of Africa, on which the slave trade takes place?—The fact is indisputable, that there has been no slave trade from the north of the Gambia to the most easterly limits of the Gold Coast, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the Nunez.

705. With regard to the internal affairs of Sierra Leone, is there much material improvement going on, pieces of land being reclaimed, roads being made, and bush cleared away, and so forth?—No.

706. The trade of the colony from your report, appears to have increased very considerably within the last 10 years?—It has.

707. Have you any means of saying whether the produce sent out of the colony originates in the colony, or whether it is merely the trade carried through from the interior?—A proportion of the produce is carried through from the interior.

708. Now, with regard to this 40,000 coloured population, who are, for the most part, liberated Africans; do you know what reputation they have as labourers or as persons fit for general employment. Along the coast, would a man going to establish himself at any of our settlements along the coast take in preference a Sierra Leone man or the reverse?—I do not think he would get Sierra Leone men to go with him from the Peninsula in any numbers.

709. They are not willing to move, are they?—They are very comfortable in Sierra Leone; they do not appear disposed to leave it for mere agricultural purposes.

710. You think they are not easily induced to move for the purposes of bettering themselves?—Unless by trading or peddling.

711. Is it the fact, that the lower classes of the

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the coloured population in that colony live much in the same way as they do in Jamaica; that is, in detached and isolated houses, with small gardens surrounding them, living on the produce of their gardens?—No; they are congregated together in villages in Sierra Leone in a way which is not the case in the West Indies.

712. Is that by their own choice or by the Act of the Government?—By the Act of the Government.

713. What business do they principally follow besides that kind of cultivation on a small scale?—Peddling, hawking, and trading generally.

714. Do they trade to any distance, or with any enterprise?—Yes; to considerable distances.

715. In your report, I see that you speak of the unhealthiness of the settlement not extending generally to the higher ground; does that lead you to believe, or have you heard others make the observation, that a material improvement might be effected by a greater attention to sanitary measures?—The sanitary condition of the town is susceptible of improvement, and the subject has engaged the attention of the Government. The higher grounds have never been visited by yellow fever, and in this sense, if not also in an exemption from ordinary fever, that part of the country would be a better place of residence than the margin of the shore, which is now occupied.

716. Can you tell the Committee what is the total expense incurred by the Home Government on account of Sierra Leone, excluding the question of military expenditure?—No.

717. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Do you consider that the acquisition of the territories of Bulama and Sherboro has not only tended to suppress the slave trade, but by increasing the revenue of the Colony has materially assisted in enabling the Colony to become self-supporting, with the exception of the governor's salary?—Sherboro has added largely to the revenue, but the resources of Bulama have not been so much developed.

718. Do you think that it would be advisable or possible to form a military settlement of coloured pensioners anywhere at Sierra Leone,

or anywhere at those spots?—Such an establishment might be formed, I have no doubt, but I have not turned my attention specially to that subject.

719. You stated that the road-tax was paid into the general revenue, and that the punishment for not paying the tax was working on the roads. Is it called a road-tax on account of the punishment for non-payment being working on the roads, or is it absolutely a tax for making the roads?—I have already explained that it is a poll-tax, intended for the roads.

720. You state that there were 69 persons imprisoned for non-payment in one year, and in another 57?—Yes.

721. I find in the next paragraph of your report, "Many defaulters are pecuniarily unable to pay, and their punishment and treatment in the common gaol are identical with the punishments inflicted on criminals who have been tried and convicted of heinous crimes;" now are the Committee to understand that those 69 and 57 persons who were unable to pay have been treated in the same way as criminals committing heinous crimes have been treated?—I have stated in my Report that this complaint was not without foundation. I am not prepared to say that it was literally correct, but instructions had been given at the close of the year by the governor, in consequence of the representations of the Chamber of Commerce that the mode of treatment of those persons should be to some extent modified, and they are certainly not now punished and treated "in the same way as criminals are treated who have been tried and convicted of heinous crimes."

722. But they were formerly treated in that manner, were they?—I am not prepared to say that they were formerly so treated. I quote in my Report the words of the complaint, adding my opinion that the complaint was not without foundation.

723. Then those words are not your own words?—No; they are the words of the complaint.

Jovis, 30^o die Martii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Seymour FitzGerald.
Mr. William Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Colonel ORD, R.E., recalled; and further Examined.

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724. Mr. *Cave*.] In this statistical table I see that the population at Sierra Leone (as was the case at the Gambia) is the wrong way; that is to say, there is a considerable excess of males; how would you account for that with regard to this settlement?—There is a difference of 600 in favour of the males, but I am not able to account for the difference.

725. I also see, in the next paragraph, that the deaths exceeded the births in the year 1860, and materially so in 1861; are the Committee to infer from that, your opinion that the population is diminishing?—I am not able to say; but I think it probable that it is easier to obtain accounts of the number of deaths than the number of births, especially in the rural districts.

726. Then would you say that you think the return cannot be relied upon in that particular?—I think it is quite possible that the return is not perfectly reliable in that respect.

727. Is it your opinion that the population is diminishing or increasing?—I have no reason to suppose, from anything I have seen or heard, that the population is diminishing.

728. Is there any return of the illegitimate births compared with the legitimate in the settlement?—I do not know that any such information is to be obtained in the settlement.

729. Is there any general opinion with regard to that subject entertained in the settlement?—I have never heard any opinion expressed on that subject.

730. I see that the rate of wages in Sierra Leone is very much what it was in the Gambia, namely, 10*d.* to 1*s.* per day for predial wages; are those wages the actual wages of agricultural labour, or are they the wages received for work done by Kroomen about the harbour?—By predial labour is usually understood ordinary agricultural labour.

731. Do you think that this return is an accurate return of the present rate of wages?—I have every reason to believe so.

732. In the former inquiry it was stated by Mr. Hamilton that the rate of wages was 4*d.* a day; do you imagine that the rate of wages has very much increased since then?—It must have done so if the return be correct.

733. You have stated that in the Gambia a labourer works about half the time that an ordinary European labourer would work, and does

half the work in that time that he would do; does that apply to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone as well?—I said that probably that was the amount of his work; I meant to explain that he worked fewer hours than a European, and certainly does much less work within that time.

734. Lord *Stanley*.] You mean a European in Europe?—Yes.

735. Mr. *Cave*.] That answer would apply equally to Sierra Leone?—That answer would apply equally to all negroes, except where some great inducement is offered to them.

736. By great inducement, do you mean a normally high rate of wages, or a high rate of wages for a job now and then?—I was referring at the moment to the tasks which I have seen performed by negroes in Demerara.

737. In your experience, did you find that the negroes in Demerara worked regularly for a high rate of wages, or only intermittently?—I have known them work very hard when disposed to earn the high wages which were paid for task work.

738. Is it your opinion that a regularly ruling higher rate of wages than that stated in this return would conduce to make the people of Sierra Leone work much more regularly than they do now?—It would make them work more regularly, but I do not believe it would make them work regularly.

739. You imagine, as you stated with regard to the Gambia, that when the negroes have as much money as they want for their immediate wants they lie by until that money is spent?—Such I have found to be the usual practice amongst negroes; there are, of course, exceptions.

740. Are you aware whether they have become more regular labourers within (say) the last 20 years?—I am not aware.

741. Do you consider that the people are generally improving in civilisation in other respects?—They certainly are not retrograding.

742. I see that education is very well supported in the settlement; do you think that the results justify that support?—I am not prepared to answer that question.

743. On the other hand, I see that a considerable sum of money is expended on the lunatic asylum; is lunacy general, or is it on the increase?—I have no information on that head.

744. Can you tell the Committee how much land is occupied in the settlement of Sierra Leone?—I cannot; the records of the Colony furnish no information on that point.

745. Is there a complaint that there are not sufficient labourers to do the work?—No; there is no such complaint.

746. Do you consider that immigration into the settlement would be beneficial to it?—I do not.

747. You do not agree with the complaint that is made in one of the pamphlets that have been sent round to the Committee, that the sending of captured Africans to the West Indies instead of Sierra Leone is disadvantageous to the settlement of Sierra Leone?—I believe it to be very advantageous both to the settlement and to the negro.

748. In the former inquiry it was stated by Mr. Hook that he did not think that the neighbouring countries had benefited one iota by the moral influence of Sierra Leone. Do you agree with that?—I am not prepared to endorse that statement in its full extent.

749. Do you think that a beneficial effect has been produced on the neighbouring countries?—I cannot but feel that some beneficial effect must have been produced.

750. In the "Freetown Gazette" of last year there were accounts of three people being taken up for slave trading in the settlement of Sierra Leone, one of whom was convicted. Do you remember that circumstance?—No, I do not.

751. Have you any reason to believe that that is frequent within the settlement?—I do not recollect the circumstance.

752. It was a case of kidnapping two people in the settlement, and taking them out of it. Do you imagine that that frequently occurs in the settlement?—There is no doubt it does occur, but it is impossible to say to what extent; every effort is made to detect and punish those people.

753. By what class of people would this be carried on?—The natives of Sierra Leone and the neighbourhood.

754. When it occurs is it kidnapping children?—I believe it is principally the kidnapping and sale of children as domestic slaves to other parts of the interior.

755. There is a very large quantity of guns and gunpowder, I see, imported into Sierra Leone; to whom are they sold?—To the natives in the interior.

756. You do not imagine that any part of that is disposed of in barter for slaves?—Not especially. I believe cattle forms one of the articles of barter for slaves.

757. In the former inquiry it was alleged against the merchants trading to those settlements that they did furnish the slave traders with the means of carrying on their traffic. Do you think that that charge can be fairly brought against them now?—From inquiries that I have made I have no reason to believe that such a charge can be brought against any of the merchants now trading on the coast.

758. You have stated that the Akoos were liberated Africans of the Yoruban nation or clan. Have any of those people been brought lately into the settlement?—Akoo is a term applied to all persons who come from the Yoruba. It is a term adopted by a certain party in Sierra Leone of coloured people, and principally the liberated Africans or their descendants.

759. What is the reason for their great hostility to the whites, by whom they have benefited

so much?—I cannot say. This hostility is by no means uncommon in other colonies where the two races are found together.

760. In the former inquiry it was stated that the climate of Sierra Leone was worse for Africans than it was for Europeans. Do you consider that that is an accurate statement?—I do not.

761. It was stated by Mr. Hamilton that the climate was unfitted for the negro constitution, and that they suffered more from the climate than the whites?—I do not believe that it is so.

762. Is Mahomedanism on the increase in the settlement?—I believe it is.

763. Are there any mosques in the settlement itself?—Yes.

764. You have stated that you would recommend cantonments for soldiers to be built on the high land, as is the case in the West Indies?—I should prefer that.

765. Do you not apprehend that if that was the case they would be less fitted for duty in the town and on the flats than if they were settled generally on the low land?—No; I consider that they would be better fitted for duty.

766. Do you think that they would be equally acclimatised?—Yes; since there are no great heights in the neighbourhood of any of the settlements in which they could be quartered.

767. Are you aware that that is the complaint against Newcastle in Jamaica?—There are no heights in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone similar to that of Newcastle in Jamaica.

768. Are there any steamers belonging to the Government at Sierra Leone?—No.

769. Do you not imagine that a fast steamer there, such as is used in the Gambia, would be advantageous in suppressing the slave trade in the neighbourhood?—There might be difficulties in placing such a steamer at the disposal of the local Government to be employed for the suppression of the export of slaves, but I consider that such a steamer would be very useful in enabling the local Government to check the transport of slaves in and through the settlements.

770. Would it not also facilitate the union of the different settlements on the coast?—I have referred to that subject in my report, and I consider that it would greatly serve that end.

771. There have been many complaints from Sherboro, that it suffers from its connection with Sierra Leone, and that it is not fairly treated; what is your opinion on that point?—Those complaints were not altogether without foundation, but the local Government is desirous of remedying them, and is already taking steps to remove them, so far as possible.

772. I see that the Parliamentary grant to Sierra Leone varies in amount from year to year. Now, as I imagine that this 2,000*l.* is for the Governor's salary, how do you account for that variation in the amount?—I imagine the difference to be caused by the occasional absence of the Governor.

773. Can you account for the difference in the amounts for the police and gaols in the statistical tables, as compared with the large amount that you state in your report is incurred for those items?—Part of the charge for police is included under the first head of the return of expenditure, namely, that of the fixed charge for civil establishments. The fixed charges contain the salaries of the regular force, and the other charges will vary from time to time according to the number employed.

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774. With regard to Sierra Leone, as a mixed Commission Court, it is complained that it is not a good place for the mixed Commission Court, because vessels with recaptured Africans have to beat up considerably to get to it, and so make a very long voyage; what is your opinion with regard to that?—It is open to that objection, but the Committee of 1842, although aware of the objection, did not, after inquiry, positively recommend the removal of the mixed Commission Court.

775. Practically very few cases are brought there for adjudication?—It is so.

776. They almost entirely go to St. Helena?—There are very few cases at all now.

777. Sir Francis Baring,] You have stated that Mahomedanism has increased; at first was there not some prohibition with regard to Mahomedanism?—I am not aware that there was any prohibition with regard to the presence of Mahomedans in the town.

778. With regard to the education of the liberated Africans; can you tell us whether the funds are not mainly supplied by the Government there, and partly by the Missionary Society?—Yes.

779. Can you tell us what the arrangement is between the Government and the Missionary Society?—The Government sends to the Church Missionary Society all children captured in slave vessels that are below a certain age, and pays the society for them a certain rate per day.

780. Is that sufficient pay do you suppose?—The question was mooted when I was in Sierra Leone, and I had an opportunity of discussing it with the agent of the Church Missionary Society, and with the Governor. It appears that the present rate of payment was fixed some years since, and the local officer of the society was of opinion that it was not now sufficient to remunerate than for their maintenance. The Governor informed me that if he received satisfactory evidence that that was the case he should be prepared to recommend to the Government that an increase be made in the rate.

781. How many schools are there; I mean confining yourself to liberated Africans?—I cannot state the number of schools. The average as given me by the officers of the society was girls in the school at Charlotte, 130. Boys at the Kissey school, 170, and at the Gloucester school, 70.

782. Did you visit any of the schools?—Not on this occasion.

783. Have you any means of knowing from your former visits how these schools are conducted?—I have reason to believe they are very well conducted.

784. Do you think the arrangement a good arrangement?—I do.

785. Or, do you think you would transfer them to the Government?—I should prefer their remaining in charge of the society.

786. Are the masters natives or Europeans?—They are both; but they are principally natives, I believe.

787. What is the nature of the education given?—The ordinary rudimentary education given to the children of the lower classes.

788. The same as in this country, I suppose?—Yes.

789. Who inspects those schools on the part of the Government?—The Governor is the head of the liberated African department, and as such is responsible for everything being carried on properly.

790. Are the schools inspected by nobody else but himself?—I am unable to say what the actual inspection is, but I may add, that the present Governor pays great attention to the schools of the colony.

791. With regard to other sources of education; what are the other schools; there are other missionary schools; not of the Church Missionary Society, are there not, for the lower classes?—I believe that all the churches of the various christian denominations have schools in connection with them.

792. What is your opinion with regard to those schools; are they well conducted, or the reverse?—I know nothing personally about them. I imagine that they are well conducted.

793. Are there two other schools mainly conducted by the Missionary Society, one for the lower class and the other a grammar school?—There is a grammar school, which is for the children of the better class of natives; there is also the Fourah Bay Institution, which is used for training natives for the church.

794. Now, taking the grammar school, is that valued in the colony; do the natives use it much?—Yes, it is very well supported.

795. Is that supported mainly by the payments of the parents, or by the society?—It is supported by the payments of the parents, the society giving some slight aid.

796. Do you happen to know who is the master there; is he a native, or is he a European?—He is the Rev. Mr. Quaker, a native gentleman and a clergyman of the Church of England, of high character and considerable attainments.

797. Do you know him personally?—I know him personally, and I esteem him very highly.

798. Do you consider that a good school?—I consider that it is a good school, and very well conducted; it is the only school to which I had an opportunity of giving much attention on my last visit.

799. Is there an anxiety on the part of the natives there to raise the tone of education in that school?—I have never heard that it was considered to require raising.

800. Has there not been an application made and a subscription list opened for the purpose of obtaining a superior master; I do not mean superior to the gentleman whom you have mentioned, but in order to extend the range of the education given?—I am not aware of that. I have heard complaints that the schoolmasters throughout the colony were not themselves sufficiently educated; and it has been urged that the Government should use its endeavours to procure better qualified schoolmasters, and in consequence of this a sum of 100 l. has been placed on the Estimates for the current year by the Legislature to assist the salaries of any schoolmasters of any denomination who shall appear to deserve it in consequence of their superior qualifications, and I have reason to believe that further aid would be granted if the means of applying it could be found.

801. Now, with regard to the pastorate, that is for native ministers, is it not?—It is.

802. Do you know anything of that subject?—I have given a short history of it in my report.

803. Do you know at all what number of persons are educated at the pastorate who leave it and enter the ministry afterwards?—The education for the ministry does not take place under the church pastorate; the church pastorate is simply an arrangement by which the pastoral care of the parishes where the liberated Africans are principally

principally located has been transferred from the Church Missionary Society to the Government. The institution at Fourah Bay is maintained by the Church Missionary Society for the education of natives for the Church.

804. Then do you know what number of persons are educated at the Fourah Bay Institution, who afterwards enter the ministry?—That institution has been closed of late years, and has only been lately re-opened; there are at present a few coloured lads educating for the ministry.

805. Then you do not know how many native ministers have gone from that school?—I do not.

806. Have you any opinion to give to the Committee with regard to the effect of the native ministers being spread over the country?—I believe that they may very advantageously be employed in their present position as pastors through the settlements.

807. Generally speaking, are the means of education considerable in the colony?—The means of such education as I conceive to be required, are very readily attainable.

808. The course at the grammar school is not a bad education, is it?—No.

809. Whether that be right or wrong, there is Latin, and so on, taught there, is there not?—Yes; I am of opinion that such education as is requisite is readily attainable.

810. And from the grammar school many of the merchants and the higher class of traders have proceeded, I suppose?—Yes.

811. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Do liberated Africans generally express contentment with their lot?—I have never heard that any discontent has been expressed by them.

812. Is there not an impression abroad that liberated Africans are rather a bad lot?—I think that the impression is not applied to the whole body of liberated Africans.

813. But to a certain number of them who have not behaved well, and have given colour to the complaint?—I think that there is a strong impression that there is a large body of persons at Sierra Leone (some of whom have gone from there to other settlements), who give a great deal of trouble in the colonies, and that they spring from the liberated African class. There was a question put to me at the last sitting of the Committee with regard to the revenue and expenditure on roads at Sierra Leone, which I may now answer. It appears that in the last four years the revenue raised from the road tax has been 1,497*l.*, while the expenditure in the same time on roads and bridges has been 2,448*l.*

814. *Chairman*.] Turning now to your report on the Gold Coast, is it not the fact that the forts upon that coast were first maintained by English companies, subsidised by the British Government, with a view to hold a trade there in slaves and gold against European rival powers, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, and others?—It is so, and also to secure themselves against any aggression by the natives.

815. Is it not the fact that up to the year 1807, the date of the abolition of the slave trade, this company received a subsidy from the British Treasury of 13,000*l.* annually, and that apparently from the abolition of the slave trade being supposed to damage their profits, the subsidy was raised to 20,000*l.*?—The subsidy was raised to 20,000*l.*, but I am not aware on what grounds it was so raised.

816. Do you suppose that it was the falling off

of the profits of the Company, owing to the abolition of the slave-trade that induced the British Parliament to raise the subsidy, and also induced the British Crown to assume the Government in the year 1821?—I am unable to say.

817. Can you give the Committee any opinion with regard to what led to the Crown taking the Government from the Company in the year 1821?—I cannot.

818. At that period, the Crown placed the Government of the Gold Coast under the Government of Sierra Leone, did it not?—It did.

819. Of which Sir Charles MacCarthy was at that time Captain General and Governor-in-Chief?—I believe that was the term used.

820. Are you aware that at that time the Parliamentary grant for the civil establishment of the Gold Coast, not including the military expenses, was 17,000*l.* per annum?—I believe so.

821. Was not the immediate sequel of the Crown assuming the Government of the colony, a war with the Ashantes?—It was so.

822. And trade still further declined at that time, did it not?—Trade necessarily declined when the war broke out.

823. Can you state what forts the Crown retained, and what forts the Crown abandoned at that period?—There is no record that I am aware of, of the forts that were actually abandoned; they had probably been retained by the merchants in more or less good condition as the circumstances of the trade at each spot made necessary; the forts actually kept up after the assumption of the Government were Dix Cove, Cape Coast, Annamaboe and Accra.

824. Under the name Accra, I suppose the two forts, Christianberg and James Fort are included?—James Fort was one of our British forts at Accra; Christianberg is the name of the Danish fort, which was taken over by the British Government in the year 1851.

825. Were not, at all events, amongst the forts abandoned by the Crown at that period, the three forts of Apollonia, Winnebah, and Whydah?—They were.

826. Whydah then had been occupied by the English Company, subsidised by the British Government prior to the Crown assuming the Government?—So it appears.

827. Is there a fort at Winnebah, or is it merely a station?—Winnebah is at present merely a station.

828. What do you think induced the Crown to contemplate the total abandonment of the forts in the year 1827, and finally to hand over the Government of them to the local merchants?—The great trouble and expense, and loss of life that had been incurred by the Ashantes war, I imagine to have been the principal reasons.

829. And I presume the failure of trade consequent upon the war which reduced very much the value of the forts, and the power of raising a revenue?—No doubt that was an additional inducement to the adoption of such a course.

830. When the Crown handed over the Government of the forts to the Company of Merchants, was not that Company subsidised by the English Parliament to the amount of 4,000*l.* a-year?—It was.

831. Was there any formal instrument by which the Crown handed over the Government of the forts to the company of merchants, or under what regulations was that cession made?—There was no formal instrument at the time that the control

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control of the forts was left in the hands of the merchants, but certain regulations were drawn up for their guidance by the Colonial Secretary of the day; that was in October 1848.

832. Then there was a period between the cession and the instructions from the Colonial Office, during which there was no definite understanding between the Crown and that company of merchants, was there not?—There was.

833. Who was the superintendent of the forts under the government of the merchants?—Mr. MacClean was the longest and best known.

834. How many forts did the merchants keep up?—I believe only those which had previously been kept up by the Government.

835. Namely, the four already mentioned?—Yes.

836. What, do you suppose, induced the Crown to resume the government of those forts from the merchants in the year 1843?—The principal ground on which it was done, is as given in the Report of that Committee, namely, the desire to enlarge the sphere of usefulness of the settlement, giving greater confidence in the character of the impartiality of the Government, by rendering it completely independent of all connection with commerce.

837. Was not the ground of that Committee's inquiry, certain abuses which went on at the Gold Coast reported by Dr. Madden?—It was so.

838. So that the existence of those abuses (apparently proved on evidence) was another reason for the Crown resuming the government?—I am not aware that that was the case.

839. Was it not the abuse of certain British merchants engaged in the government supplying the slave traders, and the mercantile government or magistracy being incompetent to deal with such abuses, that led to the Crown resuming the government?—This was one of the causes.

840. What was the fault in the connection of the Government with commerce?—One fault, no doubt, was that in many instances the duty of the official and his interests as a merchant came into collision with each other.

841. Why did the Crown at that time separate the Government of the Gold Coast from the Government of Sierra Leone?—Chiefly on account of the difficulty of carrying on legislation and the administration of justice at the Gold Coast from so great a distance as Sierra Leone, under the arrangement which then prevailed.

842. The distance of the central Government was found to cause delays, both in the passing of laws and in the administration of justice?—It was.

843. What is the constitution of the Government now?—The governor with an executive and legislative council.

844. Are there any merchants in the councils?—There are merchants in the legislative but not in the executive council.

845. Are those merchants British merchants or native merchants?—Both.

846. There are two, I think, Messrs. Blankson and Grant, mentioned in the evidence; are you aware that they are native merchants in the legislative council?—I am.

847. Do you distinguish the influence or position of the British and native merchants in the legislative council?—I do not; they are all in the same rank and position.

848. Would you say that they have the same interest?—Yes, the same interest.

849. Can you state summarily the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1842, in relation to the Gold Coast?—First, that the government of the forts should be resumed and rendered independent of all connection with commerce; secondly, the re-occupation of certain forts, such as Apollonia, Winnebah, and Whydah, and the reconstruction of others on a small scale on similar points; thirdly, the employment of Europeans in the service who may be already inured to the climate, or of coloured men; fourthly, the appointment of a judicial officer to assist or supersede the Governor, Council, and the Commandants, but who is not to be restricted in his administration to the technicalities of British law; fifthly, that our jurisdiction over the natives should be subject to an agreement with them, and should include among other things the abolition of the slave trade; sixthly, that endeavours should be made to get rid of domestic slavery; seventhly, that a colonial chaplain should be appointed, and natives induced to send their sons to be educated at the schools; eighthly, that an officer should be appointed to administer intestate estates, and attend to the financial affairs of the settlements; ninthly, that the co-operation of the Dutch and Danish Governments should be obtained in an arrangement for licensing canoes, which were considered to afford facilities for slaving; and lastly, the increase of the military, and the improvement of their condition.

850. Will you now be good enough to state in the same order what has been done under each of those heads of recommendation?—Number 1 has been carried out fully. With regard to No. 2, Winnebah only has been re-occupied, and no other forts have been built or re-constructed, though we have acquired some other forts from the Danish Government. With respect to recommendation No. 3, coloured men are employed on all possible occasions in the public service; there is no number of Europeans inured to the climate who are available for the purpose. No. 4 has been carried out as recommended. No. 5 has been made a subject of agreement as recommended. With regard to No. 6, our efforts have not succeeded in abolishing domestic slavery in the native territory, though something has been done to improve the condition of the domestic slave. Under No. 7, a colonial chaplain has been appointed. Under No. 8, an officer has been appointed to administer intestate estates, and to attend to the financial affairs of the settlements. As to No. 9, it does not appear that the proposed arrangement for licensing canoes was ever effected, nor would it in the present day be of any advantage. As to the tenth recommendation, the military force has been increased, and their condition improved.

851. Now to recur to one or two of those points; and first with regard to the judicial assessor. I think that the recommendation of the Committee of 1842 was that though the judicial establishment over British subjects at the forts was satisfactory, yet that the very indeterminate jurisdiction assumed over the natives in the neighbourhood of the forts was more unsatisfactory, and required more definition through a distinct officer?—Yes.

852. And this judicial assessor is the officer intended?—He is.

853. Whose business is to superintend the magistracy in their jurisdiction over the natives?—It is so; and also to administer justice in the

highest court before which the natives can be brought.

854. There is an appeal to him from the British magistrates in native affairs?—Yes, there is; and all but minor cases are referred by the magistrates to him.

855. Where does he reside?—At present at Cape Coast.

856. Does he go a sort of circuit?—He does.

857. Will you describe his office a little more minutely?—The office was originally created in December 1843, in consequence of the recommendation of the Committee of 1842, and Mr. Maclean was appointed (by a warrant) Government assessor, and from that time to the present there has always been an officer who administers justice agreeably to British law, in the supreme court of the Colony to British subjects or persons committing offences on British territory. The same officer also sits in a different court and administers justice to the natives.

858. Was the office created under an Order in Council of 1844, which Order in Council first appointed the Gold Coast as a place for trials?—It did so.

859. At the same time was there not a distinct judicial body, appointed for the forts themselves at the Gold Coast on the occasion of its separation from Sierra Leone?—The Charter of 1850 was the first official document that was issued after the date of 1844.

860. Was 1850 the date of the first separation of the Government of the Gold Coast from Sierra Leone?—It was so.

861. The judicial establishment then consists now, and has done since the year 1850, of a Chief Justice, Queen's Advocate, Justices of the Peace, and the four Commandants who act as magistrates at the posts of their government?—It consists at present of those officers, but the appointment of the Queen's Advocate is more recent than the others.

862. What was the date of the appointment of the Queen's Advocate?—I am not certain; I believe it was in 1861.

863. What does that office of Queen's Advocate mean?—He is a Crown officer.

864. A public prosecutor?—Yes; an attorney-general.

865. Are those commandants in any way specially qualified to act as magistrates?—Not necessarily. In the paucity of respectable persons, the Government is compelled to appoint military officers in many instances.

866. With regard to the jurisdiction maintained over the natives, what is supposed to be the law under which that jurisdiction is maintained?—An agreement with the natives, called a bond, which was entered into in March 1844, by which they agree that crimes and offences may be tried by a judicial officer of the Queen in concert with the chief of the district, moulding native rules and customs to English principles.

867. Is that the agreement which you referred to under the fifth head of the recommendations?—It is.

868. With whom does this moulding of the British law to suit the native customs rest?—Principally with the judicial assessor.

869. Who are the magistrates that act under him?—They are chiefly the commandants.

870. They can exercise both jurisdiction over British subjects at the forts under British law, and over natives under this mixed law, of which

the appeal is to the British assessor?—They do so in the same manner as he does.

871. Can you state at all whether the superintendence of the judicial assessor has resulted in a uniform system of law administered by those four commandants over the natives?—I fear that the numerous changes which have taken place among the commandants has probably prevented any very great uniformity in the nature of their decisions.

872. Who are the natives who are subject to this jurisdiction?—The inhabitants of the protected territory.

873. Can you state at all how many tribes the Protectorate includes?—The principal tribes are the Denkeras, the Wassaws, the Assins, the Akims, the Aquapims, and the Fantees.

874. Are those tribes independent of each other?—They are so.

875. Is there no superior over them but the British Government, so far as that is a superior over them?—The tribes that I have named are all upon an equality.

876. Is there any claim of right over them on the part of the kingdom of Ashantee?—There is no claim now on the part of the kingdom of Ashantee over any of the tribes occupying the Protectorate.

877. What is the nature of the boundary between this Protectorate and the kingdom of Ashantee: is there any definition of that boundary in any document?—The River Prah is the boundary between the protected territory and the kingdom of Ashantee, in that part immediately north of the Cape Coast.

878. Dividing Assin from Ashantee?—Yes, and other tribes as well.

879. By your map, there does not appear to be any natural boundary except at that point?—The only boundary with which we are acquainted is the River Prah.

880. What, then, constitutes the boundary over the rest of the Protectorate to the north?—We know so little of the interior of the country, that I am unable to say. The natives themselves, no doubt, are fully aware of what constitutes the boundaries between their respective countries.

881. Is there an equally definite boundary towards the east against Dahomey?—There is no doubt a definite boundary, but I do not believe it can be defined by us; it is usual to speak of the Volta as the eastern boundary, but this is not strictly correct; we have some territory acquired from the Dañes to the east of the Volta.

882. In the whole of this district there are no other Powers claiming any rights of territory but the English and Dutch, are there?—From Assinee to Quittah the English and Dutch alone claim any right to territory.

883. The English claiming as territory only a gun-range around their four forts, and the Dutch claiming as territory a somewhat larger extent round their forts?—The extent of territory claimed by the British Government at the Gold Coast has never been distinctly defined; it is sometimes spoken of as the ground on which the forts are situated, and at other times it is said to extend to a cannon-shot from them.

884. Your history of the Protectorate seems to date its origin from our first protection of the Fantees against the Ashantees in the year 1807, does it not?—It is so.

885. It appears from your report, that our first treaty with Ashantee was in the year 1819, just before the Crown assumed the Government

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from the African Company; the second treaty in 1822, by the Crown a year after its assumption of the Government, and both those treaties being ended by war in the year 1824; the ruling treaty now is of the date of 1831, is it not?—It is so.

886. That is subsequently to the Ashantee War, and entered into by the Company's superintendent, Mr. Maclean, and the Ashantee Government?—That is so; I ought to state that no treaties were entered into between the years 1817 and 1831; treaties were proposed, but not signed.

887. Can you state to the Committee summarily the main points in the Treaty of 1831, which is now the ruling treaty between the British Government and the King of Ashantee?—It was agreed between the King of England and the King of Ashantee, and the chiefs of what is now the protected territory; that in order to prevent all quarrels in future, and for the protection of lawful commerce, the ports should be open to all persons engaged in lawful traffic, and any persons molesting them in any way should be liable to punishment. Panyarding or kidnapping, denouncing or swearing (native practices which are considered particularly injurious), were strictly forbidden, and persons were liable to be punished for them; and as the King of Ashantee had renounced all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkara, Assin, and others formerly his subjects, so these parties were prohibited from insulting their former master in any way, such conduct being calculated to produce quarrels; and all palavers were to be decided in the manner mentioned in the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to. Those terms and conditions of peace, it is understood, were the terms agreed to in the year 1827; by which terms the King of Ashantee distinctly renounced his right over nations in alliance with Great Britain, and acknowledged their independence. It was agreed that in case any of the parties to those articles committed an act of aggression, complaint thereof should be made to the British Governor, who would adjudge satisfaction; that if any of the allied Kings or chiefs should be the aggressors, and should refuse to abide by the Governor's decision, they should be excluded from the Confederacy; and in the event of the Ashantees becoming the aggressors, and refusing to abide by the Governor's decision, then the sum of money lodged in Cape Coast Castle by them as security for their good behaviour should be forfeited. Hostages were also to be sent by the King of Ashantee, as additional security. I think that the Treaty of 1831 and the terms of 1827 must be construed as one document.

888. There were then three parties to the treaty, namely, the British Government, the King of Ashantee, and the natives now constituting the protected tribes?—Yes.

889. The English Government engaging to keep peace among them all; to prevent the King of Ashantee from aggressing upon the chiefs, and to prevent the chiefs from attacking the King of Ashantee, and to prevent the chiefs from quarrelling?—There was no special engagement on the part of the British Government; the three parties entered mutually into the same engagements, only the British Government was to be the referee in case of dispute.

890. You seem, in the second paragraph, at the 14th page of your report, to express an opinion that this treaty did not promise, on the part of the British Government, protection to the natives

against the King of Ashantee; but in the next paragraph you seem to make an exception to that opinion, in saying that there was no stipulation prior to 1852. Will you explain to the Committee what you refer to in the Treaty of 1852?—The Treaty of 1831, with the terms and conditions of the Treaty of 1827, formed until 1852, together with the Bond of 1844, the only document which defined the position of the British Government and the protected tribes. In the year 1852 a fresh engagement was entered into by the Governor of the Gold Coast, at a general meeting of the chiefs and headmen of the towns and districts on the Gold Coast under British protection, and it was resolved that this meeting constituted itself into a Legislative Assembly, with power to enact laws for the better government of those countries; and, in the third paragraph of this document (the Poll-Tax Ordinance) it is stated that this Legislative Assembly, having taken into consideration the advantages which the chiefs and natives derive from the protection afforded them by Her Majesty's Government, consider it reasonable that the natives should contribute to the support of the Government.

891. In what sense is this agreement a legal ordinance?—It was so made, probably, to give it additional validity.

892. Do you mean that the agreement to which you have alluded, and which was signed by the several chiefs, was afterwards made a local ordinance, and adopted bodily by the Legislature?—It appears by my copy of the ordinances of the Gold Coast, that it was formally adopted as a legal ordinance of the settlements.

893. Can you state, from your knowledge, whether an ordinance of that description, binding as you think to a certain extent Her Majesty's Government, at home, either received any approval before its passing, or any sanction subsequent to its passing from the Home Government?—It has certainly received the sanction of the Home Government. It is, however, doubtful whether, although called an ordinance, it did not pass the Legislative Council with the usual formalities.

894. Is the sanction of the Home Government necessary to give authority to all local ordinances?—The sanction of not only the Government but of the Crown is necessary; they come into force immediately that they are passed, but they are subject afterwards to confirmation.

895. To what extent, then, do you consider that the mere reference made in the third clause of that ordinance to prior relations has constituted any obligation on the British Government to protect the natives?—I consider that it might fairly be questioned whether by the payment of a tax in return for protection they have not entitled themselves to more protection than I conceive it was contemplated they should receive by the existing treaties.

896. Do you conceive that the tax in that ordinance having been apparently consented to in return or in consideration for the protection, implied that the promise of protection must have ceased with the cession of the tax?—I believe that no protection was promised, and that none need ever have been afforded to the native tribes prior to 1852; but I think it is open to question whether, when the Local Government called upon the people to raise a tax, and alleged as the plea for doing so that they received protection from the Government, they were not fairly entitled to

some more protection than they could claim under the treaties.

897. Do you know whether that poll-tax was expressly demanded by the Government to supply a deficiency of revenue, owing to the expenditure in war?—I do not; I believe that the poll-tax was introduced at the suggestion of Lord Grey.

898. It was part of the experiment that Lord Grey was making at that time in the introduction of direct taxation among the settlements on the African coast?—So I understand.

899. I observe that Lord Grey at the same time expresses an opinion that the Protectorate then had obtained for the British Government the cordial support of the tribes, as shown when Governor Winniett advanced against the Chief of Apollonia supported by no less than 5,000 natives; do you suppose we may consider that there is the same cordial support to the British Government by the tribes of the Protectorate now?—The support which the tribes may be disposed to give to the British Government will generally be found to depend on the feelings they entertain for the local administration at the time.

900. You are anxious to postpone any evidence on the Ashantee War in 1863 until after Governor Pine's evidence has been given; but will you inform the Committee now whether you think that the acts of the tribes of the Protectorate during that war, and from time to time to the commencement of the year 1863, showed the same cordial support to the British Government in that year which Lord Grey considered to exist in 1852?—I think it showed the same cordial dislike to the Ashantees, and the same readiness to go to war which you may always expect to find among the natives of that country.

901. I suppose you consider that the Protectorate is not only useful to the tribes as keeping peace among them, but to some extent useful to the British establishments on the coast as a barrier against the King of Ashantee?—I do.

902. Will you state generally to the Committee what those forts consist of in the way of buildings?—Yes. Cape Coast Castle is a building of considerable size, accommodating about 300 men and a large proportion of officers, and the various stores and places requisite for the accommodation of troops.

903. In fact, a residence for the Governor, a barrack for troops, and besides that, I suppose a prison?—It is no longer a residence for the Governor; the Governor has left it; it is now occupied solely by the military.

904. Where does the Governor live?—The Governor and all the civil establishments reside in hired houses in the town.

905. Is there a large town around Cape Coast Castle?—No; there is a native town, but not a large one.

906. How long is it since the Governor went from the fort to reside in the town?—Within the last two years.

907. Why did he leave the fort?—In consequence of the increase of the military force.

908. Then is his former residence turned into barracks?—His former residence was simply a suite of rooms in the same building which was also occupied by the officers' quarters.

909. Is there a prison within the fort?—There is no civil prison within the fort; the fort is solely occupied by the military; there is a place of confinement for soldiers.

910. And is there an hospital?—The military hospital is in a hired building.

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911. Is the fort in its present condition capable of resisting anything like a formidable attack?—It is capable of resisting effectually any native attack.

912. It was actually besieged in the year 1824 by the Ashantees, was it not?—It may be more properly said to have been invested; they came round it.

913. Are the other forts capable of resisting the most formidable attack that is likely to be brought against them?—Any attack by the natives, unquestionably they are.

914. Are they in a pretty good state of repair?—With the exception of the fort at Accra, they are in good order. Both the English and Danish forts at Accra have been shattered to pieces by earthquakes.

915. In what year did the earthquakes take place?—In the year 1863, and those forts have not been repaired since.

916. Is the general understanding of the native tribes the same now as that which I see was given in evidence in 1842, namely, that they understand the forts to belong to the English and the country to belong to them?—That is the general understanding, although it appears that at Cape Coast Castle the Local Government has exercised from time to time within the last 45 years a power of granting to persons portions of unappropriated land in the town of Cape Coast, and this right is now acknowledged by the chiefs; but they object to its being understood to carry with it any right to exercise jurisdiction.

917. How far does the town extend round the fort?—Not more than 700 or 800 yards.

918. Are there towns around the other forts?—There are.

919. And is the same right claimed by the British Government over these towns?—No, nor has it been exercised.

920. Is it not the fact, that by certain Colonial Office instructions it is understood that the British territory reaches to the extent of a gun-range round all the forts?—It has been so said, but those instructions have not been acted on.

921. Do you think it would be advisable that the extent of the British territories should be better defined?—I see few advantages likely to result from such a measure, and I think that it might be attended with considerable inconvenience.

922. I observe in your statement of exports the value has declined from £200,000 to £53,000, probably in consequence of the Ashantee war, but in the Returns before the last Committee, I see that the exports are stated at £194,000. Therefore, comparing the exports of 1839 with the highest value in your table, it does not appear that in the last 25 years there has been any great development of trade in the Gold Coast?—There does not.

923. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] I find by Dr. Madden's report, that in the year 1840 the exports of the Gold Coast amounted to the value of £325,000, and the imports to the value of £423,000; how do you explain the very great decline in the trade which has since occurred?—I have no means of accounting for that.

924. *Chairman*.] The wars may account for the fluctuations of trade, but taking the utmost extent of time from the first returns to the last, we see no apparent development of trade, do we?—We do not.

925. Is the export of one of the items, namely gold, in any degree increasing?—The export of gold has been diminishing.

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926. In

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926. In your statement of the revenue of the Gold Coast, what is the meaning of the fluctuations in the amount of the Parliamentary grant?—The Parliamentary grant is 4,000*l.* a year.

927. But it appears in your table that the grants vary; it was 2,943 *l.* in 1860, and 4,583 *l.* in 1863; how do you account for that?—The absence on leave of officers who only received half-salary during that period is perhaps one cause; the average of five years is not far short of the amount allowed.

928. The poll-tax, which was the first attempt at direct taxation by Lord Grey, appears to have rapidly fallen off, and I believe has finally ceased?—Yes, since 1861.

929. Lord Grey's estimate in the year 1852 was that it would raise a revenue of 20,000*l.* a year; but the highest sum that has ever been raised has been 7,500 *l.* has it not?—Yes.

930. Has not Governor Pine recently attempted the imposition of a similar tax though not a poll-tax?—An ordinance has been recently passed by the Local Government (which has not yet been confirmed by the Government at home) prohibiting the sale of wine or spirits, wholesale or retail, until a license has been taken out.

931. Was the opposition to this license on the ground that the natives consider themselves (as not being subjects) free from taxation?—The natives at first made great objections to the tax, on the plea that its operations extended to a distance of two miles inland from the seaboard, in fact, over a country in which we had no right to impose taxation.

932. Upon what extent of territory was the new tax attempted to be levied?—The Ordinance provided for its being levied over the whole of the British possessions, and to a distance of two miles inland.

933. Then the natives objected to those licenses on the ground that they had not given their consent, and that without their consent they could not be taxed by the British Government, to which they are not subject?—It was so; but they appear to have recently withdrawn their objections, and I understand that the tax is being enforced without any difficulty.

934. Lord Stanley.] Is the taxing forced over the whole extent of the Protectorate?—No.

935. Chairman.] How far does it extend?—By the 14th clause of the Ordinance it is said, that the word "possessions" in the Ordinance shall be taken to mean the sea-board, from the most western portion of the district of Appollonia, south-east as far as the Fort of Quittah, and two miles inland from the said sea-board, save and except His Netherlands Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast.

936. Lord Stanley.] I understood you in your former evidence to say that in the poll-tax ordinance it was expressly stated that the natives were to pay it in return for protection afforded, but that as they had refused to pay that tax, the claim upon us for protection became null and void; now, let me ask you whether according to that reasoning it does not follow that wherever any tax is now being levied there we have incurred an obligation to afford protection?—I think that this may be inferred.

937. Mr. Seymour.] Where we claim a right on the sea-board do we claim it to all the seaboard, except what is occupied by the Dutch?—It is so stated in the body of the report.

938. Do we claim as our territory the extent of

territory over which that license duty is levied?—We have never done so.

939. Chairman.] If any goods are imported at any point except the forts, do we claim duties upon such imports?—We claim duties on goods landed on any portion of the sea-board which is British territory, and it is understood and allowed by the natives that whatever portion of the sea-board is not Dutch is British territory.

940. Then, what is the definition of the sea-board; how far inland do we claim?—Simply the beach.

941. Are there any goods, in fact, imported on this coast at any points which are not Dutch or English forts, paying duties to the English?—Goods are not usually landed except at places where trade is carried on, and those are the sites of the forts; but if goods were to be landed on any other part of the beach with the sanction of the Customs' authorities, they would be equally liable to the payment of the duties.

942. But when you say that they would be equally liable to the payment of the duties, do you suppose that any goods are so landed as to escape paying the duties?—No; there is believed to be very little smuggling.

943. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] The landing of goods at any points of the coast, except the forts, would be treated as a breach of the revenue laws and treated accordingly, I suppose?—Certainly.

944. Chairman.] You state in your report that the Dutch imposing no duties on imports keeps down our power of raising a revenue in the same way?—It does so.

945. Are the Dutch Governments on this coast generally friendly to the English?—I believe that they have always been on very good terms.

946. What relation did they assume in the Ashantee war in 1863?—They did not appear disposed to take part in a quarrel in which they considered that they had no interest, and which might involve them in serious difficulties; but I am not aware that they exhibited any actual unfriendliness, though they, no doubt, thought more of their own interest than they did of ours.

947. In the earlier Ashantee war the Dutch favoured the Ashantees against the Fantees, who were protected by the English; was not that so?—It is difficult to state exactly what were the relations between the European nations occupying the coast and the different native tribes; but it is quite certain that they were very seldom in accord with one another.

948. Have you not on three several occasions been yourself to the Hague on negotiations to obtain better relations between the Dutch Government and the English Government on the coast?—I have been on three different occasions to the Hague, and once to Paris, to assist the Ambassador and Ministers in attempts to induce the French and Dutch Governments to concur with the British Government in an arrangement for the imposition of a system of duties in their possessions on the Gold Coast.

949. Has there been any result from those negotiations?—No.

950. Did I understand you to state that the recommendation of the Committee of 1842 that there should be more co-operation between the Dutch and English in preventing canoes plying around the coast, giving facilities to the slave trade, have, to a certain extent, been carried out?—No; I stated that it had not been carried out, and that it did not appear to be considered necessary. It

is not carried out, at all events; and I should say that it is not now necessary.

951. Do you mean by that you suppose there are no canoes so plying round the coast, and giving facilities to the slave trade?—I feel satisfied that there are none.

952. Your statement of the military on the Gold Coast as being a force of eight companies represents the increase made in the regular force in consequence of the recommendations of the Committee of 1842, does it not?—It represents the increase consequent upon the recommendations of the Committee, and also a far larger increase consequent on the recent quarrel with the Ashantees.

953. Can you state what was the force before 1842 at the Gold Coast?—For many years it was about 300.

954. And it has been raised to 800?—Yes, recently, for a temporary purpose; but part of the 800 acres were attached to Lagos.

955. Is it not the fact that when those forces were marched towards the Ashantees in the year 1863, the forts were garrisoned by the squadron?—It is so.

956. I think the recommendation of the Committee of 1842 was that the militia might be dispensed with; has that recommendation been carried out?—It has been.

957. What has become of the Gold Coast Artillery?—The Gold Coast Artillery was not militia, it was part of the regular army; it was done away with the other day, and another regiment of black troops raised in its place. Some militia and volunteers were raised for special service by the Governor during the Ashantee war, but I believe that they are not at present embodied or called out for training.

958. What control has the Civil Governor over the military in time of war?—By the Colonial Office instructions it is laid down that if the government of a Colony be administered by a Civil Governor, it is his duty, except in the case of invasion or attack by a foreign enemy, to issue to the officer in command of the forces within the Colony orders for their march and distribution, for the formation and march of detachments, and generally for such military service as the safety and welfare of the Colony may appear to him to require; that in the event of the Colony being invaded or assailed by a foreign enemy, the officer in command of Her Majesty's land forces assumes the entire military authority and command over the troops.

959. At such a period as you just named the Civil Governor has no forces under his control but the police?—It is so.

960. What is the police force on the Gold Coast?—I believe they are only about 30 or 40 policemen on the Gold Coast.

961. The Gold Coast Artillery was part of the regular force, you say?—Yes.

962. Were they West Indians?—They were natives of the Gold Coast.

963. Were they paid by the Colony?—No.

964. By the British Treasury?—Yes.

965. Lord Stanley.] The officers were all white men, of course?—Exactly, as in any other colonial corps.

966. Do you think it generally inadvisable to employ natives in forces upon the spot?—I think it would be far better to employ the natives of one locality as police or soldiers in another.

967. Do you mean to say that the natives around one fort might be employed more safely

at another fort?—I would go further than that.

968. How far would you go?—I would employ the natives of one country in another.

969. Mr. Cardwell.] Houssas from Lagos, for instance, might be distributed all over the Gold Coast?—They would be very valuable all over the Coast, and the Gold Coast natives might be very useful at the Gambia.

970. Chairman.] Do you suppose that the malpractices in consequence of which the Committee of 1842 made its inquiries, namely, those of British merchants supplying slave traders, have ceased?—I believe that they have entirely ceased.

971. The slave trade being unknown according to your report, such practices could only take place with regard to the slave trade outside our territories?—Yes, on the sea-board outside our territories.

972. Do you believe that there are any cases which might be described as British merchants in any way aiding or abetting the slave trade?—Not British merchants residing under British jurisdiction.

973. Do you conceive that the resumption by the Crown of the government put an end to those malpractices?—I believe it did.

974. When you speak of slave trade outside British territories how near do you suppose such slave trade exists in the neighbourhood of the Gold Coast?—The nearest spot from which slaves are exported is the sea coast of Dahomey, which approaches very close to our easternmost possession on the Gold Coast, and our most western possession at Lagos.

975. Do you suppose that there is no slave trade on the west side of the Gold Coast towards the Ivory Coast?—I do not believe that slaves are exported to the westward anywhere nearer than to the north of Sierra Leone.

976. At the River Assinee, which is the western boundary of the Gold Coast, there are French settlements, are there not?—Yes, Assinee and Bassam.

977. Do you believe that any trade goes on there in the export of slaves about the River Assinee?—I have no reason to suppose that slaves are exported from there. All export of natives has ceased.

978. Should you say that the same observation applies to the whole of the Ivory Coast?—I believe that can be said.

979. Lord Stanley.] To what extent are the inland boundaries of the Protectorate defined?—The only spot in which I know that they are defined is by the River Prai to the north of Cape Coast, which is the acknowledged boundary between the Ashantees and the Protectorate.

980. In all other parts is that boundary vague and unsettled as far as our knowledge goes?—It is so.

981. In the map accompanying your report I see certain States inhabited by native tribes, marked off with well-defined boundaries; to what extent have those boundaries any foundation in actual fact?—The only boundaries defined in the map accompanying my report are those between the Wassaws, the Assins, and the Pantees, and those are only intended to convey a general idea of the territory occupied by each.

982. You state in your report, that the protected tribes form a barrier between the Colony on the one hand, and the warlike kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashantee on the other; when you

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are speaking of a barrier, do you mean that they are capable of defending themselves against those two kingdoms, or do you mean that they would expect us to defend them, and that whatever suffering might arise from a war would first fall upon us?—I mean that they form a barrier since they remove the Ashantees from our immediate neighbourhood, and in that sense only.

983. The drift of my question is this: suppose an Ashantee army to march down towards the coast, attacking one after another those protected tribes only, leaving the British territory and the British settlements untouched, and announcing they had no quarrel with Great Britain, do you think that we should be morally justified under the actual state of our relations with those tribes in standing by and looking on without interfering?—I cannot conceive that such a result would ever be possible; but if it did happen, I think that we should not be justified in standing by and looking on; I may repeat, however, that such a state of things as is contemplated by the question would be almost impossible.

984. Then, there is a moral claim to protection in a certain case which you say is, if not impossible, extremely improbable?—I believe there is a moral claim, in a certain case, which I think almost impossible.

985. Will you have the goodness to say why you consider so extremely improbable that event of an attack of the Ashantees upon the protected tribes only, without the contemplation of any attack upon the British?—They look upon the tribes and ourselves as identified: they look upon Great Britain as the greater power, and upon the others as the lesser power; and they believe that the past history of our relations with the country justifies them in thinking that we should in some form or shape come to the assistance of the protected tribes, since it was through the help which we gave to them that they were originally relieved from the bondage under which they were formerly placed to the Ashantees.

986. We have raised those tribes into a state of semi-independence, and the Ashantees look upon them as dependent upon us, and under those circumstances you consider that they have a moral claim upon us for our protection; so that is what I am to gather from your answer?—Those tribes were originally independent; the Ashantees enslaved them; they rebelled against the Ashantees; we did not at first assist them, and held ourselves off from actively interfering in their disputes; but it became necessary to take a part in it for our own interests; we therefore assisted them to gain their independence, and placed them in the semi-independent position which they now occupy.

987. Then this Protectorate, which you so very well define, extends over about 300 miles of coast, and to the depth of about 80 miles inland, is not that so?—It is usually spoken of as about 300 miles in length and 80 miles in depth.

988. It is stated in your report that the revenue of the Gold Coast is 10,500*l.*, and of that amount salaries absorb 7,500*l.*?—Yes.

989. Do you think there is any probability that a reduction might take place in those salaries, considering the unpopular nature of the service on that coast?—I hold that the estimate of the expenditure of every Colony should be based upon the probable revenue which it could raise during the year.

990. Do you mean that it should be made self-supporting as far as the civil expenditure is con-

cerned?—Not that, because in the revenue is included whatever amount it may receive from any source whatever; for instance, the term revenue, applied to a Colony, is held to include all funds which are raised on the spot, and any which are contributed from imperial resources.

991. Lord Stanley.] But I am looking at it from another point of view, and considering what amount of charge would fall on the Imperial Government; do you consider that if it were found necessary or expedient to cut down the contribution from the Home Government, the civil expenditure of the Colony could be materially reduced?—I do not consider that the Colony could at present maintain the requisite establishments if the Imperial grant of 4,000*l.* were withdrawn.

992. I understand you to say in your report that in consequence of the Dutch possessions being so intermixed with ours, and there being no agreement between them and us with respect to Customs, it is impossible to raise anything beyond a very insignificant amount of Customs duties?—We are very much hampered in raising the revenue in consequence of the Dutch declining to join with us in the imposition of proper duties. The present duties on imports into the Colony are 2 per cent. If the Dutch were to join us, the mercantile body are of opinion that those duties might be raised to 4 per cent., and heavier specific duties imposed upon arms, gunpowder, spirits, tobacco, and articles which are either luxuries or articles which it is inexpedient to encourage the introduction of into the Colony, and they are of opinion that this additional revenue might be raised without the trade of the Colony being injured.

993. Is there any navigable river running to a considerable distance into the interior?—There is no navigable river whatever within the limits of the Gold Coast.

994. Are there any considerable improvements going on in the neighbourhood of the forts, such as road-making, clearing the bush, and extending cultivation?—On the contrary, I think, in consequence of the recent war, those matters are in a worse condition than is ordinarily the case.

995. You state in your report that there is no considerable amount of oil obtained from this coast?—There is no considerable amount of oil.

996. Do you know if any amount of cotton has been raised there?—Some cotton is being grown; I do not know if any has been exported.

997. I believe the climate is as unhealthy as that of Sierra Leone, is it not?—I believe there is very little difference between the climates of any of the African stations.

998. Is there anywhere along the coast, in the neighbourhood of the forts, high ground upon which stations might be established for sanitary purposes?—None. Accra, which was considered the most healthy, is now unfortunately subject to earthquakes.

999. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] I see that the Committee of 1842 reported that even the rough sort of justice that was administered to the natives by the President of the Council at that time did a considerable amount of good. Do you suppose that the creation of the judicial assessor, which took place in consequence of the recommendation of that Committee, has done still more good in the same way?—I believe it has.

1000. Do you believe that it has had the effect of controlling and humanising domestic slavery, and putting an end to the atrocious rites of Fetish, human sacrifices, and so on?—It has had

to a great extent the effect of putting an end to human sacrifice, although from time to time, at long intervals, cases do come to our knowledge; and, I believe, it has had a considerable effect in improving the condition of the domestic slave.

1001. It has checked the cruelty liable to be exercised by masters towards their slaves?—Yes: over a large extent of country.

1002. Are cases brought for adjudication before the judicial assessor from all parts, even from the most distant parts of the Protectorate?—Civil cases are not usually brought from a great distance; criminal cases are brought from any distance by the agency of the magistrates and the police, whenever they become aware of them. The natives do not themselves resort from a great distance for the settlement of disputes between themselves; but offences against the law are brought before the judicial assessor whenever the Governor is cognisant of them.

1003. Then, are the cases with which the judicial assessor deals generally brought before him by the magistrates and commandants?—The criminal cases are so.

1004. What is the ordinary nature of the civil cases which come before him as judicial assessor?—In the immediate neighbourhood of the forts cases of every description relating to land, houses, and property are brought before him.

1005. Cases arising between natives, I suppose?—Cases arising between natives. If a native feels that his case is a good and a sound one, and that he has a better chance of obtaining redress by appealing to the judicial assessor than by appealing to the Native Court, where heavy payment, amounting to bribes, have sometimes to be made, he will refer to the judicial assessor, by whom the case will be at once taken up.

1006. Are cases in which slavery is concerned, where a slave or a pawn prays for protection, often brought before the judicial assessor?—They are.

1007. Do the native chiefs who quarrel among themselves ever refer their disputes to the judicial assessor?—I cannot say, with certainty.

1008. You say that the commandants at the other forts act, under a commission, as magistrates?—They do.

1009. They have always been officers, have they not, of a Gold Coast corps, or of a West Indian regiment?—Not invariably; at one time, when the poll-tax was being paid, the Local Government was enabled to maintain surgeons for the benefit of the natives, and they acted in one or two instances as commandants.

1010. Have great difficulties been found on the Gold Coast in finding fit and proper persons to act as magistrates, or in other civil capacities?—The respectable population of the Gold Coast is so very limited that great difficulty has been experienced in finding persons, not merely qualified with sufficient legal knowledge, but qualified by their social position to fill those offices.

1011. And the revenues are so limited that there is great difficulty in procuring such persons from home?—The revenue is necessarily limited from causes already adverted to, and it has been still further reduced by wars and disturbances.

1012. Do you suppose that one cause of the failure of the poll-tax has been the impossibility of finding a sufficient number of proper agents to collect it?—I am inclined to think that the main cause of the failure of the poll-tax was the mode in which the funds were collected and administered in the earlier years of its existence.

1013. In what respect do you mean?—Great complaints were already made, even in the year 1854, of the mode of its collection, and also that it had been improperly appropriated; salaries having been paid out of it, and very little of it being devoted to the purposes which were specified in the agreement between the Local Government and the chiefs—charges which were not without foundation.

1014. Was that in consequence of the smallness of the revenue derived from other sources?—No: I believe that mistakes were made (not wilfully) in the administration of the funds, and that the best measures were not adopted for its collection, and this created a feeling of dissatisfaction against it on the part of the natives, who from that time have gradually ceased to pay it.

1015. Do you believe that if the poll-tax had been expended on purposes more acceptable to the natives, and in the districts within which it was raised, they would have continued to pay it?—I believe that had a different system been adopted, and had more care been taken to devote the tax to the purposes to which, by the agreement, it was to be appropriated, the natives would have continued to pay it.

1016. Was the poll-tax collected by officers of the Government directly from the natives, or through their respective chiefs?—The poll-tax was collected by officers appointed by the Local Government, independently of the chiefs; it was proposed to entrust the chiefs with the charge of its collection, but it was feared that this power might be made use of by them for the oppression of their people, and that they would collect in some cases a large amount of money, handing over what they thought sufficient to the Local Government, and therefore it was preferred to employ agents of the Government. But very great difficulty was experienced in obtaining proper collectors for the purpose—it was a choice of evils.

1017. Then, do you think that the Gold Coast Government, with its present revenues, could obtain a sufficient number of proper agents to collect a direct tax of this sort efficiently and honestly throughout the Protectorate?—I think that having once failed, it would be extremely difficult to revive the poll-tax. But I believe the natives to be conscious of the propriety of their contributing funds to be expended by the Local Government for their benefit, in the better administration of justice, and in furnishing them with schools and medical attendance.

1018. Of course, the imposition of such a tax tends, as far as it goes, to convert our Protectorate into a direct dominion?—As originally devised by Colonel Hill, it does not appear that this was intended; he called the chiefs together, and constituted with them a legislative assembly, which should have the power to enact laws for the government of the country; this was the origin of the idea of the poll-tax, and if any tax on the people be ever carried out, I conceive that it can only be effected in that manner, namely, with the consent and the direct co-operation of the chiefs themselves.

1019. But would not the collection of a direct tax throughout the Protectorate by agents of our Government, and its expenditure under the control of our Government, inevitably increase the exercise of our authority, and the amount of our responsibility?—Although the tax was originally levied by our agents, and expended under our sole authority, I do not think this course should

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have been followed. I believe that it would have been quite possible to collect the tax, and expend it with the concurrence of the chiefs, in a manner that would not increase our responsibilities.

120. Do you know what is the ordinary native idea of their relation to our Government?—The ordinary idea of most Africans is, that we are a people upon whom they lean. With the exception of the large kingdoms but very few tribes in Africa (in our neighbourhood at all events) are in a position to stand alone, and it is the custom of the smaller tribe to lean upon the larger; the relation does not necessarily imply that the stronger is bound at all hazards to support and protect the weaker, but a moral support is given, which is understood and is useful to the weaker power. Such material assistance is given in the case of native tribes as it may suit the interests of the greater power to afford.

121. But I want to compare the relations existing between our Government and the protected tribes at the Gold Coast with those which exist between our Government and the neighbouring tribes at Sierra Leone and the Gambia; one distinction, I suppose, is that, in the neighbourhood of the other settlements, there is no one great preponderating native power of whom the other tribes are in constant terror?—That is so.

122. But comparing the effect on the neighbouring tribes of our system at the Gambia and our system at the Gold Coast, what is your opinion upon that?—That at the Gambia and Sierra Leone we have, in the proximity of the settlements, numbers of independent tribes of various sizes who have no relation with each other, and who, unless we had entered into treaties with them had no relation with us, and who hold themselves therefore at liberty to treat our people exactly as the natives of the interior treat everybody who passes through their country, making them contribute to their benefit in any way they think proper. One advantage of the position which we occupy on the Gold Coast is, that without any sort of treaties the British trade is carried on freely and safely throughout the extent of the Protectorate; so far they may be said to be a people one with ourselves. But no such condition of affairs exists in any other part of the West African settlements. There is always a tendency on the part of other tribes to raise their hands against us.

123. Then do you believe that through the Protectorate we have exercised a wider influence for good at the Gold Coast than we have around other settlements?—Unquestionably; for their good and our own. In the other settlements we have exercised no direct influence for their good.

124. Do the natives of the Protectorate conceive this to be the relation between themselves and our Government, that they are to be protected by our Government in case of danger, and on the other hand, that they are (within certain limits) to act as they are commanded by our Government?—I do not believe that the chiefs of the Protectorate, as a body, know anything about their relation with us. I do not believe that the chiefs, by whom all the arrangements are made, entertain any impression that they have the right to call upon us to protect them with our forces in the event of their being attacked by the Ashantees.

125. Then why should they think themselves bound to render any obedience to our Government?—Partly because we did them good service in helping to rescue them from slavery, and

partly because of the custom which prevails universally of the weaker power leaning on the greater; they lean upon us in preference to leaning upon the Ashantees. I believe that to be the feeling which maintains the position which we occupy to each other.

126. But how can the weaker power lean on the stronger power, unless the stronger protect the weaker against its enemies?—I can only say that such is not necessarily the custom in Africa; and those relations are found universally to prevail.

127. Then as the protected tribes lean upon us, does not it mean that they expect us to protect them against their enemies?—No.

128. Mr. Cardwell.] When in the course of last year the Governor, acting upon instructions from home, endeavoured to bring the chiefs to a united system of defence, by giving advice and supplying them with military stores and so on, was that in harmony with your notion of their expectations?—In exact harmony.

129. Then may I collect your opinion to be that what they expect is, not that we shall take the whole or even the principal burden of their defence, but that (they sustaining that burden) we shall give them such advice and such assistance as may render their defence effective?—I should hardly like to say how their expectations may have been modified by our recent course of action; but I am sure that that is more than they would expect to obtain where they had similar relations with any other native tribes.

130. Is that the expectation that you mean to point out when you say that they lean upon us as they would lean upon any other powerful tribe in their neighbourhood?—I mean that they lean upon us in expectation of deriving a benefit from us. I think if the chiefs were all summoned together, they could make no clear and defined statement of their expectations.

131. But at all events they would not exceed what I put to you?—I am sure that, if they were told that that was our interpretation of it, they would be perfectly satisfied.

132. Mr. Chichester Portescue.] Supposing, when the protected tribes were invaded and overrun by the Ashantees in 1863, and threatened in 1864, that we had taken no steps for their protection, would they have considered that a breach of our engagement with them?—I very much question whether the Government would have heard anything on the subject from them, unless they had been put up to it by Europeans. I do not believe that any representation would have been made by the chiefs who suffered from invasion and from the Ashantees, had the Ashantees not done more than they did, and had we taken no steps in the matter.

133. Do you suppose that the habit of leaning upon us, as you express it, has diminished the self-reliance or the warlike character of those protected tribes?—Not in the least; they are very ready for a fight.

134. And as well able to defend themselves against the Ashantees as they were formerly, I suppose?—Possibly more so, in consequence of their being better armed, compared with the Ashantees, than they were in former days. That, however, is quite a matter of opinion.

135. And they having, through our overruling power, been long free from desolating wars?—Yes; that, no doubt, would have some effect.

136. I suppose the tribes within our Protectorate, for many years past, have been more free from

from war than perhaps any other African tribes that could be mentioned?—Yes; than any others with whom we have been brought into contact.

1037. They enjoying a state of peace almost unknown in Africa?—I think so.

1038. I suppose, if one compared the towns on the Gold Coast with our own town of Freetown, and Bathurst, the comparison would be very unfavourable to the towns on the Gold Coast?—It would be so.

1039. That is to say, that our own towns present a degree of order and civilization which is not to be found in such native towns on the Gold Coast as Cape Coast or Accra?—That is my meaning.

1040. You have said that there was no navigable river on the Gold Coast; is the Volta navigable to any extent?—Not for shipping; there are falls some distance up it.

1041. Is the Volta important in a commercial point of view?—It is not very important in a commercial point of view.

1042. I take it that our authority and influence on the Gold Coast is much less felt in the extreme eastern districts, in the neighbourhood of Volta, than in the other portions?—We have never had any possessions in the eastern district, except Prampram; until the acquisition of the Danish settlement we had less influence there than we had to the westward, nor have we much now.

1043. Do you think that, if those settlements are to be retained, that more attention should be paid to the Volta and its neighbourhood?—It has been supposed that slaves are brought down from the interior by way of the Volta, passed along the lagoon, and shipped from the sea coast of Dahomey. No proof exists of this; but it would no doubt be worth while to place a post of occupation (a few men would be sufficient) to watch the river at some distance up, and thus put a stop to such traffic if it were found. It would not be necessary to build a fort, or to go to any expense in buildings.

1044. What spot do you speak of?—A place called Sankey, above Kpong, has been mentioned as a very favourable site for that purpose.

1045. You deprecate in your report the idea of abandoning our settlements on the Gold Coast. In doing that, do you confine yourself to the British forts and settlements only, or do you include the Protectorate?—If the forts and settlements be maintained, I can see no reason why the Protectorate should not be retained.

1046. Do you mean to represent that the Protectorate need not involve us in heavier responsibilities than those in which we are involved by our treaties with native chiefs in the neighbourhood of the other settlements?—The Protectorate must involve us in greater responsibilities than those which are incurred by treaties in the other settlements; but I do not consider that it need involve us in any serious responsibilities; that it need lead to our engaging in any wars, or any heavy expense, for the protection of the people. I believe that a great deal of benefit may be done to them as long as we retain our position on the Gold Coast, without any loss to ourselves, or any risk.

1047. Sir Francis Baring.] You have stated that the tribes in the neighbourhood of the forts on the Gold Coast have enjoyed peace longer than most of the native tribes. Will you inform the Committee how long was Mr. Maclean at 0.39.

the head of that Government; 14 years, was it not?—Yes, about 14 years.

1048. During that time he managed to keep peace, did he not?—From the year 1831 to the year 1843 there was one, or there may have been two disturbances.

1049. Of any length of time?—I think that two expeditions were undertaken; there was one, certainly, against Apollonia, which was not successful. With those exceptions, peace was maintained during his administration.

1050. From that time until the present can you inform the Committee how many years' peace has been maintained?—In the 25 years that have elapsed, we have had one expedition against Apollonia, one quarrel with the natives of Danish Accra, and one threat of a war, but in which no hostilities took place with the Ashantees; and the recent hostilities with the Ashantees; that is as far as my memory serves me.

1051. Was the respect paid to the English name greater or less in the time of Mr. Maclean than it is now?—I fear that it was greater in Mr. Maclean's time.

1052. What is the expenditure on the colony at the present time?—Whilst the colony was under the administration of the merchants, from the years 1828 to 1843, 4,000 *l.* a year was allowed them, the same sum as is now granted by the Imperial Government.

1053. Did they tax the inhabitants, or was any other payments made at that time?—Yes, the duties were two per cent. on British imports, the same as now, and six per cent. on foreign, with extra duties on spirits.

1054. In what state was the trade at that time?—I think that it has been about the same for many years.

1055. What is the nature of the government of those chiefs in the neighbourhood of the forts?—I should say that they exercise as much authority over their people as their head men will allow them to do; it would be very difficult to define exactly their authority.

1056. Is the Government entirely vested in one chief, or is he checked to some extent?—Yes, by the others.

1057. And is he not, on certain occasions, obliged to call those head men together to obtain their assent?—He is compelled to consult them on many occasions.

1058. It is a sort of mitigated arbitrary power, is it not?—I should say that that would fairly represent its character.

1059. There has been a great deal of indistinctness about the law, the Protectorate, and so forth; but practically is there any grave inconvenience arising from the indefinite nature of the Protectorate and of the law itself?—The only inconvenience that I am aware of resulted on a recent occasion, when it was assumed that we had entered into engagements with tribes which bound us to march troops to their assistance when they were invaded.

1060. You mean the recent affair?—Yes.

1061. Mr. Forster.] Do you consider that the King of Dahomey threatened this protected territory as well as the King of Ashantee?—Not at all that I know of.

1062. Not along the north-eastern boundary?—I do not think he threatened it in any way.

1063. What do you think would be the effect of our withdrawing altogether from that coast; what do you think would happen in that case?—The first thing would be a very great outcry from

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all the merchants there, and the mercantile houses in England engaged in the trade.

1064. But what do you think would be the effect upon the natives?—I have little doubt that in the course of a few years they would become part of the Ashantee nation, and that the customs and practices of the Ashantees, the barbarous nature of which is perfectly notorious, would be universal throughout that extent of territory from which, through our agency, they have been banished.

1065. You are no doubt acquainted with the evidence given before the Committee of 1842 with respect to the enormous human sacrifices of the Ashantees; have you reason to believe that that practice continues?—Yes.

1066. Do you think that if the kingdom of the Ashantees was spread as far as the coasts, and these people were subdued by them, and there were still a demand for slaves for America, it would become a great slave-trading power?—I can see no reason why that should not take place.

1067. You consider that our withdrawal from this coast would lead to the probable conquest of this country by the King of the Ashantees, its subjection to the barbarous and bloody practices of the Ashantees, and probably to a large slave trade being carried on?—If any demand for slaves arose, I do not doubt that they would be at once exported to America; and I think our withdrawal would also lead to the Dutch leaving the settlement.

1068. Considering, as you do, that that would be the result of our total withdrawal, may I ask you what would be the result of our confining our jurisdiction entirely to the forts, and laying down the principle that we would not interfere or feel bound to keep peace or give protection outside the forts?—I think the first result would be the absorption of all the tribes on the Ashantee

border and the approximation of the Ashantees to our forts, with the revival of all those disturbances of which we read as taking place early in the history of the present century, and which led to our forming this Protectorate.

1069. Then you think that although the effect on trade would not be the same, yet the effect on the condition of the natives, of our adoption of a strictly non-intervening policy outside the forts would be much the same as if we withdrew altogether?—Yes; and the effect on trade would not be much less serious, since the wars that would ensue would soon put a stop to trade.

1070. I understand you to say you do not believe that the natives consider that they have a right to demand protection?—I do not.

1071. But, looking back to what we have done on that coast, what do you consider is the exact nature of any moral claim they may have on our Government; is it to give them protection, and to keep peace, and to preserve them from conquest by such kings as the King of Ashantee?—If the claim which they have upon us be measured by what we receive in return from them, it amounts to nothing; they make us no direct return; but the relation between us certainly secures peace and order in the countries bordering on our settlement, and the trade carried through them is therefore carried on in safety; but we do them great good in return for that (without raising any question of protection), because the ameliorated condition of things in those regions enables them to obtain real justice without any cost to themselves.

1072. Do you not think that our withdrawal from giving any kind of assistance to them would entirely destroy the influence of the British name on that coast?—I believe it would have that effect.

Lunæ, 3^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. William Edward Foster.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Marquis of Hartington.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.

The RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Colonel ORD, R.E., re-called; and further Examined.

1073. Mr. Seymour.] Do you think that the climate of the Gold Coast is worse than that of the West Indies?—Decidedly worse.

1074. You have no yellow fever, have you?—No, but it is known on other parts of the coast.

1075. It is not frequent, is it?—It is probably not more frequent than in the West Indies; we usually expect it once in seven years there.

1076. In what respects do you think that the climate is worse?—There is much greater liability to fever, and on the Gold Coast to dysentery, than is experienced in any of the West Indian colonies.

1077. Is that confined to the Coast, or does it extend to the interior?—I can only speak with certainty with regard to the Coast, but the liability to fever I believe extends as far inland as our acquaintance with the country.

1078. Can you account for the very great difference there has been in different years in the tables of mortality. I see that in 1859 they give 56.0; in 1860, 22.0, as the ratio of deaths per 1,000 men?—I cannot account for that.

1079. I see, according to that table which you have put in, that there is only a difference of three per 1,000 men between the mortality on the West African station and the mortality on the North American and West Indian stations?—That is as far as the navy is concerned.

1080. Will you now turn to the mortality of the black troops; that, again, varies immensely in those years, which were all of them years of peace, I believe?—Yes.

1081. In 1859, I see that the mortality was 16.89 per 1,000; in the next year 1860 it was 42.64 per 1,000 men, and in the next year it was 28.74; what is the reason of this immense variation?—Some years are proverbially much more unhealthy than others, both to whites and blacks. I cannot state the particular causes which created that great discrepancy in the years in question.

1082. But you consider on the whole that the climate of the Gold Coast is much worse than that of the West Indies, do you not?—Yes.

1083. Is the Gold Coast worse than the other settlements?—I consider that there is very little difference in the healthiness of the four settlements.

1084. Did you see at Cape Coast whether the fine old Portuguese tanks had been repaired?—
0.39.

They were repaired and cleaned out when I was at Cape Coast.

1085. For how many men is there good accommodation in the fort?—There is good accommodation for about 300 men.

1086. Not more than that?—No, not more than that; not good accommodation.

1087. How many men do you think should be kept at Cape Coast if the reductions in the military expenditure were made which you recommend?—I am not prepared to define exactly the proportions to be kept at Cape Coast and at the outposts, but I conceive that 300 regular troops would be a sufficient garrison for the Gold Coast.

1088. Then you could not reduce the military on the Gold Coast?—There are 800 altogether on the Gold Coast, and at Lagos.

1089. Do you mean that 300 men would be sufficient for the Gold Coast and Lagos?—It has been decided to withdraw the troops from Lagos.

1090. Then you think that you could not reduce the troops on the Gold Coast proper?—I think that the troops on the Gold Coast may be reduced from nearly 500, which was their strength at the date of my visit, to about 300.

1091. Would you substitute police for the regular troops which you withdrew?—About 300 men has for a considerable time been the regular force appropriated for the Gold Coast. I do not think that less than this number could with safety be appropriated; but, in addition, I consider that there should be an augmentation to the present strength of the police force. Contemplating a reduction of the present regular force of about 500 to one of 300. I consider that the police should be augmented.

1092. Would you have it a regularly trained military police, the same as in India?—I think that the Houssa force employed at Lagos is a very excellent description of force to employ for that purpose.

1093. In providing for the safety of the Gold Coast, what part would you make our auxiliaries take in the general defence of the settlement? Would it be possible to train them under the officers of the troops of the chiefs that are under our Protectorate?—I do not think that it would be necessary to train them to take any share in

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the defence of the settlement; but when occasion for their services arose, we could supply them with one or two European officers, and a very small proportion of non-commissioned officers to assist in organising them. I think that would be all that is requisite.

1094. You would not have them called out, or in any way trained?—I do not think it would be advisable.

1095. Have they any training themselves?—None, whatever.

1096. Do you think that Whydah ought to be re-occupied?—The re-occupation of Whydah would, I believe, be a powerful auxiliary to the operations of the squadron in the suppression of the slave trade on the sea coast of Dahomey.

1097. Would you attach Whydah to the Gold Coast?—My opinion is, that it should more properly be attached to Lagos.

1098. Is it the practice of the Dutch to carry slaves from their settlements for their troops in Java?—I am not able to state that the natives whom the Dutch train, and send to Java as soldiers, are procured by them as slaves.

1099. Are they not sent by the King of Ashantee to the Dutch settlement for exportation to Java?—I am not able to state that that is the fact.

1100. Is it not currently reported that that is the case?—It is so.

1101. Has there ever been any remonstrance on the part of our Government against this proceeding of the Dutch?—I do not believe that the fact has ever been established in such a way as would justify the interference of our Government.

1102. Do you think that those slaves or free Africans go in large numbers from the Dutch settlements?—No; it is believed that the proportion which they send to Java is very small, and they are brought back again when old and unable to perform service.

1103. What becomes of them then?—I believe that they are pensioned or provided for in the neighbourhood of Elmina.

1104. Is this an old system on the part of the Dutch?—So it is understood.

1105. Could you state to the Committee what the objects of your three missions to the Hague were?—To assist the ambassadors and the ministers in endeavouring to obtain the consent of the French and the Netherlands Governments to join with our own in imposing a reasonable scale of duties on imports into the possessions of the respective countries on the Gold Coast.

1106. What were the difficulties which led to those missions being unsuccessful?—The French Government declined to join in any such scheme, alleging that their merchants expected their trade to be protected and encouraged by the Government, and not hampered by duties. The Netherlands Government expressed a doubt of the soundness of the reasons which we alleged for recommending such a measure, and they declined to join in it. They proposed on one occasion an exchange of territory, and that the British Government should take all the sea coast and the Protectorate in the rear from the Sweet River (which divides Cape Coast from Elmina) to the eastward, the Dutch taking all the coast from the Sweet River to the westward, but it was found that some of the natives under British protection in rear of the western portion of the coast objected to be placed under Dutch protection, and the negotiations fell through.

1107. That is some of our protected territory?—Some of our protected territory.

1108. In what year was that?—The proposal was made in the year 1860.

1109. Was it a considerable portion of the protected territory that was proposed to be placed under the Dutch Government?—The whole of the protected territory in rear or to the north of the sea coast extending from the Sweet River to the Assinee.

1110. No further proposal was made, and that was rejected by our Government, was it not?—It was.

1111. And nothing more has been done, I suppose?—The Dutch Government were on one occasion sounded with regard to their disposition to part with their territories as the Danes had done in the year 1851, but they expressed no desire to concur in such an arrangement.

1112. Do you consider it very important that there should be some arrangement with regard to exchange of territory, or some agreement about Customs' duties between our Government and the Dutch?—I consider it very desirable that the settlement should be placed in such a position as to be able to raise a revenue, which the whole of the trading community thinks might be collected without any injury to commerce, and which would certainly be very useful; but, I fear, that it would be very difficult to effect any exchange of territory, which would allow of this being done.

1113. Is that on account of the indisposition of the protected States to be under the Dutch Government?—On account of their indisposition to quit our protection.

1114. Do you see any solution of the difficulties that stand in the way of an arrangement with the Dutch Government?—I see no fresh solution.

1115. So long as no arrangement is made with the Dutch, the colony can never be self-paying, I suppose?—I fear that there would be considerable difficulty in raising such a revenue as is desirable, though I am not prepared to say that the colony cannot raise a revenue sufficient for the support of its establishments, providing those establishments were re-organised.

1116. If you lay on heavy duties, it is merely throwing the trade into the hands of the Dutch, is it not?—I do not contemplate laying on any duties in the present position of affairs; it is impossible to do so.

1117. With regard to the license duty, will that work so long as the Dutch do not agree to it?—The license duty does not appear to be at present objected to by the persons who would be called upon to pay it; but it has as yet raised a very small amount, and I do not think it is likely to furnish any considerable addition to the revenue.

1118. Then, from what could a revenue be derived, in your opinion?—I see no prospect of increasing the revenue of the Gold Coast by any fiscal alteration. If the revenue cannot be raised, and the Imperial Government declines to contribute to the support of the colony, it must then reduce the cost of its establishment to meet its income.

1119. You appear to think that the success of levying any tax depends in a great degree upon the good choice by the Home Government of the Governors and officials?—That answer of mine had reference to the imposition of any tax upon the natives of the Protectorate, which can only legally be done with their concurrence.

1120. Does the Legislative Assembly still exist?—

exist?—There is a Legislative Council presided over by the Governor, by which all laws are passed.

1121. I mean that Legislative Assembly which Colonel Hill speaks of as established in the protected States?—The body, which Colonel Hill brought together and termed the Legislative Assembly of the chiefs, has not been again called together.

1122. Not since Colonel Hill quitted the colony, I suppose?—Never, but on that one occasion.

1123. The object of its being called together was to enter into an arrangement for the poll-tax, was it not?—Yes.

1124. How many miles of made road are there on the Gold Coast?—At Cape Coast there are no roads so called, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast, there being no horses or carriages; occasionally, a small light vehicle is drawn a short distance into the colony by men, but hammock is the usual mode of travelling.

1125. Then there are no roads on the Gold Coast, such as we should call by that name?—None, whatever.

1126. Are the tracks so broad that two or three people might walk abreast on them?—They are not; the natives invariably march in single file, and in the clay soil, which abounds in the neighbourhood, a track is soon worn into a resemblance of the bottom of a smooth ditch; this is a great obstacle to keeping open any of these roads which have been from time to time cleared for military operations, or in view of military operations; it has been contemplated to open a wide road as far as the Prah, but it would require incessant clearing to keep it open, as the natives would only use about two feet in the centre.

1127. I suppose the rains are not heavier than those of the Indian monsoon?—I am unacquainted with India.

1128. You do not think that any good would result from the making of roads?—I do not.

1129. You do not think that it would increase commerce and the civilisation of the district?—I do not; all merchandise is carried on the heads of the natives, who walk in a single file, and the existing paths are quite sufficient for their purposes.

1130. I see that it is stated in some papers placed before us, that the Soninkees are not Pagans, but Mahomedans, as well as the others?—Nominally, they are Mahomedans.

1131. They are not Pagans?—No, I have already stated that they are incorrectly termed Pagans.

1132. You have said, that Mahomedanism was gradually spreading to the south; do you think that the progress of Mahomedanism is rapid?—I am not prepared to offer an opinion on that point; it would require a very long residence in the settlement to enable me to do so.

1133. You have said that there is no definition of our boundaries at all on the Gold Coast; I suppose that all those protected States know perfectly well their own boundaries?—I imagine that the natives know their own boundaries perfectly, but we have so little acquaintance with the interior, that we are in ignorance on those points.

1134. But still all the native tribes know very distinctly their own boundaries?—No doubt they do, as they attach considerable importance to that point.

1135. You think that no good results would

follow from making a good road up to the River Prah, both in our relations with the King of Ashantee, and also for the benefit of the protected States?—I do not; I do not think that in the event of difficulties with the Ashantees, it would ever be expedient that we should march troops to the Prah, and as the present roads are sufficient for all commercial purposes, and horses will not live there, wider roads are not required; I see no advantage therefore to be gained by opening a wide road to the Prah, and maintaining it at the very great cost which would be entailed.

1136. Lord Alfred Churchill.] The road would constantly require the clearing away of the bush?—Constantly; after every rainy season the road would almost have to be re-made.

1137. Mr. Cardwell.] Supposing that there were an understanding between this Government and the Dutch Government, that uniform duties should be exacted along the coast, that would enable a revenue to be gathered for the benefit of the Dutch Government and the British Government without any undue pressure on those who paid it, would it not?—It would so.

1138. Mr. Seymour.] As far as you are aware, has anything occurred since the last report to alter the pawn system on the Gold Coast?—No formal step has been taken which has had the effect of altering the position of the pawns; their condition has been modified, with that of all other domestic slaves, by the appointment of the judicial assessor.

1139. Chairman.] Now to proceed to Lagos;—you state in your report that it is the only opening capable of admitting vessels for 1,000 miles of the coast from Liberia to Benin; how, then, along such a coast can slaves be exportable?—Slaves have been, and are exported from any part of the coast.

1140. In what way do they get them thence?—Canoes are carried across the sea beach from the lagoon at the back, and launched into the surf; the slaves are shipped in them and placed on board vessels which are anchored outside the surf.

1141. There are no places, such as Porto Novo or Whydah, where there are shipments of any kind of produce taking place?—Shipments of produce take place, exactly as do those of slaves, from the open beach.

1142. The shipment of slaves, though difficult, and I presume attended with loss of life, is still such as you consider would be carried on, but for the stations along that coast for the prevention of it?—And the presence of the squadron. The slave vessel which was waiting to ship slaves in December and January last showed an intention of taking them off from any point of the open beach from which the vigilance of the cruisers might be withdrawn.

1143. Do I understand you correctly, that our cruising ground with the squadron covers the interval between the Gold Coast and Lagos?—It does so.

1144. That being, in fact, the shore from which the slave export from Dahomey would take place but for the presence of the squadron?—It is so.

1145. By whom was an attempt made, in the year 1851, to exact satisfaction from Kosoko for injuries done to the King Akitoye?—Mr. Consul Beecroft, with the assistance of a part of the squadron, but in the absence of the Commodore.

1146. Can you state who was the Commodore at that time?—Commodore Bruce,

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1147. Was the treaty with the King Akitoye, which you describe at the bottom of page 15 as having amounted to a Protectorate, the same kind of treaty as the others which you have cited before on the Gold Coast?—The engagement made in the year 1852 by Commodore Bruce with the king and chiefs of Lagos was, that they should prohibit the export of slaves, permit free trade, put down human sacrifices, and give protection to missionaries.

1148. Do I understand you by the language of your report to consider that that has more distinctly involved this country in a Protectorate than the treaties on the Gold Coast?—There was no agreement to give anything in return for those engagements offered by the king and chiefs.

1149. I suppose that the treaties in both cases gave a moral pledge on the part of England, or, at all events, created an understanding on the part of the natives, that the British Government undertook, to a certain extent, their protection?—I think not; as I understand this treaty, it was an agreement extorted from the king and chiefs of Lagos, by which they undertook to put down the slave trade and to permit free trade in their country.

1150. Was the treaty distinctly understood as originating a Protectorate?—I do not consider that the treaty was in any respect an engagement on our part to give anything in return for the pledges given by the chiefs. After the re-establishment of King Akitoye on the throne, the British Government sent a Consul to Lagos, and this Consul appears to have been compelled, in the interests of commerce and for the protection of Europeans, to interfere to a great extent with the local Government; he exercised what I think may be not inaptly termed a species of Protectorate over Lagos, but without any distinct authority from the British Government, or (as far as I am aware) any direct sanction from the king and chiefs.

1151. Then do you think that practically, and I have no doubt with the best motives, the Consul during the preceding 10 years had exercised more interference than he was distinctly authorised to do by his instructions?—I find that in April 1860, Consul Brand wrote to the Foreign Secretary saying that the Consulate exercised a feeble, irregular and irresponsible jurisdiction over a variety of judicial, police, and even administrative matters, which had gradually been pressed within the range of its action, a jurisdiction which had been acquiesced in by the various sections as a matter of necessity.

1152. What are you quoting from?—From a paper relating to the occupation of Lagos presented to Parliament in 1862.

1153. The present Governor of Lagos, Mr. Freeman, was Consul before he was Governor, was he not?—He was Consul prior to his appointment as Governor.

1154. Did the office of Consul remain after the separate Government was formed and placed under Mr. Freeman?—Yes, the Governor is also Consul at Lagos.

1155. What then do you understand is the nature of his office; does he fill two offices; one connected with the Foreign Office at home and the other connected with the Colonial Office at home?—He does so, and he makes duplicate reports in many instances.

1156. I understand by your report that when Akitoye died and his son Docemo succeeded to

the Government of Lagos, he, in fact, broke all the terms of the previous treaty through his irregular proceedings?—He did so.

1157. So that treaty may be considered as having been put an end to by his proceedings?—Yes.

1158. When, then, Her Majesty's Government assumed the occupation and distinct government of Lagos in the year 1861 by a treaty of cession from Docemo, what were the territories which Docemo ceded?—The treaty did not specify distinctly the extent of the rights pertaining to Docemo, but all rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever belonging to him, as well as the profits, revenue, dominion, and sovereignty of the Port, Island and premises, with all the royalties thereof, were ceded to the Crown.

1159. What do you suppose was understood by that extent of territory; was it bounded by the lagoon on one side, and the sea on the other?—After the cession it became necessary to ascertain what rights had been thereby acquired. With regard to the Island of Lagos there was no question. The town of Badagry was asserted to have belonged to Docemo, but some claim to its sovereignty having been put in by the chiefs of Porto Novo (a claim which was afterwards ascertained to be quite groundless), a separate treaty was entered into by the Governor with the chiefs of Badagry, whereby they recognised the title of the Queen. The towns of Palma and Leekie to the eastward, originally pertaining to Lagos, were at the time of the cession retained possession of by Kosoko, who had usurped the sovereignty, and a treaty was eventually made with him, by which he ceded all his rights whatsoever to the Crown, in return for a pension, which is paid him from the local revenues.

1160. Was the retaining of Palma and Leekie by the usurper Kosoko in fact winked at, in the interval between 1861 and 1863, by the British Government, or was it in any way distinctly recognised?—I do not believe that it was ever distinctly recognised. Probably some time elapsed after the cession before an inquiry into the actual extent of the rights thereby acquired could be prosecuted.

1161. The date at which Kosoko ceded those territories was in 1863; that was by a distinct treaty, I presume?—He made a declaration to the Governor, that, having returned to Lagos by permission of the British Government, he laid no claim to Palma and Leekie, which consequently must revert to the Lagos Government.

1162. In both cases of cession, the ceder received a pension from the English Government, but Docemo, besides his pension, retained the title of king, did he not?—That was so.

1163. What became of Kosoko then?—Kosoko having been driven from Lagos some years before, was then residing at Opé, to the eastward, exercising jurisdiction over Palma and Leekie, and some part of the country adjacent. It was not until the settlement of affairs at Lagos that he applied for, and obtained permission, to return on the terms before stated.

1164. When you say that the Chief of Badagry ceded his town to the British Government, what became of the claim set up by the king and chiefs of Porto Novo?—It does not appear that any distinct claim was ever put forward by the king and chiefs of Porto Novo; none at least that were thought deserving of consideration; but in accepting the cessions of territory from its
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then king and chiefs, allusion was made to the fact that other persons had set up pretensions to it.

1165. Was not Porto Novo taken possession of by the French in 1861?—It was.

1166. Have they abandoned it?—They abandoned it in January of the present year.

1167. Do you know the reason of their abandoning it?—I was at Lagos when the French Admiral, who had arrived there with an understanding that he would sign a convention with the Governor of Lagos, with regard to the terms upon which trade should be carried on between Porto Novo through the waters of the lagoons, and also with regard to the duties which should be imposed on merchandise so transported, returned from a visit which he had made in the interior to Porto Novo, and stated to the Governor of Lagos that he had become so dissatisfied with the conduct of the native chiefs that he had decided on abandoning altogether the Protectorate of Porto Novo, and had given orders for the French flag to be hauled down, and that the French man-of-war which they had permitted to proceed for the purpose of being anchored off Porto Novo would return and join the French squadron; which took place the next day.

1168. Have the French any possessions immediately adjoining to Porto Novo, or anything nearer than the River Assinee?—They have not now.

1169. At the River Assinee they have two posts, have they not, Grand Bassam, and Assinee itself?—I believe so.

1170. Which stations they maintain for trading purposes, do they not?—Yes.

1171. Since the occurrence which you have just stated will there be no French ship-of-war on that immediate part of the coast?—There will be none inside the lagoon or for the protection of any French commerce trading at or in the neighbourhood of Lagos.

1172. Are the Committee to understand from your map of Lagos that all those towns to the north of the yellow British territory are under separate kings, or are several of them under one potentate?—I am not sufficiently conversant with the state of the interior of the country behind Lagos to be able to answer that question.

1173. Your report states that there is a quarrel at this moment going on between Abbeokuta and Ibadan; are they in alliance with the several towns which are marked as being more or less connected with those two places by tracks to the east of the River Ogun, or are the latter independent?—They, more or less, take part in the quarrel which is going on between them.

1174. But they take part as independent powers, I suppose?—Yes.

1175. Independently of the Egbas and the Yorubas, and independently of each other also?—Yes.

1176. What, then, are our own relations with those intervening independent powers between the Lagos territory and Abbeokuta and Ibadan?—We have no direct relations with them; we have never interfered with them except so far as may have been necessary to maintain inviolate our own territory and waters, or for the protection of our own people; and, on one or two occasions, efforts have been made by the Governor to induce contending parties to come to terms, so that peace might be re-established and trade once more re-opened.

1177. Between us and those tribes to the east

of the River Ogun there is a distinct boundary of lagoon, but to the west of the River Ogun there is no distinct boundary or natural feature to divide us from the territories to the north of us there; what relations are we in with them?—We are in friendly relations with the three territories of Okeodan, Addo, and Ighessa.

1178. What understanding is there between us and them with regard to the boundary marked on your map by the line where there is no river or natural feature to define them?—The question of the exact boundary between the territories belonging to Doemo and our own has never been yet investigated; the straight line which is drawn on the map encloses, between it and the sea, territory which it is considered there can be no doubt belongs to Doemo.

1179. When you say that Okeodan, Addo, and Ighessa are friendly, and that they have pledged themselves to be guided by our advice, is that by an actual document in the nature of a convention?—There are conventions with the two former tribes. That of Addo is dated the 27th June 1863, and states that the king and chiefs having requested the Governor of Lagos to take on himself the protection of their town and country, the Governor on the part of the Queen has taken on himself this protection, and the king, chiefs, and people of Addo are permitted to hoist the white English flag with a red border, subject always to the approval of Her Majesty. They further bind themselves to be guided in their proceedings with all the surrounding tribes, as Her Majesty's Government shall direct, and agree that they shall prevent all export of slaves, or their passage up and down the river, and shall offer every facility for lawful commerce.

1180. Is that convention different from others by, in so many terms, promising the protection of the British Government?—Except a similar treaty concluded in July 1863 with the chiefs of Okeodan, I believe this is to be the only treaty on the Gold Coast or in this neighbourhood, by which distinct protection has been promised to native tribes in the neighbourhood of the settlements.

1181. Are you of opinion that the express term protection in that convention gives the native tribes a different understanding from that conveyed by the terms of other treaties?—I do not believe that the natives themselves entertain the idea that they are to derive any more protection or advantage from this treaty than I have stated to be my impression with regard to the natives of the Gold Coast; but I fear there can be no doubt that the terms of the convention expressly promise protection, and that this might be made a handle of by persons to induce the chiefs and the people to advance claims which Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared to acknowledge.

1182. Do our relations with those inferior territories in any way bring us into collision with the more powerful Yoruba tribes to the north, by interfering with the relations between them and those smaller tribes?—They do not appear to have done so in any respect.

1183. Then, are the Committee to understand, that not only such territories as Addo and Okeodan, but even towns such as Jebu Remo and Jebu Ode, are recognised as perfectly independent tribes without any superior tribes over them?—The towns of Jebu Remo and Jebu Ode have of course territories appertaining to them,

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them, but with regard to their limits I could obtain no information; I, therefore, merely marked the position of the towns.

1184. Do you consider this splitting of a country not very rich in itself into an indefinite number of powers is in itself a barrier to civilization?—I do not believe that it is so, judging from what we see in Ashantee and Dahomey, I think that it has the contrary effect; those are two large independent kingdoms, one of which is a constant menace to a large number of natives in the neighbourhood, and the other is a great promoter of the slave-trade, and in both human sacrifices and similar practices are constantly carried on.

1185. Of course, the existence of a great number of independent powers tends to keep up a state of disturbance in the interior, does it not?—I think that the peace of the country would be better promoted if it consisted of a number of small powers, than of one or two large ones.

1186. But, generally, what are their relations with one another; are they in alliance, or in any way grouped in different interests; are their mutual relations complicated in any way, or do they maintain absolute independence of each other?—I have not sufficient acquaintance with that part of the country to answer the question.

1187. At this moment they all more or less lean on the British Government at Lagos; on the west of the River Ogun in friendship, and to the east of the River Ogun with very little intercourse?—I think that is a fair account of their position.

1188. Will you state to the Committee whether there is anything like distinct authority on the part of the British Government over the tract of country coloured yellow upon your map?—The British Government has exercised its authority directly in the Island of Lagos, in the towns of Badagry, Palma, and Leckie, and in some instances, where disturbances have taken place in the towns in the spot coloured yellow, it has interfered for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property.

1189. Is the authority of the British Government as distinctly recognised over the other parts of the yellow tract, such as the towns of Munsho and Coggah, and other towns, as it would be over the actual stations of Lagos, Badagry, Palma, and Leckie?—The authority of the British Government, I imagine, would be respected wherever they have the power to enforce it.

1190. But, practically, have they the power, and do they exert an influence over the whole of that yellow territory as well as over the four spots marked red on your map?—The occupation has not lasted long enough to enable that question to be answered. At a place called Beshi, I believe, the British Government interfered in the manner I have mentioned, and no doubt, were it necessary, they would interfere at any town within the part coloured yellow.

1191. Do they practically guard the coast, as, for example, against smuggling?—I have never heard that any smuggling takes place on the coast between the letters A. and B. The duties are not high, and the protection and facilities of trade which are afforded by Lagos and the lagoon would probably render it not worth while to attempt any illicit trade.

1192. What are the present relations between the British Government at Lagos and Abbeokuta?—The Abbeokutans have attacked the town

of Ikorodu, but have not yet captured it; they are encamped in the neighbourhood of Makua, and they expressed their intention of remaining there until they have accomplished their object.

1193. Their object, I believe from your report, is to force Ibadan to communicate commercially with the sea through them?—By their object I meant their direct object of the destruction of Ikorodu. I am not sure that they have ever openly avowed their desire that the trade of Ibadan should pass through Abbeokuta.

1194. The object of the Ibadans in the quarrel is to obtain communication with the sea independently of the Abbeokutans, is it not?—So it is alleged.

1195. How far have we interfered in that quarrel?—We have interfered very little; our principal interference has been by refusing to allow arms and munitions, and indeed all merchandise, to pass at the River Ogun, which has been considered by the Abbeokutans as equivalent to a declaration of hostility to them.

1196. Does that embargo continue?—It does not, unless the Governor has quite recently found it necessary to re-impose it for the protection of the people of Lagos.

1197. Were there two embargos, or was there only one?—The embargo was removed in April 1863.

1198. Lord Stanley.] Perhaps you would explain to the Committee how such an embargo could become necessary for the protection of the people of Lagos?—In the prosecution of their attack on Ikorodu, the Egbas have occasionally approached very near to the lagoon; the approach of the Egbas to Ikorodu is very dangerous to Lagos; plundering, kidnapping, and attacks on defenceless traders invariably accompanying the approach of a native army. Should the Egbas have come very close to the lagoon, it is not impossible that with a view of preventing those aggressions on British subjects which it would necessarily produce, the Governor may in self-defence have been driven to prohibit any supplies being sent to them, which would probably have the effect of compelling them to retire to a greater distance from the lagoon.

1199. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] The Governor's great object being to preserve the neutrality of Lagos, I suppose?—His only object being to preserve the neutrality of Lagos.

1200. Sir Francis Baring.] What is the date of that proclamation?—The 14th January 1863. The proclamation was issued by Governor Freeman stating that, whereas the trade between Lagos and Abbeokuta has been virtually stopped by the robberies and murders committed by the Egbas on the River Ogun, which prevented honest traders from risking their lives and property by communication with Abbeokuta, all communication with any point leading to Abbeokuta was prohibited.

1201. Chairman.] Does no confusion arise in our relations with those various tribes from the fact that those who happen to lie behind one of our isolated stations are corresponded with through the Colonial Office, and those who happen to lie open to the coast are looked upon as foreign powers, and corresponded with through the Foreign Office. The correspondence, for example, with Abbeokuta passing through the Colonial Office, and the correspondence with Dahomey passing through the Foreign Office?—I believe that under the existing arrangement by which

which the Governor is both Governor under the Colonial Office and Consul under the Foreign Office, communication with Abeokuta, or Ibadan, should invariably be carried on under the sanction and authority of the Foreign Office. I consider such an arrangement very undesirable; it is not found in any other Colony.

1202. I observe also in the slave trade papers presented to Parliament there seems to be a distinct missionary interest in Abeokuta against the apparent interest of the British Government at Lagos; can you state how that exists?—It appears from this paper that such was the case in the year 1863, but from a communication which I have had with the chief officer of the Church Missionary Society, resident at Abeokuta, the Rev. Mr. Townsend, a gentleman of very great experience of the natives, I see no reason to suppose that there is now any antagonism between the interests of the missionaries and the interests of the local Government.

1203. Is there anything in the missionary interest which connects Abeokuta with the Government of Sierra Leone, and in that sense creates an interest distinct from that of the Government of Lagos?—I am hardly prepared to answer that question. The Church Missionary Society has, of course, a connection with Sierra Leone, which is the head quarter of their operations on the Coast, but the officers of the society in Abeokuta are independent of the Sierra Leone officers.

1204. Now, with regard to the exports which you state in your report are chiefly from the interior, they appear to have fallen off since our occupation of Lagos; in that do you contrast the trade under the former Consulate with the trade under the distinct Government?—It is impossible to answer the question, since the return is given but for one year, while it was under the Consulate. In that year, the amount of palm oil exported was above that which has been exported since.

1205. The check has been, in fact, occasioned by the war, and I presume you think that when the war ceases it may rise again, but do you expect to find trade expanding more vigorously there than on the Gold Coast on the other stations?—Such is the opinion of competent authorities.

1206. Why should there be more hope of an increased trade there than elsewhere?—On account of the greater facilities for the cultivation and manufacture of palm oil, and the greater facilities for transport.

1207. Do you look forward to this becoming a considerable locality for British trade?—I do so when peace shall be restored and maintained.

1208. That trade will be chiefly in palm oil, I suppose?—Chiefly in palm oil.

1209. Is it your opinion that such a trade will require the continued protection of the British stations on the coast, or that the trade might grow up of itself in a different manner with the interior of Africa upon this part of the coast?—I think that the condition in which the settlement was prior to its occupation is likely to be reproduced if we withdraw from it.

1210. You mean a state of no trade?—Not so much a state of no trade as a state in which the greatest disorder and misrule prevailed, where there was no effective protection for property and no redress of grievances without bribery.

1211. With regard to the revenue, I see your return states the Parliamentary grant at sums

varying from 700 *l.* to 4,000 *l.*; would you be good enough to explain to the Committee that apparent discrepancy?—The Parliamentary grant appears to have varied in each year. I believe by the authority of the Treasury, but 2,000 *l.* a year may be taken as the average.

1212. You suppose that that 2,000 *l.* is the average?—It is understood that 2,000 *l.* is about the average; but the settlement has been so short a time in existence, that the amount has not been exactly determined.

1213. Do you know how that 2,000 *l.* is appropriated; I presume it is wholly appropriated in the payment of salaries and pensions?—It is so.

1214. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Is not it the case that no fixed grant has been made to Lagos in the short time since it has become a British settlement, but that the small aid which has been granted to it by Parliament has varied from year to year according to the necessities of the colony?—It is so.

1215. *Chairman*.] Are there not two pensions paid; one of 1,000 *l.* a year to Docemo, and one of 400 *l.* a year to Kosoko, which in themselves amount to 1,400 *l.* a year?—Those pensions are paid out of the revenue of the colony.

1216. And any grants made by Parliament for building or any other purposes, are separate items, and not included in the annual grant, I suppose?—They are so, though no regular annual grant has been made as yet.

1217. Is not it the fact that in no case are the expenses for the military included in the Parliamentary grant?—In no case is any expense connected with the military, included in the Parliamentary grant, or in any returns of the expense of the civil administration of the Colonies.

1218. I gather that you consider that the debt which has already arisen in Lagos, may be somewhat attributed to want of judgment, and also that the salaries are somewhat in excess of what they need be. Is it your opinion that more economical management would be possible as Lagos is now governed, or are you rather referring to more extensive changes in the way of concentrating the Government, when you suggest the possibility of economy?—I allude to a re-arrangement of the whole system of administration of the Settlements.

1219. You do not think that there could be much economy at Lagos as the Government is now constituted?—I am not prepared to say decidedly what might be effected in Lagos, provided a falling off in its revenue rendered it necessary.

1220. Now, with regard to the police, will you state a little more in detail the nature of that force at Lagos?—The police of the Settlement consist of a small body of civil policemen, who are used to serve process, and enforce the orders of the courts; and a large body of armed police raised from the tribe called the Houssas, who come from the Upper Niger. The Houssas perform all the duties usually undertaken by regular troops, and they have the additional advantage of being under the Governor's immediate control for the maintenance of order or suppression of disturbances, as well as for the protection of the ordinary policemen, who are engaged in serving process at a distance from Lagos.

1221. Is this a very cheap force?—It is so; the private soldiers receive 12 *l.* a year pay, and clothing, which may be estimated at about 25 *s.* per annum. When employed out of the town, they receive

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receive in addition subsistence money, at the rate of 3*d.* per day.

1222. I understand it to be your opinion that the regular black troops might be altogether withdrawn, and the protection of this station left entirely to the Houssa force and the police?—I think so; I believe that this arrangement is on the point of being carried out.

1223. With regard to the judicial establishment, you have stated that besides the chief magistrate and the police magistrate there are two separate commandants who, I suppose, are at Palma and Leckie, who administer justice there; what qualifications have they for their magisterial functions?—They have no special qualification. The Local Government is glad to avail itself of the services of the military.

1224. Is there any judicial authority exercised over the natives, over the whole of this territory marked yellow similar to that exercised over the natives in the neighbourhood of the Gold Coast?—As the nature of our position has not yet been distinctly defined, the Government does not exercise jurisdiction over the part coloured yellow, except where it is called upon to interfere for the protection of life or property.

1225. Can you state very summarily the nature of the ordinances which have been passed by this Government in the way of the constitution of judicial proceedings?—The first ordinance was passed on the 4th of March 1863, which enacted that the laws of England in force on the 1st of January should be in force in the settlement. In April 1863, a supreme court, presided over by a chief magistrate, was formed, having the same jurisdiction as the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer in England; the commercial court which existed previously was to be termed the Petty Debt Court, and its jurisdiction was defined; there were other ordinances in September 1863 amending and altering the forms of those courts. In February 1864 a repealing ordinance was passed which provided that the Chief Magistrate's Court should determine in all cases, civil and criminal, all questions, as well of fact as of law, and that it should also be a court of probate and of bankruptcy. In July 1864 further amendments took place, and it was provided that in civil cases the chief magistrate's two assessors shall be sole judges of fact, and the chief magistrate of the law; that in capital cases the chief magistrate shall be the sole judge of the law, and a jury of seven, two-thirds of whom shall concur in the verdict, shall be the judges of the fact, and that that court shall be also a court of equity; an appeal in civil cases was granted to the Governor's Council, and with certain powers in criminal cases; that is the latest ordinance.

1226. Do you know whether this judicial authority has been exercised over the natives in any case, and if it has been satisfactorily exercised?—I only know of the case alluded to in the memorial accompanying the appendix to my report, in which it appears that a British subject, proceeding to Porto Novo was tried in Lagos for an offence committed against another British subject there, and which appears to have been done in conformity with a treaty (dated the 17th January 1852) existing between the Porto Novians and the Local Government that such cases should be dealt with in this manner.

1227. Is there any case of a native being tried by those courts?—Natives residing in Lagos, and

consequently being British subjects, are of course tried by those courts.

1228. I mean is there any case within the extent of country marked yellow on your map?—It being understood that all the right and title possessed by Doemo and Kosoko to that part marked yellow has passed to the British Government, there is authority under the treaty of cession to deal with offences committed by natives therein; but I believe it is only exercised where the protection of life or property makes it necessary.

1229. Can you state to the Committee whether the jury consists of British and natives indiscriminately in these cases?—I am not aware whether any capital case has occurred or not.

1230. Can you state who the two assessors are, or from what class they would be selected?—I cannot state who are the present assessors; they would be probably two of the most respectable gentlemen in the place, who would be willing to undertake the duty.

1231. With regard to the population; you have stated that there are no very distinct statistics with regard to its amount, that it consists of Pagan and Mahomedan Fellanees chiefly?—Yes.

1232. Did you see, when you were at Lagos, a very great variety of tribes coming down there, drawn by the commerce of the interior to Lagos?—I did.

1233. I understand you, in your report to state that the church is left entirely to missionary support, and also the schools; that the Government, local or imperial, does nothing for those objects at Lagos?—They do not.

1234. You conclude your report on Lagos, by reciting four memorials; have you any explanation to make to the Committee with regard to the memorial from Doemo, which is the first?—I wish to correct a statement in my report, that there is good reason to believe the truth of Doemo's statement, that the 1,000*l.* a year which he now receives, does not represent the net revenue hitherto annually received by him; I have ascertained that by an additional article to the treaty of cession, signed on the 18th of February 1862, he consented to receive as a pension during his life-time, 1,200 bags of cowries, equivalent to 1,000*l.*, as equal to his net revenue.

1235. Are the Sierra Leone memorialists the new traders or the old traders?—By comparison, I should call them new traders.

1236. Who are, I suppose, jealous of the protection given to the established old trade of Sierra Leone at Lagos?—They do not express any jealousy of the trade as carried on by merchants of large capital, but it appears probable, that their interests are not identical; their objections are to the manner in which the local Government carries on its administration, and also its relations with the natives.

1237. Is domestic slavery common in this part of the coast?—Domestic slavery is common throughout Africa.

1238. Here, as elsewhere?—Here, as elsewhere.

1239. Is there domestic slavery going on in the whole of this yellow territory, for instance, which is under the Government of the British?—There can be no doubt there are domestic slaves possessed by people living in that territory.

1240. In fact, the British law which makes a slave free when he comes on British territory, is not practically carried out in this territory under the Government of the British?—It has not been practically carried out; no general demand has been made by the slaves to be declared free.

1241. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Do you conceive the territory coloured yellow to be, legally speaking, British territory, and its inhabitants British subjects?—Its actual position has never been determined; the view entertained by the local Government is, that it should be considered in the light of a Protectorate, and in the same position as the protected territories of the Gold Coast.

1242. That distinction you explain by the colours red and yellow on the map, I suppose?—Yes.

1243. *Chairman*.] Any domestic slavery that goes on in any of the yellow territory, must be in violation of the British law, and is only permitted by the British Government winking at it?—This would not be the case, if it be decided that the yellow territory be not recognised as British.

1244. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] In that case, domestic slavery there would no more violate British law than it does in the protected territory of the Gold Coast?—It would not.

1245. *Chairman*.] Have any steps been taken to set this point more clearly in accordance with the British law?—I believe that prior to my going to the Coast of Africa, the question was under consideration of the Colonial Office, but that no steps have been taken in relation to it since.

1246. Do you believe that there is no slave trade going on in the interval between the Gold Coast and the Lagos territory at present, and that the squadron effectually checks it there?—It has been stated that one cargo of slaves was shipped in despite of the efforts of the squadron, during the year 1864; but at the end of that year, although repeated efforts were made by a very fast steamer to embark a cargo of slaves, the squadron had been successful in preventing it.

1247. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] You stated in your report, that when Her Majesty's Government decided, in the year 1861, on changing the anomalous protectorate which had existed at Lagos under the consul, into an avowed occupation of the island as a British settlement, they did so because they thought it indispensable to the complete suppression of the slave trade; has it had the effect of completely suppressing the slave trade in that neighbourhood?—It has had that effect completely.

1248. That was formerly one of the worst parts of the African coast in respect of the slave trade, was it not?—It was.

1249. Do you think it would be likely to become so again in case our authority (to be exercised in some form or other) were to be withdrawn?—I believe it would break out immediately under such circumstances.

1250. Do you think that the mere occupation of the Island of Lagos, without the power of exercising a control over the neighbouring lagoons, would enable us to protect the trade and to suppress the slave trade?—It might enable us to check slavery, but it would not enable us to afford any efficient protection to commerce.

1251. You think that an effective control over

the lagoons, extending on either side of Lagos, is, from the great peculiarity of its position, essential to enable us to accomplish our objects there?—Absolutely essential.

1252. You have been asked some questions about the Parliamentary grant to Lagos; should you say that if it had not been for the wars in the neighbourhood, Lagos would have been able to dispense even with the trifling aid which Parliament has been asked to grant to it?—I think it might have been so.

1253. The expectations formed of the revenue of the settlement have been in some degree disappointed in consequence of the disturbed state of the neighbouring country; is not that so?—They have so.

1254. When our Government was set up at Lagos, were there anything in the shape of the public buildings necessary for carrying on the Government?—There was nothing of the sort, and the debt which has been incurred has arisen in a great measure from the necessity of incurring a heavy expenditure on this account. The building or hiring of places for holding courts for the gaol, and the necessary Government establishment on the most limited scale, could not be effected without considerable expense.

1255. The Governor's residence and other public buildings have been, and I believe still are, very far from what they ought to be, consistently with the safety of the lives of our officers?—The Governor's residence is a house with four small rooms, the lower part of which is used as an armoury; there is no building belonging to the Government for holding courts in; one is hired for that purpose, there being no funds to complete that which was in course of erection. The gaol is very insecure and very inadequate for its purpose, and the same may be said of all the buildings which are required for the public service.

1256. If the Government had attempted to provide Lagos with even tolerable public buildings, it would have required application to Parliament for much larger sums than have been voted, would it not?—That would be so. The Governor, I believe, is of opinion that an error was committed on the part of the local Government in not making an application for a larger grant, for the purpose of starting fairly the Government establishment.

1257. Then, considering the unavoidable expense in starting a new settlement, and the impossibility of raising a larger revenue, on account of the unavoidable interruption of trade, should you say that the Parliamentary grants have been kept down to the lowest possible scale?—I think so. I am of opinion that it would have been better to have made a larger grant in the first instance for the erection of the necessary buildings, and then to have let the colony depend on its own revenue for the support of its establishments; but it has been much impeded in its financial arrangements by the system that has been pursued.

1258. Lord *Stanley*.] You have spoken of the revenue having been diminished by disturbances in the neighbourhood; can you inform the Committee what security there is against those disturbances recurring, and the revenue suffering again from the same cause?—I cannot.

1259. I understand you also to say that the public buildings at present are by no means adequate to the wants of the place?—It is so.

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1260. Therefore, before long, it will be necessary to build on a larger scale; do you think that there is a probability that that could be done at the expense of the colony?—The revenue of the colony in 1864 was nearly 23,000*l.*, a sum raised under those great difficulties which have been stated to exist with regard to the carrying on of commerce. Now, if such revenue as that could be relied upon for the next two or three years, I think that the colony would have no necessity to make any demands on the Imperial Government.

1261. Mr. *Gregory.*] Are those detached places, Badagry, Palma, and Leckie, occupied by any troops?—Yes; there was a small force of troops and police at each; the troops have probably been withdrawn by this time.

1262. Then, is the occupation of those places by troops for the sake of protecting commerce, or for the sake of preventing the slave trade?—The primary object of the occupation of those places by the local Government, is the collection of the revenue, and of course there is the advantage of aiding the suppression of the slave trade and the protection of commerce.

1263. Mr. *Clüchster Fortescue.*] Are those places the commanding points on the lagoon?—They are so, being at each extremity of our territory.

1264. Mr. *Gregory.*] Badagry had at one time a notoriety for being a great slave depôt, had it not?—It had; and the inhabitants enjoyed a very bad name; they are now said to be nearly all thieves.

1265. Is there any pressure at all likely to arise, or that has arisen on those protected tribes at Addo, Igbessa, and Okeodan, from any powerful tribes; is there any fear of Dahomey, for instance?—I think that there are not any powerful tribes in the neighbourhood who suppose that they possess any rights over them, and that the chance of their attempting to enforce them would be very much lessened by the knowledge of the fact that they lean on the British Government; I do not believe that Dahomey has any relations with those particular tribes.

1266. Sir *Francis Baring.*] You have been asked about the Treaty of 1852, between Mr. Bruce and Akitoye, and the chiefs; that treaty does not secure any power for England, does it?—It does not.

1267. In fact, at that time, there existed, did there not, a convention between England and France, which would certainly have interfered with the occupation of Lagos and which might have interfered with the claiming of anything like a protectorate right?—I am not aware of that.

1268. In 1845, there was a convention, was there not, that if it were necessary that posts should be occupied on that part of the coast of Africa so described, it should be only done with the consent of the two contracting parties?—I am not aware whether such a convention existed or not.

1269. But supposing that there does exist such a convention, would not that at once show that England at the time was not taking possession of it with a view to any protectorate right?—Certainly.

1270. Then let me ask you this: there is an agreement between the king and chiefs of Lagos, signed on the 28th of February 1852; does not that agreement make certain arrangements for

the purpose of settling quarrels between the merchants, and debtors and creditors?—It is an agreement between the British or European merchants, and the King and his chiefs; the Government has no part in it.

1271. Is there not an article in that agreement to the effect that in case of any misunderstanding arising, it is to be settled by the parties appearing before the king, and two disinterested parties; one chosen from each side who should decide the dispute, the king to have the casting vote, and that if the king should be an interested party, another person is to be elected by the other four whose decision shall be final?—Yes.

1272. That being signed by the king and the different merchants, can you tell me whether that was carried out at all?—1860 is the earliest date at which I have any distinct statement of the condition of affairs, and it is alleged that the treaty had then been completely broken by the King's son who succeeded him.

1273. What was the state of Lagos before the expedition of Commodore Bruce?—It was the head quarters of the slave trade.

1274. What was it a few years afterwards?—Slaves were still exported from the neighbourhood; human sacrifice was practised; and, although a large trade was carried on, it was carried on at great risk, and heavy bribes had to be paid before redress could be obtained for any injury.

1275. But what was the state of Lagos a few years afterwards?—As far as my information goes, I believe that state of things reached its climax in the time of Docemo, in 1860.

1276. But does that correspond with the reports of the consuls?—As far as my information goes, I believe that was the case, but I believe your questions could be much better answered by other witnesses.

1277. But does it correspond with the reports given in the Blue Books?—As far as I am informed, it does.

1278. Have you not searched them?—I have not specially directed my attention to the subject, but, speaking from what I have read and heard from others, that is my impression.

1279. Are your "others" European merchants?—I make a point of obtaining information from any source that is open to me.

1280. Did you hear from "others" that the slave trade was carried on there?—I am unable to say from whom I gathered the impression that the slave trade was carried on at that time.

1281. But at all events, if it existed it was directly contrary to the treaty, was it not?—It was so.

1282. But if such a breach of the treaty existed, would not there have been complaints on the part of the consul to the English Government?—I presume there would.

1283. Were there such complaints?—I am unable to say.

1284. I have before me a despatch of Lord John Russell, a very solemn despatch, in which he very quietly directs the appropriation of Lagos, and this is what he says: "You will carefully explain to King Docemo the motives that have induced Her Majesty's Government to take this step. You will inform him that Her Majesty's Government are not actuated by any dissatisfaction with his conduct, but that, on the contrary, they have every wish to deal with him in

in a liberal and friendly spirit; and that their object in taking this step is to secure for ever the free population of Lagos from the slave traders and kidnappers who formerly oppressed them; to protect and develop the important trade of which their town is the seat, and to exercise an influence on the surrounding tribes which may, it is to be hoped, be permanently beneficial to the African race." Now, is there one word of complaint of misconduct on the part of Docemo in that despatch?—No; but on the 9th of April 1860 the consul wrote to Lord John Russell, stating, "That no practical system of administration could be framed unless presided over by a governing head, possessed of sufficient authority to keep the discordant elements of society together. Lagos, at present, may be said to have no Government; there is no effective protection to property, no mode of enforcing the payment of debts applicable to Europeans; and the wonder is that in such a state of things there are so few disturbances."

1285. But is there one word even in that letter with regard to the existence of the slave trade?—There is no such reference; but I thought your last question had reference to the state of the country.

1286. Is there any reference to any breach of treaty in Lord John Russell's Despatch in deposing Docemo?—There is not; but according to the statement of the consul in 1860 there was a breach of the treaty.

1287. In what respect?—In the failure to protect trade.

1288. Now, with regard to the debts of Europeans, was not a treaty in existence then; this agreement between the king and the chiefs, was it?—It was in force when the consul wrote thus to the Foreign Secretary.

1289. Supposing that to be perfectly correct, is it a usual course of proceeding, when there is supposed to be a breach of a treaty, that you say nothing to the party who is supposed to have broken it, but simply turn him out?—I have not had any experience of cases similar to that which led to the occupation of Lagos.

1290. But I am quite sure you know what is the practice; is it not the usual international practice to represent to the party supposed to have broken a treaty, that he has done so; in fact, to make complaint and claim redress?—Yes; it is to be inferred from the consul's letter that efforts must have been made to induce the king to observe those conditions of the treaty which had reference to the protection of trade.

1291. But he does not mention that, does he?—He does not distinctly mention it.

1292. Do you remember any case in which application was made for the enforcement of a treaty alleged to have been broken, and, in fact, in which redress was given immediately afterwards?—Do you mean on the coast of Africa?

1293. At Lagos to Docemo?—I am not aware to what you allude.

1294. Take the case where persons notoriously connected with the slave trade came to reside there, and where complaint was made by the English consul, and they were in consequence dismissed and sent away; do you not know of that?—I never heard of that case.

1295. But do you not think it is rather hard that persons should be turned out without any complaint being made?—Docemo was turned out, unquestionably.

1296. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Although he signed the treaty, and accepted that thousand a year?—Although he signed the treaty, and accepted that thousand a year.

1297. Sir *Francis Baring*.] Turning him out without stating that he had broken the treaty; was not that the state of facts in the letter?—So it appears from the Foreign Office letter.

1298. During the time of Akitoye and Docemo, were there not very great improvements; I mean at the time when Lagos was taken possession of in 1860. With regard to education, were not almost all the improvements with respect to schools, and so on, before that time; have you not yourself stated, that the grammar school dates from before the occupation of the English?—The occupation of the country and its conversion into a colony had no effect in improving education, for the existing establishments were already formed.

1299. In fact, the English Government have done nothing for education since the occupation of the colony, have they?—Nothing whatever; so much had been already done by the Church Missionary Society that the local Government, having everything thrown on its hands at once, has gladly refrained from taking any steps in that direction.

1300. The English found that the thing had been done under the rule of this unfortunate man, did they not?—Done by the Church Missionary Society.

1301. During the reign of Docemo?—Yes, or of Akitoye.

1302. Now with regard to trade; what was the state of trade during the whole of that time?—The only information which I have been able to obtain shows that there was a greater export of palm oil during the occupation by Docemo than there has been during the 2½ years that have elapsed since we held Lagos.

1303. Did not trade flourish very much more at that time; did not Consul Brand mention that it was becoming a great commercial place?—Yes.

1304. Then the regular trade seems to have flourished notwithstanding this unfortunate Government?—It does.

1305. With respect to debts not being enforceable, did not that arise a good deal from this: the debtor being in the habit of skipping over the border, there being then no means of recovering the money?—I have no means of answering that question.

1306. In the Gambia was it not the fact that there was a great difficulty in recovering debts from that cause?—I recollect no complaint on that head.

1307. But I thought you told me there was no remedy?—That there would have been no remedy if such a state of things existed; but I am not aware that it did exist at the Gambia.

1308. But have you ever heard of it at Sierra Leone?—I have never heard of it as affording a ground of serious complaint.

1309. But here there was actually an arrangement with regard to the manner in which debts should be recovered in case either party had property with which to pay the debts?—So it appears.

1310. At that time what was the state of the relations between Lagos and the neighbourhood?—I do not know.

1311. You do not know whether they were at all friendly, or not?—I do not.

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1312. At the present moment they are not very comfortable with Abbeokuta, are they?—I believe the only uncomfortable feeling at this moment arises from the proximity of the army of the Abbeokutans, who say they are determined to reduce the town of Ikorodu. The presence of war is always very injurious to the neighbourhood where it is carried on, since it produces plundering, and renders life and property insecure.

1313. No doubt; but one of the reasons for taking possession of Lagos, is stated by Lord John Russell to be that of exercising a beneficial influence on the surrounding tribes, which it is hoped may be permanently beneficial to the African race. Now, is there any appearance of peace being procured by the Government of Lagos?—I think there is at present a considerable prospect of peace being procured through the influence of the local Government.

1314. But I prefer to look at facts; hitherto what has been done?—Hitherto the result of the influence and action of the local Government has been to prevent the destruction of the large town of Ikorodu, and the murder or carrying into captivity of its people by the Abbeokutans, to preserve the people of Lagos from the plunder and oppression which was commenced to be exercised by the army of Abbeokuta, and also by the independent people in the neighbourhood, who took advantage of the presence of war on the spot to carry on plunder.

1315. Do you attribute nothing of the state of the country to the expeditions of Dahomey?—I do not see that there is any connection between the expeditions of Dahomey and the results which I have just stated as arising from the action of the local Government.

1316. I have got a memorandum, of 9th April 1860, of a letter of Consul Brand, in which he speaks of the effects of the wars of Dahomey as having placed the whole country in a state of disturbance; do you recollect that?—I have never seen the letter in question.

1317. Are you at all aware, or have you never heard that the expeditions of the King of Dahomey place the country in a state of great insecurity with respect to trade?—I do not see how the expeditions of the King of Dahomey could have had any influence in leading the Abbeokutans to attack Ikorodu, and producing plundering and insecurity to the inhabitants of Lagos.

1318. There was a local war, was there not?—There was a local war, but that war was carried on at a great distance from Lagos; the plundering and insecurity at Lagos have been caused by the approach of the Abbeokutans to the neighbourhood of Lagos; that war would have no connection with any attack by the King of Dahomey.

1319. Are you speaking of the difficulties of trade on the river?—I am speaking of the plundering on the river, and on the edge of the lagoon.

1320. Did you ever hear that plundering on the river was not entirely confined to the Abbeokutans, but that there were inhabitants of Lagos who took the opportunity of doing it themselves?—I am aware that the plundering which took place of the inhabitants of Lagos was not confined exclusively to the Abbeokutans. The people in the neighbourhood of Epe and Ejirim were engaged in plundering the people of Lagos within the last six months, but the cause of their

so doing was the presence of the Abbeokutan army in the neighbourhood of Ikorodu; where there is war, plunder and rapine are carried on all around. When a war is carried on in a country it is understood to be the general signal for an immediate raid by everybody who is strong enough to take anything he can from his neighbour.

1321. Do you remember the account that Consul Bruce gave of his passage up to Abbeokuta, and his visit to the Abbeokutans?—I do not.

1322. But supposing he did speak in the highest terms of the way in which he was received, and of the friendly feeling of the Abbeokutans towards Lagos; that is not so now, is it?—I have reason to hope that there is a very friendly feeling on the part of one of the principal parties who now rule Abbeokuta towards the British Government.

1323. It has not shown itself, has it?—It has shown itself quite recently in the course of the interviews between the war chiefs and Lieutenant Governor Glover.

1324. Now, with regard to the revenue of Lagos, let me ask you, does the revenue of Lagos include the customs of Badagry, and the newly acquired countries?—It does so.

1325. Then, if anybody pretended to compare the state of the revenue now with the state of the revenue existing before that territory was acquired, it would lead to a very unfair conclusion, would it not?—I imagine not, because I infer that the trade of Badagry, Palmas, and Leekie, now included in the general trade of Lagos, was also so included at that time.

1326. But is that inference just; have you looked into that?—I can only state that that is my opinion.

1327. Can you give the pension list?—Docemo the ex-King of Lagos receives 1,000 *l.* a year.

1328. On what ground did you form your opinion that that was an unfair amount of pension?—It is difficult to say now on what ground I formed my opinion that it was an unfair amount of pension; but upon seeing the treaty, I became satisfied that I had arrived at an erroneous conclusion.

1329. Did Docemo farm out his revenue?—He did so on one occasion.

1330. Who did he farm it to?—I believe to Mr. MacCroskey, for 1,000 *l.* a year.

1331. *Chairman.*] To Mr. MacCroskey, in what capacity?—As a merchant there; I have so understood.

1332. *Sir Francis Baring.*] I should like to know something with regard to the grounds of the quarrel between the Abbeokutans and the Governor of Lagos; I suppose that that has been subsequent to the occupation of Lagos?—They appear to have been under the impression that the Governor was disposed to favour the Ibadans with whom they were at issue, and that he did not treat them with consideration or courtesy.

1333. Did not the occupation of Lagos by the English Government create a great sensation in Abbeokuta and some of the neighbouring places?—I am unable to say.

1334. You have probably seen that correspondence with the Foreign Office, consisting of letters transmitted by some of the residents there?—I have no recollection upon the subject.

1335. *Mr. Seymour.*] Might I refer you to a paragraph in Mr. Cardwell's instructions to you, where he says, "You will turn your attention to the

the moral influence which our occupation exercises on the neighbouring tribes; our relations with them will form one of the most important subjects of your report; was not that one of the objects with which you were sent out?—Most unquestionably, and to the best of my ability I applied myself to that subject during the time which I was able to devote to all the points included in those instructions; moreover I had never visited Lagos before, and I possessed little or no information on those points.

1336. Sir Francis Baring.] In your report do you not say something of the language that was used by the governor, and that you do not quite approve of it?—I have said something of the kind.

1337. Now looking at the circumstances under which we took possession of Lagos, was not it of great importance that the governor, if any communications were made to the natives around, should make them in a temperate and careful manner?—It was so, certainly.

1338. You have not found any reason to change that opinion which you express in your report with regard to the language used?—None whatever. I stated it was possible that exception might be taken to the language and style of some of the governor's communications to the native chiefs.

1339. Do you remember the communication made by an English officer, Captain Bedingfield, to the Governor of Abbeokuta?—No, I do not.

1340. It is referred to by Captain Burton in one of his works?—Yes, I now recollect Captain Burton's remarking on the terms in which Captain Bedingfield addressed the Bashorun.

1341. Does not he state that that had evidently produced a bad effect?—Such was Captain Burton's opinion unquestionably.

1342. And that the man was in a bad humour?—Such was his opinion. I have no means of saying whether it was ill or well founded.

1343. Do you remember the letter?—I remember the circumstance alluded to in Captain Burton's works.

1344. Mr. Gregory.] I think you have stated that in your opinion, although the policy of Governor Freeman may have been injurious to the Abbeokutan cause, it does not therefore follow in your opinion that it was either improper or injudicious. Is that the case?—I am of opinion that on the whole the policy of Governor Freeman was not improper.

1345. You are of opinion from what you learnt, that the war was carried on for the satisfaction of a minority, and that he was justified in employing the means which he did employ, in order to stop the supplies from Lagos?—I think that he was perfectly justified in the steps that he adopted, but that whether they were carried out in the most judicious manner may be open to question.

1346. But you are not of opinion that Governor Freeman showed the slightest partiality to either party?—I am of opinion that no partiality has been shown by the British Government to either party.

1347. Mr. Cave.] You have stated that, at Lagos and the other parts occupied by us, the slave trade had disappeared, but that it would break out again if the settlements were withdrawn; are the Committee to infer from that, that the supply from other parts of the coast is not equal to the demand?—I imagine from the determined efforts which seem to be made to

obtain slaves from the coast, that whenever additional facilities were afforded for their export, they would be shipped, and that the removal of the settlement would furnish fresh facilities for their export.

1348. You do not think that our occupation has simply transferred the trade from one part of the coast to another to an equal extent?—I do not think so.

1349. You have mentioned the grammar school; have you any information with regard to the quality of the education furnished in that school?—I have not; I understood it was a school founded on the principle of the Sierra Leone grammar school, which I inspected on more than one occasion at Sierra Leone, and which I thought very highly of.

1350. Does it correspond with our idea of a grammar school in this country, Greek and Latin being taught for instance?—I imagine that Greek and Latin would be taught there as they are at Sierra Leone.

1351. Then, in fact, the grammar school does correspond with our idea of a grammar school in this country?—Yes; the grammar school began on the 6th June 1859, with six pupils; that number was increased to 22, which has been sometimes more and sometimes less; there are now 25 on the list, and there have been registered 41, who have left the school to be variously employed; some as merchants' clerks, and some in higher pursuits.

1352. How are the Houssas officered?—They have no officers; the Governor commands them.

1353. Have they non-commissioned coloured officers among them?—They have.

1354. Have they grades?—They have.

1355. Does the paragraph in your report which states that the black troops suffered in health apply to them; you say, "There being no proper barracks for officers or men they have suffered considerably in health"?—No, not to the Houssas, but to the men of the West India Regiment, and from that special cause.

1356. It is not the case, then, is it, that the black troops suffer generally in their health in Lagos?—Not that I am aware of. Out of the whole force of Houssas under arms at the end of the year, I observe that on the 24th of December there were only four under treatment, and on the 28th six. That was for ulcers and trifling diseases.

1357. Those two memorials from the British merchants and Sierra Leone traders seem to complain among other things that slavery is abolished at Lagos; is not that rather a remarkable complaint to come from British merchants and Sierra Leone traders?—It certainly is.

1358. It would appear as if those people had rather lax ideas on the subject of slavery?—So it would appear.

1359. Have you any information to give as to pawns at Lagos; does that practice exist in Lagos now?—Not that I know of.

1360. In the former inquiry it was stated that almost the whole population was in pawn for debts not exceeding generally 10*l*.?—That relates to the Gold Coast.

1361. Is there any such system at Lagos?—Not that I am aware of.

1362. Mr. Seymour.] With regard to the memorials that have been presented, I suppose that you knew of those memorials when you were out at Lagos?—The first three memorials were

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handed to me on behalf of the persons who signed them; the fourth was addressed to the Governor, and was handed to me by him.

1363. Then you had an opportunity when you were out there of inquiring into the truth of the memorials, had you not; you saw them all three at Lagos?—I saw them all three at Lagos, but I am not certain how many days before my departure I received them.

1364. Do you think that the cession of Lagos has been productive generally of good to the country there, and the natives that inhabit it?—I think that it has removed the great objection that existed to the former system of Government in insuring protection to property.

1365. But it has been at the sacrifice of the trade of the country, has it not?—I do not consider that it has had anything to do with sacrificing the trade of the country. My impression is that the trade has been sacrificed by these internal wars.

1366. But since we have occupied Lagos there has been a perpetual state of war, has there not?—There has been a perpetual state of war since the year 1860 between the independent tribes in the interior, who are still fighting.

1367. What was the date of our taking Lagos?—1862.

1368. Up to 1862 there was continual communication between Abbeokuta and Lagos?—The same communication that exists at present; there is perfectly free intercourse between Lagos and Abbeokuta.

1369. But the Abbeokutans refuse to allow produce to come down?—Because, as they allege, if they permitted trade to go on, the people would leave the war and apply themselves to trading.

1370. The Governor has refused to allow supplies to go up to Abbeokuta?—For a short time on one occasion he did, but he withdrew his prohibition at the expiration of a few months.

1371. The cause of that was that the Abbeokutans were going to war with the Ibadans without sufficient reason, was it not?—The proclamation gives a different reason: "Whereas the trade between Lagos and Abbeokuta has been virtually stopped by the robberies and murders committed by the Egbas on the River Ogun, which prevents honest traders from risking their lives and properties by communication with Abbeokuta; and whereas certain merchants receive protection from the chiefs of Abbeokuta, in order that they may take up from Lagos goods required by the said chiefs, notwithstanding the stoppage of the general trade; notice is hereby given, that (I abbreviate the last few words) no person leaving Lagos in the direction of Abbeokuta will be permitted to carry with him anything beyond mere necessities for the journey."

1372. In every state of war there is insecurity for property, and particularly as between two native tribes. There must be excesses, and the roads must be unsafe in such a case?—It is very generally the case in all states of war.

1373. But by applying that to the Abbeokutans alone, without the Ibadans, did not the Governor seem to imply that the fault lay entirely with the Abbeokutans, and not with the other side?—Such would appear to be the inference.

1374. And the same thing with the King of Ikorodu. The reason for the Abbeokutans

attacking Ikorodu was that the inhabitants had declared for their enemies, was it not?—Yes.

1375. It was part of the general war?—It was so.

1376. Did you inquire why the Governor did not apply to the Ibadans?—Because the Abbeokutans were in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement.

1377. Do you think that that was a sufficient reason for thinking that they were wrong?—No; but it was a reason that applied to them; the Ibadans were not in the proximity of the settlement.

1378. But could not the Governor have applied to the Ibadans though they were not in the proximity of the settlement; he constantly appealed to the Abbeokutans to stop the war; by his actions he showed that he considered that they were in the wrong; I want to know why, exercising supreme power in Lagos, he did not appeal to both of them to stop the war?—I imagine that he had no access to the Ibadans.

1379. Did you pay attention to that paragraph in the memorial of the Sierra Leone people where they state that they were going to the Ibadans to engage them to discontinue the war, and that the Governor stopped them from doing so: "As an instance of this we give the following:—Early in October 1863 a party of our class were commissioned to proceed to Ibadan to endeavour to effect peace; this deputation was well received, and returned safely to Lagos with the intention of proceeding to Ibadan *via* Ikorodu, to arrange a final agreement between the contending parties for peace; our executive will not co-operate with us, and not satisfied with discouraging us, but we are told, for the first time, that the deputation have been presented with two slaves, which were not reported, inferring thereby that we are engaged in the slave trade. This we have proved, and are still ready to prove, is a gross falsehood?"—I had not time to go into the question of the correctness of any of the assertions made in any of the memorials; I was aware that there was a bad feeling between the Sierra Leone people and the local Government, and I thought it very likely that that would colour any statements made by either side.

1380. As the Commissioner who went out to inquire into this matter, did there appear to you to be general ill-feeling, mistrust, and want of confidence against the local Government at Lagos?—There was and is a strong ill-feeling against the Governor of Lagos on the part of Docemo and all belonging to him (that representing a very large party) in consequence of their loss of influence, power, and possibly wealth. On the part of Kosoko, who also represents a large party, there was no amount of decided ill-feeling, though occasional interference with domestic slavery had no doubt not prepossessed him in favour of the Government. On the part of the Sierra Leone traders the feeling, as avowed in their memorial, was very strong against the local Government. On the part of the main body of traders no ill-feeling was expressed.

1381. The main body of traders appeared to you to approve of the Governor's policy?—On the whole they did so.

1382. Those are the principal traders who signed the memorial; you mean European traders?—Yes, Europeans.

1383. What was the feeling of the native traders?—Those are included in the Sierra Leone

Leone traders, who are understood to be native traders.

1384. What was the feeling of the missionary party?—I am unable to say exactly what was the feeling of the missionary party prior to my arrival, but I had several conversations with the Rev. Mr. Townsend, the representative of the society at Abbeokuta, whom they kindly permitted to come to Lagos to see me, and the conclusion I arrived at was that he was satisfied with the policy that was then being adopted by the local Government, and that he was perfectly prepared to afford every assistance in his power to the local Government in arranging peace.

1385. Do you think that it would be of great importance to the success of our settlement that there should be peace between Lagos and Abbeokuta?—There is no war between Lagos and Abbeokuta; I consider it of the greatest importance to the success of our settlement that there should be peace in the interior of the country, so that trade may flow into Lagos once more, and that the disputes between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans should be brought to an end in some shape or other.

1386. You are then of opinion that no ill-feeling and no suspension of amicable relations has existed between Abbeokuta and Lagos?—I thought your question related to war; but there has certainly been a great deal of ill-feeling at times between the Abbeokutans and the local Govern-

ment of Lagos, from an impression that the local Government in not favouring them was favouring their rivals.

1387. And you entertain the opinion that they actually did favour their rivals, and that they were right in doing so?—I entertain the opinion that they did not intentionally adopt any measure with a view of favouring either party, but I think that the effect of the blockade, adopted as it was for the protection of the interests of Lagos, was prejudicial to those of Abbeokuta.

1388. And you think that the Government was justified in pursuing that policy?—I do so.

1389. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] The River Ogun being under the control of the Egbas of Abbeokuta, and in no sense under the control of the distant Ibadans, would not the Abbeokutans inevitably be the parties whom the Government was bound to account responsible for the safety of the trade of Lagos upon that river?—Yes, certainly; and more especially as it was the Abbeokutans, or Egbas, who came into contact with the Lagos people, and not the Ibadans.

1390. Therefore, the fact of the proclamation affecting one party and not the other, was no proof of partiality on the part of the Lagos Government?—Just so.

1391. Mr. *Seymour*.] Is not the quarrel between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans a quarrel between two different civilizations, the Christian and the Mahomedan?—No.

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Ord, R.E.

3 April 1865.

Jovis, 6^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. Seymour Fitz-Gerald.

Mr. William Edward Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.

The RIGHT HON. CHARLES B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

WILLIAM MCCOSKRY, Esq., called in; and Examined.

W.
McCoskry,
Esq.

6 April
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1392. *Chairman.*] WILL you inform the Committee what was your first acquaintance with Lagos?—My first acquaintance with Lagos was at the end of 1850; I went there as a merchant; shortly after the time Commodore Bruce expelled Kosoko.

1393. Can you state, before that date of 1850, what amount of communication there was between Lagos and Great Britain?—None whatever.

1394. You say that shortly after your first arrival at Lagos, Commodore Bruce expelled Kosoko?—Yes; I was not residing there then; I first visited the place in 1850, but after the expulsion of Kosoko I resided there permanently.

1395. Will you state to the Committee the circumstances under which Commodore Bruce expelled Kosoko?—At that time there was an attempt to get all the chiefs on the coast to sign a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade. I think he succeeded with nearly all the chiefs in the neighbourhood of the sea line, except the King of Dahomey; and when they applied to Kosoko he also refused to sign the treaty.

1396. The British Government were getting all the chiefs to sign a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, and they succeeded with all except Kosoko and the King of Dahomey?—Yes.

1397. Was it upon Kosoko's refusal to sign that treaty that they ousted him from the sovereignty of Lagos and set up Akitoye?—Just so.

1398. Was it clear that Kosoko was a usurper and Akitoye the rightful king?—I do not think it is clear at all; there is no regular succession, but he was in possession.

1399. Was it in any way taking Kosoko as a usurper and Akitoye as the rightful king that Commodore Bruce ousted Kosoko and set up Akitoye, or was it simply on the ground that Akitoye promised to stop the slave trade which Kosoko refused?—Both grounds were given. I suppose that he was expelled ostensibly because the other man was supposed to be the right heir.

1400. What relations were the two men to each other?—I think they were cousins; I am

not quite sure, for it is difficult to ascertain such facts.

1401. In your opinion, was Akitoye the rightful king?—I should think not; I can give many instances of an irregular rule of succession.

1402. Upon this expulsion of Kosoko and the establishment of Akitoye, what officers did the British Government place at Lagos, and what was their relation to the king?—At first, there was a vice consul, who only remained a short time.

1403. What was his name?—Mr. Fraser.

1404. Did he begin his vice consulship in 1851?—No; he was formerly vice consul at Whydah, but he removed then to Lagos.

1405. At what date was he established at Lagos?—In the year 1851.

1406. But was his vice consulate Lagos only, or did it include other places?—Consul Beecroft was at that time Consul General.

1407. What was the extent of his consulate?—Biafra and the Bight of Benin.

1408. Mr. Fraser was vice consul under him; did that vice consulate include Badagry?—Yes, and Whydah and Port Novo.

1409. When was Mr. Campbell consul?—Mr. Campbell succeeded at the end of 1851.

1410. About the beginning of 1852, perhaps?—Yes, about the beginning of 1852.

1411. He died in 1858, I believe?—So far as I recollect at present, it was 1857.

1412. Who then succeeded Mr. Campbell?—acting consul Lodder.

1413. He took the office provisionally, until Consul Brand came out?—Just so.

1414. In that interval, while Mr. Lodder was acting consul, was it that the first symptoms of war broke out between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans?—Yes, towards the end of 1858.

1415. What was the cause of that war?—I believe that the cause was the same as it is now; the Ibadans wanted a way down to the sea coast; they wanted a communication by Igbessa and Ijjae.

1416. That is to the north of the map which we have in the report?—Yes; a good deal further north than Abbeokuta.

1417. As long as the war between the Abbeokutans

kutans and the Ibadans was in a northerly direction, the British Government did not interfere?—Not at all.

1418. But when the war took a southerly direction, then the British Government interfered?—The war then interfered more with our territory, and the British Government interfered to stop it.

1419. When did they first interfere or mediate?—Properly speaking, they have never had an opportunity of mediating, because they have never been allowed to hold communication with the Ibadans; the Egbas command all the roads, and have refused permission.

1420. When did the British Government first interfere with the Abbeokutans, or in any way treat with the Abbeokutans?—I am not certain of the date, but there was a mercantile treaty, made probably in the year 1852 or 1853, by Commodore Bruce.

1421. What year did the English first communicate with the Abbeokutans on the subject of the war with Ibadan?—They have been in communication since acting Consul Lodder's time; from time to time, since 1858.

1422. To what extent did we at that time interfere?—We never interfered to any extent until very lately.

1423. What do you mean by very lately?—When the embargo was put for a short time on ammunition.

1424. What year was that?—The end of 1863 or the beginning of 1864.

1425. In what year did Mr. Brand become consul at Lagos?—In 1859, I think.

1426. He had been vice consul at Loanda?—Yes.

1427. And he soon died?—Very soon.

1428. Who succeeded him?—Lieutenant Hand, who was in command of a gunboat.

1429. He also died, did he not?—Yes, he died in a very short time.

1430. In 1861 you became acting consul?—Yes.

1431. And did you so act until Consul Freeman came out?—Yes.

1432. And since Consul Freeman went out you have remained there only in your private capacity as a merchant?—Exactly.

1433. During your acting consulship what amount of negotiation did you institute between your Government and the Abbeokutans?—I made several attempts to get their view of the quarrel, and to allow us to send messengers to Ibadan, but we never succeeded in communicating with Ibadan until now.

1434. Did you go yourself to Abbeokuta?—No, we send accredited messengers on those occasions generally.

1435. What part did Commodore Bedingfield take in conjunction with you?—He visited Abbeokuta on one occasion, and he had a treaty signed while he was there.

1436. Was there not a Captain Jones sent to Abbeokuta?—There was a Captain Jones sent to Abbeokuta in the time of Consul Foote; I think that he was sent to report on their military appliances, and their mode of carrying on war; he had no connection with the consulate.

1437. What was the nature of the proposition made by the British Government to Abbeokuta; was it that they must make peace with Ibadan, or did it go still further in insisting on their giving up the slave trade?—No, the chief negoti-

ations had been to make peace between them and the Ibadans.

1438. Did not Lord Russell give instructions to you to say, that whichever party, whether it was the Abbeokutans or the Ibadans would give up the slave trade, should be supported by the British Government?—I think he did; neither the Abbeokutans nor the Ibadans had directly exported slaves, but in carrying on war it is the usual fate of captives to be sold as slaves.

1439. I am quoting the words from the Despatch of Lord Russell of August 1861, and those words are to this effect, that the party who gives up the slave trade shall be supported by the British; and you were instructed to tell the king and elders of Abbeokuta that they would infallibly lose the friendship and protection of Her Majesty's Government if they persisted in hostilities against Ibadan; and you were instructed in that case to cut off their supplies of ammunition?—Yes; that was done.

1440. Can you state generally what was the extent of the slave trade at that time carried on by the Abbeokutans?—We had no means of getting at the number of slaves since they passed through Okeodan into the Dahomey country.

1441. Did you not get the King of Abbeokuta to promise to stop the route to Okeodan?—He did do so, but I do not it was done effectually.

1442. Had Mr. Townsend and the missionaries at that time much influence in Abbeokuta?—They had great influence.

1443. Did they co-operate with the British Government in those negotiations?—They showed a disinclination to allow the British Government to communicate with the Ibadans.

1444. Now we come to the period of 1861; was not that the date at which Lagos was formally ceded to the British Government?—Yes.

1445. Were you present, in conjunction with Commodore Bedingfield, at the negotiations for this cession?—Yes.

1446. Will you state generally to the Committee the grounds on which that cession was demanded by the British Government and made by Docemo?—There is no doubt that the grounds were, the non-performance of treaty obligations by Docemo.

1447. The treaty which Docemo entered into in 1852?—Yes.

1448. Upon his succeeding his father?—Yes; his father made that treaty in the year 1852, and he ratified it of course; he ceded his territories and his rights of sovereignty on condition of receiving a pension of 1,000 £ a-year and retaining the title of king.

1449. Now, will you tell the Committee, during this period for which you were most conversant with, and actually took part in, the Government or Consulship of Lagos, the period from 1851 to 1861, did the local king really govern Lagos, or did the British Government, with the influence of their consul, practically govern that island?—I should say, certainly, that the consul practically governed the country.

1450. Did this cession do more than give a formal authority to a government that had been already 10 years practically in the hands of the British Government?—I think, nothing more.

1451. You are decidedly of that opinion, from your experience, are you?—Decidedly. I have been there during the whole period, and the consul was the man to whom they all applied for redress in any matter of dispute.

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1452. This cession only gave formal shape to a state of things in which all was distinctly given up to the British Government except the title of king?—Just so.

1453. Will you explain to the Committee the opposition to this cession which came from the Sierra Leone merchants?—The opposition was the greatest on their part; the grounds of opposition I have no doubt were that they preferred the native rule; they were indebted largely to European merchants there, and there was no means of collecting debts, and they knew that in our rule of the settlement there would be laws and a regular government.

1454. Those Sierra Leone Merchants at Lagos are men who having been captured, or their fathers captured, as slaves, have been landed at Sierra Leone and come thence to settle at Lagos?—All of them.

1455. Do you mean by your last answer to say that those Sierra Leone men are generally opposed to the establishment of a regular government at Lagos?—Certainly.

1456. It compels them to pay their debts, and in various ways restrains them from a license to which they have become accustomed?—Yes, they held domestic slaves before, and they would wish to keep them now.

1457. How much of the population of Lagos do those liberated Africans amount to?—We include among liberated Africans Brazilian emigrants too, but the Sierra Leone traders would be themselves a fifth of the whole population, I think.

1458. Taking in the others, how much would they be?—One-third, I think.

1459. Now what is the connection of this part of the population of Lagos with Abbeokuta?—Most of them have originally come from some of the tribes which now inhabit Abbeokuta, and have relations and connections there, many of whom are chiefs and many people of influence.

1460. Their fathers or grandfathers were Abbeokutans, who were sold and exported as slaves to Ibadah, and who on being liberated came back to Lagos, they now having connections both commercially and by family with the Abbeokutans still?—Yes, just so.

1461. Are they generally opposed not only to our Government at Lagos, but to the policy of our Government around Lagos?—Yes.

1462. How far should you say they have led to the war which is now going on between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans, and at this moment obstruct the pacification of those tribes?—I should not say they led to the war perhaps, but I am convinced they obstruct the Government as much as possible in bringing the war to an end.

1463. Are what are called native traders the same as those Sierra Leone traders?—The native traders are distinguished from them; they have never been out of Lagos; the native traders have never been shipped as slaves; they are the old trading population who have been in Lagos under Kosoko and Docemo.

1464. They are, in fact, the same race, only they have never been shipped as slaves?—Yes, they speak the same language.

1465. Should you say that the cession has done good generally to Lagos?—I should think so; great good.

1466. Has it, for instance, reduced the slave trade in that part of the world?—It has entirely

put a stop to the export slave trade, and it has ameliorated the condition of domestic slavery in the neighbourhood.

1467. Comparing the state of things since the year 1861, when the British took the government, with the state of things 10 years before, when the British Government had a consul there, and through their consul were virtually the rulers, was the state of things under the consulate much worse than the state of things under the actual government?—A good deal worse, because the consul had not the power to do all he wanted to do.

1468. Have you any suggestions to make with regard to the British Government there now; for instance, is the expenditure larger than is necessary?—I think so; not for the present establishment, but larger than might be necessary.

1469. Could you suggest how that expenditure could be reduced?—I am not prepared to say at the moment how it could be best done.

1470. Have you heard discussed a suggestion of replacing the central governments at Sierra Leone and reducing those out governments to lieutenantcies under it?—I have heard that suggestion, and I think if a good man could be ensured as Governor General it might work; otherwise, I do not see what benefit would arise from it.

1471. Governor Freeman is also consul, is he not?—Yes, he is also consul for the Bight of Benin.

1472. Do you think that those two offices could be combined; the Government of Lagos and the Consulship of the Bight of Benin?—It might, but I fancy that it is liable to confusion; if the Governor was much occupied at Lagos, he could not probably attend to the consulate.

1473. What other consuls have we in that neighbourhood?—The next nearest consul is at Fernando Po; Consul Livingstone.

1474. Is there a consulate at the Bight of Biafra?—Yes, there is.

1475. The next to that is the Consulate of Loanda?—I believe so.

1476. Could the boundary of the Lagos Government be better defined than it is?—I think it might be.

1477. Can you make any suggestion to the Committee with regard to that?—There is no doubt that the easiest way to define the boundary would be to include in the protected territory the strip of land between the lagoon and the sea.

1478. That suggestion is that the lagoon, the whole of the way from Badagry to Leckie, should be the boundary of the British territory?—Yes.

1479. Which would give a very narrow strip from Badagry to Lagos, but a larger territory to the east of it?—Yes.

1480. Assuming that as the boundary, will you state to the Committee whether you think the government could then be confined to the soil of Lagos, or whether there would still be a necessity for separate posts at Badagry, Palma, and Leckie?—Yes, I think there is a necessity for the posts at Badagry, Palma, and Leckie.

1481. On what ground?—For the purposes of the revenue.

1482. Is that your only ground?—The supervision would be better for the slave trade; there will be a tendency for many years to export slaves unless they are watched.

1483. Do you think that the post at Badagry

is necessary to prevent the slave trade being carried on off the beach which lies between the lagoon and the sea, and from there to Lagos?—I think so.

1484. But is not the natural export of slaves down the lagoon?—No, not down it; I believe it is up the lagoon, towards Whydah; the current of the lagoon runs from Badagry towards Lagos, and out to the sea.

1485. But what, on the east of Lagos, would be the use of the English holding so large a piece of land if they only wanted the posts of Palma and Leckie?—There would not be any great advantage, except that it is a more defined boundary, and it has water communication around it.

1486. But does not the holding of territory implicate us in quarrels with the tribes, and also inflict upon us the inconvenience of a real jurisdiction over the natives?—I do not think that you would better the matter by concentrating the government at two or three points; I do not think that the jurisdiction would become complicated by holding that strip of land, for it is not populous.

1487. Is there not this great difficulty in conducting the government at Lagos, that by the British law slaves coming on British territory are at once free, which law we cannot carry out over the whole of this territory?—There is great difficulty in that respect.

1488. Will you make any suggestion about that, and give the Committee your own views upon that point?—I could not say; it is difficult to reconcile the views of people here with the native views.

1489. But supposing that you were unembarrassed by any views of any people in this country, can you yourself suggest any plan by which we could get over that difficulty?—I should simply try to modify the evil; I could not see my way to doing away with it.

1490. How would you modify it?—If slaves came from neighbouring tribes claiming protection, I should investigate their case, and send compensation to the masters.

1491. In fact, seeing that the habit of domestic slavery is ineradicable, at once you would attempt to diminish it by degrees by offering compensation to the masters for the slaves liberated?—Yes; if we did not, the master would kidnap some Lagos man.

1492. If the British Government came to such terms, and bought off the slaves from their masters, they might gradually abolish the system, you think?—I think it would die out.

1493. What sort of servants would they obtain in place of domestic slaves?—They would be in a manner serfs for ages to come, but without the power of sale, probably.

1494. Would the masters be able to supply themselves with labour from other quarters?—I think so.

1495. Where from?—From their own population; slaves are not necessarily taken from another tribe.

1496. Would it materially facilitate the British Government in Africa, if such terms could be come to with the masters?—I believe it is the main question. If that was settled, there is no other subject upon which we have any difference of importance.

1497. Do you think that if we came to such terms with the native masters upon the subject of

domestic slavery, it would itself so far facilitate the British Government, that it would no longer be necessary to hold so many posts?—I am certain of it.

1498. Do you think, for instance, in the case of Lagos, that with such arrangements for compensating masters for liberating slaves, we should be able to carry on our government with the sole occupation of the island of Lagos?—I have no doubt that we could carry our government on, but I do not see how we could well give up Badagry, Palma, and Leckie, where there have been trading establishments. Badagry is an older trading establishment than Lagos; 18 or 20 years older.

1499. Lord Stanley.] But we had not possession of it then?—Certainly not.

1500. Chairman.] Is not the main cause of the irritation of the tribes against the British Government, the fact that their runaway slaves become free in our territory?—I think it is the whole cause of the dislike to the Government.

1501. And even as the government is now conducted, the law is not practically carried out, is it?—No, it cannot be.

1502. If your suggestion was adopted you think that we should put an end to almost every ground of irritation with the tribes, and at the same time gradually abolish domestic slavery?—Decidedly.

1503. Is not domestic slavery a feeder to the slave trade?—I think not.

1504. Would not the slave trade die out along with domestic slavery?—The export slave trade would certainly die out, but in the interior of Africa I do not think that domestic slavery will die out for ages to come.

1505. But so far as domestic slavery ceased, the field from which the slave trade is fed would be shut up also?—No doubt.

1506. They would have to go further into the interior?—They do not generally sell domestic slaves; the exported slaves are supplied by those raids.

1507. Supposing that the British Government withdrew from all those posts, Badagry, Lagos, Palma, and Leckie, what do you think would be the consequence?—I think that the place would go back again to what it was in Kosoko's time, or in Docemo's time; there would be no security for traders, and slaves would be sent up the lagoon again towards Porto Novo for exportation.

1508. You consider those out-posts not only necessary in order to stop the slave trade, but for the protection of trade also?—I think so.

1509. Speaking from your experience of 15 years as a merchant at Lagos, what are the prospects of trade there?—If we could get this matter settled between the Ibadans and the Egbas, the trade would increase at least two-fold the first year. I should think that we could pay the whole of our expenses if we could get the war settled.

1510. When you talk of trade, do you mean trade in palm oil or in other things?—Chiefly in palm oil; but there is oil seed, and cotton and ivory.

1511. What are your views with regard to the prospect of a cotton-field being opened here?—I do not expect much cotton there for many years to come.

1512. Why not?—Because it is a plant which requires more attention than negroes are in the habit of paying to agriculture.

1513. Do you agree with the general reports

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that the soil from Lagos to Abbeokuta, on both sides of the Ogun, is peculiarly suited to cotton?—No; it is further north that the cotton comes from.

1514. Then, that interval is not good for cotton?—There is not much cotton cultivated there, if any, but there might be.

1515. My question was with regard to its capability of bearing cotton?—I am not prepared to say; but they seem to prefer the higher land more inland. Still, I suppose it would grow there.

1516. What is the state of the country generally between Lagos and Abbeokuta; have there not been great devastations from the Abbeokutan wars from time to time?—Certainly there have.

1517. Has that been a territory upon which there have been raids for collecting slaves for export?—Not of late, I think.

1518. Are all the towns which we see marked on the map independent powers?—Most of the towns are independent powers.

1519. Do they actually hold their independence, or are they not more or less under the control of larger powers?—They are more or less under the power of the nearest great king or chief.

1520. Is it not the fact, that they generally collect in those towns rather for the purpose of protection from being kidnapped?—No doubt.

1521. Otherwise, I suppose, their natural habits would lead them to spread over the country for agricultural purposes?—Certainly.

1522. When the inhabitants of a considerable district collect in a town do they place themselves under a chief?—It appears so in all cases, even in very small towns.

1523. Is that chief an hereditary chief?—It is very irregular, the succession; in many cases the chief's head slave will succeed him.

1524. In travelling over that country from Lagos to Abbeokuta, do you find a considerable part of that country reduced to a wilderness which used to be inhabited by kidnapping tribes?—No doubt the whole country has been devastated at one time; the ruins of many towns are to be seen even now.

1525. Are there many mercantile houses at Lagos, both European and native?—There may be about 50 merchants exporting produce from Lagos.

1526. How many of them are British traders should you say?—I should say one-third.

1527. What towns in England are they connected with?—London, Liverpool, and a small portion of the trade may go to Bristol.

1528. Will you now state where the other merchants are connected with?—We have one French house, two Italians, three from Hamburg, and five Brazilians, and the rest are Sierra Leone men, who export produce to this country.

1529. Are there no native exporters?—None that I know of.

1530. What do the native traders do?—They collect produce, and sell it to the Europeans there chiefly.

1531. What are generally the grievances of those native traders that we hear so much of?—The chief grievance is this matter of domestic slavery.

1532. That they are not allowed to hold slaves?—Just so.

1533. Having been themselves originally slaves?—Having been themselves originally slaves.

1534. Supposing the squadron to be improved, as has been suggested, to the utmost, do you think it could stop the slave trade along this coast without the presence of the settlement, putting out of the question the interest of trade?—I think it could hardly do so; of course if it was increased to a great extent it might; for instance, if you could anchor vessels along the coast within sight of each other.

1535. You think that with the most perfect squadron, a sufficient number of fast ships, and even putting out of the question the interests of trade, there would be a necessity for a settlement on the coast to stop the slave trade?—I think so.

1536. Do you think that it is a good system, and that it is necessary to pension the chiefs, as for instance Docemo and Kosoko?—I think so, otherwise they would have no means of living.

1537. That may be a humane view of the subject, but is it necessary for the interests of the British Government?—I think so; I think that they would be dissatisfied, and give more trouble, and that they would cost us much more money in another way.

1538. Could they, in fact, give the British Government trouble?—No doubt they could if they were to leave the town in a large body, and settle in the neighbourhood.

1539. Supposing Docemo and Kosoko were out of the way, would they have representatives who would still give us trouble, or would it only be necessary to give them a pension for life?—That is all.

1540. You do not mean any permanent system of pensioning?—No, certainly not.

1541. Did Docemo really raise much objection to the cession?—Personally he raised no objection that would not have been easily overcome.

1542. How did that difficulty arise, then?—He got under the advice of the Sierra Leone faction.

1543. In fact, until the Sierra Leone faction, as you call it, set him on to object he was willing to cede, was he?—He was quite willing, in the terms which he proposed himself. The main term was that he should have the title of king and be allowed to settle some disputes among the natives with their consent, and I think that there is such an article in the treaty.

1544. What is the relation of the towns marked in yellow upon the map as British territory, such as Munsho and others, with the British Government?—We have no direct jurisdiction over them, but if there were any complaint lodged against either of the tribes by any British subject then the British Government would send and ask for redress, and they generally get it peaceably.

1545. Is it your opinion that upon the tract marked yellow on the map there are towns still independent?—Virtually so, I think.

1546. What is your view with regard to the understanding of the natives who are in treaty with us as to the amount of protection promised them by the British Government?—I do not think that they understand by protection that we shall fight for them on all occasions. I think probably in the case of Okeodan it was understood that we should endeavour to prevent its being attacked by Dahomey, of whom they appeared to be much afraid.

1547. Then you think that the Okeodans expect the British Government to protect them against Dahomey; but do you also think that they expect the British Government to mediate between

between them mutually in their own disputes with one another?—I should think not.

1548. Should you say generally that it was the want of control over disputes between tribes which led to the necessity of the British assuming the government?—I should not say that the want of control over the tribes led to that, but the want of control in the immediate neighbourhood of Lagos, Badagry, Palma, and Leckie.

1549. Do those tribes who are not distinctly in treaty with us show an inclination to come within our protection?—Many of them do; the town of Igbessa and two or three others; Addo is already, I think, under our protection.

1550. Are they, in fact, all one after another asking to come within our protection?—They appear to wish to lean upon us for protection.

1551. Should you say that of all those towns lying between Lagos and Abbeokuta?—Yes, with the exception of Otta.

1552. Would you state to the Committee why that town of Otta is excepted?—It appears to be under the influence of the Abbeokutans chiefly; it is nominally independent, but it appears to be under the influence of the Abbeokutans; in fact, I think they claim it.

1553. Has Abbeokuta any superior capital over it?—I do not know that they acknowledge the king, but they are the capital of Oyo.

1554. That would be, properly speaking, the capital of both Abbeokuta and Ibadan, would it not?—Properly speaking it is the capital of the whole Yoruba country.

1555. Do they both acknowledge any submission to that as their capital?—The Abbeokutans, certainly not; Ibadan does partially.

1556. You said just now that Palma, Leckie, and Badagry were necessary posts for the Government for purposes of revenue; can you give some information with regard to the revenue at Lagos, as to its amount, and whether it is increasing or otherwise?—It is somewhere about 20,000 £; it was more at first; it is not increasing, and will not increase as long as the war goes on.

1557. Did you not for some time farm the revenue of the Government?—I did.

1558. Will you state the terms on which you farmed the revenue?—I was to farm it for three years for 2,000 bags of cowries per year.

1559. What is a bag of cowries worth?—It varies in value from 12 s. 6 d. to 20 s.

1560. How did you find that answer?—It did not pay; I did not expect that it would pay the first year, but I counted on the war ending before the expiration of the three years.

1561. What did the revenue arise from?—It was simply an export revenue on produce.

1562. Was the cause of its not paying you the existence of the war at the time?—Decidedly.

1563. Do you think that it would have been a probable speculation if there had not been war?—I should have made something of it, I think.

1564. You gave it up because the circumstances were not propitious?—No; I gave it up before the cession took place, before the second year had expired.

1565. Will you state generally to the Committee how far the consulship of Benin, which Governor Freeman also holds, implicates the British Government in proceedings on that part of the coast?—I do not think that the Government could be implicated in Benin more than in any other place that is not specially under its protection; but the interests of the British merc-

chants there are supposed to be attended to by the squadron for the protection of life and the prevention of any great aggression on property.

1566. In a recent instance in which Consul Freeman claimed compensation for Mr. Henry, a British merchant, he had to obtain the assistance of the squadron in order to enforce it?—Yes.

1567. Did he obtain the compensation which he asked for?—No; but since that time Commodore Wilmott has obtained it.

1568. I believe that you are about returning to West Africa, for the purpose of inspecting our establishments on the Niger?—I am going in charge of an expedition up the Niger.

1569. In company with Mr. Crowther, I believe?—He goes as a passenger to visit his diocese.

1570. You go on the part of a mercantile company, for mercantile purposes?—Yes.

1571. Will you state generally the nature of the British establishment on the Niger?—There is an establishment and a consul, but whether accredited or not I am not prepared to say; but I think that Dr. Baker was consul, and then a gentleman took his place at the confluence; that is all the establishment we have.

1572. Is that establishment maintained and increasing?—It is maintained at present. Dr. Baker had obtained great influence there, but I do not know how it would be now.

1573. Do you consider, with your present intentions of opening trade on the Niger, that that establishment is necessary for your views?—I should certainly prefer it to be maintained; in all cases where we got far inland, there should be a representative of the Government.

1574. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] You suggested just now a system of compensation to owners for runaway slaves arriving on British territory, as the means of keeping upon good terms with our neighbours; should you say that it was necessary to admit all fugitives from the surrounding country?—No, I should think not; but if they make their escape, and come to the Government and claim protection, it seems rather hard to send them back. I look at the difficulty practically.

1575. Do you think that setting up an asylum for fugitives from all the country round is a proper or likely means of effecting an improvement in the state of things there?—I think it is certain to embroil us with neighbouring tribes if we receive their fugitives.

1576. You would rather trust to the gradual effect of Christianity and the presence of civilisation to modify slavery?—Yes, I would.

1577. Then, do you think that we are bound to admit into a small settlement like Lagos, which I suppose is sufficiently populated, as many fugitives as offer themselves from all the country round?—We are not bound to do so; but I do not know what you are to do with the men who claim protection. It is a difficult case in both ways.

1578. How many fugitives are there at Lagos?—They are decreasing, I think; not, perhaps, a great number. I should be under the mark, I think, if I said 500 since the cession.

1579. Do you know what cause they generally allege for running away?—Ill-treatment.

1580. Do they come from any great distances?—They come considerable distances; most of them from Whydah, where the export trade is carried

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carried on; some few come from Abbeokuta, Ibadan, and Jebbo.

1581. Are those from Whydah ordinary domestic slaves, or are they slaves that are about to be exported?—Both; because at Whydah, when they are short of cargo, they ship their domestic slaves occasionally, so that they are not safe there as domestic slaves.

1582. Have we had many reclamations from the chiefs on the subject?—Many from Abbeokuta.

1583. What has become of those fugitive slaves?—Many of them have enlisted in the Houssas, and many have been liberated and apprenticed, the person taking the apprentice paying, in fact, the compensation money that was given for him, and getting his service for three or four years; after that time he is free.

1584. Are you aware that on the Gold Coast it is the practice not to admit fugitive slaves within the forts which are British territory, but to examine into the nature of their case outside, and upon territory which is not British?—I am not aware of that.

1585. Do you think that some such system as that might be adopted at Lagos?—I do not see how it could.

1586. Do you think it absolutely necessary to admit into the island of Lagos any number of fugitives that choose to present themselves?—They make their way there; they are there; you do not, in fact, admit them, they come there before you are aware; the Governor would probably find a fugitive at the foot of the stairs on his knees when he came down in the morning.

1587. Would there be no way of enforcing a system of permits?—That has been proposed, and I think that it might be made to work with a more defined boundary; that is the only way out of the difficulty except what I proposed; but it would only be effective in some places and from some directions.

1588. Is it very easy to cross the lagoon and reach Lagos from various points?—Very easy; the small canoes are so numerous.

1589. Lord Stanley.] If I rightly understood an answer which you gave a short time ago, there is a tendency in this protectorate to increase and to expand, as more chiefs form alliances with the British Government?—I do not know that the protectorate will expand, but the chiefs are desirous to lean on us for protection.

1590. That is to say, they will expect protection?—More or less than that is so.

1591. I suppose that it would not be easy to persuade them that that protection would not be granted?—They would certainly understand it if it was told them plainly.

1592. Do you think at the present time, so far as you know the relations of the British Government with the chiefs around Lagos, that there is anything like a clear understanding as to whom we will protect, and under what circumstances, and to what extent?—I think it is clearly understood that all that portion marked yellow would be protected as well as the island of Lagos itself. Beyond that boundary, the two places brought under protection at their own request, Addo and Okeodan, only require protection specially against Dahomey or against Abbeokuta. Addo has before been besieged by Abbeokuta, and Okeodan has been destroyed by Dahomey.

1593. As to those two places, we have put ourselves in a position in which we may at any mo-

ment be engaged in a war either against Abbeokuta or against Dahomey?—Certainly that might be.

1594. They have a claim to our protection against those states?—Yes, distinctly in the case of Okeodan; there has been no raid against Addo by the Abbeokutans.

1595. In the case of a barbarous state like Dahomey, I suppose the knowledge that that protection would be given is by no means sufficient to prevent an attack, is it?—I think it is the wish of the king of Dahomey to keep on good terms with the British Government.

1596. But everything depends on his personal will and personal rule?—Yes, everything.

1597. Do you think that a man like that has any clear idea of the disparity of force between the British Government and his own?—No, not at all; or, if he has any idea, he no doubt thinks his own force the greater.

1598. Will you explain to the Committee what is the object, beyond that of checking the slave trade, of holding so considerable an extent of coast round Lagos; does any other result follow from that?—I think that it secures better protection to commerce; I mean at the points actually held, Badagry, Palma, and Leckie.

1599. I understood you to say that Badagry was an older trading-place than Lagos itself?—Yes.

1600. Now what protection was there for trade there before the occupation of Lagos?—Practically we had to claim protection several times from the squadron.

1601. There was no force maintained on land, was there?—None on land.

1602. I suppose if any disturbance arose it would be to the squadron that you would still have recourse?—Just so. On one occasion there was a small force landed from a vessel to protect some property there.

1603. Therefore, the kind of protection given to trade at Badagry is precisely the same now that it is nominally a British post as it was before it became a British possession?—No. It is protected now by a small force on shore.

1604. Composed of what?—Composed of police, and the commandant's guard, a very few regular soldiers.

1605. In what way does the holding of those outlying posts of Badagry, Palma, and Leckie contribute to the revenue of the settlement?—They pay the same taxes as we do at Lagos, and were those posts not held, other merchants, the French particularly, would establish places and land goods free of duty, and bring them into the same markets as the Lagos goods.

1606. Then it is to protect the trade of Lagos against that competition?—So far it is.

1607. Can you tell the Committee anything with regard to the climate there. Is it more or less healthy than that of other stations?—I do not think that it is any more unhealthy than any other station on the coast. I think it is more healthy than Cape Coast.

1608. The island of Lagos itself lies very low, does it not?—Yes.

1609. Is there any high ground?—No, there is no high ground near Lagos.

1610. The soil is marshy, is it not?—The soil between that and the sea is marshy; the island itself has been originally a sandbank; the highest point is about 20 feet above the water probably.

1611. Now,

1611. Now, with regard to trade, what is the kind of business that is going on there?—It is chiefly the barter of cotton goods and Birmingham ware for palm oil, ground-nuts, and oil seeds.

1612. Do they come from Abbeokuta?—Some of the goods come from Abbeokuta, but most of them come from the banks of the lagoon running behind Badagry and Porto Novo up towards Abbeokuta, but there is not much beyond Abbeokuta.

1613. Are there any exports from Dahomey?—Not through Lagos.

1614. Do you think there is any prospect, if circumstances turn out favourably, of the settlement being self-supporting, so far as the civil expenditure is concerned?—I have no doubt of it, if we could obtain peace.

1615. But that depends on all this multitude of small native chiefs in the neighbourhood consenting to live in harmony?—No; it consists chiefly in settling those disputes between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans; the small chiefs are easily dealt with; if once we had a good understanding with the Abbeokutans, the King of Jobo and those small chiefs would give very little trouble.

1616. Now, with regard to this question of fugitive slaves, that you say is likely to remain a perpetual grievance between the British Government and the neighbouring tribes?—Yes, unless some terms can be satisfactorily arranged.

1617. We cannot consistently with our own feelings give up the fugitive slaves to the chiefs from whom they escape, and the latter look upon our detaining them as an act of robbery?—Yes.

1618. And there is no probability of their ideas and ours proximating, I suppose?—I see none.

1619. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] You were asked whether the protection afforded to Lagos or Badagry at present is not virtually the same as it was before Lagos became a British possession, namely, that of the squadron; I suppose you mean protection in case of war, attack, or plunder?—No; the protection of Badagry is now on shore, whereas formerly they were entirely dependent on the squadron. At Lagos we might, in some cases, have recourse to the squadron, but at present the place can protect itself with the Houssas and a gunboat.

1620. Do you mean that you have gained nothing for the ordinary security of trade by the establishment of a regular government and courts of justice, and means of enforcing debts?—Yes, of course we have. The squadron never interferes with that.

1621. With regard to the ordinary security of trade there has been a very great change for the better, has there not, since the establishment of British rule?—I think so.

1622. Sir *Francis Baring*.] What offices have you held?—Those of vice consul and acting consul.

1623. When were you vice consul?—I was vice consul from the end of 1853 to 1857, and again from January 1861 to May 1861.

1624. And then you became acting consul?—Just so.

1625. You have been asked with regard to the first occupation of Lagos by Admiral Bruce?—Yes.

1626. You were there at the time, were you not?—I was living in Badagry before the expulsion of Kosoko, and I had visited Lagos.

1627. You have stated that the whole cause of the occupation of Lagos was that Kosoko would not sign the treaty for the abolition of the slave trade?—That is my impression. My impression is that if he had signed that treaty he would have remained King of Lagos.

1628. That is possible; but instead of his signing the treaty, he fired upon a flag of truce, did he not?—I am not aware that he fired first; the men came home safe who first visited him. There were some threats held out to him.

1629. There are some papers stating the fact, but you are not aware that he actually fired on a flag of truce and killed two of the crew?—I am not aware that he fired on a flag of truce knowing that it was one.

1630. When Consul Beecroft was there the flag was fired on, was it not?—I know that he had a lot of Portuguese slave dealers there at the time, who advised him to resist, and it is probable that they advised him to send back any boat coming there.

1631. Then, when you say that it was entirely on account of his not signing a treaty, there were other reasons which were the cause of the expedition?—There were subsequent reasons certainly, but the main reason was that he would not sign the treaty, and then in prosecuting the attempt to get it signed it came to this.

1632. Are you stating facts that you know, or is it merely what you have heard?—Of course it is what I have heard, because I was not in the boats.

1633. Is that information derived from the papers giving an account of the negotiation?—I had opportunities of hearing everything that was going on, and I have since read most of the papers.

1634. There is a certain account laid before Parliament, have you looked at that?—I have seen most of the papers, I think.

1635. And it is upon that that you found your impression?—Certainly.

1636. You have stated that during the time you were there the consul was practically the Governor of Lagos; was that so?—Practically it was, so far as his powers went.

1637. But I want to know what power he had, because you paint a very bad state of things as existing at Lagos until the cession; I want to know who was responsible for that?—I should say that the native king was responsible.

1638. I understood you to say that the Government was really in the hands of the consul?—He had to depend upon the king for support to carry out his views.

1639. The consul had no power of carrying out his views?—No.

1640. You have stated, I see, in a letter of yours, that the state of Lagos was such that there was no safety for life or property?—I did not say there was no safety, but that there was much less safety than there has been since.

1641. What was the ground of the occupation of Lagos?—I should think that the main ground was the non-fulfilment of treaty obligations by King Docemo.

1642. Now, which were the treaty obligations that King Docemo had not performed?—I think one of the articles stipulated was, that he was to decide disputes between debtors and creditors, and disputes between the merchants themselves. I have on several occasions been present when those disputes have been heard by the king, and

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I am not able to say that I ever heard one settled.

1643. A dispute of the kind might be as long as a case in Chancery, I suppose?—Not so long as that, but you cannot get access to the king without delay, and you have to bribe your way through his people.

1644. Was that remonstrated against by the English Government?—No doubt it was done by officers on the spot from time to time.

1645. Is it not usual in fair dealing, when you are going to punish a man for a breach of treaty, for you to state to him the points on which he has broken the treaty, and to ask for an explanation; was anything of that kind done with regard to Docemo?—I think it had been done so often that it was hopeless.

1646. Do you know that it was done?—I know that in many cases the consul pressed the king to give redress for certain grievances.

1647. Did the English Government make any remonstrance on the subject of the debts not being collected?—I am not able to say if the Government here made any remonstrance.

1648. There was no security to life, you say in your letter; were there any Europeans murdered that you can recollect?—There were no Europeans murdered in Lagos; there were some Europeans murdered at Palma; that was so soon after the expulsion of Kosoko that I do not think it was attributable to Lagos or Docemo at all; the Egbas committed that murder.

1649. Akitoye did not break the treaty, did he?—No.

1650. That was no breach of treaty?—No, certainly not.

1651. Was there a case of murder of a European in the island during the whole of the 10 years in which the government was carried on by Akitoye and Docemo?—There was no case of murder of a European that I am aware of.

1652. Then, what is there that justified your assertion that life was not secure?—I should say that it had not altogether reference to the lives of Europeans. I know that men have been thrown into prison, without any cause, by Docemo.

1653. Europeans?—Europeans; and afterwards they told the man it was a mistake, and that they took him for another man; but he had been living in the neighbourhood for many years, and he was perfectly well known to the king's people. I do not believe that it was a mistake.

1654. You were yourself fined at one time by King Docemo, were you not?—I was.

1655. What was that for?—For going to Epé.

1656. What did you go to Epé for?—I went with a Hamburg gentleman, who is an agent for one of the Hamburg houses, and who had a factory at Palma; it is the only way.

1657. You were going to Palma?—Yes.

1658. Was Kosoko at Palma?—No, he was at Epé.

1659. Did you see him there?—Yes.

1660. Probably the rule laid down by Docemo that there should be no communication with Epé?—No, there was no law of the sort.

1661. But were you acting vice consul then or not?—No, I was not.

1662. You had been acting vice consul?—I had been acting vice consul before that.

1663. Who was consul at that time?—Mr. Campbell.

1664. Did he remonstrate with Docemo?—No, he did not.

1665. At all events, a consul would remonstrate if any injustice was done, would he not?—He ought to have done so, but he did not.

1666. Probably he did not think there was any cause for doing so?—No, but we had had a quarrel.

1667. You had had a quarrel with Mr. Campbell?—Yes, I had had a quarrel with him, and I think that probably the fine was as much imposed by him as it was by the king.

1668. What was the fine?—It was 200 bags of cowries.

1669. How much is that?—It was eventually reduced to 120 bags of cowries, that is worth in English money about 80 *l.* or 90 *l.*

1670. Was that a heavy fine?—It was considered so; my trade was stopped; he put a man at the gate and would not let anyone go in or out until the fine was paid, and the alternative was to quit the country in 24 hours and leave my property there.

1671. I think that the first negotiations which took place with Abbeokuta were carried on by you, were they not?—I think not, not the first.

1672. There were previous negotiations, were there?—Yes.

1673. But you did write to the Abbeokutans?—I did.

1674. Almost as soon as you were in office?—I did.

1675. As soon as the cession took place?—Yes.

1676. And there was great offence taken at your communications, was there not?—I am not aware of any great offence being taken at my communications.

1677. But a letter of yours produced a letter from the Abbeokutans of a very improper character, was that so?—I think so.

1678. And in consequence a remonstrance was made by Captain Bedingfield and you, or by Captain Bedingfield alone?—Yes. I will explain that; they did not wish to treat with me as a Government official because I had been there as a trader; they knew me as a merchant, and they thought that I had no right to meddle with Government matters.

1679. They took a personal objection to you?—Yes.

1680. As I observe in these papers the natives made an objection to you personally, whether right or wrong?—They did at Abbeokuta, no doubt.

1681. The negotiation was not favoured, at all events, by the party who was selected to carry it out?—I think that the feeling arose since, or chiefly since.

1682. The very first letter that you wrote produced a very sharp answer, and you were desired to let them alone?—That is so.

1683. Do you know what authority Lieutenant Glover or Governor Freeman had for taking possession of Badagry?—Badagry has always been considered a dependency of Lagos.

1684. Then it was previous rights, was it?—Certainly.

1685. Was Badagry under Lagos when you were living there?—There was one portion of the Badagry people in favour of Kosoko, and another in favour of Akitoye; there was a party for each of them; but it would still come under Lagos.

1686. Who exercised the governing power at the time there?—The chiefs of Badagry.

1687. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] But there had been an express cession as well?—Yes.

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1688. Sir Francis Baring.] There was an arrangement with the chiefs?—We considered that it naturally fell into our possession with Lagos, but some question arose of the title of the King of Porto Novo to it, and to settle any claim he might have a cession was obtained subsequently.

1689. But my question is, what authority had Governor Freeman or Lieutenant Glover to take possession of Badagry; was it done with the previous knowledge and sanction of the Government at home?—They did not take possession of it; it had been before treated as part of the settlement of Lagos; they simply made it more secure by obtaining a treaty of cession.

1690. Did they collect the revenue there?—They did.

1691. I observe that in one of the communications of Governor Freeman to Sir Baldwin Walker, he says that he took possession of Badagry and Palma because it interfered with the collection of his revenue?—He must have meant that if he had not done so it would interfere; because, although it was not properly enforced either in Lagos or Badagry, when Governor Freeman came out, we considered that we had a right to impose duties in Badagry as well as in Lagos.

1692. Who got the revenue before this occupation?—The chiefs of Badagry themselves.

1693. Then the revenue was not taken by the Lagos Government?—That was simply because no revenue had been organised.

1694. Did they get the revenue, or not?—The chiefs got the revenue until Governor Freeman came out, but that was only for a month or two.

1695. How was it before that?—Before that cession the chiefs always got the revenue.

1696. How was it at Leekie?—Kosoko got the revenue at Leekie.

1697. Will you give me an answer, yes or no; was there any authority to Governor Freeman or Lieutenant Glover to take possession of Badagry or Leekie before that was done?—I am not aware of any direct authority.

1698. Now with regard to this revenue; I see that the revenue from exports is stated to be 166,064 £; that includes the revenue from Badagry and Leekie, does it not?—Is that the revenue since the cession?

1699. That was for 1864?—Certainly.

1700. Now, before 1864, as I understand from you, that money was not received?—Yes, it was received before 1864, certainly.

1701. Before the cession was that Badagry and Leekie revenue received or not?—Certainly not before the cession.

1702. Then if you were to compare the amounts of the value of exports in 1864 with the value of exports before the cession, you would compare the revenue received from Badagry, Leekie, and Lagos, with the revenue of Lagos simply, would you not?—Certainly, if you did it in that mode.

1703. I have got a memorandum of Consul Brand, in which says, in the year 1860 the value of exports had been for the past year by no means a favourable one, it was nearly 250,000 £; that is Lagos only?—I question whether that is so; if he was writing as consul, it might be his whole district.

1704. In 1857, I find that the value of the palm oil was above 231,000 £; that was for Lagos only, was it not?—I do not know; but I know that when I was acting consul the returns were 0.39.

made out for the districts of Badagry, Porto Novo, and Lagos.

1705. But I observe that the tons of palm oil exported from Lagos are stated at 4,942?—That would be correct, I think.

1706. But if they put Palma and Badagry at 4,500 tons, that is leaving a very small proportion for Lagos, is it not, if Lagos is to be taken as included?—I should think so; there must be an error there, I fancy.

1707. But with those figures from the Blue Books before you, you would hardly say that the Lagos return included Badagry and Palma, would you?—I should think not in that instance.

1708. Then we will take another instance. In 1856, the exports from Lagos were valued at 178,000 £, and the exports from Palma and the neighbourhood and Badagry were valued at 197,000 £; the 197,000 £ can hardly be included in the 178,000 £?—Certainly not.

1709. Therefore in those two revenues there are different ingredients, and a fair comparison cannot be made between them?—No, certainly not.

1710. Mr. Gregory.] What is the distance between Ikorodo and Ibadan?—I should think that it is as nearly as possible 70 miles.

1711. Is there a regular road through the bush?—Yes, there is a regular road.

1712. The object of the Abbeokutas is to prevent the Ibadans from trading directly instead of sending their produce over the River Ogan?—That is my belief.

1713. Then was the misunderstanding between the Abbeokutas and our Government merely in consequence of our remonstrating against this very unjust proceeding on the part of the Abbeokutas?—Chiefly that. I do not know that the Government remonstrated much, but they wanted the war to be settled on a basis that would permit the Ibadans to have a road to the sea coast.

1714. Would it be possible for the Ibadans to bring down their produce more to the Ejinim market instead of to Ikorodo?—It would be possible, and I should think that the distance is less; but one is an old established road, and in the other case they must make a road.

1715. And they would still be exposed to attacks by the Egbas?—No, they would not be liable to attacks by the Egbas; but they would be more exposed to the allies of the Egbas, the Jebus.

1716. There is an establishment of missionaries at Abbeokuta, is there not?—There is.

1717. Have those missionaries endeavoured to bring about a better state of things between the Abbeokutas and the Ibadans?—I am not aware that they have.

1718. Have they interfered in any way with the chiefs of the Egbas?—I should think not directly.

1719. What is the religion of the Abbeokutas; are they generally Christians?—The large majority of them are Pagans; there is a small proportion of them Christians and Mahometans.

1720. How is the Government of Abbeokuta composed; is there a series of chiefs, or is there one particular head?—There is a head, who is styled the Alake; at present there is none, but in the usual state of affairs there is one, and the town is divided into districts, each of which has a separate chief, who in most things is independent of the king.

1721. I ask you that question because I see it stated

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stated (in Colonel Ord's Report) as to the insecurity of this part of the country, that the war is not carried on by the will of the Abbeokutans generally, but by that of a minority; is that so?—That is my impression.

1722. You speak of the falling off in the revenue of Lagos; that I suppose is entirely owing to the very large amount of stores that are now in Abbeokuta, and not allowed to be brought down to the coast?—It is partly owing to that, and partly to their giving up production.

1723. You have stated that the Sierra Leone men rather endeavoured to keep up the feud between Lagos and Abbeokuta?—They seem to do so.

1724. But the object of the Lagos Government is solely to prevent this war between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans, and would not these traders naturally wish the war to be stopped?—There are many advantages which they get by the present state of things; they have relations in Abbeokuta, by means of whom they can carry on trade, while the Europeans can carry on none.

1725. This gives them a species of monopoly then?—It gives them a great advantage, no doubt.

1726. What was the state of things at Lagos before 1861; was it possible to get justice, or were debts enforced?—No.

1727. Was it necessary to use bribery to obtain justice?—In every case.

1728. Debts were not enforced?—You could not get debts enforced unless you could obtain the ear (the king did not take the trouble) of the man whom the king appointed, and if you paid him enough, you might then get your debt after having proved a good claim; you cannot call that justice.

1729. Were there human sacrifices?—Not many; there have been, I believe, a few.

1730. At Badagry?—No, at a place called Woroo, between Badagry and Lagos.

1731. I suppose that the natives themselves find the present state of things infinitely more satisfactory than the state of things before 1861?—No doubt they do, with the single exception of the question of domestic slavery.

1732. Are you aware of any instances in which any of the chiefs of those surrounding towns have applied for assistance to the Government of Lagos, and been refused, or that they have ever applied for assistance, and had it granted?—I am not aware of any instance in which any of the chiefs of those surrounding towns have applied for assistance. The chiefs of Okeodan I know applied to be taken under our protection, and that was mainly because they were afraid of an attack from Dahomey.

1733. How long ago was that?—I think it was in 1863.

1734. They did apply?—They did apply.

1735. What answer was given?—There has been a treaty made with the chiefs, promising them protection; in fact, taking Okeodan under our protection.

1736. Okeodan has been taken under the protection of the British Government at Lagos?—I think so.

1737. Have they been attacked since then by Dahomey?—No.

1738. Or threatened?—No.

1739. Supposing that they were attacked, what means have we of protecting them?—They would want nothing more than that we should supply them with powder and guns.

1740. Would that expose us to retaliation by the King of Dahomey?—He could not affect us.

1741. He could not attack Badagry, you think?—No; he cannot interfere anywhere where we have the command on the banks of the lagoons.

1742. You are not of opinion that the chiefs, or the King of Okeodan, are under the impression that we are bound to give them any actual assistance in the way of men to resist an attack from Dahomey?—Not at present, I think; but from the wording of the treaty, no doubt we are bound to give them assistance, and they may become alive to that.

1743. Lord Alfred Churchill.] What treaty are you alluding to?—The treaty taking Okeodan and Addo under British protection.

1744. Mr. Forster.] You say that the treaty may become aware of the wording of the treaty; is it the case that they have not got it in their possession?—Certainly they have; they had it interpreted, but they do not always know the whole bearing of a treaty so fully as that.

1745. Mr. Mills.] Is there anything now to interrupt commercial communication between Abbeokuta and Lagos?—Certainly; the Abbeokutans, in order to keep an army in the field, forbid all trading on the part of their subjects.

1746. There is no trade between Abbeokuta and Lagos?—None.

1747. It was stated on the occasion of a recent invasion of Dahomey by the Abbeokutans, that the Abbeokutans supplied themselves with ammunition by means of a slave trade with French merchants at Porto Novo; have you ever heard that stated?—Not in those words, I think; but I have heard something to the same effect.

1748. Do you think that it was so?—It is quite possible that they obtained guns and powder from Porto Novo, not only through French merchants, but through our own establishments.

1749. In exchange for slaves, I suppose?—Probably; they could not take produce down that way.

1750. I do not say through whose fault the interruption of commerce arose originally, but I suppose the necessity for the Abbeokutans supplying themselves from some other source may be said to have arisen from the circumstance that all communication with Lagos was suspended?—Certainly.

1751. You said just now, I think, that you had no expectation of domestic slavery in the interior being put an end to at all within any reasonable time?—None whatever.

1752. Do I understand you rightly to say that you considered the cessation of civil wars in the interior between the tribes is our main hope of putting a stop to the supply and export of slaves?—I think so.

1753. Mr. Cave.] Do you consider that the people in those countries have been improved at all by our communications with them in trade?—Certainly.

1754. Is not the whole of the cultivation carried on by means of slaves?—The whole of it.

1755. Would it not be the case, that our bringing articles of barter in exchange for their produce would have a tendency to increase that slave cultivation?—No, I think not; I think that if they had no means of trade they would still probably dispose of slaves for export.

1756. That is a question of degree; but in case the demand for their produce increased to an extent beyond what could be supplied by the domestic

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domestic slaves they already possessed, would not that induce them to buy slaves from other parts?—It might at first, but in the end it must modify the thing, because if they once found the value of a slave in working on the land, they would not part with him, and no doubt domestic slavery is much better than the export of slaves.

1757. But still they would buy other slaves if they had not enough of their own?—They might.

1758. Would they not even make war to obtain them?—No.

1759. Why?—Because war and agriculture cannot go on at the same time.

1760. But if they found that they had not sufficient slaves to raise the products which they would give in exchange for articles of merchandise, do you think they would not even go to the length of making war to obtain a sufficient number of slaves?—I do not think they would.

1761. Now, a great part of the merchandise which we bring consists of guns, gunpowder, and rum, does it not?—Yes, a considerable portion of it.

1762. Do you consider that that is likely to improve the state of the people?—I do not certainly.

1763. If we bring such articles as those, and exchange them for the produce of slaves, how is it that our intercourse with the people improves them?—I think those are not the sole articles that we import into the country; I have no doubt if the natives can be made to adopt agricultural habits, the slave-trade must die out; at present, they have no other idea throughout Africa than domestic slavery; it is an institution, and has been for ages.

1764. But of what use are those guns and powder to the people?—They use a good many guns and a great deal of powder in firing salutes, and making their "customs," as they call them; not one-tenth of the ammunition is expended in actual warfare.

1765. You think that a very small part of the ammunition is expended in actual warfare?—I think so.

1766. You have seen those petitions from the Sierra Leone people, I suppose; what is your opinion upon them and their complaints with regard to the slaves?—I think, in the main, they would probably have the same idea as myself, except that I would carry it further; I do not approve of domestic slavery, but I do not see how we can do away with it; whereas they seem to approve of it, and they would wish to carry it on.

1767. Is that the general feeling of people on the West Coast?—Certainly, that is the feeling of the natives.

1768. Is that the feeling of the European merchants?—I have no doubt that my own opinion is the general opinion of the European merchants.

1769. Will you be so good as to explain your own opinion more definitely?—My opinion is, that we cannot do away with domestic slavery, but that it should be modified in some way.

1770. Mr. Forster.] Are the Committee to understand that you mean you cannot do away with domestic slavery in the interior, or that you think it is wrong or unadvisable to abolish domestic slavery in the British possessions?—I mean the latter.

1771. Then would you think that domestic slavery should be legalised in the British possessions?—In some form or other.

1772. Mr. Cave.] Would you introduce domestic slavery again into those parts from which it has been withdrawn?—It would be advisable to get rid of it as soon as it could be done with safety.

1773. With regard to the moral effect of such a procedure, would it not be considered very extraordinary that we should legalise it in one of our settlements, and at the same time expend a great deal of money in stopping it elsewhere?—In Europe no doubt it would be so considered, but in Africa it would be regarded quite differently.

1774. Is not this domestic slavery fed and kept up by means of the slave trade in almost every instance?—I think not; I think that domestic slavery existed long before the export of slaves.

1775. In all countries in which domestic slavery exists do you not find foreign slaves among them?—Yes, but not in any large proportion.

1776. But those foreign slaves must be brought in by an external slave trade, must they not?—They may have been brought in by interchange of slaves; the whole of the tribes hold slaves, and interchanges must take place.

1777. Is it your opinion that it would be possible to have, generally, a legalised system of domestic slavery which, in such a country as Africa, would not, if circumstances were favourable, lead to an external slave trade?—I do not think that in any case it would lead to an external slave trade.

1778. Do you think that people who were so familiarised with slavery would hesitate, if they had not slaves enough, to buy them from foreign nations, and other tribes?—That can easily be prevented; I would not admit that at all.

1779. But you could not prevent that in those nations immediately around us, could you?—No, you cannot prevent it there.

1780. You think that it would take place still?—No doubt it would, to some extent, but I think that the whole thing would gradually die out.

1781. Is there any appearance at present of slavery dying out?—Our influence has been so short, and so little felt, that I can hardly say.

1782. Lord Alfred Churchill.] With regard to Badagry, Palma, and Leckie, do you think that they pay their own way?—Taking them apart from Lagos, I think they do.

1783. Should you say that they more than pay their expenses?—I think that they do.

1784. If they were given up would there be, in your opinion, any risk of the slave trade breaking out at any of those points?—I do not think that it would break out on any large scale, but I think that they would become feeders to the export coast of Dahomey.

1785. Mr. Seymour.] You said that there was a minority of the Abbeokutan people who were for war; it is generally an energetic minority that carries a nation to war, is it not?—No doubt.

1786. That has been the case on many occasions, has it not; for instance, in that of the French Revolution?—No doubt.

1787. It is the fact, however, that the Abbeokutans are at war now, and have been for a considerable time?—Certainly.

1788. Therefore it is to be presumed that the most influential people in Abbeokuta are in favour of war?—The most unscrupulous no doubt are.

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1789. But the most influential too?—The most influential because the most unscrupulous.

1790. You have stated that at one time debts were not enforced in Lagos without bribing the judges, did you not?—I did.

1791. Are you aware that that is also the case in some European kingdoms?—Yes.

1792. So that that alone would not be a reason for our occupation of the country?—Certainly not in the case of a European state.

1793. The trade was larger in independent Lagos than it is now, was it not?—Yes; but not because it was independent, but because war had not so affected it.

1794. But is it the fact that the trade was larger when Lagos was independent than in any year since the British have taken possession of it?—Yes.

1795. I gather from what you have said that your view is that we should try to improve generally the African race, and that slavery would then gradually die out?—Yes.

1796. Slavery has existed in most countries and then died out, is not that so?—It appears to be the case.

1797. You think that it would be quite impracticable to set up and keep up a crusade to stop domestic slavery in every African nation?—I am certain of it.

1798. Did I understand you to say that you thought domestic slavery should be acknowledged in some shape or other in the British possessions?—I think that domestic slaves held by people at Lagos should still be allowed to be held under certain conditions, but that they should not be allowed to acquire more.

1799. Would you put them into the same position as the slaves in the protected states on the Gold Coast?—I should have them registered and means taken to see that they were not disposed of.

1800. Do you think that would be practicable?—Perfectly.

1801. Do you think that you could prevail upon British judges, with the feeling which there is in England against slavery in any shape, to enforce a law recognising any form of slavery?—No. I am perfectly aware of the feeling in England, and it is my own feeling; but I speak of the practical difficulty there.

1802. You think that if some mode of legalising, by a kind of apprenticeship, this institution which you call domestic slavery were introduced, it would be the best thing for the African race?—I think so.

1803. But supposing that to be an impossible course, then what you have said would be an argument against our having more possessions than are absolutely necessary on the coast, would not that be so?—Yes, I certainly think it would be.

1804. You would then, perhaps, be in favour of our having a small independent British possession, and from there extending our influence as far as possible in the countries around?—I think so; I do not think that we should acquire more territory than is necessary.

1805. Are you in favour of our having acquired all that we have taken!—Certainly with regard to Lagos, but there is no settled boundary as yet; I should be in favour of limiting the boundary, and having it defined.

1806. Do you agree with the petition of the Sierra Leone people at Lagos, that our having taken Lagos has made us to be looked upon with

greater suspicion than before by the natives of the interior?—By the natives of Abbeokuta, not any others; and that is chiefly on account of representations made by people from Lagos.

1807. They state in their petition, that “During the protectorate a consular stick was sufficient to secure the countenance and support of any of the surrounding kings and chiefs in the interior;” it is not so now, is it?—That is simply because you cannot pass Abbeokuta, but any other place is safe; you can go to Ibadan. I have sent messengers myself from the Upper Niger to Ibadan with a stick.

1808. Have any efforts been made by the authorities in Lagos to induce the Ibadans to relinquish the war?—We have never been able to communicate with them; that messenger was sent overland, but he could not induce them to negotiate.

1809. The Sierra Leone people say in their petition that they were prepared and could have negotiated with the Ibadans if it had been the wish of the Government?—They wanted to do it unaccompanied, and on their own account; and I think the Government was justified in not allowing that.

1810. But if they could have communicated with the Ibadans, why could not the Government?—Simply because they have friends in Abbeokuta; it is the Abbeokutans who prevent our communicating with the Ibadans.

1811. But if they allow the Sierra Leone people to send to Ibadan to induce the people to stop the war, why should they not allow the Government of Lagos to do the same?—I cannot say, but they have refused on more than one occasion.

1812. Were the Abbeokutans on good terms with the people of Sierra Leone at Lagos, and not with the Government?—It appears to be so; when I left there was good feeling between Lieutenant Glover and the Abbeokutans; he had visited them in camp; but there has been from time to time considerable ill-feeling.

1813. Was that feeling of a personal nature, applying to certain individuals in the Government, or to the British Government generally?—Such a feeling always becomes personal there, and directs itself against men who are acting on behalf of the Government.

1814. Do you think that any blame was to be attached to the Government for the mode in which they acted?—I think not.

1815. Do you think that now Lieutenant Glover is there there is not likely to be a recurrence of that ill feeling?—I saw no signs of it when I left.

1816. There is perfect good feeling there now, you think?—Lieutenant Glover had visited the camp, and been well received by the chiefs.

1817. Do you think that he will be able to induce them to stop the war?—I hope he will.

1818. Lord Alfred Churchill, I think you have stated that the portion coloured yellow is supposed to be under British protection?—Yes.

1819. How do you propose that we should protect it; is it capable of protection?—It is not capable of protection against aggression by any powerful chief from the interior; at least not without great expense.

1820. Do you think that it would be right on the part of the authorities at Lagos to send any armed force to repel any attack which might be

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made by the enemy?—No; not unless it was a very gross case.

1821. Is that the reason why you think we ought to define our boundaries and reduce our responsibilities?—Yes, decidedly.

1822. How would that be regarded by the natives who are now residing there?—I do not think that it would make the slightest difference to them. Practically, we have interfered very little with them, except on the banks of the lagoon.

1823. Those towns could be defended by a gunboat, could they not?—Yes.

1824. Is the lagoon navigable?—Yes, to Porto Novo and beyond, for vessels drawing seven feet of water.

1825. Not for very large vessels?—No.

1826. I suppose that domestic slavery exists in those towns lying between Badagry and Lagos?—In the whole of them.

1827. It is a mild institution, is it not?—It is very mild; it is not, properly speaking, slavery; very often a slave inherits his master's property.

1828. What is the power of the master over the slave; is it a power of life and death?—No; he has the power of sale, but he would not have that power over them very often; at all events not without considerable difficulty.

1829. Do you think it would be advisable rather to wink at the institution of domestic slavery if we could prevent the sale of the slave?—I think so; that is my opinion. I know how it affects people here, but I do not see how you can do away with it otherwise.

1830. Is it an institution which is the growth of generations?—Yes.

1831. I never thoroughly understood the object of the war between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans; is it not to prevent the trade of Ibadans passing to Lagos?—No, it is not exactly that; it is the passing direct to Lagos which is objected to; the Abbeokutans would prefer it going through them.

1832. If the Ibadans were to consent to let the trade pass through Abbeokuta, I suppose the war would cease?—I am not prepared to say that the war would cease, but it would never have been begun; an ill feeling has grown up now.

1833. There are now excited passions?—Yes.

1834. What is the distance from Ibadan to the River Niger?—I could not say without the chart; 700 or 800 miles, I should think.

1835. Do you think that it would be possible to carry on trade between Ibadan and the River Niger?—No, it is too much overland.

1836. Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald.] I understood you to say that there was a treaty of protection between Lagos and Okeodan?—Yes.

1837. And also with regard to Addo?—Yes.

1838. Did I understand you rightly to say that by that treaty the English authorities are bound to assist the chiefs of those territories by arms in case of an attack?—I think it was so understood in the case of Okeodan. I can speak positively with regard to that case.

1839. By whom was that treaty entered into on the part of the British authorities?—I think it was Lieutenant Glover who was Lieutenant Governor at the time.

1840. Was that upon his own authority and from his own opinion, or was it from instructions from home?—I fancy that it was without direct instructions from home; but I think that he had very good reasons for entering into that treaty.

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1841. Are you aware whether such a treaty as that is necessarily sent home to the Colonial Office for sanction?—Certainly.

1842. Are you aware whether that treaty was or not approved by the authorities at home?—I did not see the letter of approval, but I believe that it was approved.

1843. That treaty was a treaty binding the British Government to assist the authorities of Okeodan by force of arms in case of an attack?—By such a force as was in the power of the Government at Lagos.

1844. You have stated that you think it would be highly injudicious for the authorities at Lagos to send any force to assist these protected states in case of an attack from abroad?—No doubt it would be so to send any regular force; they could be assisted by an irregular force, and by the supply of guns and powder.

1845. But is it in your opinion desirable for the British Government at Lagos to enter into arrangements by which they are bound to give that kind of assistance, when in your opinion it would be highly improper and undesirable to give it?—I think that it is not advisable.

1846. Then in your opinion those treaties between the British Government and the protected States, such as Okeodan, are injudicious?—They are under that view. At the time that that treaty was entered into the French were then in the occupation of Porto Novo; Okeodan was on the main road to the interior, and it was pretty well known that the French were trying to get it; in fact, they had assumed the protection of Porto Novo which was on the way to it, and it was believed that they would have taken Okeodan, and then they would have had a road direct to Abbeokuta, through which, if they had held Porto Novo, they might have held the trade to Abbeokuta, instead of its going to Lagos; that was the real object.

1847. Was the real object of the treaty, then, to get the monopoly of the trade for Lagos?—The object was to prevent the trade being diverted by the French.

1848. Is not that the same thing?—Yes, I should think that that would be the effect.

1849. Are you of opinion that the development of trade with tribes towards the interior of Africa is desirable when that trade can be carried on in a British possession, but that it is not conducive to the interests of the African race when carried on by other European powers?—No doubt it is conducive to the desired result in both cases; it was more a question of revenue, I suppose, than the good it was doing to Africa directly. If our trade had been diverted from Lagos to Porto Novo we should have had less revenue.

1850. Mr. Mills.] In an answer which you gave to a previous question of mine, you said that at the time Abbeokuta was threatened by Dahomey a slave trade sprang up between the Abbeokutans and the French merchants at Porto Novo, the object of which was to supply the Abbeokutans with arms and ammunition?—So it was said.

1851. And you said that you believed there was some foundation for that report?—I believe so.

1852. If that were so, then I presume this treaty which you spoke of just now, the object of which was to secure the trade to Lagos, did not attain the result which was contemplated, that is to say, the result aimed at, which was to

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secure the trade to Lagos in preference to Porto Novo; for if at the time communications between Abbeokuta and Lagos were suspended a trade sprang up between Porto Novo and Abbeokuta, the objects of that treaty were defeated, were they not?—But that trade sprang up simply because the other was stopped; they could not get guns from Lagos.

1853. Then to what cause do you ascribe the stoppage of that trade between Abbeokuta and Lagos; do you conceive that that embargo was rightly to be ascribed to Abbeokuta or to the Government at Lagos?—There is no doubt that the supply of guns and ammunition was stopped by the Lagos Government; it was thought that if they stopped the export of those articles from the island neither party would get ammunition, and that therefore the war would be stopped.

1854. I am founding no inference upon it, but am I right in supposing that the stoppage of the trade between Abbeokuta and Lagos is rightly supposed to have been the act of the Government at Lagos?—No. The produce of the country was first prevented coming down from Lagos by the Abbeokutans themselves; it was subsequently to that that the Government prevented goods going up.

1855. Then it would be right to infer that the actual result which has taken place, namely, the stoppage of trade between Abbeokuta and Lagos, was partly the act of the Government of Lagos?—Partly.

1856. Mr. *Seymour FitzGerald*.] Is there any treaty similar to that between the British Government and Okeodan in regard to the territory of Igbesa?—I am not aware of any; there is with Addo.

1857. Is there a similar stipulation for armed assistance on our part in that case?—I think it is so worded as to imply such assistance as could be supplied by the Lagos Government.

1858. Can you at all tell me how long that treaty has existed?—About the same time as Okeodan, since the end of 1863.

1859. That was entered into with a similar intention, namely, to stop the trade between Abbeokuta and Porto Novo, was it?—It was; at their own request.

1860. Then there would be a treaty for giving armed assistance, but without the clause which you named in the case of the treaty with Okeodan; namely, that of stopping the direct trade between Porto Novo and Abbeokuta?—Certainly, there would not be the same excuse; but still Addo more or less commands that river; I suppose that was one reason.

1861. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Is that a navigable river?—At present it is grown over with grass, but there is plenty of water in it.

1862. Mr. *Seymour FitzGerald*.] When you speak of a slave trade having sprung up at Porto Novo, do you speak of it of your own authority, or of your own knowledge?—I cannot say from my own knowledge.

1863. Mr. *Forster*.] When you speak of having heard of a slave trade at Porto Novo, I suppose you mean by the French Government under their so-called free emigration?—No, I do not think that the French sanctioned slave trading in any sense in Porto Novo; before the Government was fairly constituted, there was a good deal done clandestinely.

1864. Mr. *Seymour FitzGerald*.] Was there an absolute export of slaves there direct?—No, not

direct from the beach, they were brought there in small numbers and sent on to Whydah.

1865. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Did you ever know any instance of the owner of domestic slaves selling those domestic slaves for the foreign slave trade?—There are very few instances of that kind.

1866. They do not do so as a rule, I suppose?—Not as a rule.

1867. In this spot coloured green you consider that the Protectorate is too extended. To what amount would you propose to reduce it?—To the lagoon boundary.

1868. All north of the lagoon?—Yes.

1869. Simply keeping the sea coast?—Yes, the strip of beach between the lagoon and the sea.

1870. And on the other side?—Yes.

1871. Would you propose to keep the whole of that?—Yes, because we cannot define the boundary. It is not populous.

1872. Sir *Francis Baring*.] You have stated that you had formed the export revenue for two thousand bags of cowries; how much is that?—At that time it was equal to 5,000 dollars at 4s. 2d.

1873. Besides that, had he any other revenue?—He had no other recognised revenue. He would get the fines, and there were many additional native imposts that we never heard of.

1874. His pickings were more. You only took the exports, and he had the pickings himself?—He had the pickings.

1875. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Do you think that the introduction of a metallic currency in lieu of cowries would be an advantage to the place?—I have not the slightest doubt of it. We have been trying it, but we have not coins small enough.

1876. If a coin was made for that purpose similar to the coin at Hong Kong, it would be an advantage, you think?—Yes, I think so, if it were introduced cautiously.

1877. Mr. *Forster*.] Is domestic slavery allowed in that country which is coloured yellow, and which is called territory under British protection?—It is going on as it always was, I believe.

1878. And there is no attempt to stop it, I suppose?—None.

1879. The only places where domestic slavery has been abolished are those places coloured red?—Yes, the only places where it is attempted to stop it; it is not perfectly abolished.

1880. To what extent does it exist?—Where slaves make no claim for freedom, the masters are allowed to hold them, but when they come to ask for their freedom, they obtain it.

1881. Is it not known generally in the neighbourhood, that the same rule applies to the British territory there as elsewhere, namely, that every man within its boundary is a free man?—The Europeans know it, and all educated black men; but though the natives themselves know it, yet if we were to attempt it there would be an insurrection.

1882. If you were to attempt what?—Proclaiming those slaves free.

1883. In this small red district, do you mean?—Certainly.

1884. Are the Committee to understand, that if the Government were to liberate those natives that are still slaves, there would, in your opinion, be a revolt?—Yes, I mean so.

1885. How many are there?—A large portion of the natives are slaves.

1886. In these countries coloured red?—Yes.

1887. Do they receive no wages?—Yes, they receive wages; they are paid so much a week, and they have clothes and a house to live in; they are treated more as servants; they are not slaves, though they are called slaves.

1888. Do they receive regular wages?—Not regular wages; not as a hired man would.

1889. Then, in what does their slavery consist, in not receiving regular wages, or in what other particular?—In cases where the masters have farms, they have a small portion of land set apart for them; some land is given them so that they may labour on it for their own benefit.

1890. Did you ever know of any case since the British occupation of Lagos, in which the masters of those persons whom you called slaves have sold any of them?—No, I have not known of any case.

1891. Can you define more exactly the condition of those persons whom you call slaves?—A chief is a man of influence and money; in every case he has perhaps 20 or 30 retainers, all of them are slaves; they receive no regular wages; their whole time is devoted to their master's land, with the exception of a portion set apart for them on which to maintain their families.

1892. But supposing that a slave went away from his house or hut, would the master have a right to fetch him back again?—Yes.

1893. Does he practically do that?—No; it is simply allowed to go on if the slave makes no complaint.

1894. Then, referring to this representation which has been made of the injustice of abolishing slavery, can you tell in consequence of what interference by the British Government it was made?—It refers chiefly to cases of slaves running away from the outside tribes, not in those red territories, from Abbeokuta, for instance, from friendly tribes slaves seek protection at Lagos, and the masters expect to get them back, and when they have not been sent back there has been ill-feeling.

1895. But notwithstanding the length of time we have been in possession, you say that if we were to proclaim every slave free it would be likely to excite revolt?—We might keep down revolt by force, but there would be great ill-feeling.

1896. Where are the nearest places at which slaves for the American slave trade are exported?—To the westward; Porto Novo is the nearest place.

1897. Whydah?—I mean the Dahomey coast, which includes Porto Novo on the one hand, and as far up as Whydah on the other.

1898. Has the slave trade been diminished in Whydah of late?—On account of the presence of the squadron, it is practically stopped, I think.

1899. Did you know the coast at the time Lagos was a large export place for slaves?—Yes.

1900. Supposing that we were to withdraw from the coast, do you think that that export trade in slaves would be renewed at Lagos?—It would not be renewed to the same extent, but if we gave up all interference with it I have no doubt that it would again become a slave exporting place.

1901. Are the Committee to understand that you think, if we withdrew our cruisers, as well as broke up settlements it would, but if we left our cruisers there it would not?—It could not be renewed to the same extent, because the presence of the cruisers would prevent it.

1902. Do they prevent it at Whydah?—If there were a sufficient number they might; but they do not do it now.

1903. If we were to withdraw from the coast do you not think that there would be the same amount of slave trade at Lagos that there is at Whydah; I mean, if we were to give up the territory and restore it to the natives?—It would be many years before there would be the same extent of it; but there would be those civil wars between rival chiefs, no doubt, if we gave it up, and that would make slaves to supply the trade.

1904. But you do not expect that our withdrawing from holding territory on that coast would lead to a post being established either at Lagos, or Badagry, or Palma, for the export of slaves to America?—Eventually, no doubt it would, but not immediately.

1905. Where do the slaves that are exported from Whydah chiefly come from, do you think?—They are chiefly supplied now by the annual raids of the King of Dahomey.

1906. Are any of them prisoners of war, that have been taken either by the Abbeokutans or the Ibadans?—There were some at first, at the beginning of the war, and I suppose that there are a few of them now.

1907. By which of those two powers were those slaves sent?—Some, we know, came from Abbeokuta; but having less communication with the Ibadans, we have no means of knowing whether any came from there.

1908. Mr. Mills.] I understood you to say, just now, that at present the natives at Lagos, who have not applied for their freedom were, in fact, in the position of slaves?—Yes.

1909. But that they have some portion of ground allotted to them?—Yes.

1910. Now, in what respect should you say that their position differs from that of slaves in the British Colonies, before the emancipation, or from that of the slaves at the present period in the Southern States of America; I mean their political condition?—They differ a good deal; they would make common cause with their masters in any quarrels, and in the event of a war between two neighbouring powers, they would go to war under their masters.

1911. But is there any difference politically in the position of those natives of Lagos and the position of the native slaves in Antigua or Jamaica before the abolition of slavery?—There is some difference; the slaves in Antigua would have nothing to say as to how they should be governed, but those slaves at Lagos have a great deal to say.

1912. What have they to say at Lagos?—They would be consulted on every point. A chief summons the whole of his people round him before he does anything.

1913. Mr. Forster.] They are almost as much in the position of dependents or clansmen of the chiefs as in that of slaves?—Yes, that describes their position better than the word slaves.

1914. Mr. Cardwell.] With regard to those domestic slaves, it is the practice all through Africa to hold them?—It is.

1915. The relation is partly that of master and slave, but it is partly that of the family; it is a sort of patriarchal relation, is it not?—Yes, quite so.

1916. Now, in the territory marked red on the map, namely, the island of Lagos, how many people are there altogether?—Between 30,000 and 40,000; 35,000, perhaps.

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1917. The vast majority of them, I suppose, living subject to this institution?—The great majority of them.

1918. But the law of the island is that which is universal in British dominions, namely, that every person is entitled to his freedom?—Yes.

1919. Are there means for asserting that right?—Yes.

1920. In case of a disposition on the part of a slave to make use of that right, is there a tribunal to which he can have recourse?—Yes.

1921. You have stated that if we went further than that we should run the risk of exciting ill-feeling, or even insurrection; do you mean by that to convey that if we forced those people to assert for themselves that which they do not wish to assert, we should incur that risk?—Yes.

1922. That if they continue to live under this patriarchal or clannish system of slavery, or whatever it may be called, it is by their own volition, and not by any coercion?—It is chiefly of their own will; I do not think that they desire to change their position as a body.

1923. If any individual does desire the change can he immediately take steps for accomplishing it?—Certainly, in the portion where it is marked red.

1924. Therefore, I understand you to inform the Committee that wherever the territory is marked red, and British jurisdiction is exercised, any individual who wishes to change his condition has the means of doing it?—Yes.

1925. And that any movement from above for the purpose of bringing about that change more rapidly would be a change adverse to the wishes and feelings of those people?—I think so.

1926. How far would that have the effect of bettering, or the reverse, their worldly condition?—I think it would not better it.

1927. Would it be necessary, in case of such a movement from above, to introduce new economical relations with regard to the means by which they derive their subsistence?—No doubt.

1928. Are you of opinion that the change will go on gradually under the system now maintained?—I think so.

1929. Will you inform the Committee whether, with a view to the welfare of these people themselves, you consider that a gradual transition or a sudden and abrupt transition is most likely to be effective?—A gradual transition would be the most beneficial.

1930. Would the Committee draw a correct inference from your answer if they supposed that the British authority in Lagos was in the slightest degree used for the purpose of strengthening the fetters of slavery?—I think not.

1931. Would it be a true inference that the influence of the British authority in Lagos tends gradually to relax the fetters of domestic slavery?—Yes, it would.

1932. To prevent acts of cruelty and oppression?—Certainly.

1933. And to prepare the minds of the people for the transition from a state of slavery to a state of freedom?—No doubt it has that effect.

1934. Mr. *Forster*.] When you say that you think a proclamation that every person within the British territory was free, would excite ill feeling, who do you suppose would show that ill feeling?—I have no doubt that the masters would show it first, but the slaves would sympathise.

1935. Mr. *Mills*.] Can you give the Committee any idea what proportion per annum of the popu-

lation avail themselves of the means to obtain their freedom?—A very small proportion. I have known, perhaps, of 120 cases in the territory marked yellow.

1936. Within your own experience?—Yes.

1937. But I speak of the territory marked red; how many should you say have availed themselves of the means to obtain their freedom?—They would not amount to 100.

1938. Out of the total population?—Out of the total population.

1939. Mr. *Cardwell*.] Is it perfectly well known to anybody that he may go to the court if he likes and claim his freedom?—I should think so; it is known to them no doubt, but they do not expect it to be carried out.

1940. Suppose the case of an individual of the humblest class in the red territory, that is to say, in the island of Lagos, were subject to oppression, does he know that by going to the court he could obtain his freedom?—Certainly, I think so.

1941. To what cause then do you attribute the fact that so small a proportion of the people have availed themselves of that opportunity?—I believe that one cause is that the masters, knowing there is this recourse for the slaves, treat them better.

1942. Mr. *Mills*.] You spoke of an insurrectionary feeling as possible to arise from any attempt to precipitate emancipation; in what quarter do you suppose that sort of spirit would be excited?—I should say not only in Lagos itself but in every place around it.

1943. The general population?—Yes; the general population.

1944. What would be the motive?—To retain those men.

1945. That would be the motive on the part of those who held them in bondage?—Yes; they would be joined by the slaves themselves, without whom they would be able to raise no insurrection.

1946. The whole people would be anxious to maintain the *status in quo*, you think?—Certainly.

1947. Mr. *Forster*.] If you gave a previous answer which might bear the interpretation that the fact that slavery was against British law was known to Europeans and educated natives and not to the natives generally, you do not wish that interpretation to apply; you think that it is generally known?—I think it is known in Lagos; I might have been speaking of the yellow territory.

1948. Mr. *Cardwell*.] You have been asked some questions about the meaning of the word protection in the treaties with Okeodan and Addo; what do you consider to be the meaning of that word protection?—My meaning in the case of Okeodan was that we should give them such support as was in the power of the Government at Lagos against an attack from Dahomey. I think it was pretty well understood that they would obtain very little assistance from armed forces; but it was understood that they should be supplied with some guns and powder.

1949. That the fighting would rest mainly with themselves?—Yes, so it was understood.

1950. But that assistance in the way of ammunition, arms, and possibly advice, and so forth, would be furnished to them?—Yes.

1951. You think that is the general understanding?—I think so.

1952. You disclaim altogether, do you not, any

any notion of ascribing slave trading to the French Government?—I never heard of any case.

1953. You had no intention that any answer of yours should be interpreted in that sense?—No.

1954. What I understood you to say was this, that the Government of Lagos, being desirous to put an end to the war between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans, stopped the supply of ammunition to Abbeokuta?—Yes.

1955. And finding that ammunition went by an indirect course to Abbeokuta they endeavoured to stop that indirect course also?—Yes, by arrangement with the French.

1956. The object being to bring the war to a close?—Certainly.

1957. In the interest of both parties as well as that of the Europeans who trade with them?—No doubt.

1958. And in the interest also of the suppression of the slave trade?—Certainly.

1959. Is it your opinion that those settlements of ours upon land in Africa, contribute materially to the suppression of the slave trade?—I think so.

1960. Now, Lagos was at one time the focus of a very extensive slave trade, was it not?—It was.

1961. Is there any slave trade at all there now?—None whatever.

1962. The conformation of the coast there is peculiarly favourable to its becoming a great depot for the export of slaves?—Yes.

1963. The settlement of a power hostile to the slave trade at Lagos is therefore very adverse to the continuance or existence of that trade?—Certainly.

1964. Do you consider that a great change was effected by our original settlement at Lagos when it was a consulate, or that it is more completely effected now that it is a colony or settlement?—There is no doubt that it was effected at first to some extent, but it has been more completely effected since.

1965. You have been asked about the efficacy of the squadron; do you know how many vessels have been employed to watch Whydah during the last few months?—I am not prepared to say how many exactly, but I think there are five or six on the Whydah coast, not at Whydah itself.

1966. If the number of vessels under the present system employed to watch one place is so great, it would require a very much greater number to watch the whole coast?—Yes, a very much greater number.

1967. Therefore, if the occupation on land of a considerable tract of coast limits the area on which the trade can be carried on, it has a great effect in facilitating the operations of the squadron, has it not?—I think so.

1968. Now, supposing that the settlement of Lagos were limited to a consul only, which consul could write to the commodore for a gun-boat whenever he wanted one, would that have the same effect, do you think, as the present establishment or colony?—No, not quite; that was virtually the case in the time of the consulate before the cession, and it would have no more effect now than it had then.

1969. Do you think that the establishment of a settlement at Lagos has any effect one way or the other in promoting or preventing wars among the native tribes?—I think that it would have

the effect of preventing wars, provided always that we first obtained an understanding with those chiefs on the slave question.

1970. Do you think such agreements as you have referred to as inducing the chiefs of such places as Okeodan and Addo to lean upon us, enable us to influence them favourably in the interests of peace?—Yes.

1971. When did you leave Lagos?—In January, this year.

1972. What were the prospects of a settlement between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans at the time that you left?—The prospects, I thought, were good when I left.

1973. There had been for a short time an arrival of cotton from Abbeokuta at Lagos?—Yes.

1974. Was that suspended again?—No; they allowed all the cotton that was at Abbeokuta to come down, I believe.

1975. Supposing that peace was restored between the Abbeokutans and the Ibadans, what would be the effect on the trade of Lagos?—It would increase; it would double it at least almost immediately.

1976. Do you think that our having established a settlement at Lagos, with all the expenses of a settlement, has had any tendency to check the growing trade of Lagos?—Certainly not.

1977. Do you consider the maintenance of those other places, such as Leckie, Palma, and Badagry, to be necessary for the revenue of Lagos?—I think so.

1978. Is that on the ground, that if they were not maintained, goods would be landed there, and that they would pay no duty at Lagos?—That is one ground, and they would also be further from supervision, and a small trade might be carried on by means of the Lagoon.

1979. Do you think that that supervision is necessary, not merely for the revenue, but also for the suppression of the slave-trade?—I think so.

1980. Sir Francis Baring.] You have stated that on the first occupation, when Admiral Bruce took possession of Lagos, there was a considerable improvement with regard to slavery?—No doubt it stopped the export of slaves from the port of Lagos entirely.

1981. In the year 1852, I believe that you were there during the whole of the time; what was the state of the export of slaves in the year 1852?—There were a great many slaves who went up by the Lagoon, past Badagry, to Porto Novo, and thence to Whydah.

1982. And you have stated that there was a considerable export of slaves carried on still?—Yes; by means of the Lagoon.

1983. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Was that under Docemo?—Under Docemo and Akitoye both.

1984. Sir Francis Baring.] Is that in accordance with the Reports in the Blue Books?—No doubt it would be found in the Blue Books. In Consul Campbell's time I knew of many instances where slaves had been found in canoes calling out for assistance, and boats had been sent out to them.

1985. In the year 1860 there was a considerable increase in the slave trade, was not there?—It was going on; I do not know that there was any great increase.

1986. But there are reports, at all events, from the officers of the squadron, stating that there is a considerable increase in the export of slaves,

W.
McCoskry,
Esq.

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McCaskey,
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and tracing that to the difficulties arising from the conduct of the Americans?—I have not seen those reports.

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1987. You have stated that the object of the blockade was to induce the Abbeokutans to come to terms with the Ibadans?—Not only the Abbeokutans, but it was intended to blockade both parties.

1988. Is that stated in the Despatch of Lord John Russell authorising the blockade?—I am not aware.

1989. But is it not stated in that Despatch that they were authorised to keep up the blockade until the Abbeokutans had opened a passage to Lagos?—It may be so; I have not seen the Despatch lately, or perhaps not at all.

Colonel ORD, R.E., recalled; and further Examined.

Colonel
Ord, R.E.

1990. Mr. *Foster*.] I UNDERSTOOD you to say with regard to Lagos, and in fact almost all our other settlements on the West Coast, that you thought if we withdrew, the American slave trade would be renewed; did I understand you rightly?—So long as there is a demand for slaves, I have no doubt that if we withdrew our settlement, slaves would be exported.

1991. Supposing that demand was to cease upon what we may hope will soon be the abolition of slavery in America, what great objects would then be served by our keeping up those settlements on the West Coast of Africa?—The trade of the settlements would be protected in a way that it could not be if we withdrew. Moreover, there cannot be a doubt that we do exercise a beneficial influence over the natives, at least in the neighbourhood of the settlements.

1992. Would it be your impression that the chief object of keeping up the settlements would then be the maintenance of British trade?—I conceive it would be.

1993. Mr. *Cardwell*.] In giving those answers, you assume that the transatlantic slave trade has been put an end to, I suppose?—I do.

1994. That Cuba is no longer a market?—That there is no longer any demand for slaves.

1995. That there is no demand in any part of the continents of North and South America for African slaves?—I understood that to be added.

1996. Then supposing that day to be proximate, do you think that it would be more prudent to give up our exertions after that day has arrived, or during the interval before it shall arrive?—I conceive that it would be very unwise to stop our exertions until the day has arrived.

1997. Then after that day has arrived the main object of keeping up the settlements, namely, the suppression of the slave trade, will have ceased?—I conceive these objects to be threefold. The first and chief object being the suppression of the export of slaves; the second, the protection of commerce; and the third, the promotion of the civilisation of the natives in our neighbourhood.

1998. Did you hear the evidence of the last witness?—I heard a portion of it.

1999. Did you hear the part of it in which he was asked some questions about domestic slavery at Lagos?—I heard some portion of it.

2000. Do you agree in the representation which he gave the Committee of that institution, namely, that while it partakes of the nature of slavery, it partakes also of the nature of a clan-nish or patriarchal institution?—My impression is that that is a fair representation of it.

2001. You do not think that to call it by the mere name of slavery, without any reference to those other qualities, would be a strictly accurate definition?—I do not.

2002. Do you concur with the last witness that in the island of Lagos, in the territory marked

red on the map, as being entirely British, the universal doctrine of British dominion is asserted that every man is entitled to his freedom?—My impression is that the chiefs and principal people are well aware that by our tenure of Lagos every man whom they retain in servitude is free. I cannot think that the larger number of the people who inhabit Lagos, the majority of whom I believe to be domestic slaves, are aware of it; but I may add that if the knowledge came to them gradually and were not imparted to them with the idea of leading them to take any steps to obtain their freedom, I believe the great majority of them would be contented with their lot.

2003. Do you think that the operation of the Courts spoken of is effectual in the first place for preventing cases of cruelty and abuse?—I believe that the Court which was originally established, not having been sanctioned by the Home Government, is not now in operation, but its place is supplied by the Governor, who decides all cases where a domestic slave may appear before him and claim his freedom.

2004. The reason why that Court was not sanctioned being the fear of giving colour to the notion of slavery in British dominions?—That was the reason.

2005. But by the arrangement which now exists every person who comes to the Governor and asserts his right of freedom in British territory obtains that right, does he not?—I think so.

2006. Is that effectual for the purpose of preventing cruelty and oppression?—I believe it is very effectual.

2007. Will it, in your opinion, gradually operate for the purpose of establishing real freedom?—I conceive that it must have that effect ultimately.

2008. Are you of opinion, with regard to the welfare of the people themselves who are the subjects of this inquiry, that it is expedient to permit it to operate gradually, or that efforts should be made to cause it to operate suddenly?—I think that any attempt to make it operate suddenly would be attended with great mischief, with injury to the prosperity of the country, and the well-being of the slaves themselves.

2009. Then, is it your opinion that the doctrine of British law, namely, the doctrine of universal freedom, is having effect given to it in the territory of Lagos with as much rapidity as the nature of the case admits of?—I think so.

2010. And that there is no colour for the assertion that any exception to that principle is sanctioned by the Government of this country?—I believe that no exception to that principle is sanctioned by the Government of this country.

2011. But that there is a cautious and a gradual operation in the mode of carrying the principle into effect?—Exactly so.

2012. Is it your opinion that the words which I have

I have used accurately describe the present state of things?—They convey to my mind a very accurate description of the existing state of things.

2013. Mr. Forster.] You stated just now that you think the principle of British law, namely, that of universal freedom, is being gradually brought into operation, and as quickly as you conceive would be to the advantage of the natives; but would you agree with the last witness in stating that if a proclamation were made, asserting the principle of British law, it would excite ill-feeling, and that there would be a revolt?—I concur with him in considering that it would excite very great ill-feeling; he is, from his local knowledge, a better judge than I can be of the extent to which that might carry the people.

2014. Did I understand you to say that you think a large body of natives who are in the position of what he calls slaves are not aware that slavery is against British law?—I do not think that the larger body of the people are aware of that. I believe them to be sufficiently contented with their lot, their condition being modified by the better treatment which their masters feel compelled to exercise towards them.

2015. Then, are they aware that the Governor would give them their freedom if they appealed to him for it?—No doubt the information is possessed by all the leading men, and it must be known amongst the people; but I do not believe that the large body of slaves are aware of it.

2016. Then, if the Committee received from Mr. McCosky the impression that all the slaves in Lagos are aware that if they came and asked for freedom they would instantly obtain it, that is not your impression?—That is not my impression.

2017. Mr. Cardwell.] Are the Committee to understand you to say that the desire to apply for the gift does not exist in ordinary cases?—I think there may be many cases where the fact is known that by application to British power freedom can be obtained in which the slave does not desire to get it, but I am not prepared to say that that knowledge is possessed by all the people, or that that feeling would be universal if they all knew it.

2018. Supposing any case of cruelty or great abuse on the part of a master occurred, do you suppose that a slave would submit from want of knowledge that the Governor had power to redress the wrong?—I do not; I imagine that under those circumstances a man would learn from others how he could obtain redress; cases occur where men do come for redress, and obtain their freedom in consequence.

2019. That is public when it occurs?—Yes.

2020. In the population of a small island, containing 30,000 or 40,000 people?—Yes.

2021. Mr. Forster.] When a man obtains his freedom is he put into a different position?—I do not imagine that his material condition is in any respect altered, only that he works entirely for himself instead of partially for his master.

2022. He is free, and he is told that he may go where he pleases?—Yes.

2023. Did you ever know of any case of one of those slaves being sold by his master either in the colony or out of it?—I do not know of any such case.

2024. Do you believe it ever did take place?—I have no information on that point.

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2025. Sir Francis Baring.] Legally everybody is free on the island?—Yes.

2026. Practically the great majority are in this state of mitigated slavery?—Yes.

2027. You have been asked with regard to the sale of slaves, are there not difficulties arising where a slave escapes from the outer territory, comes to Lagos, gets made free, returns to his country, and is there pointed upon and made a slave again?—I imagine that if a man who had fled from his master in the interior to Lagos, and had been freed, were unwise enough to go back, he would stand a chance of being made a slave again.

2028. Have not cases of that kind arisen which have occasioned disagreeable feelings?—I am not aware of any such case.

2029. Have there not been cases in which those slaves have been sold for export?—I have heard of none.

2030. Mr. Forster.] You have described the condition of those domestic slaves in the island of Lagos; I suppose that applies to Badagry, Leckie, and Palma as well?—Yes.

2031. Do you think that the same condition of things applies to actual British territory on any other part of the West Coast, either Gambia, Sierra Leone, or the Gold Coast; I do not mean the protectorate on the Gold Coast, but the actual British territory?—I do not believe it does.

2032. Mr. Mills.] Did I correctly infer from your answer just now that, in your opinion, there was a considerable section of the native population who, knowing that there existed a Court machinery by which they might obtain their freedom, still preferred the condition in which they were to the improved condition in which they might be?—I believe that there is a section of the domestic slave population who are aware that they may obtain their freedom, but who do not think their condition would be thereby improved, they feeling no dissatisfaction with their present lot.

2033. Knowing what they can do they voluntarily elect to remain as they are?—Exactly.

2034. Lord Alfred Churcheil.] Did there exist any machinery by which a domestic slave could obtain his freedom previously to the occupation of Lagos as British territory?—No.

2035. Then that has been one absolute benefit conferred by our occupation of Lagos?—It has.

2036. Mr. Cardwell.] What is the economical condition of a slave who emancipates himself from his master and becomes free; has he any land of his own, or any place where he can gain his living?—There is no difficulty in getting employment; if all the slaves were emancipated tomorrow the owners of the land would be compelled to let them work on the land in order to obtain their own subsistence.

2037. Would the individual man, who asserted his freedom, be a gainer in his economical condition; would he in any way improve his means of obtaining a comfortable subsistence?—If his master had been a good one, certainly not.

2038. Do you ascribe to that consideration any part of the indifference you have mentioned with respect to the attainment of freedom?—Entirely.

2039. Sir Francis Baring.] I suppose you consider that this settlement ought to contribute to

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the civilisation of Central Africa to a certain extent?—To a certain extent, I think so.

2040. Do you think that the present mode in which we deal with these settlements on the coast is the best mode of spreading civilisation in Central Africa, or do you think it would be better to employ native means, and create movements under native chiefs in co-operation with the English cruisers?—I do not see any way by which, at the same cost, we could do more for civilisation in Central Africa than we are now doing, bearing in mind the other advantages which the existence of the settlement affords.

2041. Take a particular case; when those complaints were made at Lagos, and when it was determined to occupy it, was it not open to the English Government to exercise their influence to set things right there, with the view of strengthening the power of the executive at Lagos, and through them, spreading civilisation and trade?—It does not occur to me how it could have been done in a better way than by taking possession of the island, and making it a British settlement.

2042. Is it not found that the employment of a black is more palatable to his brother black man than the employment of a white man?—It depends entirely on the capacity in which he is employed.

2043. Take the missionaries, for example; is it possible that you can spread Christianity in Africa, except through blacks?—I think that the only way to spread Christianity in Africa, is by the agency of black ministers.

2044. If Christianity can be spread alone by means of black ministers, are these not likely to be advantages in spreading commerce, being spread by the agency of blacks?—There would be advantages in the employment of blacks in Africa; the climate is so inimical to the European constitution; but whether blacks could be substituted for whites with the same beneficial results, is open to great question.

2045. On the whole, there would be a better chance of succeeding, would there not?—I do not think that anything like the substitution of natives for Europeans in the government of the colonies, or any of our dealings with the natives could be effected.

2046. But you have given us the very strongest

evidence of the way in which the blacks do fulfil the duties entrusted to them, and those duties, too, of a high character; is there not ground for expecting that if a fair trial were given that policy might be carried out?—I do not myself believe it would be possible.

2047. When Lagos was first occupied, was it not the fact that trade had very largely increased under the native government; and though it is said that debts could not be recovered, and that there was no security for life and property, is it not quite clear that merchants would hardly settle where they could not recover their debts, or put their property where there was no security. Was not education very much increasing also; and was it not open to the English Government, instead of putting their fingers into their own pockets to endeavour (whether it would have been right or wrong) to take advantage of the presence of a black government friendly to English policy, and rather seek to strengthen the hands of that government, in the interests of Christianity, commerce, and the welfare of the natives?—It was no doubt open to them to do so.

2048. But you are not sanguine with regard to the results?—I believe that it would have been a complete failure.

2049. As far as it went, it was not a failure, was it?—I cannot conceive that it could have been a much greater failure than it was, when we read of the amount of insecurity to life and property that prevailed.

2050. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Do you agree with Mr. McCoskry that it would be advisable to reduce the area over which our protectorate extends now?—I do not think it would be advisable to abandon the land on the northern side of the Lagoon between Lagos and Badagry; I think as the water is very narrow, it would be advisable to keep the independent tribes at a distance from the Lagoon, and as we possess a right to a considerable portion of land to the westward, part of which is marked yellow on the map, it would be right to take so much, and no more would be necessary to secure that object. The line drawn there has been drawn so as to include the land which it is believed was Docemo's, and at the same time to avoid all towns of importance.

Jovis, 27^o die Aprilis, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir F. Baring.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Burton.
Mr. Cave.
Lord A. Churchill.
Mr. W. E. Forster.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Marquis of Hartington.
Sir J. Hay.
Mr. A. Mills.
Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. C. B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Captain R. F. BURTON, called in; and Examined.

2051. *Chairman.*] I THINK you visited the East Coast of Africa in the year 1854, for the Court of Directors of the Geographical Society, did you not?—Yes, in 1854.

2052. Your first acquaintance with the West Coast of Africa was in 1861?—Yes, with the West Coast in 1861.

2053. And then in your capacity of English Consul in the Bight of Biafra?—Yes.

2054. How soon after your arrival did you make your visit to Addo, of which we know your description?—That was very shortly after my arriving; I stayed about a week at Fernando Po, and then went off to Lagos.

2055. Did you go there officially or as a traveller?—As a traveller, unofficially.

2056. When was your first visit to Dahomey?—My first visit to Dahomey was in the spring of 1863.

2057. And your second visit to Dahomey, when was that?—Late in the year 1863, extending to the beginning of 1864.

2058. The second of those two visits to Dahomey was in an official capacity, was it not?—Yes, the second visit was in an official capacity.

2059. Will you state to the Committee the nature of the mission for which you went the second time to Dahomey?—The object of my mission was chiefly this, that Commodore Wilnot had undertaken to pay another visit to the king, and there was some difficulty in it, in consequence of which I received orders from Earl Russell to take Commodore Wilnot's place; I was directed to convey certain presents, and to do what I could about the slave trade and human sacrifice; to see if there was any possible way of alleviating those evils.

2060. You went there with instructions from Lord Russell?—I went there with instructions from Lord Russell.

2061. And with presents to the King of Dahomey?—And with presents to the King of Dahomey.

2062. How long have you been consul at Fernando Po?—Since 1861; I got there in September 1861.

2063. Will you state to the Committee the nature of the Spanish Government at Fernando Po?—The Spanish colony there is very much on the same principles that our colonies are; there is a governor, and under him there is a small council consisting of from three to four

members; there is an officer commanding the troops, and an officer commanding the marine department. In Spain, as in many other places, the Admiralty and the other offices are quite independent of one another; there is a collector of customs, and there are large Church establishments.

2064. Can you state at all the number of troops that the Spanish Government keep at Fernando Po?—They commenced by sending out a company of select white men, but those died so fast that they thought it better to replace them by the emancipados received from Cuba.

2065. What number of ships do they keep off that station?—They have two hulks, two old things which were reported to have been at Trafalgar, and a single gunboat.

2066. Is it supposed that any slave export takes place from that part of the coast?—From Fernando Po there never has been any; in old time there must have been a great deal of kidnapping from the whole of the Bight of Biafra, which was in my jurisdiction, but since my time there has been no attempt at it.

2067. Do the Spanish Government hold much territory there?—Only the island of Fernando Po, and of the island of Fernando Po they have not explored more than a twentieth part.

2068. Do they raise a revenue on the spot?—They receive certain customs, and I understand that that has been the only revenue.

2069. Do you know whether the revenue raised is enough to cover the expense of the Government there?—I should say certainly not.

2070. Can you tell us anything about the Portuguese Government at Loanda?—I should state with respect to Fernando Po that there is a good deal of mystery about it; it is generally supposed that it is kept up by Cuba in order to get rid of the emancipados, and the consequence is that the officers are very highly paid, and great inducements are held out to them to go there.

2071. What are the emancipados?—The emancipados are those men in Cuba who, according to the law, are allowed to go before a public official to claim permission to buy their own freedom; this official, with an assessor, decides between the master and the slave what his value may be; he at once pays a dollar over to his proprietor, and he then receives one day per week to work out his own emancipation; they call it *emancipacion por si mismo*.

Captain
R. F.
Burton.

27 April
1865.

Captain
K. F.
Burton.
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2072. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue.*] Do they, as a fact, come to Fernando Po?—Yes.

2073. Do they come in any number?—When I left there were upwards of 300.

2074. The system was just beginning?—I believe so.

2075. *Chairman.*] Is that the only part of the West Coast of Africa where there is such a system?—I know of no other.

2076. Mr. *Gregory.*] Since when have the emancipados begun coming to Fernando Po?—Since 1862 and 1863, I believe.

2077. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue.*] When did the Spanish Government restore their settlement at Fernando Po?—They never entirely abandoned it. Mr. Consul Beecroft was also Spanish Governor at Fernando Po.

2078. *Chairman.*] Can you tell the Committee anything of the Portuguese Government at Loanda?—I visited Loanda in 1863, and I was surprised to see everything in so orderly a state, especially as it is almost entirely a convict settlement, the soldiers and others being almost all convicts.

2079. Lord *Stanley.*] That settlement is, for the most part, under the guard of convicts?—Yes, under the guard of convicts.

2080. *Chairman.*] Is there a Governor and a Council?—A Governor General, who is a captain in the Portuguese navy. With regard to the Council I cannot answer.

2081. Why is that Governor called a Governor General?—There are so many minor governments under him.

2082. What are those minor governments?—They are places of small importance, such as Novo Redondo, almost entirely to the south and then again to the north.

2083. Have those minor governments a Lieutenant Governor over them, or a Commandant?—In some cases a Lieutenant Governor and in others a Commandant.

2084. Is there any force of Portuguese soldiers at Loanda?—I saw no large force; there are a few mounted men on horses, brought from Portugal mostly. I fancy about 400 would be the outside number of the infantry.

2085. Have the Portuguese Government ships of war off that station?—Yes.

2086. What number have they?—When I was there they had a single gun vessel, more like a despatch boat, but well armed.

2087. Do they claim territory as far north as the River Congo?—And north of the Congo; they claim the country of Cabinda.

2088. Do we acknowledge the claim?—Yes, we acknowledge the claim as far north as Ambriz.

2089. Not so far north as the mouth of the Congo?—No.

2090. About the mouth of the Congo is disputed territory?—At present it is unoccupied, except by a few factories. I think there is only one remaining now.

2091. Is there much export from the mouth of the Congo?—Since strong measures have been taken in blockading the river, the ground nut trade has greatly increased, and rendered the river much safer and more easy to travel.

2092. That trade goes on from the mouth of the Congo without any established government at its mouth?—Yes; it goes on without any established government at its mouth.

2093. Has either the Spanish Government or the Portuguese Government any treaty with the

chiefs in that neighbourhood?—The Spaniards have a treaty with the King of Bimbina on the opposite coast, but I do not know of any other.

2094. Have there been wars or disturbances in the neighbourhood of either of those settlements?—The Spaniards have had no trouble, but on the other hand the Portuguese have had great troubles in the interior, where they have a district called Casanjs.

2095. Are there more warlike tribes existing in that neighbourhood to account for the difference?—The reason would rather be that the Portuguese power on the frontier is very weak, and the tribes in the interior also are more warlike than near the coast.

2096. Have there been any offers from any of those natives, either in the neighbourhood of Fernando Po, or elsewhere, to the British Government to come within their authority?—In my jurisdiction there has been an offer of cession from New Calabar; I forwarded the application of course, but I did not advise it.

2097. Do you suppose that there is a general wish among those tribes to come under the British Government?—If they see any object in it; the object in Old Calabar was to become entirely independent of Bonny; they were in fear of King Ppelle and his tribes, and they would willingly have put themselves under us, of course with the understanding on their part that we should protect them.

2098. Lord *Stanley.*] Do you think, as a rule, that wherever they can get protection or an implied promise of protection from us, without being expected to give anything in return, they are willing to avail themselves of it?—As a rule, I think that is the case.

2099. *Chairman.*] Now, is there an export of slaves going on about Loanda?—I have heard a great deal of the exportation of slaves south of Loanda, but that would be about Novo Redondo; I have heard a great many reports of it, but about Loanda I should say there is none.

2100. The Bight of Benin is a British consulate?—Yes; beginning from Cape St. Paul, and ending with Cabo Formoso.

2101. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue.*] Do the Portuguese raise a revenue of any importance at Loanda?—I imagine for the present that their revenue is in a very decayed state, in consequence of not exporting slaves. They had at one time fine houses and gardens three miles out of the town to the east; those are all in ruins, and the town has the appearance of having been shelled out lately.

2102. It has the appearance of a decayed place?—It is very much decayed. Once it must have been a very prosperous place.

2103. Do they raise much revenue by duties on exports or imports?—Their duties on imports are heavy, especially European goods, but the slave trade made St. Paul de Loanda entirely.

2104. Then, are the settlements there supported from the Home Treasury?—From the Home Treasury.

2105. Does the Portuguese territory extend to any distance in the interior?—They have a claim to about 500 miles in the interior, I believe.

2106. Is the Portuguese district a territory or a protectorate?—It is more a territory than a protectorate.

2107. Lord *Stanley.*] Do they exercise any substantial power over the interior?—They have captaincies

captaincies in the interior where they are strong enough to exercise power.

2108. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Have they many white officials?—A great many; almost all are white men, the principal officials.

2109. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] What is the comparative nature of the climate of Loanda as to other parts of the coast?—Which part?

2110. Take Cape Coast Castle?—The comparative nature of the climate of Loanda would be superior. The rains would be less severe; it would be drier.

2111. Did you say that Loanda was used as a convict station?—Yes, as a convict station.

2112. For European convicts?—For Europeans; Portuguese.

2113. Is the climate sufficiently healthy not to cause a very large amount of mortality among them?—I believe there is no large amount of mortality among them.

2114. Mr. *Mills*.] Did you say how the convicts were employed?—As soldiers and workmen, and, in fact, as other white men would be employed in that part of Africa.

2115. *Chairman*.] Are you acquainted with the River Niger, either its mouth or its course?—I am acquainted with the river at its mouth. I have passed the Acassa Creek into the Brass River.

2116. Do you know what establishments we have on the Niger?—When I was there, the only establishment that I saw was a mission station at Acassa, on the eastern bank of the Niger.

2117. At the mouth?—At the mouth.

2118. You know of no mercantile establishment higher up?—Not except by hearsay.

2119. What is your opinion of the mercantile prospects of the Niger?—I have the highest belief in its capacities, but we might easily supply the whole of the basin of the Niger and the Eastern Niger, at least at a third of the price at which they are supplied at present by the caravan trade from the North. This enormous area would then be in our hands as commercial property.

2120. Will you be kind enough to state a little more explicitly what you mean?—I should like to say, first, something about the nature of the trade. The trade on the West Coast of Africa generally, I am sorry to say, consists chiefly in arms, ammunition, and spirituous liquors; but the legitimate trade would be all in salt, beads, and other articles, especially salt. Unfortunately, at present the trade is perfectly demoralising, and is as injurious to the interests of the people as the slave trade ever was.

2121. Will you explain a little more definitely how you propose that the trade might be made more healthy and more economical?—The trade up the Niger would become healthy with the use of quinine and proper ships. After passing the Delta of the Niger, where the mangrove grows, the country, as a rule, is far healthier than that of the West Coast of Africa.

2122. But I understood you to express an opinion that the import trade might be improved, and also that the export trade might be made better than that carried on by the caravans?—I believe that the import trade can only be improved when the public come to a sense of what ought to be done in the matter; that is to say, to do away entirely with the trade in arms, ammunition, and spirits. With respect to the export trade I have no fear. Even from the lower Niger the amount of Shea butter and tallow

nuts that can be exported would be remunerative at once.

2123. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] The countries watered by the Niger are supplied by caravans coming overland?—Yes.

2124. And those goods can be sent in by way of the sea and the Niger at a very much cheaper rate?—Yes.

2125. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Do the natives express a great desire for trading with Europeans?—Yes, a great desire; in some places they are capable of capturing you and forcing you to trade with them.

2126. *Chairman*.] Would you propose to take any steps for checking this demand for spirits, arms and ammunition?—I see no possibility of arresting it, but another generation will think it as crying a sin as we thought slavery two generations ago.

2127. Do you believe that in order to open this trade at the mouth of the Niger a Government establishment would be necessary?—I proposed one scheme for the purpose of opening the trade at the mouth of the Niger, which would be simply sending steamers up to the confluence once every month or six weeks; that would be amply sufficient, I consider.

2128. Does the mouth of the Niger come within the consulate of Benin?—It is a disputed point; the consulate of Benin is supposed to end south at Cape Formoso; but no one can say whether it is on the eastern or western side of the Niger.

2129. Lord *Stanley*.] When you say you would send a steamer up once a month, do you mean a Government steamer, or a steamer subsidised partly by the Government and partly by private enterprise?—Subsidised, and partly maintained by private enterprise.

2130. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Did you visit the oil rivers?—Yes; all the oil rivers.

2131. They were under your jurisdiction, were they not?—Yes.

2132. How is the trade conducted there?—The trade differs in each river.

2133. There are no Government establishments in those rivers; there is no active supervision besides the casual visits of the consul?—Exactly so. I found that the less the consul went there the better.

2134. Lord *Stanley*.] Will you give the Committee your reason for saying that?—The consul was obliged to go there in a vessel of war; it was no use going in a merchant steamer; the moment a vessel of war appeared in the river there was a general disturbance and upsetting of the trade; those that fancied they deserved to be punished ran away into the bush, and there was general confusion.

2135. Sir *Francis Baring*.] There were a good many applications, I suppose, from European traders about their grievances?—In the missionary rivers from the missionaries, and in the trading rivers from the traders.

2136. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Did you hear of any instances of cannibalism among the natives?—In Bonny. In Old Calabar it did not exist. I believe it exists in Bonny.

2137. I mean in the immediate neighbourhood where we are carrying on trade; is there no means of putting a stop to it?—No means, except the gradual influence of civilisation.

2138. Do you find our trading at those rivers is gradually civilising the natives or not?—They know that we have an exceeding dislike to cannibalism

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nibalism, and when we have had a certain effect on them they will drop it out of shame. With regard to Bonny, those who are reported to be eaten are invariably enemies taken during their wars.

2139. *Chairman.*] At the mouth of the river, where there is no British Government, there is a native government, I presume?—A very strong native government.

2140. Do they keep order among the subjects?—There is no strong native government in the Camaroons River, and the consequence is complete disorder. The chiefs quarrel with one another; if one calls the other a boy, he gets into a canoe with arms and men, and finds a subject of the other chief, and murders him, and then the other must murder more, and so it goes on.

2141. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] Are the white traders generally respected in person and property?—As a rule, they are; they are a great improvement upon the old style of trader of 1820.

2142. *Chairman.*] What redress would they have in case of violence?—They write over to the consul at Biafra, and he sends for a gunboat.

2143. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] Is the consul compelled occasionally to interfere for the protection of the English traders?—He is compelled occasionally to interfere for the protection of English traders; but he must exercise great discretion, because it often happens that what is brought forward as a grievance against the natives is the work of Europeans.

2144. *Chairman.*] Have you had to interfere often as consul?—Repeatedly.

2145. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] How are the European traders able to collect their debts?—The European traders are now becoming sensible to the fact that the credit which they used to give works entirely against themselves. I had instructions from the Foreign Office to have nothing to do with their debts, and to oppose trust, which I carefully did.

2146. You did not assist them in recovering their debts?—No, in no way; it would be the worst thing to do.

2147. Do they apply to the native chiefs for that purpose?—Their habit is to get a native chief on board and put him in irons; if such a case had been brought to my notice I should have taken strong measures about it; I should have reported that to the Foreign Office.

2148. But in an ordinary way would an English trader, failing in collecting his debts, apply to the native chief of the place for justice?—If it were from one of his subjects, he would apply to the chief, but if the chief owed the money he would try to seize the chief.

2149. *Chairman.*] How far south does the British squadron cruise?—As far as Elephant Bay; it is very far south.

2150. *Mr. Gregory.*] What is the mode of carrying on the trade in the oil rivers?—A ship enters the river with an assorted cargo, and is covered over with matting to keep out the sun and rain, showing that she intends to stay there; the trade is usually carried on in the morning by native brokers, who bring over so much palm oil, and take in exchange what they require; they take from the ship powder and weapons and rum and other things; they want cloth and sometimes a little salt; this is done entirely by what is called the round trade, by barter.

2151. *Sir John Hay.*] You are now speaking

of the Gaboon and the Old and New Calabar River?—Yes.

2152. And Bonny?—Yes.

2153. Is the slave trade active in those rivers now?—Within my knowledge there has not been a single attempt at exporting slaves; I can answer since 1860.

2154. Are you aware that 20 years ago the slave trade was very active in those rivers, and that they were the great source from which the slaves were then exported?—I am aware that, in the days of Clarkson, Bonny and Old Calabar sent an immense number of slaves.

2155. We have no forts or settlements on this river or in the neighbourhood?—None, or near there.

2156. Do you attribute the cessation of the slave trade in those parts of Africa where we have forts and settlements to those forts and settlements, or to other circumstances?—To a number of circumstances, which differ in every place; in the palm oil rivers we have had counteracting influences, missionary establishments, and the cruisers perpetually visiting them, and the facilities with which the people bring the palm oil from the upper country. The natives of Bonny and those different rivers are not working men; they buy their slaves and send them up to collect palm oil, in canoes, through the different creeks of the rivers, and they themselves act as brokers between the people of the interior and ourselves. The facility of doing that was the chief reason in those rivers for the total abolition of the slave trade.

2157. *Lord Alfred Churchill.*] Is there any trade in the rivers south of the Camaroons?—There is a considerable trade in the Gaboon.

2158. Is that in palm oil?—In palm oil and some ivory; they bring a good deal of ivory, and there is a strong suspicion of there being gold there; besides, the country abounds in Shea butter and the different tallow nuts.

2159. You visited Ambas Bay, in the Camaroon Mountains, did you not?—Yes, twice.

2160. You are rather in favour of forming a sanatorium there, are you not?—Seeing at Lagos that something of this kind was required, I was confirmed in my idea of a sanatorium by what the Spaniards did at Fernando Po, namely, making a small settlement, 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, for the white men.

2161. *Sir John Hay.*] We have a similar establishment at Ascension, on the Green Mount, have we not?—We have a similar establishment at Ascension Island.

2162. *Lord Alfred Churchill.*] As you rise up in height, the climate is sufficiently temperate, you think?—As a rule, certainly. There are three points which confirm that idea: one would be the Crobo country on the Eastern Gold Coast, where the Basle Missionaries have lived in health for a long time; one the Victoria Station, at the foot of the Camaroons, where the missionaries go from the Camaroons River when they are ill; and then there is the experiment of the Spaniards at Fernando Po.

2163. *Chairman.*] You attribute the diminution of the slave trade on this part of the coast to the English settlement and cruisers, and partly to the effect of legitimate trade superseding slavery?—To the presence of the cruisers and the missionaries, and the facility of supplying themselves with more lucrative trade.

2164. Do you attribute that also to the falling

off in the demand for slaves?—I do not think that it has fallen off at all; the people and the chiefs are very anxious to re-establish it.

2165. The demand for slaves must have fallen off from the Brazilian demand being closed?—I mean on the coast. The man is bought for a few shillings, and sent up to collect palm oil.

2166. The demand for domestic slaves has not ceased, but the demand for the export of slaves must have fallen off?—Completely; but the demand for domestic slavery has increased, which tends greatly to the misery of the slaves.

2167. Sir John Hay.] Should you say that domestic slaves were better treated in their own country than in the countries to which slaves are imported?—In the Bight of Biafra generally I could scarcely call them domestic slaves; they are criminals and prisoners of war brought from further in the interior; they can now be bought for a few shillings where formerly they cost a dollar, or a pound. Provisions are very expensive; it is worth while for a native gentleman to buy those men at a cheap rate, and work or starve them to death in a few months so as to buy others.

2168. Mr. Forster.] Are the slaves which you say are sent up to the interior to cultivate palm oil obtained by raids and forays, as slaves used to be obtained for export to the Brazils and Cuba?—The people of the coast are not warlike; they make no raids; they content themselves with buying the produce of the raids and forays in the interior; the export is chiefly of criminals.

2169. But what I mean is this: is the supply of those slaves obtained by the same kind of wars as those by which the supply of slaves used to be obtained for the foreign market?—I have no means of answering that question. I do not know the number required formerly for the foreign market, nor do I know the number of domestic slaves.

2170. Mr. Mills.] Could you say whether the condition of the domestic slave was a worse or better condition than that of the slaves which were formerly shipped abroad?—Nothing could be worse than the condition of the slaves at present in the Benin River, in the Brass, in the Bonny, and, in fact, in the oil rivers generally.

2171. Chairman.] The condition of the exported slave is so far worse that he has the voyage before him, which is about the worst part of it for him?—Yes; I am speaking of his state of discomfort and starvation, and his misery generally.

2172. Mr. Gregory.] Their owners ill use them, do they?—They cannot help it. There are in some places 200 slaves for one free man, and the moment the slave commits a fault he must be put to death in some terrible way to frighten the others; we have treaties with the chiefs for the suppression of those enormities, but they cannot help themselves, they would be destroyed by the slaves otherwise; in old Calabar they have several thousands of fugitive slaves called blood-men, living in the bush, and they are prepared to attack the towns and destroy them; the only thing is, that they are bound by ties of blood with the town slaves and even with the chiefs; and that is the only thing that prevents the towns being destroyed.

2173. Sir John Hay.] Do you think that the greater proportion of the domestic slaves on these rivers are the convict population of the African Governments?—It would be the lowest order whom they could buy; the cheapest, and work out the quickest.

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2174. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Could you suggest any means of mitigating that state of things?

—My idea has always been that emigration from those parts upon *bona fide* principles, as distinct from a slave trade, would at once do a great deal of good. In the first place, there is a large criminal population, who are all liable to be put to death with cruelty; the chiefs say, Why do you not take those men; we shall kill them; we want no money for them; take them away.

2175. Where could we take them to?—To any of our settlements that require labour, for in many cases the crimes are mere fancy; for instance, the probability is that five out of six of the cases would be for witchcraft.

2176. Chairman.] Would you suggest that they should be taken to the West Indies?—To the West Indies.

2177. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] On a system like that of the French Government?—It would be very unlike it in point of operation, but in point of principle the same.

2178. In what respects would you wish your suggested system to be unlike the French one?—I would see that the men *bona fide* wished to become emigrants, or would be put to death if not taken away; nothing would be easier than to find that out through the missionaries and through the chiefs themselves, and the traders.

2179. What were the abuses of the French system?—The abuses of the French system on the Congo were buying every man they found.

2180. Irrespective of the means used to procure him?—Yes, utterly irrespective; merely making contracts with so many chiefs for so many slaves.

2181. Which, I suppose, necessarily led to slave wars of the same kind as those which formerly supplied the slave trade?—Yes; there is a great deal of exaggeration in supposing that the slave wars took place on account of the slave export; wars between the several tribes are the normal condition of Africa even where white men have never been seen. If a poor tribe wants to enrich itself the best thing is to take arms and attack a smaller one, and carry off 200 or 300 men and women.

2182. But the foreign slave trade was an additional inducement, was it not?—No doubt, but at the same time there is an extensive slave trade going on, though not a man reaches the coast.

2183. You were asked to compare those oil rivers, where no European Governments exist, with other parts of the West Coast where British settlements do exist; did I understand your answer in this way, that there had been circumstances peculiar to the oil rivers, which had made it more easy to stop the slave trade on that part of the coast without the presence of any English authority than it would have been on other parts of the coast, supposing English settlements not to have existed there?—I said, that there were great facilities for trade there in palm oil, but that it was only found out after the cruisers had taken a very energetic action there.

2184. Do you, by that, mean to imply that it would be, or might have been, equally easy to stop the slave trade at Cape Coast, Sierra Leone, or the Gambia, in the same way, without the presence of any English authority?—That would be going almost too far back for my experience. I should require to know all about the condition of the countries around Cape Coast.

2185. You are not prepared to draw that general

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general conclusion from the fact of slave trading having been put down in the oil rivers without the presence of a British settlement?—What would prevent my drawing that conclusion would be this: during the last year there has been a great blockade of coast around Whydah, to the east and west, and yet I understand, since I left, that slaves have been exported, therefore I should not be prepared to make so wide an assertion.

2186. Mr. Forster.] With regard to your suggestion of free emigration to the West Indies, am I right in supposing you to mean that you would limit such a free emigration to a contract between our Government, or whoever was allowed to undertake the emigration, and the emigrants themselves?—Quite so.

2187. You would not admit any contract between the persons who supplied the emigration and the chiefs?—You would have a complete slave trade if you consulted the chiefs.

2188. But how would you guard against an emigrant being forcibly put into a position to desire to be an emigrant by the chief, and the chief getting a remuneration for putting him in such a position?—If it were my duty to find out that point, I should go there, and speak to one of the missionaries of the river, and he would find out in a few hours exactly the state of the case; everything there is known. Where there are no missionaries, I should go to the traders; and I should also consult the natives, and by those means I should know in a few hours the real state of the case; there would be no difficulty, if a man did his duty honestly, in determining whether the emigrants were *bonâ fide* or not.

2189. Lord Stanley.] You do not propose that the chiefs should derive any pecuniary benefit from the emigration?—On the contrary, I should expect to make the system rather against the chief.

2190. So that he would have no inducement to adopt the course which has been hinted at?—None whatever.

2191. Chairman.] But are they not criminals that you proposed should emigrate?—Criminals also.

2192. But if we only emigrated criminals, we could only negotiate with the government into whose hands the slaves would be as criminals?—The negotiation would be with the native governments.

2193. Mr. Forster.] How would you obtain the consent of the native governments to those men being allowed to be sent across to the West Indies who were under sentence of death?—I should say, You have made treaties with us for the prevention of putting men to death by poisoning, and so on, and if you do not put those men into my hands, I must then act up to the terms of the treaty.

2194. You would not propose to give the chiefs any reward for releasing those men?—No, certainly not; that would be a premium for selling them.

2195. On the one hand, you would provide a refuge for criminals, and men under great fear of death, and, on the other hand, you would make use of the influence of the British Government in respect of the treaties, to induce the chiefs to permit the men to emigrate?—Yes.

2196. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Would you threaten a chief with punishment in case he refused to execute the terms of the treaty?—I

would punish him in my own way; I never had a man shot, or burnt down a town, on the West Coast of Africa (which is what few can say); the way to punish a chief is to take the trade out of his river; there is no more severe punishment; the palm oil remains there, but they dislike it to be used as a byword against them among the other tribes that they have lost the trade.

2197. You think that would be enough to keep them in order, without the use of violence?—Yes.

2198. Mr. Gregory.] Would you create any system of reward at any subsequent period, though not at the moment?—I do not see the necessity of it.

2199. Chairman.] You would send those emigrants across the sea, I suppose, as free passengers, and apprentice them on their arrival?—I would apprentice them carefully.

2200. Mr. Gregory.] Have those fugitive slaves you have spoken of any organization amongst themselves?—A very complete organization.

2201. Would any of them be induced to emigrate, do you think?—I believe they would.

2202. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Is there any other part of the population that would be ready to emigrate on their own account?—Of the chief I should say certainly no one.

2203. I mean of the labouring population?—The population consists entirely of chiefs and slaves; there is no intermediate class.

2204. Chairman.] But would there not be some people labouring under debt and difficulty, who would be willing, in order to get out of difficulty, to emigrate into another country?—I have not inquired into that.

2205. When you speak of criminals, would you not make the same proposition with respect to captives?—Certainly; with respect to captives.

2206. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] But with regard to slaves who would be only procurable by purchase, you would not recommend that we should have anything to do with them?—I would not recommend that; I have often heard of chiefs in the Bonny River lamenting that they were not able to send out captives.

2207. Chairman.] Should you not be afraid that any mode, even under the most favourable circumstances, of carrying out a free system of emigration might incur the danger of becoming a modified system of slave export?—I should have no such fear, if the system were properly carried out.

2208. At all events, the voyage across the sea would be conducted without hardships, and, on the arrival of the people in the West Indies, they would be regularly apprenticed to masters?—They would be apprenticed to masters, with attention to their rights, and with permission to return after a moderate time, which time would have to be settled by experience. I have seen many hundreds of slaves put to death in Old Calabar; they gave the poison bean to a whole town where one man was suspected of witchcraft.

2209. Lord Alfred Churchhill.] Witchcraft is the principal crime there, is it not?—It is almost the only crime.

2210. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] You would treat those people as we now treat liberated Africans?—Yes; as we now treat liberated Africans.

2211. Sir John Hay.] Or apprentice them as Indian and Chinese coolies are apprenticed?—Yes; I would apprentice them very carefully.

2212. Chairman.]

2212. *Chairman.*] You think that such a free outlet as that would diminish very much the cruelties of domestic slavery?—I am prepared to say that with respect to Benin and all the rivers under my jurisdiction.

2213. *Lord Stanley.*] Have you considered the effect upon the West Indian Colonies of pouring such an influx of absolute savages into them?—I should not be afraid of that.

2214. You think that the restraint under which they would be kept for a time would be sufficient to protect the colonies, do you?—It would lead so much to their improvement, finding themselves in a better state of society, that I should have no fear.

2215. *Sir Francis Baring.*] Did I understand you to say that, in your experience, legitimate trade did not put an end to the slave trade, but that upon the putting an end to the slave trade, the legitimate trade rises?—I stated that the legitimate trade, combined with other things, had put an end to the export slave trade under my jurisdiction; that the uprising of the legitimate trade was partly the cause.

2216. *Chairman.*] Can you state generally what are the tribes that occupy that part of Africa around the territory of the Niger?—There are a great many different tribes, but the Lower Niger runs through the country of the Eboas, who are one of the most ferocious and dangerous of the African tribes.

2217. Are they Pagan or Mahomedan?—They are all Pagan.

2218. Round the Upper Niger are they Pagan or Mahomedan?—You then get into a Mussulman population, even at the confluence.

2219. The Mussulman tribes are generally the most vigorous, are they not?—They are decidedly the more vigorous.

2220. Are they pressing on the Eboas between them and the sea?—The King of Nupe has offered to come down and clear the whole of the Lower Niger out with his war canoes.

2221. Are they practically overrunning them?—By very slow degrees, but it is progressing.

2222. You think that their influence would gradually lead to the formation of a more powerful native government?—Certainly.

2223. So that all these perpetual wars between the petty chiefs may ultimately be suspended under a stronger government?—I should expect that under a stronger government that would be the case.

2224. *Mr. Forster.*] Do the Fellatahs come into the neighbourhood of Fernando Po?—No, they are confined to the Upper Niger.

2225. Do any of them get down as slaves?—I never saw one as a slave.

2226. Can you say that the Fellatahs are so far civilized as to preserve themselves from being made slaves?—I can only speak from hearsay. After their great rise there was a sudden cessation of attacks among them, but they seem to have fallen off very suddenly a few years ago.

2227. *Mr. Gregory.*] Are the slaves around the Brass and Bonny Rivers all of one tribe?—They are from a number of small tribes.

2228. But the same family, I suppose?—Very much so; speaking kindred languages. There is a great difference in the vocabularies, but they are kindred in point of grammar.

2229. *Mr. Forster.*] What is the present position of People, the King of Bonny?—His present position is, that he has no power whatever among

his chiefs, except when they want to make some extortion from Europeans.

2230. Did his residence in England increase or decrease his power when he got back?—It greatly diminished it; he was turned out; but he never rose to the same power he originally had.

2231. Did the fact of his living here for some time give him no greater influence on his return?—The only influence would be by knowing a little more about England, and telling his people that he had very powerful influence at Court, and that he had great lawyers attending to him, and a consul in London at a salary of 500 l. a year.

2232. *Chairman.*] Benin is a British consulate, held by the Government at Lagos, is it not?—Yes, it is a British consulate, held by the Government of Lagos.

2233. Is there much slave export now about the Bight of Benin?—Including the south coast; this year there has been a very small demand.

2234. Is it decreasing?—Of late years it has greatly decreased.

2235. That is on the cruising grounds of the British squadron?—Of late almost exclusively so, except the cruisers to the south.

2236. We may presume that the diminution of the slave trade there is owing to the presence of the squadron?—Partly.

2237. And to what else?—First, the decrease of demand; and secondly, the decrease of supply. The King of Dahomey has been very unsuccessful in his late wars, but if he had conquered the Abeokutans it would not have fallen off, I believe.

2238. Before we go to Lagos, will you say whether you propose or would recommend the British taking any territory or setting up any post in the Bight of Benin or Biafra?—In Biafra none whatever, and in the Bight of Benin as little as possible.

2239. In saying that, do you recommend any actual post being established there?—I would recommend none.

2240. What is your opinion of our settlement at Lagos and its neighbourhood?—In what point of view do you mean?

2241. Do you think that, with our present purposes in view, namely, the suppression of the slave trade, it is necessary for us to hold the four posts of Badagry, Lagos, Palma, and Leckie?—I believe that a consul there, with the cruisers, would do, at Lagos, for instance, as much as our present settlement.

2242. We can compare the two things for 10 years; formerly we had a consul, and since 1861 we have had a governor?—I landed there immediately after the governorship had been created, and therefore I have no personal knowledge of what it was before. At the same time I can speak of what has happened since that from being an actual eye witness.

2243. In saying that you think a consul would be sufficient, do you imply that the Government establishment might be dispensed with, both civil and military?—Yes.

2244. At all those four points?—At all those four points, with a vice consulate at Badagry.

2245. And a consul at Lagos?—And a consul at Lagos.

2246. And vice consuls at Palma and Leckie?—I scarcely think so; they are so near Lagos.

2247. Do you think, then, that we might dispense with all the civil and military establish-

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ments on that coast?—At Lagos I am of opinion that you might.

2248. Are all those four places unhealthy for British residents?—Exceedingly unhealthy.

2249. Is there any point between Porto Novo and Leckie where a healthy residence could be found?—I know of none.

2250. Is there any point which you would not consider actually pestiferous?—None that I know of.

2251. Supposing the arrangement was made which you suggest, and the military and civil establishments removed, would the squadron be able, with the assistance of a consul and a vice consul, to stop the export of slaves on that coast?—I think so. There are two steamers lying off the town of Lagos itself. A single steamer would be amply sufficient in Lagos itself, I think.

2252. Do you propose that we should restore the king?—I should propose to restore King Doemo.

2253. Who would have his government over the island of Lagos?—Yes.

2254. The Committee understood from the evidence of Mr. McCoskry, that while the King remained and we had only a consul, such was the influence of the British consul in the presence of such a native government that he was nominally king; would you not expect that to be the case always?—In those times Mr. Consul Campbell was there; he was a man who had been many years among the Africans, knew very much about them, and was greatly respected by them. Under such circumstances the same result would invariably take place.

2255. Almost inevitably with a native king and a British consul you suppose the British consul would be really the king?—It would very much depend upon who it was; it is by no means an easy position. When a vice consul was sent to the King of Dahouey, he said that he was very much obliged to the rulers of England, but he wished that they had sent him a man with a head; they called the consul, Hoho, because he was a very long man.

2256. If we were to adopt your proposal, we should get rid of the question of the territorial boundary?—Yes; and of a great deal of trouble which will result from that question.

2257. That is to say, questions arising between the British Government and the neighbouring tribes?—And the neighbouring tribes.

2258. And we should get rid of the difficult question of domestic slavery?—We should get rid of that most difficult question of domestic slavery.

2259. But, supposing that we do not do that, but remain as we are, have you any proposition to make with regard to the mode in which we should treat domestic slavery in the territory we now hold?—I can see no means of treating it, especially one part of it, which is the running away of the wives and slaves of chiefs and others in the upper country; they think that we have no more right to keep their wives and slaves than to keep their cows and goats, and that will always be their view.

2260. Have you any proposition to make on that subject?—I have no proposition to make on that subject.

2261. We have had suggestions made that we should, to a certain extent, countenance the institution of domestic slavery, and attempt to meet it in other ways, gradually abolishing it by letting the slaves purchase their freedom; have

you any opinion on such a suggestion?—I can scarcely offer an opinion with regard to Lagos; at the same time, in the Camarons River, I had perpetual disturbances with the missionaries, who insisted on giving a kind of asylum to runaway slaves, both men and women, and sending them off to Victoria. I made the missionaries personally responsible for that arrangement for what happened; if their boats were seized by the natives, and they wrote to me to recover the boats and demanded the bodily punishment of the natives, I never punished the natives in consequence.

2262. Sir Francis Baring.]—That was beyond our territory?—That was not our territory at all.

2263. Lord Stanley.] Are there any distinct instructions laid down at the present time, or have their been at any former times instructions from the Foreign Office as to the course to pursue in that matter of runaway slaves?—Not in my time, and I have heard of none.

2264. Chairman.] Supposing the Slave Trade at an end, do you conceive that we should maintain the consulship you propose for the purposes of commerce at Lagos?—My difficulty in answering that would be, that it would be very advisable if we could secure legitimate commerce with the absence of arms, ammunition, and spirits; as long as we introduce them, we do the country much more harm than good.

2265. Supposing the trade to be as it now is, and that by any pressure on the Spanish Government, or stoppage of the Cuban demand, the slave trade was at an end, would you propose that we should keep up any establishment at Lagos for the protection of the existing commerce?—The existing commerce I believe to be so bad that I would not spend a farthing upon it.

2266. The slave trade, then, being at an end, would you propose that we should withdraw from Lagos altogether?—Unless it were consented, on the part of the traders, to withdraw their illegitimate trade.

2267. Do you think that it is possible we might open such a trade at Lagos, of a new kind, that a British establishment might be still advisable?—I think it possible, provided that no other nation takes the neighbouring place of Porto Novo, for instance.

2268. Do you suppose it possible in any such future prospect that there might not only be an export trade for the products of the country, but an agricultural trade opened, as, for instance, for cotton?—I do not expect to see a regular supply of cotton from any part of Africa; it would be so constantly broken by wars and disturbances.

2269. So that you are not contemplating agricultural products, but merely the export of the present native products, when you speak of future commerce?—Exactly so.

2270. Can you tell the Committee what has been generally the influence of the missionaries at Abeokuta upon the Government at Lagos; have they co-operated with or have they opposed the British Government?—I believe that there has been no co-operation, and I believe that there has been a great deal of opposition; that began even before the Lagos Government was instituted.

2271. On the part of whom did that opposition begin at Lagos?—The missionaries; especially the Reverend Mr. Gollmer and Consul Campbell.

2272. Was that opposition maintained by the missionaries distinctively, or in connection with native dealers, liberated Africans, and others?—It seems to be about everything; about the mission

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sion ground about the size of the compounds and everything that turned up handy.

2273. That was strictly a missionary opposition to the Government, was it?—Strictly.

2274. Where did the missionaries come from?—They first landed at Badagry; they came from Sierra Leone about the year 1842.

2275. First they acquired a very considerable power themselves which, I presume, they were jealous of interference with?—In Badagry they obtained no power; from there, they went east and north to Abeokuta and Lagos; first, they went to Lagos, and obtained considerable power.

2276. Sir John Hay.] Were they white or coloured men?—Both white and coloured men; the first was a coloured man, whose name was Mr. Freeman, who was afterwards called the Bishop of the Gold Coast; but, as a rule, they were white men; they were, many of them, from England; others were Germans, and others were Americans; the Reverend Mr. Bowen was an American, and he was most energetic.

2277. Chairman.] As you have been suggesting reducing the Government to a consulate, you would not attempt in any way to colonise or settle there?—The Bight of Benin is the only new place where you could not settle.

2278. Is there any place about Lagos or Porto Novo where you would recommend the British to settle?—There is no place where Europeans could live.

2279. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Did I understand you to say that you did not know personally much about the condition of things at Lagos, between the years 1851 and 1861, while that consulate existed which you wish to see restored?—Exactly.

2280. Are you acquainted with the evidence which induced the Foreign Office to think that that state of things was not satisfactory, and did not attain the object in view, and which therefore induced them to take possession of the island?—I have read the documents on the subject.

2281. Was it not the case, that the evidence laid before the Foreign Office induced them to think there was not that safety for trade, or that means of suppressing the slave trade, which it was desirable to acquire?—I presume that was their sole object.

2282. But the evidence has not satisfied your mind that it was so?—I am not satisfied. As a rule, the Englishman is fond of annexation, and it is always locally a pleasant subject to propose taking a place.

2283. Are you aware that Docemo, whom you propose to restore, is not the man whom the people of Lagos would themselves choose for their chief, but, on the contrary, Kosoko, who was deposed by us?—I believe it is purely a local question, both have partisans and both have favorites.

2284. Do you think that Docemo would be able to exercise any substantial authority?—With the assistance of a cruiser and a consul, he certainly would.

2285. You would make Docemo the nominal chief, and manage matters through the consul and the cruisers?—As before.

2286. You object very strongly to the present state of the British trade with this part of Africa, with regard to the goods we send them; you would say, I suppose, that it is a question between the merits of this objectionable trade as you

think it, and the slave trade?—I am supposing the slave trade to be at an end, and then I ask is it worth while encouraging or paying to encourage a trade, which demoralizes the natives as much as the slave trade?

2287. But, however objectionable, that trade tends to diminish the slave trade?—It tends to diminish it with its own evils.

2288. Would you say that however objectionable it is, it has certain elements of hope in it, and that we may expect that the habit of exporting goods to Europe, and coming into contact with European traders, may lead to a better kind of trade?—Never within any reasonable limit of time; but I would never prevent the negro from applying for arms, ammunition, and spirits; that must commence on our side.

2289. Lord Stanley.] Supposing it were possible by any means to stop the trade which you describe; namely, the trade in spirits, would no native spirits be produced or no substitute?—The native of Africa has never invented distillation, and I very much doubt whether he would take the trouble to do it.

2290. You think intemperance would not be sufficient to conquer indolence?—There would be intemperance of a certain kind by means of fermented liquors, but nothing so injurious as spirits.

2291. Do you think that there is any considerable increase in the demoralisation of the people consequent on the importation of spirits?—I believe so, greatly.

2292. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] What places have you particularly in your eye in giving that opinion?—The coast around Loango, where, in some places, it is scarcely possible to find a supercargo sober, or to transact business, and where the natives are very much in the same state.

2293. Is that a place where there is a brisk export of native produce and an import of spirits?—There used to be a very brisk export of malachite and copper, and it was paid for chiefly in spirits, arms, and ammunition.

2294. There is a certain amount of European goods imported besides spirits, arms, and ammunition, is there not?—A very large amount, but a very much larger amount might be imported.

2295. But a trade, and a thoroughly legitimate trade, has begun?—Yes.

2296. Which we may hope will increase?—Which may increase; I can see no way of stopping the illegitimate trade on our part; it can only come from the improvement of the conscience of British traders.

2297. Has there been an improvement of late years in the class of Englishmen who trade with the coast?—I think so, decidedly.

2298. That is a hopeful circumstance?—That is a hopeful circumstance.

2299. Lord Stanley.] With regard to the importation of arms, do you think that withdrawing that importation, if it were possible, would tend to make wars less frequent and less deadly?—Less frequent and less deadly; on the eastern coast of Arabia the Arabs would never import firearms; it was only Hamburgers that ever did; they sold once 13,000 muskets in a very short time, and that made the country more deadly to travellers, and, of course, much more difficult to manage, and provided them with more captives; but the Arabs from Zanzibar never send spirits, of course, and, from motives of prudence, would never sell fire arms.

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2300. Have you acquainted yourself with the details of the Lagos trade?—No, I have not.

2301. You are not able to say whether there is any reasonable probability of that settlement becoming self supporting in the course of a few years?—I cannot say.

2302. Mr. Forster.] Have you been in any district in which the export of slaves for the foreign markets is going on vigorously?—Yes, at Whydah, for instance.

2303. Do you consider that the condition of the interior of the country at Lagos and also at Benin is much the same as the condition of the country at Whydah, where the foreign slave trade is in full force?—I see very little difference between them; in Whydah there were a number of traders who are legitimate traders when they have no slaves to send, and the country generally would be in very much the same condition.

2304. Do you wish the Committee to understand that you do not think there is much superiority in the condition of the country which is not exposed to the effect of the foreign and American slave trade and that which is?—There is very little difference.

2305. I understood you to say that the missionaries have not co-operated with the Governor of Lagos; are you acquainted with the circumstances of their want of co-operation?—Yes; I have been about three months at Lagos at different times, and I have kept up a pretty constant intercourse.

2306. When were you first there?—At the end of 1861.

2307. How often have you been there since?—Three times since.

2308. In what does the want of co-operation consist?—I believe that the missionaries necessarily looked after their *protégés* the Abeokutans, and our Governor and officers necessarily looked after their *protégés* in Lagos. The missionaries were divided amongst themselves of course, but a great part of the English believed that the Ibadans had no right to claim a passage through Abeokuta; others, on the other side, took the Ibadan view, but generally, the effect of the missions at Abeokuta was to support the Abeokutans against the Ibadans.

2309. When you say that, do you mean more than that they had an opinion between two sets of combatants that one was right and the other wrong; did the support go further than an expression of opinion?—I have heard of two howitzers being sent there, and a store of gunpowder which is substantial support.

2310. Do you imagine that they were sent by the missionaries?—I imagine they were sent as presents to the chief, through missionary influence.

2311. Through what missionary influence?—Through their general influence; that the missionaries would advise them to be sent in order to defend the Abeokutans from the King of Dahomey.

2312. Which missionaries were they?—I am not prepared to answer which missionaries.

2313. At what time were they sent?—In 1861 I saw one of the howitzers in the Church Missionary compound, and the other was in the house of one of the chiefs, and had been there for some time.

2314. With regard to the one in the house of the chief, did you get the history of its arrival?

—I heard that it was sent up as a present, and that was all.

2315. From whom?—I believe it was from our Governor.

2316. I should be wrong in supposing you mean that this was a howitzer which was presented by the missionaries, but you think that the missionaries influenced the Governor to present it?—Yes, exactly.

2317. Influenced the Government of Lagos?—It influenced I believe our Government at home.

2318. Was it sent independently of our Government at Lagos?—I am sure that it was sent before the Government at Lagos was established.

2319. Was it sent though the consul?—It was sent as a present to the chief.

2320. Without the consul being cognizant of it?—I am not able to answer that question; I was not there.

2321. You are not aware that the consul made any protest?—I am not aware that he did; I do not suppose that in those days he would have made any, for Abeokuta was not in any way injuring Lagos.

2322. Was the war existing between the Abeokutans and the Ibadans then?—When those guns were sent it was not existing.

2323. We should be wrong in supposing that that was part of a support given to the Abeokutans in the war with the Ibadans?—I am nearly certain in stating that it had nothing to do with the war, but it might have had. I would say nothing about it with regard to the missionaries, but that simply through their co-operation those weapons were received.

2324. I understood you to say that you considered the missionaries had given support to the Abeokutans against the Ibadans?—Yes, moral support.

2325. I understand you now to say that the guns were sent before the war broke out?—I believe so.

2326. Have they given any support to the Abeokutans beyond an expression of opinion?—They have given them their moral support. I have seen a meeting at a Church Missionary compound at Abeokuta of the native Christians, who were being harangued by one of their number to go to war.

2327. Was that with the sanction of the chiefs of the missionaries?—I presume so; there was no objection made to it.

2328. Was there any danger of attack on the missionary compound at that time?—I should say no danger at all; the armies were at a considerable distance.

2329. Sir Francis Baring]. You have stated that those guns were sent as presents by the influence of the missionaries; was it not at a time when they expected an attack from Dahomey?—They had been expecting an attack from Dahomey for many years.

2330. But was there not an attack expected from Dahomey at that time of Captain Forbes recommending that the guns should be sent?—It is not mentioned in Captain Forbes' book that there was an attack expected from Dahomey. I am not certain that he made it appear that an attack was to be made, but still an attack was to be expected.

2331. Have you got such a fresh recollection of the papers that you would positively say that those

those guns were not sent up in consequence of the alarm on account of an expectation of an attack from Dahomey?—I am not prepared to say; it is very probable that they might have been.

2332. Is it not very much the habit for the communications with Abeokuta to be made through the missionaries?—It has been very much the habit.

2333. Does it follow, therefore, that although they made their communications so they always approved of what was forwarded; for instance, if Mr. Townsend says he is desired to send such an application, do you take that as always representing the missionary feeling?—I should, under those circumstances. Of course it would vary under different circumstances, but when so powerful a man as Mr. Townsend was at Abeokuta, I should distinctly expect that to be the missionary voice as well.

2334. In your book you state that at Abeokuta the authorities of Abeokuta were not in very good humour, and that you rather (as I understand your language) consider that that arose from certain correspondence which had been sent from Lagos?—There was a great deal of bad will and a good deal of correspondence which certainly did not tend to increase good will.

2335. Might not that arise from the correspondence of those officers at Lagos. You have read the correspondence, I presume?—Yes.

2336. Was that a correspondence likely to conciliate?—No, I do not think it was likely to conciliate at all.

2337. Now, with regard to the hostility created by the missionaries to the Lagos authorities, I have a memorandum here, that, on the 8th May 1861, the consul himself visited Abeokuta, and he writes that nothing could be more friendly or more enthusiastic than his reception?—That was before my time. When I got there, Mr. McCoskry was acting governor, and I do not know that there was any personal animosity between Mr. McCoskry and the missionary Mr. Townsend, but it would not have been safe for Mr. McCoskry to have gone up there; two years after that, he sent up his clerk, who nearly lost his life in consequence of being Mr. McCoskry's clerk.

2338. But in the year 1861, just before this occupation, the feeling at Abeokuta was, according to the consul of the day, of the most friendly description towards Lagos and towards the English?—That was before my time. I consider that it is very possible. I merely speak of the time after Lagos became a British possession.

2339. This was just before?—Yes, this was just before.

2340. You were at Abeokuta and on the coast; do you think that the transactions that took place at Lagos, which were the acts of the English Government, raised the English character?—I could scarcely answer that question except by giving the view of the natives; the Abeokutans thought that the English officers were unduly taking the part of the Ibadans for their own interests; the officials of Lagos would naturally take the part of the Ibadans.

2341. But I ask about the native population; was the character of England raised among the natives by the transactions at Lagos?—Certainly, their character for vigorous action was raised.

2342. Perhaps my notions of character may not be yours?—I can only tell you the native opinion; our opinion might be different; but
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their opinion of us was raised by the prodigious facility with which we shot everything.

2343. Has their confidence in England been raised, do you think?—The confidence of the chiefs has not been forfeited, I think.

2344. The Abeokutans were friendly?—The Abeokutans were friendly; but they afterwards became antagonistic. Their interest was diametrically opposed to ours; our interest was to obtain the commerce from the Ibadans, and the Abeokutans wished to act as brokers and to obtain that advantage for themselves.

2345. It was a squabble for what is on one side called free trade?—It is the normal condition of Africa. The African tribes above are always beating down the tribes towards the sea in order to obtain the trade with the white men; that was the cause of the Ashantee War; the kingdom of Dahomey was formerly an inland kingdom, but they came down and massacred everything between themselves and the sea in order to command the coast, and that is the interest of the Ibadans.

2346. Have you read the speeches of Sir Baldwin Walker where he stated what was communicated to him by the governor of Lagos, namely, that he had occupied Ebo, Leckie, and Badagry for the purpose of revenue?—Yes.

2347. Is not that very much the same thing?—Lagos considered it fair that the Ibadans should have the transit they wished, not through Abeokuta, but through one of our territories, but the Abeokutans made war to force it.

2348. We did not make war, but we took the country?—We took the country, but in the form called cession.

2349. Mr. McCoskry informs the Committee that the governor made a remarkable treaty with Okeodan; he states that to be for the purpose of preventing communication with Abeokuta and Porto Novo?—Yes.

2350. Is not that very much the same thing?—It is completely the same.

2351. Then, on the whole, the cant about free-trade is hardly applicable in that case?—In the matter of Okeodan, I should not sympathise with anyone who interfered with Okeodan, whether the governor or consul; we should be putting ourselves out of our place, but that does not prevent the Abeokutans having also put themselves out of their place.

2352. But we have no right to complain of their trying to keep the trade in their own hands; looking back to our own old fashioned policy, is that a ground for going to war?—Certainly not for us to go to war with the Abeokutans, but we did not go to war with the Abeokutans.

2353. What do you think of blockading the country?—The Abeokutans blockaded the river, and we blockaded the coast.

2354. Who blockaded first?—The roads were cut off by the Abeokutans first, because when I went ashore they had then been stopped for some time.

2355. But before that time, even so far back as Mr. Campbell's time, there are reports stating that the passage of the river was perfectly insecure, in consequence of alarms from Dahomey?—That would be temporary; when I went up there with Commander Bedingfield, there was no difficulty in going up the river; moreover, there were three different routes.

2356. How long after that was the attack of Dahomey?—The last attack of Dahomey was in
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March 1864, but it was in the year 1861 when I went up.

2357. Between the years 1861 and 1864 there was no attack?—There was great alarm because Dahomey's army reached within a distance that you could see the smoke of their fires, but the king did not think it a proper time to make an attack; there has been a yearly attack, in fact.

2358. Sir John Hay.] You stated that one of the causes for the subsiding of the slave trade at Lagos was the duty performed by the squadron; did you hear any complaint of the want of speed of Her Majesty's ships now employed on the west coast of Africa?—I have heard complaints, but these complaints were vaguely made. I am not in a position to judge whether they were justifiable.

2359. But you have heard such complaints from naval officers?—Yes, I have heard from naval officers that the ships they expected would have greater speed.

2360. Mr. Gregory.] You said just now that a portion of the missionaries at Abeokuta encouraged the Abeokutans in preventing the people of Ibadan from passing through their territory down to the Lagoon?—Yes, to Ikorodu.

2361. Now, have the people of Abeokuta any distinct right to the tract of country between Ikorodu and Ibadan?—They claim a considerable part of the country eastward, and a great part of the country as far as Ibadan northward; they declare that those were the ancient dominions of the Egbas; they claim large territories on the other side of the river; the Egbas look on that race as their clients at least.

2362. Do they attempt to establish any claim to the territory around Ibadan?—Yes, they declare that formerly their tribe occupied the whole of that country, and nominally their war is to recover their ancient dominions.

2363. Is Jebu Ode a town in alliance with the Abeokutans, or part and parcel of Abeokuta?—Jebu Ode is one of the great portions of the Yoruba country; it is divided into two great clans Remo and Ode, one takes the part of the Abeokutans, and the other takes part virtually with the Ibadans.

2364. In fact, the whole dispute between England and the Abeokutans is merely that the Abeokutans wish to impose transit duties on all products coming into Ibadan from the interior, and passing down to the Lagoon, and we object to that process?—Exactly so.

2365. Therefore, the policy of England has been to take the part of the Ibadans?—The policy of the officers of Lagos, not exactly taking part with them and assisting them directly, but giving them all the support of their moral influence.

2366. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Are you aware whether or not those two howitzers, to which reference was made, have not been employed in war against the Ibadans?—I believe they have not taken the field, they do not know how to use them; their expression is that they eat too much powder.

2367. Would they be simply employed to defend the town in the event of a hostile attack?—They cannot do that, for the gun-carriages are all worn eaten.

2368. Sir Francis Baring.] In fact, the gun was an unfortunate gift?—It was an unfortunate gift the same way as the gift of guns made by France to Dahomey. The last attack they made

on Abeokuta, they had two or three guns with them, but they had no idea of laying them or loading them.

2369. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Are those hostile armies conducted in any organized manner; the armies of Ibadan and Abeokuta?—There is a recognised system which very much resembles the system of entrenchments of the fights in the United States; they build a solid wall and a deep ditch, behind which they encamp; they go out to fight, and as soon as a man is killed they retire for the day.

2370. What is there to prevent the trade from Ibadan passing by Jebu?—It would have to pass through a country where it would be exposed to attack on the side of Abeokuta.

2371. Supposing that your proposal of having a consul at Lagos was carried out, would it be necessary for him to have a small steamer for his special service for visiting the coast?—He would be perfectly useless without having one at his disposal.

2372. Do you think it should be a quasi man-of-war?—I think it should be a man-of-war; the natives respect a man-of-war so very much more than anything else.

2373. And you think it should be in his special service?—Yes.

2374. Would not the cost of that steamer be considerable; would it not be quite as great as the cost of the present Government?—I believe the present Government of Lagos has two steamers besides occasionally hiring a third.

2375. But are they not paid for out of the revenue of the colony?—I am unable to say whether the colony is not rather in debt for the third steamer, for the occasional hire of Mr. McCoskry's steamer.

2376. Mr. Cwve.] You stated that the slave trade has been replaced by a trade hardly less injurious to the country?—Yes, I said so.

2377. But are not the slaves paid for in arms, spirits, and ammunition, in those parts where the trade in slaves still continues?—Yes.

2378. Then have you not simply substituted palm oil, paid for in this manner, for slaves paid for in this manner?—You have.

2379. Then, taking away the two corresponding elements, you only substitute a trade in palm oil for a trade in slaves?—Yes; and with the trade in palm oil, you substitute the worst system of domestic slavery, instead of the export of slaves.

2380. But if a trade in palm oil has been substituted for the export of slaves, so far the country is benefited?—I do not know how there is any benefit in it, because the actual condition of the slave is so much worse.

2381. You think that the present state of the country with domestic slavery, is worse than the former state of the country with the export of slaves?—I can scarcely use the word domestic slavery which would extend to the Gold Coast; it is only the Biafra and Benin rivers which I am prepared to speak of.

2382. But with regard to those countries, you think that the present condition of the country, with regard to domestic slavery, is worse than the former condition of the country when the export of slaves took place?—Yes, I believe it is.

2383. Is that because slaves are worse treated now than they were formerly, on account of their being less valuable?—They are scarcely of any value at all; they are badly treated in consequence

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of that; and, in fact, nothing could be worse than their condition.

2384. But, in former days, when there was an export of slaves, there were wars in the interior for the purpose of procuring slaves to be exported, were there not?—Yes.

2385. Have those wars continued to the same extent now that the export in slaves has ceased in a large degree?—I have no means of obtaining the census of the number of the slaves that were formerly exported, nor can I tell the number of domestic slaves at present.

2386. Mr. McCoskry stated that the ammunition was chiefly used for firing salutes; do you agree with his statement?—It is used for all purposes; during wars it is used for shooting one another.

2387. Do you think that much of those imports are used in internal wars?—The King of Dahomey gets almost the whole of his gunpowder from a single house.

2388. You think that it would be a good thing if imports of that kind were to cease; but, if so, what would the people take in exchange for their produce instead of gunpowder, spirits, and arms?—They would take cloth; in a great many parts they would take a large quantity of salt; in other parts they would take hardware, pottery, and articles of that description.

2389. Do you think that the trade would be kept up to its present extent if the traders were only to take those innocent articles of barter?—I should expect a great falling off of the trade.

2390. If we abandoned the settlements, and agreed with you that it was of no use to keep up such a commerce, do you think that the commerce would cease in arms, ammunition, and spirits?—I believe that it can only cease when the conscience of the trader is gradually awakened on the subject.

2391. You think that it is only the moral amelioration of the trader which will cause any change in the system?—I see no other means of bringing about a change.

2392. Would not the moral amelioration of the people with whom he trades have the same effect?—I am afraid that it would take an incalculable period to bring about such an amelioration.

2393. We have had evidence before us that in the Mahomedan countries the trade in spirits does not exist?—It does not.

2394. Then, if either through Mahomedanism, or through the missionaries, the people were to come to consider the use of spirits a bad thing, the trade would cease?—In that case the trade in spirits would cease.

2395. Do you think that the missionaries are in any way improving the people to such an extent as to make that result probable?—No; I do not.

2396. But, I presume, the missionaries do teach the people that war is not a good thing, and that the consumption of spirits is not a good thing?—They do their best, and a great many of them are very estimable men who set the example of abstaining from spirits and fermented liquors themselves; but all I can say is, that that has had little effect upon the minds of the people.

2397. They have not the same effect as the Mahomedan proselytisers in other parts?—Spirits are forbidden in the Koran at once, so that there is among the Mahomedans no question of principle on the subject; they are forbidden to touch

fermented and distilled liquors, and there is an end.

2398. Do you think the missionaries would have greater influence over the people, if they themselves abstained from politics?—In some places they have done so; the Wesleyan ministers at the Gold Coast have, as a rule, greatly abstained from politics, but I do not observe that their influence is at all stronger on that account.

2399. You are aware that in the Hudson's Bay territory the import of spirits is prohibited?—Yes.

2400. But you think that such an arrangement would be quite impossible on the African Coast, do you not?—I am afraid, under existing circumstances, that there would be almost incalculable difficulties in carrying it out.

2401. And the result is that, whether we leave the settlements or whether we retain them, the effect would be pretty much the same on the natives themselves?—Very much the same.

2402. But you think that our retaining the settlements has done a great deal of good towards stopping the export of slaves by sea?—Not simply the existence of the settlements; it is a combination of things which has produced that result.

2403. Do you think that the squadron has been materially assisted by the settlements in its work of stopping the slave trade?—I think so in some cases, but again in some cases I think the squadron has succeeded without any assistance from the settlement at all.

2404. Granting that stopping the export trade in slaves was a good thing, then the hold which we maintain over those settlements is so far a good thing too?—That must necessarily be granted.

2405. But it seems at the same time to be your opinion, that the slave trade may be, in some instances, a good thing?—No, in no case whatever; but I think that a free emigration, such as I have spoken of, is required in many parts.

2406. But you think that the stoppage of the external slave trade has deteriorated the condition of the domestic slaves?—In this particular part; but in the Gold Coast I believe it is not the case.

2407. In this particular part, then, you would substitute emigration for that form of the slave trade?—I would have a free emigration; I would not consider it at all as being in the form of a slave trade.

2408. Stopping the exit of slaves from the country, which was formerly carried on by means of the export trade, has, you think, deteriorated the condition of the people left behind; you start with that?—Yes, I start with that; that we suddenly cut off all methods of transportation because the export of slaves was generally their method of transportation.

2409. And you propose to establish a regulated emigration?—I propose to establish a regulated emigration in this particular part.

2410. And you think that such an emigration could be carried on without the abuses which have generally been considered to attach to free emigration?—I think it could.

2411. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] How is it that those chiefs in the oil rivers do not find their slaves sufficiently valuable in the carrying on of the new trade to induce them to spare their lives?—They do find their head slaves valuable; they take particular care of them; it is merely the common slaves whom they can buy with a few shillings that they do not take care of. Provi-

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sions are very dear there. I have seen at Bonny Town 3s. paid for a yam. In that case it would be greatly to the master's interest to starve his slaves to death and buy others.

2412. Is the country over-peopled in proportion to the means of subsistence?—The coast receives all the produce of the criminality and the fighting which goes on in the interior.

2413. Sir Francis Baring.] You spoke of the cession of Badagry, do you know anything of the right which we had to take possession of Badagry?—I am not aware that we had any right to take it.

2414. But it is supposed to have been part of the possessions of King Docemo, is it not?—It is so supposed, but that is a disputed point.

2415. Then you have not satisfied your mind upon the question whether that was so or not?—No, I have not satisfied my mind whether it belonged to Porto Novo or to Lagos.

2416. How was the purchase of Badagry made from?—By our officials Badagry was considered part of Lagos.

2417. Did we not pay for it besides?—I believe we pensioned some of the chiefs there.

2418. But what right had those chiefs to sell; were there not different claims, and did not we buy only a proportion of them?—I believe there were formerly four chiefs, and afterwards eight chiefs, and that we satisfied them with very small pensions, and in that way they acknowledged that Badagry was under Lagos instead of being under Porto Novo; but these questions are perpetually arising, because Benin, for instance, would claim Lagos.

2419. In the interval between Badagry and the British territory on the Gold Coast, there is a considerable space of coast, is there not, which is not occupied in any way by the English?—Not occupied by the English.

2420. Does the power of Dahomey come down to the coast there?—It very much depends on the power of the actual king; the people of Agwe gave themselves up to the king, and on the other hand, the republicans of Great Popo and Little Popo will have nothing to do with him; and, as a rule, he does not come anywhere near that lagoon.

2421. Does not the territory of Dahomey come down to Whydah?—Yes.

2422. What do you consider the furthest point where his power comes down to the coast?—The easternmost point is called Godome, a large town, 15 miles to the east of Whydah.

2423. What is the position of Porto Novo?—It was given up to the French in December last. I understand that the natives have now proposed to cede it to us. It belongs, properly speaking, to a cadet of the Royal family of Dahomey.

2424. Then, by your latest intelligence, do you suppose that Porto Novo was under the protection of the English?—I hear that they have proposed themselves as English protégés.

2425. In whose hands is Popo?—In the hands of the Popos, one of the worst races on the coast. There is a large French house there, and minor factories at Little Popo.

2426. How is it that this long extent of coast, being unoccupied by any great power, Dahomey does not come down to the coast?—One of the traditional rules of war, especially on the part of the king, is that he is never to march his army into places where canoes are required; that part is a network of swamps and creeks. He once

lost a very large army in a place called Griji, near Little Popo, and he took a vow never again to march an army in that direction.

2427. Is there much export of slaves from Whydah?—Just before my leaving in February, the barracoons were full, and I am sorry to say that the town was full.

2428. The English have an establishment at Whydah, have they not?—They have a Wesleyan establishment, but only for mulattoes; there are no white men.

2429. By whom were you received at Whydah?—I was received in what they call the English Fort, that is at the Wesleyan Mission.

2430. Have the French any house or establishment there?—The French have an establishment there, the house of M. Régis Ainé, of Marseilles.

2431. A mercantile establishment?—An establishment for palm oil.

2432. Is it connected with the French Government?—It is not connected with the French Government, except that the senior agent acts as consul.

2433. Have any other European powers agents there, except the English and French?—There is a large French mission, but there is no national establishment; after that they are merely traders.

2434. Have the Dutch any establishment?—The Dutch have entirely died out; they formerly had a fort, and were considered one of the four great nations.

2435. What should you say is the probable prospect of the kingdom of Dahomey; is its power gradually becoming extinct, or do you think it will hold its own against the Abeokutans?—I think that it must eventually become extinct; we have a very exact history of Dahomey, coming down from 1730, and every generation shows a great falling off in the number of the forces and the power of the king.

2436. Is Abeokuta the greatest power in that part of the world?—It is not the greatest power, but it has risen very greatly, and the Egbas are the most intelligent of the African tribes in that part of the world.

2437. Do you conceive that the Egbas or the Yoruba race altogether are capable of civilization?—The Yoruba race is very extensive, embracing the whole country between the Western Niger and the sea. Dahomans are of Yoruba origin, and speak that language. The Egbas are all Yorubans; the best of them are the Oyos, who are being converted to Mahomedanism, and they are capable of civilization.

2438. They are Mussulmans partly by conversion and partly by the influx of a new race from the East, are they not?—Partly by conversion and partly by mixture of race; of course the mixture of race goes on more slowly.

2439. And you consider them so improved in blood that they are capable of civilization?—They are capable of a certain civilization.

2440. Should you propose that either for the purpose of the suppression of the slave trade or for mercantile purposes the English should, if possible, occupy Whydah?—I should not propose it.

2441. Supposing we wished it, do you think that the King of Dahomey is willing to cede it to us?—He has twice made an offer to cede it to us, but under curious conditions; the governor whom we appoint at Whydah must, he says, be a good man;

man; he must not write bad things over to England, and he must not report when the slavers go.

2442. In fact, he must not do the very things which we should particularly wish him to do; and under those circumstances you do not think it desirable, even if it were possible, that the English should occupy Whydah?—In no way whatever.

2443. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] The English fort at Whydah was once a Government settlement, was not it?—It was once a Government settlement.

2444. Depending on the Gold Coast?—Depending on the Gold Coast merely for the purpose of collecting slaves.

2445. Do you know when that was given up?—I am unable to say, except that it was early in the present century; it has since been occupied by Vice Consul Fraser, by Wesleyan missionaries, and so on.

2446. We have no consul there, have we?—We had two vice consuls there; one, Mr. Duncan, the traveller; and the other Mr. Lewis Fraser; but Mr. Duncan died and Mr. Fraser left.

2447. Would you advise that we should have a consul or a vice consul at Whydah?—By no means; the French consul has been obliged to escape on board ship to save his life; a consul or vice consul would be a complete slave of the King of Dahomey. The King of Dahomey would order him not to go to the beach without reporting himself to the native government.

2448. *Chairman*.] What check is there upon the export of slaves at Whydah now?—The check is, having Commodore Wilnot there, and ships within sight of each other.

2449. Is the space between Porto Novo and Quilah a regular cruising ground for the squadron?—Yes.

2450. How many ships are there between Lagos and the Gold Coast; nine, are there not?—There are as many as nine, with boats between, so as to form a complete cordon.

2451. Sir *Francis Baring*.] Do you find that the embassies to Dahomey have produced good effect?—No.

2452. Mr. *Cave*.] When you state that Whydah was burnt, do you mean that the slaves were burnt in the barracoons?—Yes.

2453. You mentioned the Messrs. Régis having a house in Whydah?—Yes.

2454. That was a house that carried on the so called free emigration to Réunion, was it not?—Yes.

2455. That is entirely at an end now?—Entirely.

2456. Is there any emigration under French auspices from the West Coast of Africa to any of their settlements now?—None that I know of.

2457. Lord *Alfred Churchill*.] Are you aware whether there is any legitimate commerce at Whydah?—At Whydah there is a considerable legitimate commerce, and it might be very much increased.

2458. Going on side by side with the slave trade?—Yes, going on side by side with the slave trade. When slaves are not collected, they send out palm oil.

2459. You think that the palm oil trade is capable of considerable development?—It is capable of development to the extent of 10,000 tons a year.

2460. Is that country so very rich in palm
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trees?—The whole of the lagoon, which runs from Lagos to Porto Seguro, is one forest of palm trees.

2461. What is the present amount of the palm oil trade?—I believe it is between 2,000 and 3,000 tons.

2462. And you think it could be raised up to 10,000 tons?—I think so.

2463. Are you aware that recently the King of Dahomey has expressed a wish to send ambassadors to this country?—I am.

2464. Do you believe that, if they were to come, the effect of it would in any way induce him to mend his manners?—There is only one person about him that he could send who would be of any use, a young man of the name of Chudaton, who is one of his own relations, and a very intelligent man, a man of sufficient rank to tell his own story to the king, which a man of inferior rank would not dare to do; that is the man he proposes. On the other hand, the king proposes to keep the Rev. Mr. Bernasco's wife and family as hostages.

2465. Mr. *Gregory*.] Would the forcible occupation of Whydah put a stop to the slave trade on that coast?—No, I think not. The whole coast is one system of outlets as far as the Volta; even the Volta is one of the best.

2466. Mr. *Cave*.] Did the French buy the slave emigrants that they carried off to Réunion?—I was not present at any sale, but I have heard the agents themselves talking about it. I have heard the natives discuss the prices with the agents.

2467. Your opinion is that the French did buy the slaves?—Most distinctly.

2468. Did that lead to internal wars?—The slaves were collected over a great expanse of country, and I imagine that the whole condition of Lower Congo is chronic war. There is not a hut, and the people live entirely on the tops of the hills and mountains, 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, in order to have a fair look out over their enemies; this is in the lower basin of the Congo.

2469. Since that emigration has been stopped, has the same deterioration of the slaves taken place that you have described elsewhere?—No; the people who live in Lower Congo are a very fine race; they have taken to cultivating ground nuts.

2470. Do you think that the stoppage of that emigration was a piece of good policy?—On the Lower Congo decidedly.

2471. *Chairman*.] Proceeding now to the Gold Coast territory, from the Volta to the Assinee, do you consider, with our present objects in view, namely, the suppression of the slave trade, as well as the extension of commerce, that we could do the work with fewer ports than the four or five which we now maintain?—If the export of slaves continues in demand, and we remove those forts, the Ashantees will necessarily come down to the coast and they will be in a position to export any number of slaves; on the other hand, supposing the country to be relieved of that export of slaves, we might do without them.

2472. So long as the demand for slaves continues, you think that we cannot do without our present forts?—Certainly not without Cape Coast Accra and Annamaboe, and we ought to re-establish the settlement of Addah on the Volta.

2473. You think that while the slave trade continues we ought to have one or two posts at the mouth of the Volta?—I think that we ought

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to have two posts at the mouth of the Volta. I was there in the year 1862, and I found 400 slaves in the barracoons.

2474. You believe that now the slave trade is going on from the Volta?—Yes.

2475. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Is there not a fort already there?—It is entirely in ruins; it was bought from the Danes.

2476. Chairman.] Still, supposing the slave trade to go on, and that we must maintain the forts for the purpose of suppressing it, would it not be necessary, to make the blockade complete, that we should come to some better terms with the Dutch?—I believe that better terms with the Dutch would greatly increase the prosperity of our settlement on the Gold Coast.

2477. Do you believe that it is possible to carry on effectually our present system on the Gold Coast without better terms with the Dutch?—I think that it is impossible to carry on our present system; it is a very poor one.

2478. Does not the Dutch Government, instead of co-operating with us, in almost every instance thwart our operations on the coast?—That is the general voice on the Gold Coast.

2479. Should you say that, if there was an opportunity, with our present objects, of the British becoming possessed of the Dutch forts, it would be the best proceeding?—That position would be of value to us; it would depend afterwards on how much we paid them.

2480. It would enable us to raise a larger revenue?—It would enable us to raise a larger revenue.

2481. And probably to economise the forces on the coast?—They are placed in a dangerous position on the Gold Coast.

2482. Have not the Dutch practically, ever since the British and Dutch have been settled on that coast, taken an opposite line of policy to the English?—I believe they have, as a rule.

2483. For instance, the Fantees having been under the protection of the English, the Dutch have taken a contrary side, and favoured the Ashantees?—Yes.

2484. And their policy, in every way, has thwarted our policy?—Yes; we should gain by trading with the Fantees, and it would be to their interest to favour the Ashantees.

2485. Supposing the slave trade at an end, what should you think would be the best thing for the British Government to do with the forts on that coast, or how many would it be necessary still to maintain for the requirements of commerce alone?—I do not see that there can be any commerce about the Cape Coast or Accra, except a small amount of gold; the only post that I should recommend for trade, if trade is desirable, is Addah on the Volta.

2486. Why do you fix on that?—It is on a navigable stream from the interior, and in a very fine country, where Europeans can live without extreme sickness, and it is near a rich gold-producing country.

2487. Supposing that the slave trade was at an end, the English maintaining only a post of health and a mercantile point at Addah, what would become of the whole territory now under the protection of the English?—The Ashantees would make an attack on it, and they would probably succeed.

2488. The Ashantees would probably overrun the Fantees, and all the other tribes, and become the possessors of the coast?—Yes, I should expect so.

2489. What would be the effect of this upon the civilisation and interests of the smaller tribes?—They would be placed very much in the position that they were originally in, subject to the Ashantees.

2490. Would they be worse off in the interests of civilisation than they are now?—In some particulars they would be worse off, and in some particulars they would be better off.

2491. In what point would they be better off?—They would scarcely become so thoroughly demoralised as they are now; their system of trade is to mix up water with their rum, and sand with their tobacco; they get such an enormous percentage from the Ashantees, that the Ashantees must always be their enemies.

2492. Do you think that the effect of the Ashantees overriding and swallowing up those small powers would be to create a stronger government?—Yes.

2493. Do you think the country would be better governed than it now is by a number of small tribes?—Yes.

2494. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] But this process would take place against the wishes of the little tribes themselves, would it not?—Certainly?

2495. Have you formed any opinion of our system of protectorate at the Gold Coast, which distinguishes it from the other British settlements on the coast?—I think, as a rule, the general idea at the Gold Coast is that we are bound to protect them in war against all comers; that would be the native point of honour.

2496. Do you think that by means of the protectorate, which is over a large extent of country, we exercise more influence than we do at Sierra Leone or the Gambia?—I think that we influence the people at the Gold Coast to a considerable extent. I do not think that the people of the Gold Coast are anxious to get rid of us.

2497. Do you think they feel the benefit of our presence and protection?—I think they do.

2498. Then with regard to our humanising influence, namely, in the suppressing of human sacrifices and the abuses of domestic slavery, do you think that our power by means of that protectorate is more widely extended than it is in the neighbourhood of our other settlements?—I think that on the Gold Coast we have done a great deal in that way.

2499. You think that, considering the insignificance of our settlements and the smallness of their revenue, we have done a good deal?—I think that we have done a good deal considering under what extremely disadvantageous circumstances we have been placed. We have had a very large missionary settlement there.

2500. The system of protectorate, I suppose, grew up entirely from the circumstances of the case, and in consequence of the presence of a formidable native tyrant, which was not the case in the neighbourhood of our other settlements?—Exactly; the great fear which they had of the Ashantees. The Fantees and the Ashantees are supposed to be brethren, but they are always at daggers drawn.

2501. Do you mean to say that the influence of the Dutch has at all tended to involve us in difficulties with the Ashantees?—In difficulties with regard to raising the revenue and also with regard to the Ashantees, for the Dutch make their money by trading with the Ashantees.

2502. But

2502. But the real difficulty has been the fiscal difficulty; the difficulty of raising a sufficient revenue by customs duties, the Dutch refusing to adopt a tariff similar to our own?—Exactly so.

2503. Lord Stanley.] You have no reason to suppose, in the event of its being considered desirable to annex the Dutch forts, that there is any willingness on the part of the Dutch Government to part with them?—It is generally stated that the Dutch Government have refused to part with them.

2504. Have you at all considered the question whether the additional cost of maintaining the forts would be covered by the increase of revenue which their possession would enable us to raise?—I believe it would.

2505. The customs duty could be raised more easily and at a higher rate?—It could be raised more easily and at a higher rate.

2506. Now, with regard to the commercial facilities at the Gold Coast, except this post on the Volta, none of the ports now occupied by the British have good communication with the interior?—The communication with the interior is very bad. Shortly after you leave the coast, you get into forest land with mere footpaths running through a dense bush.

2507. No roads are made?—No roads were made until we made that ill-fated expedition to the Prah.

2508. If roads were made, it would be next to impossible to keep them up, I suppose?—The roads are very broad, and they are cleared out every year; but the natives always walk in Indian file. No matter how broad the road is, you may see a string of people a mile long, all following in each others footsteps, and the result is that the road is covered with grass at the sides. In their language, there is an expression to denote that such a road has "died."

2509. There is no prospect, you think, of a considerable increase of trade with the interior?—If we could get the Dutch portion of it, we should be able to raise our own import dues, especially on arms, ammunition, and spirits, without which they can do nothing.

2510. I understood you to say that we were considered as bound in honour to protect all those tribes living within the so-called protectorate?—Yes.

2511. That is to protect them against the King of Ashantee?—Only not to interfere in their quarrels, but to interfere for their protection.

2512. But, with regard to intertribal wars among themselves, you think that that pledge is not considered to exist?—They would very probably come down for our mediation, but I may add that it was assumed to be necessarily our duty to attack Comassee the moment the last Ashantee war began.

2513. You have never visited Comassee?—I have never visited Comassee, but I have travelled along the coast as far as the Volta.

2514. In the event of our being involved in a serious war with Ashantee, is the offensive strength of that kingdom great?—The strength of that kingdom is great on account of the forest country, which they fight in: we expected the Fanteses and the Accras to march against the Ashantees and attack them on their own ground, which they will not do; they will receive them on the plain, but they will not venture on bush fighting.

2515. You are speaking of the defensive strength of the Ashantees; but I wanted to know its offensive power?—The offensive power was strong in the last war; in the last war they marched within a few miles of Accra; you may remember that they killed Sir Charles McCarthy and other officers, and I have reason to believe that they are now stronger than they ever were.

2516. The Gold Coast is not a cotton country, is it?—No, I do not expect it to be.

2517. Now, is there much exportation of palm oil?—Very little, except from Crobo and in the vicinity of Accra; the Crobo country supplies a very fine palm oil.

2518. With regard to the interior, how far up is the Volta navigable?—The only thing known about the Volta is, that the late Lieutenant Dolben went up the river 100 miles, and published a hydrographic chart.

2519. Chairman.] Did he make any report with regard to the probabilities of trade?—He made a report which was published in the proceedings of the Geographical Society, and the chart was engraved in the Hydrographic Office.

2520. Lord Alfred Churchill.] Are there any beasts in this country?—There are on the Gold Coast; they can only exist in one particular part, in Accra, near the sea; if you take them to the forest land the Tssets kills them.

2521. Is there any reason why we should maintain the Gold Coast Settlement beyond its effect on the suppression of the slave trade?—The only place that I would retain for trade would be the part near Addah; that would be the only remunerative part.

2522. Chairman.] Have you formed an opinion that it would be worth while our holding that station?—I should think so.

2523. Mr. Chichester Fontesue.] Then you would say that we have hitherto unduly neglected the neighbourhood of the Volta, the eastern part of the territory recently acquired from the Danes?—We acquired one point beyond that, Quittah.

2524. You would say that we have not paid all the attention to it that it deserved?—I am decidedly of the opinion that we have not.

2525. Do you know the condition of Quittah?—It is in the same miserable state that those forts generally are.

2526. Do you think that Quittah should be resumed?—There is no object in its being resumed. Addah is almost within sight of it.

2527. Chairman.] Now, proceeding westward, we come to the river Assinee, which is the boundary of the British Gold Coast territory, and where the French hold a post; have you ever seen that?—No; I have never been at Assinee.

2528. Have you anything to say to the Committee about the French occupation, with regard to its extent, and whether it is an outpost under the French authorities of Senegal?—I believe it to be under the French authorities of Senegal, and to have been established wholly for gold-exporting purposes, and to have been so had a climate that it has virtually been abandoned.

2529. But it is still held to some extent?—Yes; to some extent.

2530. Is there a governor there?—There is a commandant.

2531. And ships?—I believe that a ship goes from the Gahoon to Assinee occasionally.

2532. From that point to Cape Palmas, the boundary of the Liberian republic is the Ivory Coast; there is no export of slaves from the Ivory Coast,

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Coast, is there?—There is no danger of it; for the Krumen would either murder the exporter or they would pine to death when exported; virtually there has never been an export of slaves there.

2533. What tribes occupy that coast?—The Jack-a-jack men and the Jack-Jahoo men; they are the same race; the large Kru family.

2534. Have you any acquaintance with the Liberian republic?—Only as far as Cape Palmas; I have been several times there.

2535. Can you state whether the republic are likely to increase their territory, or whether it is rather in a stationary condition?—I believe that it has increased its territory enormously by the usual process of cessions, and, on the whole, I should consider it in a thriving condition rather than otherwise.

2536. I suppose you would consider such an occupation as the most effectual barrier against the slave trade that could be conceived?—I should, for their councils are mainly directed by a most intelligent body of Americans.

2537. If they have the vigour to extend themselves, do you think that they will ever be capable of taking off the hands of the British any of their Sierra Leone occupation?—I should think them capable of taking charge at once of Sherboro.

2538. Would they be willing to do so?—I am of opinion they would be willing.

2539. That would at once blockade the slave trade from their present settlement up to Sherboro?—Yes.

2540. I believe there is some slave trade now going on there?—Yes; it is one of the recognised slave trade parts of the coast, all around them.

2541. Do you think that they could take the Quiah and Sherboro rivers?—I know that they look forward to it, but I am not prepared to say that they are actually in a position to do so.

2542. But if it was possible for them to take possession of the Quiah and Sherboro rivers, would it not be most desirable for the English, and all interests concerned, that they should do so?—I should say so.

2543. Now, with regard to Sierra Leone, what is your opinion of it as a post for occupation by the British?—It is a good harbour for coaling purposes.

2544. For coaling purposes it is an important position?—Yes, it is an important position, and for a harbour of refuge I consider it important.

2545. Supposing it was held only for that purpose, what point should you recommend that we should hold; would it be the point of the peninsula, Free Town?—Extending from Fourah Bay down to the Bananas; that would be almost the most important part of it.

2546. Is that a tolerably healthy station?—I consider it exceedingly unhealthy, but proper sanitary precautions have never been tried.

2547. Is there any healthy position at the mouth of the river that we could hold for that purpose?—I believe the only healthy position would be at a certain altitude above the level of the sea; up Leicester Mountains, or on the high ground behind; there is a place called Mount Oriol, 800 feet high, where Mrs. Melville and her husband and family lived for years, and they seem to have escaped remarkably well; that would encourage me to build higher up on the range called the Leicester Mountains.

2548. You suggest the English holding Sierra Leone as a coaling station and a harbour of re-

fuge, but should you consider it necessary for the purposes of commerce, or would the commerce maintain itself?—The commerce will always go on as it has begun; the merchants, except a very few, die off.

2549. You do not consider that the merchants of Sierra Leone would consider such an establishment necessary for their protection?—No; I think, as a rule, they would rather oppose it.

2550. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] What is the form of Government in Liberia, is it really republican?—I believe it is.

2551. Is there an elective assembly?—Yes; senators and representatives; two senators for Cape Palmas, for instance, and the same number of representatives, and so on, in the other provinces.

2552. Do you know anything about the present president?—I have never met him, but I have heard a great deal about him.

2553. President Roberts was not a full negro, was he?—No, there was very little negro in him.

2554. He was a very superior man?—A very superior man.

2555. *Chairman*.] A mulatto, I suppose?—A mulatto; in the States he would be considered a white man, almost.

2556. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] Are many Liberians mulattos?—The brains of Liberia are mulatto, the natives are for the most part Krumen, and still are a very wild and savage race.

2557. But of the slaves who have emigrated thither from the Southern States of North America, are there many mulattos?—Yes, a great many mulattos, who take a leading part.

2558. I suppose that the Government is entirely in the hands of the American emigrants?—They are greatly assisted by the missionaries; for instance, Bishop Payne, at Cape Palmas, would have more authority among the people generally than the two senators, Mr. Gibson and Mr. Marshall, who are mulattos.

2559. Those missionaries being quite white men?—Yes, quite white men.

2560. The missionaries indirectly take a large part in the Government, do they?—Very little politically, but they are looked upon as advisers by all classes.

2561. How do the natives regard the rule of the Liberian Government?—The natives complain that they allowed them to settle there, and that then they took the whole of the coast; that would be the Krumen view of the case.

2562. Are Sherboro people willing to put themselves under Liberian rule?—I am not aware.

2563. Do you know how the European traders regard the Liberian Government?—I believe that they regard the Liberian Government with favour.

2564. They do not find their duties excessive?—No, I think not; they have been expecting a consul at Cape Palmas, but none has been provided. The mail steamer used to call at Monrovia, the capital, but they did not get any great export trade, so it was given up five years ago.

2565. You do not know that the people of Sherboro are very much disinclined to become Liberian subjects?—I am not aware; they are very much under the hands of the Sierra Leone traders, and the Sierra Leone people generally regard Liberia as an antagonistic influence.

2566. *Lord Stanley*.] With regard to the colony of Sierra Leone, I think your knowledge is only derived

derived from passing visits?—Only from passing visits.

2567. You spoke of the great unhealthiness of the place; do you think that that is to any extent due to the continued neglect of all sanitary precautions?—To a great extent, there would be a number of causes; in the first place, building along the sea, want of cleanliness, great monotony, and bad living.

2568. There are no roads into the country, and therefore settlers are almost entirely confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the town?—Quite so.

2569. Nuisances are tolerated which would be enough to create pestilence in European cities, I believe?—The state of the old churchyard is such as would not be tolerated anywhere else.

2570. The experiment has never been tried of establishing residences on high ground, has it?—I heard a report that many years ago it was tried and never succeeded; but I have never attached any importance to that report; that house at Mount Oriel has always been considered a kind of sanatorium; it is behind the town, on one of the hills.

2571. What amount of access is there to the back country by water?—You go up the river.

2572. To what distance is the river navigable?—I am not aware that any person knows.

2573. Has it never been traced?—It has never been traced.

2574. With regard to the native population of Sierra Leone, have you any means of your own knowledge or otherwise of judging how far the experiment of attempting the civilisation of the African races have succeeded there?—I have been there four times, and I have met a great many, of course, up and down the country; the general voice of the coast is against the Sierra Leone men; they are looked upon as men who have sufficient education to deceive others and not sufficient to keep themselves straight; in Sierra Leone they are divided mainly into two great tribes, the Egbas and the Ebos, and those tribes are in continual feuds; they have an organisation among themselves (especially the Egbas) as much as our Freemasons. If a jury has a majority of Egbas on it no Ebo could escape, and *vice versa*.

2575. Among other tribes, you consider that the Sierra Leone people have a bad reputation?—The civilized Christian convert of Sierra Leone is dreaded on the rest of the coast; he has been trained up in police courts; he can examine a witness as well as any lawyer in England; he has great missionary interest, which enables him to raise a cry at once. A Sierra Leone convert in my jurisdiction raised a complaint against the Reverend Mr. Anderson, a most respectable missionary, of stealing his rum; it was entirely an invention, but it would have been very difficult to persuade any officer of a cruiser to flog or to punish him, being a Sierra Leone man.

2576. Do you mean that there is an idea that they have special means of making any real or imaginary grievances known?—There is a very general, and a very strong idea of that kind.

2577. And that, therefore, they are not on equal terms with other natives who have not the same facilities?—That they have an advantage greatly over the other natives.

2578. But as you put it, that is an advantage of a certain cleverness of a certain kind?—Of a certain kind.

2579. Are they industrious, as a rule?—They take a delight in becoming merchants with a stock in trade of 20 s.; they sell calico, and so on; but petty shopkeeping is one of the great injuries of the Colony; and then there are, besides, far too many spirit shops: there ought to be a very heavy duty on spirit shops.

2580. Are they worse, in point of intemperance, than the natives generally?—They cannot well be worse than the natives generally; but worst of all are their mischief-making propensities.

2581. Sir Francis Baring.] How are those assemblies elected in Liberia?—That I cannot tell you; I know that they are elected, from seeing them mentioned in the papers.

2582. You are not aware how low the qualification goes?—I am not prepared to say; I suppose it cannot go to the Kru men.

2583. But you do not know?—I cannot say.

2584. However that may be, I understand from you that the Government on the whole gives satisfaction to the governed?—I believe so.

2585. The European merchant does not find that it interferes with his trade?—I do not think that there are many British merchants established on the Liberian Coast; in fact, there are very few; but I have never heard any great complaint.

2586. I thought you said that the European traders did not object to the Liberian Government?—Yes, but I wish to state that there are a very few of them.

2587. Do you know them at all, except the President?—I know the two Senators of Cape Palmas.

2588. They are intelligent persons, are they not?—Very much so.

2589. Are there not coloured persons of considerable intelligence in a higher position at Sierra Leone?—There are clever merchants there.

2590. But are there not coloured parties in a high position there?—There are coloured parties in official positions.

2591. Are they intelligent or not?—They are intelligent; most of those in official positions would be mulattos; in trade there are many who are pure blacks; that is to say, with no mixture of European blood; there may be a mixture of a negroid type; they are persons who have made considerable fortunes, and who are themselves men of considerable intelligence.

2592. Would you treat those gentlemen of Liberia as higher in character and intelligence than those people in a similar position in Sierra Leone?—I think that in Liberia they would be under a better system.

2593. They govern themselves?—There is no antagonism between the white and black men in Liberia.

2594. And there is in Sierra Leone; but that is not confined to one side, either white or black, I suppose?—No; it acts and reacts.

2595. Is not there a strong tendency on the part of the white population to look down on the coloured population?—There is, distinctly.

2596. You have spoken not very warmly of those persons that were educated in the missionary schools. Are there not some of them who have made fortunes, respectable merchants who have been liberated Africans, or children of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone?—There are

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some who have been liberated Africans themselves.

2597. And they have risen by their own character and intelligence to a respectable position?—Quite so.

2598. We have had evidence from Colonel Ord that there exist at Sierra Leone black merchants, who live in the same style as European merchants; does your experience confirm that?—The highest merchants at Sierra Leone would be European merchants, but there are several coloured men who live very respectably, though it is on a smaller scale, nothing to be compared with even Bombay.

2599. But comparing the European merchants at Sierra Leone with the black merchants, are they not living in very much the same style?—Very much. First of all, however, would be the European white men.

2600. With regard to the comforts of life, carriages, horses, and so on, is not the black merchant very much on the same footing as the European?—Externally quite so, internally not so much. He delights in carriages and horses, and a broad cloth coat with a large velvet collar, but in the house all this is removed, and he places a rag round his waist.

2601. He takes off his coat?—Yes; and with his coat he takes off his manners.

2602. Europeans take off their coats in India?—Yes, no doubt.

2603. You state that the brains of Liberia are Mulatto?—Yes.

2604. Are they still supplied from America in any quantity?—Of late years there has been rather an increase, I am told; but before that the supply fell off.

2605. The Mulatto race is not capable of continuing itself without fresh supplies, is it?—That is a point of debate with the Anthropological Society, the permanence of human hybridity.

2606. You consider that undetermined?—I consider it so.

2607. Then it would be possible that the present state of Sierra Leone could continue without any large emigration from America?—I should consider it possible, but I consider that there will be for some time to come a great emigration from America.

2608. Is Sierra Leone a good place for the Mixed Commission Court, do you think?—It has its advantages and its disadvantages; the rest of the coast are jealous of Sierra Leone for having the Mixed Commission Court; they want to have it more central, for instance, at Lagos.

2609. Are there many cases tried at Sierra Leone?—A considerable number of cases are tried there; they either go to Sierra Leone or Loanda.

2610. Are there not a great many prisoners taken to St Helena?—It depends on what part of the coast they are captured; they are bound to take them to the nearest place.

2611. From the part of the coast in which the greater number of captures take place it is beating up?—It is beating up.

2612. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] When you speak of the Sierra Leone people you mean, in fact, the captured slaves, or their descendants?—The captured slaves, or their descendants.

2613. They form the Sierra Leone people?—They form the Sierra Leone people; I do not include the Mandengas, those who are commonly called Mandengas, or any of those races.

2614. The people you mean are the people some of whom are heard so much of at Lagos and at Abbeokuta, and who have returned to the countries from which they originally came?—That is one particular section of the Egbas; those Sierra Leone men are chiefly the descendants of liberated Egbas.

2615. Do you know whether the number of those people at Sierra Leone is increasing much now-a-days; that is to say, whether any large proportion of the captured slaves settle themselves at Sierra Leone instead of going to the West Indies?—I think that they try their fortune in Sierra Leone, and if they do not succeed there they come drifting down the coast to us.

2616. Should you not say that the majority go to the West Indies?—All those of whom I have had any experience are those who come down to the coast.

2617. Do you consider Sierra Leone a fit and proper place for the station of a Mixed Commission Court to which captured slaves should be carried?—I think it is necessary for that northern part of the coast.

2618. You do not consider Liberia a specimen of a native African Government, in the proper sense of the word, do you?—No; it is most distinctly Anglo-Saxon; it is all founded on the traditions of Washington.

2619. It is a government founded by Africans who have passed through, either in their own persons or that of their ancestors, the process of residence in an Anglo-Saxon community?—Entirely so.

2620. Mr. *Gregory*.] What is the reason that the Kroonem object so much to this establishment of Liberia?—They say, "these lands are ours;" the idea never enters into the native's mind of a complete alienation of land. If he sells his land, and you die, he expects your son to sell it again. They consider a treaty alienating land an impossibility; it is always a grievance.

2621. *Chairman*.] Have you any opinion to offer to the Committee with regard to the settlement on the River Gambia?—The only opinion I have about the Gambia would be the advisability of all officials living at Cape St. Mary.

2622. With the present objects of the settlement, the suppression of the slave trade and the encouragement of commerce, you consider that the Government should be removed to Cape St. Mary, which is the highest point of the river?—I consider that the Government should be removed away from the mouth of the river.

2623. Do you think that the present site of the Government should be abandoned?—I consider it so dangerous that the officials occupy it at the risk of their lives.

2624. But supposing the Government removed to Cape St. Mary, would it be necessary to maintain the establishment of the Island of St. Mary?—The Island of St. Mary would always be the favourite place for traders.

2625. But there would be no necessity for any Government establishment at Bathurst?—There would be no necessity for any Government establishment at Bathurst; I see no necessity.

2626. Under those circumstances would it be necessary to maintain McCarthy's Island 150 miles up the river?—I think that McCarthy's Island is the most dangerous part of the whole of the Colony.

2627. Would it be of any use?—I think it would be of no use.

2628. Have

2628. Have you ever been at the Gambia?—I have only been a short way up the Gambia, but I have met officers returning from McCarthy's Island very debilitated and sick.

2629. But you have a matured opinion that McCarthy's Island is of no use as a station for trade?—I think that a steamer going up would do as much good as the Settlement at McCarthy's Island.

2630. Do you see any use in the retention of the northern bank of the River Gambia, the boundary of the kingdom of Barra?—It has its advantages and its disadvantages; if we abandoned it and another European nation came there, there would be a renewal of the old difficulties of Albreda, and St. Mary Bathurst; and, on the other hand, the tribes living to the north of it are becoming Islamised very rapidly, and that tends to bring us into collision.

2631. You think that there is a prospect of our coming into collision with more warlike tribes than we have yet done around the Gambia?—I think so; but we have already come into contact with tribes that required our white men and marines to be landed, and even then displayed great pluck.

2632. Supposing the slave trade at an end, do you think there would be commerce enough there to make it worth while to maintain an establishment on the Gambia for its protection; and, secondly, do you think that that commerce would be able to protect itself without an estab-

lishment?—I do not think that commerce would be able to protect itself without an establishment, on account of those warlike tribes; the advantage at present is problematical, because so much goes to France; the oils and seeds can be more profitably imported to France than to England.

2633. But still the trade is found profitable to the English merchants, is it not?—I forget; but I think there are only six or seven English houses there.

2634. You think that McCarthy's Island might be at once abandoned, and the Government removed to Cape St. Mary, and that even supposing the slave trade at an end, it would still be an object to keep an establishment there for the protection of commerce?—If commerce is to be kept up there, it must be protected, on account of the nature of the people.

2635. Have you ever seen the French establishments on the Senegal?—No, I have never been there; I know nothing about the Senegal.

2636. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] The River Gambia is a very fine means of communication, is it not?—One of the finest means of communication; there are falls at Barraconda, but that is a long way up the country, 180 miles, at least.

2637. Is it not the case that Sierra Leone is commercially a flourishing place?—Commercially it thrives.

2638. Increasing in commerce and revenue?—It is a good deal better than the other settlements.

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Luna, 1^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.

Mr. Cheetham.
Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Henry Seymour.

THE RIGHT HON. C. B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

WILLIAM WYLDE, Esq., called in; and Examined.

1 May 1865. W. Wyld, Esq. 2639. Chairman.] You are the Superintendent of the Slave Trade Department of the Foreign Office?—I am.

2640. How long have you been so?—I have been head of the department for six years, and I was in the department for four years before as second.

2641. Did you succeed Mr. Ward who gave evidence before the Slave Trade Committee in 1854?—Properly speaking, I succeeded Mr. Ocm, but he was in ill-health during the two years that he was at the head of the department, and at the end of that period he retired on a pension. I was second during the whole time he was chief, and from his illness the conduct of the department chiefly devolved upon me during those two years.

2642. Mr. Ward's being the last evidence from that department before the House of Commons, we may say that your evidence covers the ground since his time?—Yes, since his time.

2643. Is your information relating to the subject referred to this Committee, chiefly derived from communications with correspondents on both sides of the slave trade, the Cuban side and the African side?—Yes; I have never been on the coast myself; any information I possess of course is second hand, but I have had reports sent through me of the Consuls, in some instances of the Governors, and also of our mixed commission courts. We obtain a good deal of information directly or indirectly from them.

2644. Have you not also reports from the naval officers in command of that station?—Yes; all the reports of the naval officers are sent to the Foreign Office; they come into my department, and in addition to that, I may say that I make a point of seeing as many of the commanders of cruisers as possible when they come home; I think that probably I see at least half of them; and I obtain a good deal of information from them *vis à voce*, that it would not be within their province to report officially.

2645. When you say that you receive reports from Colonial Governments, you do not mean that you receive them directly, but that the Colonial Office transmit them to you?—Yes; the Governor General of Sierra Leone was at one time Consul General for the Sherboro country; which country has been since annexed, and in his capacity as Consul General for the Sherboro, he used to report to the Foreign Office.

2646. Will you state to the Committee briefly the substance of all existing treaties respecting

the slave trade between England and foreign civilised powers, which I believe may be grouped in three classes, so that if you can give us the main features of each of those three classes of treaties, the Committee will be in possession of all the information they require?—There were three classes, but they are now reduced to two; the first class comprises those countries that have made treaties with us, establishing mixed commission courts for adjudicating in the cases of any vessels that may be detained by British cruisers; those countries are Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, nearly all the South American Republics, including Bolivia, Chili, Buenos Ayres, the Uruguay, the Equator, and latterly, the United States.

2647. Is not Sweden a contracting party under that class of treaty?—No, not under the first class; but under the second class.

2648. Under the first-class of treaty do not the contracting parties give a mutual right of search within certain limits, and also the right of detention of any ships with slaves?—In the first class they do.

2649. Will you now proceed to the second class of treaties, which give a mutual right of search, but which declare that the arrested parties shall be tried before tribunals of their own country?—In Europe, Austria, Prussia, the Hanse Towns, Denmark, Sardinia, Tuscany, and the two Sicilies, the last three named countries are now amalgamated under the Italian flag; then come Hayti, Venezuela and Mexico.

2650. Will you give the Committee the substance of those treaties?—The second class of treaties give mutual power of searching and detaining vessels, but you must send the vessels when detained for adjudication to the court of the country to which they belong. The third no longer exists. There were formerly two countries under the third category; these were France and the United States, and these countries agreed to send their own naval force to look after vessels of their respective nations. The treaty with France has lapsed, and the treaty with the United States has been merged in another treaty which established the mixed commission courts, which have the power of adjudicating either on the Coast of Africa at the Cape of Good Hope, or in New York.

2651. When did the treaty with France lapse?—In the year 1855.

2652. What is the date of the present treaty with the United States?—July 1862; there was

an additional article to that treaty in the year 1863, which extended the right of search to the Coast of Madagascar, and to the Island of Porto Rico.

2653. Supposing a slaver is captured with no flag, what proceedings are taken?—She is sent to a Vice-Admiralty Court, and condemned there.

2654. As a vessel of no nationality?—As a vessel of no nationality, and her crew are allowed to go free. When the crews are set free you catch them again sometimes within three or four months; they are subject to no punishment at all; some of them acknowledge to have made from 12 to 14 slave voyages, and to have been captured five or six times. One notorious captain has been taken five times.

2655. Have the foreign governments refused to allow the British Government the right to punish crews so taken?—No, it has not been put to them. I may mention that there is a correspondence going on at this moment on that subject.

2656. What powers have declared the slave trade piracy?—They are the United States, Buenos Ayres, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Chili, Bolivia, Mexico, Uruguay; and the German Diet, in 1845, passed a resolution, prohibiting the slave trade, and punishing it as piracy.

2657. Has not Portugal done so for one?—I have heard lately that Portugal has, in a treaty recently concluded with the Liberian Government, declared the slave trade piracy; but I do not know it officially, and I cannot vouch for the truth of the report.

2658. Should you say generally, that all those treaties that you have mentioned have been *bonâ fide* observed on both sides?—Except in regard to Spain and Portugal, they have.

2659. But with regard to those two powers, you think certainly not?—Most unquestionably not; the Governments may possibly be in earnest in their endeavours to carry out their treaties faithfully, but their subordinate officers most certainly are not; they are open to bribes, and they do take bribes on every occasion.

2660. Is it not the fact, that at present, the slave trade from the West African Coast only goes to Cuba?—That is the case.

2661. Have you a return which you wish to put in of the number of slaves imported into Cuba annually?—I have such a return for some years past.

2662. For how many years?—I have a statement of the number of slaves introduced into Cuba from 1848 up to 1864.

2663. Will you be good enough to give the first and the last numbers?—The numbers were 8,700 in 1848, and 6,800 in 1864; between those two dates, for instance, in the year 1859, it was over 30,000.

2664. Does the whole series lead you to suppose that the numbers are diminishing?—Very much so. In the year 1861, the number was 23,964, and it was only 6,807 in 1864; that is two-thirds less.

2665. What is your opinion generally with regard to the cause of the diminution?—The vigilance of our cruisers, I think, particularly the present Commodore on the station, he has done more for the suppression of the slave trade than most of the officers before him.

2666. You mean Commodore Eardly Wilnot?—Yes, Commodore Wilnot; and I also think that General Dulce, the Captain General of Cuba, has acted most honourably in endeavouring to carry out the treaty engagements of Spain.

2667. Can you state what the price of a slave on landing in Cuba is now compared with what it was a few years ago?—It averages from 150 l. to 210 l. per slave, and we may say, not more than five years ago, the highest price was about 120 l. to 140 l.; it has increased from that up to the present time.

2668. What should you say was the price in the first year of your return, namely in the year 1848?—I have no data, but I believe that in former years it was about 60 l. or 70 l. for a strong able-bodied labourer, a good field hand.

2669. About 20 years ago?—About 20 years ago.

2670. Can you state from what part of the coast of Africa those slaves came?—Last year they came chiefly from the Portuguese possessions to the southward of Loanda, and from the neighbourhood of the Congo River; those are the places they have chiefly come from within the last two or three years; last year there was, to my knowledge, not one shipment from the Bights. It was reported that one vessel got away, but that is doubtful; from the coast to the south of Loanda there were, I think, six shipments.

2671. Then may we say, generally speaking, that at present the only exporting points on the west coast of Africa are Loanda and Whydah?—Not Whydah now; it has been entirely stopped in the Bights for the last year and a half; there is a small district in the neighbourhood of the Congo, to the north and south of that river, where there are a large number of slaves ready for shipment now; southward of Loanda and the neighbourhood of Congo are the places where the slaves come from chiefly.

2672. We may almost say then that the Portuguese are the only exporters from Africa, with very little exception?—It is but exceptional there, because it is only within the last two or three years that it has broken out there; the Portuguese authorities stopped it for some time, and it is only since they have changed their Governor there; the man who was there before the present Governor evidently connived at it, and the consequence of that was, considerable shipments took place from Portuguese possessions; but there are also a few shipments from the neighbourhood of Congo; Loango was one of the ports where they got a cargo from.

2673. Loango, and about that neighbourhood, at the mouth of the Congo, is disputed territory, is it not?—The Portuguese claim it, but we have never acquiesced in their claim; there is a district lying between 5° 8' and 8° south latitude that the Portuguese claim, which includes the mouth of the Congo, which we have refused to acknowledge.

2674. Did that refusal to acknowledge their right practically end in there being no European Government in that part of Africa?—Just so, with the exception of Ambriz; there is no European Government on that part of the coast.

2675. Have the Portuguese Government a squadron cruising there?—They have a small squadron of, I believe, three vessels.

2676. Do you think that they are *bonâ fide* doing their best to stop the export of slaves from that coast?—The cruisers most unquestionably are, because they have lately captured several vessels, a Spanish vessel for one.

2677. But you believe that there is connivance on the part of the officers on shore?—There is no question about it in some places.

2678. Can you inform the Committee what is the

W. Wyld,
Esq.

1 May 1865.

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E. q.
1 May 1865.

the recent conduct of the Spanish Government at Madrid and in Cuba with regard to the suppression of the slave trade?—The Government at Madrid professes to be willing and anxious to suppress the slave trade, and the Captain General of Cuba unquestionably is anxious, and has acted loyally and faithfully, as far as he is able, but when we press the Spanish Government to do what is necessary, that is to say, to make the alterations in the laws suggested by the different Captains General of Cuba, and to give them the power they ask for, the Spanish Government refuse to do so; they either evade or refuse directly. There is one law existing now, which prohibits the Captain General from touching a slave when once on shore; if the slave dealers once land their slaves the Governor has no right to touch them; the present Captain General has on one or two occasions seized slaves that he knew to have been recently landed, and the parties who introduced them are now taking steps to recover them in the Spanish law courts. In one case lately a cargo of 600 slaves were seized by the Captain General and declared emancipados, but the parties to whom they belonged had the power of influencing the tribunals in Cuba to get those emancipados declared slaves again, and they have been returned to the slave owners, after having been nominally free for three or four years.

2679. The law cannot, I presume, be clear if the Captain General supposed he had the power of seizing those slaves?—He knew that he was going beyond the law, but he also knew that those slaves had been introduced so flagrantly in violation of the treaties that he took it upon himself to seize them.

2680. Is it the fact that the actual courts, the Audiencias, are against the suppression of the slave trade?—Most unquestionably it is so with regard to the heads and judges there, if an opinion can be formed from their acts.

2681. It is a matter of perfect notoriety that the lieutenant governors are engaged in the slave trade, is it not?—Some of them are no doubt; and others have been summarily dismissed by the Captain General; in fact, the bribes offered by the slave dealers are so high, varying occasionally from 30,000 to 50,000 dollars, that it is difficult to get officers to resist the temptations held out to them. I have good grounds for knowing that an officer, I believe one of the Lieutenant Governors, was dismissed for accepting a bribe of 30,000 dollars to allow a cargo of slaves to be landed.

2682. We have been informed recently that the Colonial Minister at Madrid is introducing measures into the Cortes for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade?—We have had no information of that officially; the Spanish Government have promised to take it into consideration, but we have had no report from our Minister of the introduction of any such measures into the Spanish Cortes.

2683. Have you any suggestion to offer with regard to any alteration of the Penal Laws in Cuba, which might give more power to the Captain General?—If they would declare the slave trade piracy, and enable him to seize the slaves when landed, I am convinced that they would be able to put the slave trade down, if they had a mind to do so.

2684. They would have still the great difficulty of the Courts of Law being against the execution of the law itself, would they not?—I suppose it would be so.

2685. Is there a large Spanish force cruising off the Cuban Coast?—Very few for some time past; they have all been employed off St. Domingo; they have one or two vessels cruising, but they cannot keep the sea more than about 24 hours, from the defective state of their boilers.

2686. Do you suppose that such cruisers are really in earnest?—I hear privately that the Spanish officers do not care so much about seizing the vessels, inasmuch as they are not paid the prize money they are entitled to for capturing them. They are told that there is no money in the Treasury.

2687. Can you inform the Committee what the general opinion of the population is in Cuba as distinct from the Government?—I have very little information on this subject. I think Mr. Crawford, the Secretary to the mixed Commission Court and Vice-consul at Havana, would give you better information. I know that there is a feeling against it, because we obtain information indirectly from planters who possess slaves, who would be willing to see the trade stopped.

2688. Mr. Cheetham.] Are those planters Spaniards?—Yes.

2689. Chairman.] Supposing there was an anti-slave trade party in Cuba, I am afraid that they could not have the same means of enforcing their wishes as a similar party had in the Brazils?—No, it is totally different there; in Brazil you have a representative Government; in Cuba it is a despotic Government, under the Captain General.

2690. An anti-slavery party in Cuba, without some foreign help, would be impotent against the connivance of their own Government, then?—I should say so, quite.

2691. Do you know whether the present proceedings in America, the late President's proclamation, and what has recently occurred, are now having much effect upon the Spanish Government, or on its subjects?—I have heard, but not officially, that they are beginning to open their eyes to the fact that the slave trade is doomed.

2692. Chiefly from what has occurred in America, I suppose?—Yes, chiefly from what has occurred in America, and from the pressure which we have put upon them.

2693. What has occurred in America had considerable influence, you think, speaking from your own knowledge of what you have observed?—I could give you nothing official to support my opinion on that point.

2694. Supposing that either by pressure, or by any means, Spain was in earnest in putting the slave trade down in Cuba, what prospect do you think there would be of a free emigration of labour into Cuba?—I should think, none. So long as they keep slaves you will not get slaves and freemen to work on the same estate; they might get Chinese coolies; they are turning their attention to that; there are several cargoes on the way now.

2695. Even if the slave trade was to cease, you think they would still attempt to keep up slavery in Cuba?—I should say so.

2696. Do you suppose that it would be possible to increase the population among the slaves, so that it could long be kept up?—No, certainly not, because they have too few women in Cuba to enable them to do that. I have been sounded with regard to whether the English Government would allow them to get 20,000 or 30,000 women on the distinct understanding, that after they obtained

obtained that number, they would undertake to put an entire stop to the slave trade.

2697. You mean negroes from Africa?—Negresses from Africa.

2698. Are you not of opinion that it would be possible to get negroes freely to emigrate to Cuba?—I think it is quite impossible; we tried that in former years, and found it quite impossible; I am quite convinced that you would not find 100 along the whole coast that would consent to go.

2699. Captain Burton seemed to think that the negroes who are in the hands of the native chiefs, either by captivity in war, or who are under sentence of death as criminals, might be got to emigrate freely by the British Government, and be apprenticed as the British West Indies; do you think that possible?—No, I think it would be only an indirect way of carrying on the slave trade; it would be very much the same kind of traffic that was carried on by the French, in which they found it necessary to buy every man; we protested very strongly against it, and at last got the Emperor to do away with it. Supposing that you undertook to take only criminals, how are you to know that they are criminals? If a king or chief obtained his price for them, he would go on getting slaves all the same, for it matters very little who he sells them to; so long as he had a demand he would supply it.

2700. Do you conceive that there is any possibility of the Brazilian demand reviving?—I think not.

2701. Supposing that the Aberdeen Act was repealed, should you anticipate a revival of the Brazilian demand?—No, I should not think it likely; but then you would have no hold on the Brazilian Government.

2702. Have you in your mind the chance of any fresh demand for slaves springing up, or any demand which has been suppressed reviving, or may we look to Cuba as the sole remaining source of demand?—I do not see any possibility of it reviving anywhere; if you put a stop to the Cuban trade, you put a stop to the entire export from the West Coast.

2703. While any slave trade remains, is it your opinion that all our present African establishments must be maintained, both the squadron and forts?—There are some of the establishments on shore which I think, even at the present amount, are not necessary for us, so far as the slave trade is concerned.

2704. Which are not necessary for the purpose of stopping the export of slaves?—Which are not necessary for the purpose of stopping the export of slaves.

2705. Then is the squadron, in your opinion, necessary for the purpose of stopping the export of slaves?—For the purpose of stopping the export of slaves, you must keep up the present squadron, in my opinion.

2706. Still, supposing the slave trade such as it is remaining, what alteration would you propose in the establishments on shore?—I have been long of opinion, that instead of keeping up all our establishments on the coast, some of which are of very little use, you should have had hulks on the coast, which could be moved according to where you found the slave trade flourishing; there is the River Congo, for instance, where an immense amount of slave trade has been carried on. It has been suggested to us that we should take possession of the mouth of the Congo, or erect a fort, so as to overhaul every vessel; but instead of

doing that it would be much better to put a hulk inside the river with provisions and coals on board, I would put a large black crew with some white men on board, and give this hulk a steam launch or two, and she would effectually blockade the river. By means of the steam launches, with one cruiser, you would guard the coast for some distance on both sides of the mouth of the river, whereas now two or three vessels are required to watch that part of the coast. I think that you would have blockaded the coast very much better than by having any establishment on shore, and I think that the same system would answer in other places. Instead of having establishments on shore if you found the slave trade breaking out anywhere, I would send a hulk there, so that she could move from one part of the coast to another, not keeping the same crew on board entirely, but letting it be changed from the cruisers on the coast every three months, or as often as it might be found necessary.

2707. I understand your answer to mean that depôt ships might in some cases be more effectual for the suppression of the slave trade than the forts and settlements that we have on shore?—Exactly so.

2708. Supposing that we keep up the establishments on shore, have you any opinion that we might concentrate them more than they are at present concentrated?—That is a question of colonial policy; but my notion is that it would be much better to have them under one head than having so many different governors wholly independent, and each carrying out his own policy; but it would depend entirely on the character of the man whom you sent out.

2709. If you concentrated the Government you might have a central governor, with a much larger salary than you give the small governors, and so obtain a better man?—Yes, no doubt.

2710. I presume when you say that is a question for the Colonial Department, you mean that in that consideration you must take in commerce as well as the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes; but commerce again comes more under the Foreign Office than under the Colonial Office; and then again with regard to the suppression of the slave trade, that ought to be dealt with under one department, but there is a difficulty about that.

2711. I suppose that the ports that we have taken for the forts in many cases having been selected for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, have not been the best chosen situations, either for commerce or for government?—That requires a knowledge of the former history of the coast, which I am perhaps not so much up in as other people may be, but there are some places on the coast which, as far as regards the slave trade, are of no use to us; there are others that most unquestionably are, more particularly I would mention Lagos.

2712. I suppose that in the suggestion of depôt ships in some instances instead of forts, you would not only contemplate the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, but you consider that we should implicate the British Government less in the quarrels and the affairs of the natives on shore?—Exactly, that was my reason; not wishing to interfere with the internal politics of the country; it might be necessary to exert repressive measures on the coast, and if you place a fort there, you cannot well help interfering in the politics of the country; by having a depôt ship that would be obviated.

H. W. Hyde,
Esq.

1 May 1805.

W. Wylie,
Esq.

1 May 1855.

2713. Has it not been the case, and is it not almost inevitable that a great power like England, assuming the Government in such a country as the West Coast of Africa, must maintain certain native powers against others?—Exactly; you cannot help that.

2714. And generally, it has to maintain a weak power against some stronger power pressing upon it from the interior?—That happens sometimes.

2715. Should you say, that for the interests of commerce and civilization it would have been almost better not to have so interfered, but to let the natives fight it out amongst themselves, so that the strongest would finally become predominant?—As a rule, probably that might be the best thing; but if you have an establishment in some places, you cannot help interfering in the politics of the country; you may wish to keep up quietness, and you may say to another tribe, "If you interfere with this tribe around us, we will protect them;" generally speaking, that is sufficient. As far as my experience goes, around Lagos, and even in the neighborhood of Sierra Leone, where we tell a tribe, if you interfere with so and so, you will have us against you, that in all cases has been found sufficient.

2716. Are not all the treaties with the native chiefs more or less on one form furnished by the Foreign Office?—Yes; all the treaties of the suppression of the slave trade are on a printed form drawn up in Mr. Bandinell's time, who was the first superintendent of the slave trade department; those forms are furnished to the Governors and captains of cruisers. I think that we have now got treaties with every chief who has territory on the coast.

2717. Will you state to the Committee the substance of that one form?—It is, that they shall suppress the export trade in slaves, and give us the power of interfering on shore, to turn out any Europeans or other parties acting criminally, and to destroy the barracoons that may be existing in their territories; there are minor things besides. In some cases we gave them a present of from 1,000 dollars to 5,000 dollars a year for so many years, in consideration of their giving up the trade in slaves.

2718. I suppose you would say, that besides the evil of the English Government interfering and getting mixed up with native quarrels, any English Government set up on the West Coast of Africa must more or less come into collision with native customs, such as domestic slavery?—It must be so.

2719. In a manner in which it is always hopeless to come to terms?—It is part and parcel of their nature; you cannot suppress domestic slavery; it is an institution which exists all over Africa. In some places the slaves have become masters, and we find that those slaves are now beginning to obtain slaves of their own. From having been slaves, and being allowed to trade, they have become very much stronger than their chiefs, and the chiefs are completely powerless. There are one or two places on the coast where slavery does not exist, because the slaves have become masters. We find that even Sierra Leone people, who are brought up there, when they get down on the coast, if they can purchase slaves, do it. It is an institution which we cannot suppress; besides, it is not the kind of slavery that exists in Cuba or in the Brazils; it is a very mild form of slavery.

2720. As we cannot suppress by force those

native customs, and as we cannot help getting mixed up with their perpetual quarrels, and as the climate prevents us settling there, is it not your opinion that a stronger native Government would be much more likely to create that peace which is the first necessity of commerce than a number of weak governments?—I think that it is difficult to get a strong African Government. If you do get a strong African Government, they think it necessary to go to war with all their neighbours. Take Ashantee and take Dahomey, for instance; they are the very few strong powers on the coast, but if you made them stronger the only thing they would do would be to carry on their wars on a larger scale.

2721. Do you not believe that if the English stood out of the way, the strongest government would very soon suppress the weaker ones and become dominant?—We do not find it so practically; where we do not interfere at all we do not find any strong power existing; they are all a set of petty chiefs, go where you will. Ashantee and Dahomey are the two greatest powers, and we have had perhaps less trade with them than with any other part of the coast.

2722. Have you any suggestion to make to the Committee with regard to the consulships south of our establishments, beginning with the Portuguese Government at Loanda?—At Loanda we have a Consul who is our Commissioner, and we have a Vice Consul who is clerk to the commission; he is furnished with a Commission as Vice Consul to enable him to take the place of the arbitrator in the absence of the arbitrator. The treaty stipulates that in the absence of the Commissioner the Consul may take the place of the Commissioner, and that in the absence of the arbitrator the Vice Consul may take the place of the arbitrator, and therefore we have a Consul and a Vice Consul there who are the Commissioner and his secretary.

2723. According to the last Slave Trade Papers, Her Majesty's Commissioner, Mr. Gabriel, found the Portuguese Government generally declining even to correspond with him, is it generally the case that the Portuguese Government are not friendly to our Consul?—No; it depends very much on the character of the Governor. The Governor did decline to correspond, but he was overruled at Lisbon. Mr. Gabriel complained to the Foreign Office. We entered into communications with the Portuguese Government, and the course he had taken was overruled at Lisbon; he was ordered to correspond.

2724. You have no suggestion to make with regard to the consulship at Loanda?—No.

2725. Now, with regard to the consulship at Biafra; how does that work?—It is very necessary that you should have a Consul there, because there are always disputes going on in the Oil Rivers; disputes between the supercargoes and the natives; and disputes between the merchants themselves also; and we found that it was quite necessary to have Consuls there to overlook the trade as we saw that the supercargoes in many instances were in the habit of acting very arbitrarily, and not in a way calculated to extend trade.

2726. Had not the Consul at Biafra to interfere with a Liverpool association which was setting up an exclusive trade with the King of Bonny?—We told the Consul there to intimate to the King of Bonny that he would not be allowed to carry on an exclusive trade with the parties with whom

whom he had made arrangements to do so. He has made a treaty with us which gives us "the most favoured nation terms;" and when he attempted to make an agreement with certain parties in this country and in France also, giving them certain exclusive privileges of trade and navigation, we stepped in and instructed the Consul to tell him that we should, if necessary, use force to prevent him.

2727. Is our Consul there an assistance towards the suppression of the slave trade?—Certainly.

2728. Have there not been attempts on the part of the Spanish at Fernando Po to set up a concealed traffic in the nature of a slave trade?—There was an intention of doing that, but it was nipped in the bud. There was one treaty made by the Governor of Fernando Po with a native chief, by which the Spaniards were to obtain any number of free labourers which they pleased from the main land, and that chief was to furnish them; of course he could have only furnished slaves, and those slaves would have gone to Fernando Po, and at Fernando Po they would have been shipped as free men to Cuba, being in reality slaves; and of course at Cuba they would have taken the place of any slaves that had died there.

2729. Did our squadron cruise off Biafra?—Yes.

2730. The squadron would find the Consul necessary; and, on the other hand, the Consul looks to the squadron to enforce his commands?—Yes; in fact the only way which he has of becoming efficient is by moving about in a man-of-war, and going to the rivers, periodically, whenever he can get a ship to take him; but there has been very great complaint of his not visiting the rivers, and this has arisen from there not always being a ship to take him. It is very important that he should visit all the rivers in his jurisdiction once in six months, or once in four months would be better; but it is required that he should do so, at least, every six months. That he cannot do from not having a vessel at his disposal; but a Consul for the Bight of Biafra would be useless if he has not the means of visiting the rivers within his consular jurisdiction.

2731. Will you state to the Committee the nature of the English establishments which are being made on the Niger?—The Committee are no doubt aware that we have had an expedition up the Niger for the last five years; it was under Dr. Baikie, who died a short time since on his way home. It was established at a place called Lukoja, just above the confluence. That establishment has been maintained with a view of promoting lawful commerce up the river. Our object in keeping up this establishment there was to strike the slave trade at its root; there has been a large slave trade coming across from that neighbourhood to Dahomey, and down to the coast in different ways, and it was thought that if we could induce the chiefs up the river, instead of selling slaves, to employ them in agricultural pursuits, producing cotton, palm oil, shea butter, indigo, and things of that kind, we should be not only striking at the root of the slave trade, but developing a very valuable commerce for this country.

2732. What is the nature of our establishment there now?—Two officers are left there; one is Lieutenant Boucher, to take the place of Dr. Baikie, and he asked to have a companion. There was an artist on the coast, and he obtained permission from Commodore Wilmot to go up

and remain with Lieutenant Boucher, and they are in charge of this establishment; and a sort of market has been created there.

2733. Is it under the British Government?—Dr. Baikie had the entire government of it; the King there was most friendly to him, and I believe that he has been most friendly to us in every way. When we were unable to communicate with Dr. Baikie for two years, and he was without supplies, the king gave him supplies, and gave him unlimited credit to draw upon him for whatever he wanted, saying that he was quite sure that the British Government would repay him.

2733*. But is that establishment, in fact, supported at the expense of the British Government?—All we did was to pay Dr. Baikie his salary and a certain sum for his living; this establishment is self-supporting.

2734. Does the Government in any way subsidise the mercantile speculation there?—No; but it has been asked to do so.

2735. And has refused?—I believe that the Treasury have refused; but I think that an application has been made again to us, and is still under consideration; in fact, if we do not subsidise it, or give them something, we shall break up the establishment there; we have kept it up with the intention of fostering and encouraging a legitimate trade up the river. We gave a subsidy in the first instance to Mr. Laird, and he undertook to make so many voyages up the river annually, but his contract, unfortunately, was knocked on the head by his death, and his expedition came to an untimely end. Unfortunately, also, from other causes, he was not enabled to go up the river one year when he had three vessels in the river, and had been promised an escort, which was not there; and he lost a year, and thereby suffered very great damage.

2736. Is it your opinion that the trade of the Niger cannot be continued without some expenditure on the part of the British Government?—Not satisfactorily; it would not pay individual merchants; for the first year or two there might be a loss, but afterwards, when people knew that steamers would come up the river regularly, you would have large caravans coming down from the interior of Africa to meet them. Lukoja is only within 10 days' journey of Kano. You would supply the whole of Central Africa, and take the place of that caravan trade that used to go from the Mediterranean, which has been suppressed in consequence of our calling upon the Turkish Government to put a stop to the slave trade from the interior; they have done that, and as the only payment for the goods that were sold to them on the coast was slaves, which are no longer allowed to enter Turkish territory, the caravans that used to come up to Tripoli have ceased to exist, and the people in the interior at the present time are trying to get supplied from the west coast.

2737. But supposing it is necessary for the British Government to subsidise or to make an outlay on the first opening of the trade there, should you expect that the trade in time would support itself, and that when that occurred the English could withdraw everything in the nature of a Government establishment from the Niger?—Certainly, except the Consul. The company that asked for a subsidy were so satisfied that it would pay that they offered to repay whatever was granted to them.

2738. The Consul for the Bights of Benin and

W. Wylie,
Esq.

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W. Wythe,
Esq.

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Biafra is also the Governor of Lagos?—The Consul for the Bight of Benin is also Governor of Lagos. The Consul for the Bight of Biafra has a separate jurisdiction.

2739. Is there any intention of dividing those two offices?—There is an intention of dividing those two offices. The Governor cannot spare time to look after the consular interest. He is called upon to go to the Benin River just at the time, perhaps, when there are affairs pending at Lagos that require his attention, and he cannot do them both. What has been suggested is that the Governor of Lagos should be Consul or Consul General, and that he should have a Vice Consul under him; therefore, the Governor would direct the policy of the Vice Consul, and the Vice Consul would be enabled to visit the rivers and settle the affairs which require consular superintendence.

2740. Besides the fact that it is too much for one man to do to be Governor of Lagos and Consul at Benin, does not the union of those two different offices in one man create confusion?—Yes; the difficulty is where to draw the line; where the consular duties end, and where the Governor's duties commence. The consequence is that reports come to both offices, and we have to settle between us which is consular and which relates to the Governor.

2741. The same man who corresponds with the Colonial Office as Governor of Lagos, corresponds with the Foreign Office as Consul of Benin?—Exactly.

2742. And with the Board of Trade also?—No.

2743. He only corresponds with those two offices?—Only with those two offices.

2744. I suppose, that as Consul at Benin, he has very often difficulties like that of the recent case of the merchant, Mr. Henry?—Yes.

2745. Where he had to call in the assistance of the squadron to enforce the fine which he had imposed?—Yes; that order went out from home.

2746. With regard to those consulships; supposing the slave trade to cease, would they still be necessary for the purpose of commerce?—Unquestionably.

2747. Do you consider the existing establishment at Lagos the best that could be?—In the first instance, I was against occupying more than the island, but we got gradually driven into extending our influence beyond that; after we had taken possession of Lagos, we allowed Kosoko (who was formerly the chief of Lagos) and Tapa, another important chief, to return to Lagos (which they begged to be allowed to do), and as we had no enmity against them, the requisite permission was given; when they came, they made over the territories that they had been in possession of around Lagos to us.

2748. Will you give the Committee your general conclusion with regard to any practicable alteration under the present state of things?—I should think that you could not alter the state of affairs at present; it is necessary that we should hold all that we do hold now, in order to suppress the slave trade.

2749. Now, supposing the slave trade to cease, would you still think it wise in the British Government to hold posts at Lagos, Badagry, Palma, and Leckie?—I should say so, certainly.

2750. With what object?—I think, for commercial purposes, it gives you such an immense command of all the water communication, which, by the lagoon, is vast.

2751. Supposing that we were to withdraw, or merely to leave a Consul there, and allow the King to resume the government, how would the interests of British commerce be affected?—If you were to do that, it would be quite misunderstood, it would be thought perhaps, that it was from fear; you would find that they would be fighting for possession of what you gave up, and if you wished the people who held the place before to hold it afterwards, you would be called upon to interfere just as much to support them as you have now to hold the posts for yourselves.

2752. Since we have taken those settlements, and have implicated ourselves in continuing them; do you think it a misfortune to have gone so far, and that if we had left the king alone he might have held his own, and we should have been able to trade with them commercially?—The king could not hold his own; it was only by our support that he was kept there; we had on two occasions to repel attacks.

2753. But one of the two contending parties would have got the upper hand if we had not interfered, or at least a third power would; and some one or the other of them would have acquired the government; is not that so?—Yes; there might have been much such a government as there is in other places. You would have had continual quarrels and fighting. One of the objects with which we took possession of Lagos, was to put a stop to that, and to foster trade. We took possession of that place also to put a stop, if possible, to the immense slave trade that used to go on there, and which depopulated the country. There was one power that had swept from the face of the country upwards of 30 towns and villages; one town of 60,000 people has disappeared entirely. That was why we were supporting Docojo; we found the trade languishing, and we thought that not only would it lead to the suppression of the slave trade, but we should open out a very large legitimate trade; it has always been the object of the Foreign Office to promote the development of trade whenever it could, not only as a means of suppressing the slave trade, but for the good of our own country.

2754. But if we had not interfered Kosoko or Akitoyé would have got the upper hand, and it is very possible that the Abbeokutans might have overrun both, and made a very powerful Government there; that being so, do you think an interference, looking to our own commerce, has led to a more peaceful state of things than might have ensued if we had not interfered?—I have no doubt it will do so eventually; there was great dissatisfaction caused by the stopping of the slave trade, which is really at the bottom of everything. The chief cause of the discontent and the falling off of the trade after we took possession of the place, was owing to the hostility promoted against us by those people who had been engaged in the slave trade; when that trade in slaves ceased, the legitimate trade also suffered, until the people had had time to turn their thoughts to other things. We find it always the case that when you put a stop to the slave trade there is an interregnum; they are sulky and do nothing, and then they turn to legitimate trade, and that trade increases. On all the chief oil rivers where we have interfered (we have bombarded some towns) and compelled the chiefs to stop the slave trade, there has been an interregnum and a certain hostility against us, and then things settle down into a peaceful course. But in all this coast there are no great chiefs.

W. Wylde,
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chiefs. I do not know of any part of the coast where they have any great power. Dahomey is not powerful when you come to know it; Ashantee is the only really strong one.

2755. Is not Abbeokuta a strong power?—Only within the last few years, and that has been by our giving them arms, and by our supporting them.

2756. Any steps that we take now, either in altering or maintaining what we have done, should at all events contemplate a possible future after the slave trade has ceased?—Yes.

2757. Supposing that to continue, do you think it would be better for English commerce that there should be strong native power holding that coast, or that the English should attempt permanently to hold the Government in a climate which to their race is absolutely pestilential, without a spot in which Englishmen can live?—If you make up your mind to that line of policy, you must give up Lagos and the whole of the coast, merely keeping such strategic points as are necessary. You must have a harbour or two, and Sierra Leone you would keep up for the sake of the harbour.

2758. Do you think that, from what you have seen of the correspondence in the Foreign Office, there would be any chance of the French, or any other European power, taking possession if the English withdrew from any of those spots?—I am quite convinced that some of them would.

2759. Which power do you think would do so?—France, I think. When we took possession of Lagos, they took possession of Porto Novo; but we possessed the only entrance to the lagoon; they tried to cut a canal across the strip of sand, but it was no use, and after occupying it two years they gave it up in disgust; but if we gave up Lagos, I think they would take possession of it. You are doubtless aware that there was a French expedition started to go up the Niger, and it was wrecked, which has put a stop to it for this year. I dare say that the Spaniards would be very glad also to obtain some further possessions.

2760. Is there any recent correspondence in your office with regard to a Liverpool company establishing itself at Whydah?—There was some company that established a station at Whydah, and asked us to give them support; and we then told the Consul there to send to the king to say that a company was about to be established, and asking him to support it, and telling him that it would turn out to his interest in the end to promote legitimate commerce instead of the slave trade, inasmuch as we intended (whether he wished it or not) to put down the slave trade.

2761. Is that correspondence still going on?—No, I think not; it was merely two or three letters. I think it was a company of African merchants.

2762. Now with regard to the Gold Coast; is it your opinion that we must maintain the present number of forts for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—I should say for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade that you ought to maintain more, and that you ought not to have given up Quittah; in speaking of that increase I only allude to that post that has now been given up, and where I heard they were trying to export some slaves a year ago.

2763. Supposing the slave trade to have ceased, do you think that it could be to the interest of the British Government to keep up those forts for commercial purposes?—I know very little of the

commerce of that part of the coast. There are merchants and others who are much more competent to speak on that point than I am.

2764. From evidence given before this Committee it appears that for whatever purpose we maintain the Government of those forts our relations with the Dutch are adverse to our interests; have you any suggestions to offer with regard to our improving those relations?—It is a farce our attempting to create a revenue there so long as the Dutch come in just between us. It is a free port, and the consequence is that all goods go in where it is free and filter from the interior back again into our country; but if we gave up, the Dutch would be obliged to give up also; they are only there because we protect them.

2765. Have you any information to give the Committee with regard to any correspondence which has gone on between the British Government and the Dutch Government with regard to an arrangement or the possibility of our taking possession of their forts?—I know that negotiations did take place formerly, but I had nothing to do with the correspondence.

2766. Do you believe that the Dutch Government may be supposed to be willing to enter into negotiations with the British Government for purchasing their forts?—I should think that they would do so.

2767. Have you any acquaintance with Liberia or with the Government of Liberia?—I have had a good deal to do with Liberia indirectly, but we have no representative there. They have a Consul General in London, and he has correspondence with the Foreign Office, but we receive many complaints lately of the state of things on the Liberian coast. I also have had something to do with the question of the Liberian territory.

2768. Is it your opinion that Liberia is likely to extend its territory, and that it might be both able and willing gradually to take off our hands some of our Sierra Leone possessions?—Liberia is very anxious to extend her possessions, and, I think, has already extended them far beyond what she has the power of controlling and protecting.

2769. But I presume that her power is increasing?—I hope it is; but it is very slowly increasing.

2770. Is that not the most effectual barrier to the slave trade, a self-acting barrier?—Where she has power it is, but not where she is unable to make her power felt. She claims a large extent of coast over which she has no power at all, and in which she has asked us to interfere and support her.

2771. Do you think we might contemplate it as a possibility that she might extend northward and take the Sherboro territory?—Quite possible; but not for a long time to come; it is not possible to look forward at present to that, her system is so very bad. She now claims to hold the sovereignty over about 500 miles of the coast, and on that line of coast we have hitherto been in the habit of trading with a very great many towns and villages. Liberia now has passed a law making certain ports of entry, and declaring it illegal for any vessel to trade or touch at any other part of the coast except those ports of entry. Our merchants in several instances have been called upon to withdraw their establishments from places where they have been carrying on trade for many years. When they attempted

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to do, so the natives say, "You must keep your goods here; you shall not go away unless you promise to bring back more goods." We appealed to the Liberian Government to protect them, and they say, "We have not the power, but if you will bring a British ship of war here, we shall have the power." Thus, they have stopped the trade everywhere else except at those ports of entry, because there are no roads, and they do not possess a single coasting vessel; they also prohibit foreigners from carrying on the coasting trade, and there are no roads by which produce might get to other parts; of course, I think, it is objectionable to extend a system of that kind.

2772. Will you state to the Committee what are the mixed Commission Courts, and what are the Vice Admiralty Courts in this neighbourhood?—Sierra Leone has a mixed Commission Court and a Vice Admiralty Court; then Loanda has a mixed Commission Court, but from its being a Portuguese possession there is, of course, no Vice Admiralty Court. Then, off the coast, there is a Vice Admiralty Court at St. Helena, and a Vice Admiralty Court at Lagos. At the Cape of Good Hope there is a mixed Commission Court, and also a Vice Admiralty Court.

2773. Have you any remarks to make about those courts, either about their proceedings or their localities?—No; I think that you could not place them in better positions than they are in.

2774. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Is it within your knowledge whether the possession of those settlements on the coast has, as a matter of fact, involved us frequently or seriously in native wars; is that your impression?—Except this last Ashantee war, I do not think it has.

2775. Would you say, taking any considerable period of time, that the amount of war into which we have been driven in the neighbourhood of these different settlements has been very trifling?—I should say, considering the extent of coast, very trifling indeed.

2776. I do not know whether you are aware to what extent we have experienced the difficulty of domestic slavery within our settlements; would you say that there again we have found that difficulty a very pressing one?—No, certainly not; you cannot stop it; we know that it exists; it is a farce attempting to stop it, because even at Sierra Leone, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, it is carried on, and there are no great complaints against it. In fact, take the case of a slave at Lagos, if he is ill-treated he goes at once to the Governor, or some authority, and the master knows at once that the moment this comes before the magistrate the man is liberated, and therefore dares not ill-treat him.

2777. Would you say that a man in that condition possessing those rights under British Government can be called a slave?—Certainly not; he is not a slave.

2778. He is not a slave in the eye of the law?—He is not a slave in the eye of the law, and not *de facto*. He is a servant who has the power whenever he pleases of changing his master.

2779. Therefore, you would say that a native labourer within any British settlement is neither *de facto* or *de jure* a slave?—No, certainly not.

2780. You have been asked whether, supposing those settlements were abandoned, you thought that a strong native government would take their place; you have no such expectation, have you?—I have no such expectation, because,

as a matter of history, we do not find that to be the case on the African coast.

2781. Then, do you expect that the native government which would succeed us, would in any way meet the requirements of our trade?—It answers our purpose better to deal with a number of independent chiefs than it could with one great power. Indeed we have never had any dealings with a great power; it is not in the nature of things that Africans should have cohesion sufficient to become a great power. If they got to be a large power, they would only break up again; it is different in the interior, no doubt.

2782. Do you think that the native power who would succeed us would be able to keep the peace as well as we keep it?—No, there would be squabbling among themselves as there is amongst them on all parts of the coast; small faction fights always going on, or blood feuds, families quarrelling, and getting one tribe to take it up against the other; that is the normal state of things along the whole of the coast.

2783. You say that we ought not to expect that result of strong and peaceful government to follow from the abandonment of the settlements, whatever other result in the way of economy there might be?—I certainly should be very much surprised if it did take place.

2784. With regard to Lagos, did I understand you rightly to say that the experiment at Lagos had hitherto been tried under unfavourable circumstances, and that it was too soon to judge of its success?—The experiment at Lagos as a colony?

2785. Yes, as a settlement?—I think that you have not given it time enough to succeed, because you have not yet got over the disgust that has been created throughout all that part of the coast by the stopping of the slave trade.

2786. We have also been unfortunate enough to be subject to the effects of the native wars in the neighbourhood almost ever since we made that settlement, have we not?—Yes; those wars existed before we took possession of Lagos, and they have gone on ever since. I think that there is every prospect of their coming to an end, but certainly it has been a very hard position for the colony, struggling on in that way, and it has been far more successful than we could have expected, considering the hostility caused by the French occupying Porto Novo.

2787. Putting those things together, you would say that is quite too soon to judge of the amount of trade that can be carried on, or the amount of revenue that can be raised at Lagos?—It would be very unfair to form any opinion by the past.

2788. Is the Committee to understand you to have suggested that any of our present settlements might with advantage be replaced by such a depot vessel or hulk as you spoke of?—In the event of the slave trade being suppressed, I should say so; I do not know what your object would be in occupying the Gold Coast after that; but I have had so little to do with that coast that my opinion is worth but little. But what would be your object in occupying the Gold Coast after the slave trade is suppressed; it would never do to give it up until it is suppressed. I think the giving up of those places in the first instance would have a bad effect; it would not be put down to the right cause at all, and possibly you would have a pressure put upon you to give up Lagos again.

2789. In all those cases considerable commercial interests have been allowed to grow up under

our rule?—I do not know what they are upon the Gold Coast.

2790. On the African settlements generally, I mean?—On the African settlements generally trade has increased very considerably within the last 10 or 15 years. When the slave trade is entirely suppressed, and especially if you encourage the development of legitimate trade up the rivers (the trade now is only a fraction of what it will be in a few years' time), even if it goes on increasing in the same ratio as it has done the last 10 or 15 years, it will be a very valuable trade.

2791. Then our settlements at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and at Lagos, do command an access to important trading rivers?—Very important. At Lagos there is an immense water communication. The Gambia is also a very fine river; from there the trade chiefly goes to France, I believe. We do not know exactly what the imports are here.

2792. Sir Francis Baring.] I think you have stated that you thought, even in the present state of the trade, it would not be necessary to keep up all the settlements; am I right or wrong in my apprehension of what you said?—As far as the slave trade is concerned, there is no slave traffic at all carried on to the north of Sierra Leone.

2793. So far as that is concerned some other arrangement might be made; and the settlements are not necessary you think?—So far as the slave trade is concerned.

2794. Confining yourself entirely to the slave trade, it would not be necessary to keep those settlements up, but you think it would be advisable to keep them up for the purposes of trade?—Yes; but I must qualify that opinion, as I said before. I do not know much about the Gold Coast; I do not know the exact state of affairs there. It has more to do with the Colonial Office than with the foreign department; and, perhaps, I know less of it than of any other part of the coast.

2795. You have stated the grounds on which Lagos was taken possession of?—Yes.

2796. Would you have the goodness to say whether that was for the purpose of getting rid of the slave trade, and because (as I think you said) the trade was vanishing or languishing?—In the first instance it was for the sake of suppressing the slave trade that we interfered with Lagos.

2797. But the annexation?—That was because we found that notwithstanding all the influence we possessed there by having a Consul, the traffic, although it was watched closely around Lagos, was carried on up and down the lagoon just the same as it was before. Wars were going on depopulating the country, and where there had been valuable trade it was at a stand still; and we took our steps with a view to put a stop entirely to the slave trade all through the lagoons, for the purpose of using our influence on the surrounding countries, and compelling them, if possible, to keep the peace, so as thereby very considerably to augment legitimate trade there. If you suppress the slave trade you must supply its place by encouraging legitimate trade, or they will take up the first opportunity they can of reverting again to the slave trade. We find that where we put a stop to the slave trade, and a legitimate trade is developed, the slave trade will not break out again, because there are so many parties that get interested in the legitimate trade, that if they find the chiefs or any parties in the neighbourhood are encouraging the slave trade they tell you of it.

2798. You prepare those blue books, do you not?—Yes.

1 2799. Could you refer me to any statement of that kind, either from your consuls or from your officers in the navy; I ask, because you must have some statement on which you ground those opinions?—I dare say that by reading through my papers I might do so, but all the papers we receive are not published; there are many papers which for very good and sufficient reasons it is not thought proper to give.

2800. But there is one paper that I have already alluded to; a declaration of Lord John Russell, when he determined to take possession of Docemo's Island, does that mention any one word of all that you have been saying?—I have so many papers which pass through my hands that I cannot say whether it does or not at the present moment without reference.

2801. Surely you did not take possession of the kingdom without having some sort of proclamation of the reasons for doing it?—I can tell you that it was strongly recommended by the late Consul Campbell; it was strongly recommended by, I think, Consul Foote, who succeeded him, and it was strongly recommended by Consul Brand.

2802. But here is Consul Brand's own letter which does not recommend that?—Does he say there that he does not recommend it?

2803. No; because it does not happen to have been under consideration at that time?—I have no doubt that there are in existence papers which do recommend it, although it is not in that book.

2804. But here is a paper laid on the table of the House of Commons, a paper from the Secretary of State in the Queen's name: "You will carefully explain to Docemo the motives which have induced Her Majesty's Government to take this step. You will inform him that Her Majesty's Government are not actuated by any dissatisfaction with his conduct, but that on the contrary they have every wish to deal with him in a liberal and friendly spirit, and that their object in taking this step is to secure for ever the free population of Lagos from the slave traders and kidnappers who formerly oppressed them, to protect and develop the important trade of which that town is a seat, and to exercise an influence on the surrounding tribes which may, it is hoped, be permanently beneficial to the African race." Now, does Lord John Russell there in the slightest degree charge King Docemo with having connived at the slave trade?—No, and he never did. I am not aware that there had been any charge against him.

2805. Other witnesses before this Committee have made statements that Docemo had broken the treaty; are the Committee to understand your opinion to be that these statements of Lord John Russell's contained the real reasons, and that Docemo had never broken the treaty?—He most certainly had never broken the treaty, but he had not the power of preventing his subjects and people living in Lagos, from doing so; they were as much engaged in the slave trade as before, though indirectly. Slaves were even taken out of Lagos and sent up the lagoons and sold at Whydah.

2806. Did you complain of that?—Our Consul was *de facto* Governor there.

2807. Did he, being *de facto* Governor there, put a stop to it?—He could not for that very reason; we have had all the trouble of protecting the king, and in fact, you may say of carrying on the policy of the place without any power of stopping what ought to have been stopped.

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2808. But if he was *de facto* the Governor, how had he no power?—The king appealed to him in everything, and we had to protect the place, which we did on one or two occasions from attack; I call that being, to a certain extent, the Governor of a place. The king was merely a puppet there, but still when the Consul impressed on him that there were people engaged in the slave trade in this very place, he had not the power of interfering to stop it; we had only put a stop to the slave trade close around Lagos, but it was carried on up and down the lagoon; we called on him to exercise a sort of police there, and he had not the power to do so.

2809. Had you not by the treaty the power of doing it yourself?—Up and down the territories we had, but we could not do it unless we were in the lagoons; the lagoons offered great facilities for carrying slaves up and down in canoes, the smooth water of the lagoon running for 200 miles along the coast, and when they knew our cruisers were watching one spot, they would carry them 50 miles down the lagoon, and embark them at another spot.

2810. Had you not an English steamer on the lagoon?—Not at that time, not until very lately; not until just before we took possession.

2811. Had you not before?—Just before we took possession, we had only one small steamer, which was almost useless; the Foreign Office got it by great persuasion, from the Admiralty, and very much against their wishes.

2812. Was that the "Brune"?—Yes.

2813. At one time they wanted to remove her, did they not?—Yes, to take her away altogether; she was continually getting out of order, and there was a great outcry about the crew, and for those reasons the Admiralty wished to remove her, though the Foreign Office insisted on her being retained there.

2814. Now, with regard to legitimate trade, is it not correct that the trade was not vanishing, but was very largely increasing at Lagos?—It was increasing up to a certain time, and then it began to decrease. I have got in my hands here some returns previous to our taking possession; I have had no regular returns in my hands of the trade of Lagos since it became a colony. I have here a table of the exports from the port of Lagos during the years 1856, 1857, 1858, and 1859 inclusive.

2815. This is Consul Brand's despatch:—"Lagos, from being the haunt of a piratical slave trade in 1851, has, from its geographical position, and the great resources of the country, to which it is the natural outlet, become the site of a most important legal trade, the value of which within the past year, by no means a favourable one, is nearly 250,000*l.* sterling, as seen by the Report transmitted to your Lordships." That was in April 1860; you laid that paper upon the table of the House, did you not?—Yes.

2816. That was a trade very largely increasing, was it not?—Yes, up to 1861; I rather think about that time it did not go on increasing in the same ratio; certainly it decreased since then for a year or two. I have no regular official returns, of late, but I have procured information here and there, and it is with difficulty that you can get any true account, but I know as a fact that trade did languish and decrease in consequence of the wars that were going on there.

2817. That may be so, but it was in the year 1861 that the British Government took possession of Lagos, was it not?—I think so.

2818. Since that time, it being then a flourishing trade, the trade has languished very much?—Yes, but that was evidently from those wars that were commenced in the interior; Ijaye and upwards of 30 towns and villages have been swept away since then.

2819. It was not the stoppage of the rivers that stopped the trade, but the destruction of labour, was it not?—It was the destruction of labour, and the sweeping away of those large populations that stopped the trade; that is, as far as I can form an opinion.

2820. Now let me ask you with regard to the state of the relations between Lagos and the neighbourhood before the occupation by the British Government; do you recollect a letter from Consul Foote, with regard to the visit he paid to Abbeokuta, in which he spoke of the Abbeokutans' feelings towards the English?—Yes, I recollect there was such a letter, and I think that I have a fair recollection of the state of things there.

2821. The trade was stopped by the Abbeokutans?—Yes.

2822. Consul Foote went up there, and they withdrew their prohibition of the trade?—Yes.

2823. He spoke of the state of the Abbeokutans in very strong terms, and the feelings of the Abbeokutans to the English?—Yes.

2824. Does that feeling not exist now?—No.

2825. What is the reason of the change?—We had been supporting the Abbeokutans, and sending them powder and arms to defend themselves, and we found that they were carrying on the greatest slave trade of the place, and were the people who were depopulating the country around with their wars; and not only that, but when we were sending things up to the Niger, that they allowed their people to plunder our passengers, and we could get no redress; we said, we must judge them by their acts, and not by their professions, and that if they wished to be on friendly terms with us, they must give up the slave trade, give up human sacrifices, and protect our people when travelling on lawful purposes within their territories, which they did not do.

2826. Can you furnish the Committee with any official reports which state those facts previous to the occupation of Lagos?—No, perhaps not, previous to the occupation of Lagos, because we were really in the dark, very much, with regard to the state of things, until we obtained possession there. We knew that wars were going on, but we were not aware that the Abbeokutans were engaged in them to the extent that they really were, and when we ought certainly to have known it from the missionaries and others, it was studiously kept from us; it was only when we made inquiries, and taxed the missionaries with not reporting it that they acknowledged it was kept from us, and that the Abbeokutans had been engaged in those wars, that they had been carrying on the slave trade, and carrying on human sacrifices, but that they hoped those things would mend.

2827. There is a correspondence about that human sacrifice; it is one case, I think?—It is admitted by everybody who goes to Abbeokuta that these sacrifices still go on surreptitiously.

2828. And in all the neighbouring towns, I believe?—Yes, no doubt.

2829. Whether Abbeokutans or Ibadans, it is all the same?—No question about it. But one of the objects of the Government has been to stop those human sacrifices, whenever they can; we

always protest against it, and generally in treaties it is one of the stipulations that they shall cease.

2830. But those iniquities were not found out until we took possession of Lagos?—We obtained a vast amount of information that we had not before.

2831. Were there any applications from mercantile bodies, or where did they come from, which induced you to take possession of Lagos; was the Foreign Office in correspondence with any parties?—It is very difficult to say who was the first to suggest it; but it was suggested by several people before the thing was done.

2832. I do not mean private suggestion, but had you any companies suggesting it?—I think not; I am not quite sure whether some of the merchants there did not suggest it.

2833. Was it connected at all with any view of cultivating cotton?—I cannot say whether it was or not. It was represented to us that there was a vast amount of cotton cultivated in that country, and I know that there was formerly a very large amount of cotton cultivated, particularly by the people of Ijaye, and those people who have been swept away; there were hopes held out that they might obtain a large amount of cotton from there if we could keep the country in peace.

2834. That first interference with the communication along the river was by the Abbeokutans; but that is stated in your papers to have arisen because the merchants would not pay the river toll; is that so or not?—I am not prepared to say whether that was the case or not.

2835. Consul Foote went up to Abbeokuta, and in consequence of his interference the merchants made an arrangement, and the river was opened immediately; was not that so?—I now recollect that there were some people who held the banks of the river between the lagoon and Abbeokuta, who claimed to have the right of levying dues, and I think that the Abbeokutans said that nobody had the right to do it, and that they had agreed with us that there should be free trade between the two places, and our merchants found that duties were levied on the way up. I know that something of the kind took place; but it is hardly possible for me to go into every detail of that kind without refreshing my memory with regard to the real facts of the case.

2836. However, this was the first interruption of the trade, which was removed on that representation by Consul Foote?—That may be correct, but I cannot undertake off-hand to speak on a particular point of that kind, whether that is exactly the state of the case.

2837. Then to come down a little later; you recollect that on the British Government first taking possession of Lagos, there was a communication made by Mr. McCoskry, the then acting Governor to the Abbeokutans?—There was a communication made, but the tenour of that communication I cannot recollect.

2838. Did you ever see that communication?—I did see that communication, certainly; everything of that kind must have passed through my hands.

2839. Then why is it not put in the Blue Book?—If it was not in the Blue Book it must have been for some good reason.

2840. I ask because the Abbeokutans wrote a very impertinent or undiplomatic letter in answer to that, stating rather strong things respecting Mr. McCoskry?—I know that they did state very impertinent things on several occasions.

2841. You may recollect probably that there was a letter written by Captain Bédingfield in answer?—I recollect his making a communication in answer also, but I cannot charge my memory with the purport of it.

2842. They stated that they had been receiving very impudent letters, did they not; the Abbeokutans had stated from the beginning that that was the source of the quarrel, namely, the communication from Mr. McCoskry, and spoke of him as a person in whom they had no confidence, and who had been always their enemy, and justifying their answer from their not knowing that he held the situation of representing the Queen?—They may say that, but there is no question in the world that they did know it, because the missionaries there were in communication with Lagos every day, and with the chiefs of Abbeokuta, and therefore if the chiefs said that they were not aware of the position that Mr. McCoskry held, that was most unquestionably untrue.

2843. The exact statement was, I think, that they did not intend to apply to the Queen's representative?—I believe the true facts of the case to have been that all that we did at Lagos was very unpalatable to them, as was also the line of our policy with regard to Abbeokuta in refusing them supplies of gunpowder which they asked for, and things of that kind, and telling them that we should judge them by their acts and not by their professions; that was exceedingly unpalatable to some of the Europeans there who were advising the chiefs.

2844. But did they ask for those supplies of gunpowder?—Yes.

2845. Are you quite sure?—Quite.

2846. Did they ask for supplies of gunpowder at that time?—I would not say the exact period, but I know that they did so subsequently, and that we refused to give them more arms or ammunition, or to be friendly to them unless they showed by their acts that they were willing to be on friendly terms with the British Government.

2847. To do what you told them?—Yes, to do what we advised them.

2848. Now, is there not a communication from Consul Braud that they had not applied early enough for assistance?—In one communication I know it is said that they did not apply early enough, but we sent what we could.

2849. In one of Governor Freeman's despatches he points out, I believe, and complains that they have never applied for assistance; that they had refused to apply for assistance, and placing it on certain grounds, that they chose to be independent of the English Government?—Not to my recollection, because I rather think that on one occasion, when they were threatened with an attack by Dahomey, they did apply, and Governor Freeman told them that he would not give them any assistance, because they had shown by their conduct that it would not do for them to profess friendly feelings when in danger, and when that danger was passed, to throw us overboard, and not behave in a fair or just manner to us.

2850. Are you not aware that there was a considerable feeling raised at Abbeokuta when Lagos was taken possession of?—Yes.

2851. There was a strong feeling that, if the English were to take possession of Lagos, the Abbeokutans would be the next in order to go?—I do not believe that they thought that at all, but they complained of our taking possession of

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Lagos indirectly, and not directly, to us. They refused to receive the Vice Consul that we had appointed to go and live at Abbeokuta; but the source of all that feeling, and all the hostility of the Abbeokutans towards the Lagos Government, put it on what ground they please, is, that we put a stop to the slave trade, and put a stop to their market for the slaves whom they had taken; that is the real source and foundation of their hostility.

2852. Was that feeling of alarm lest the annexation policy should be carried on beyond Lagos (I am not conjecturing, because it is stated) pertaken by the British residents at Lagos?—By some of the natives and by the Sierra Leone people who lived there, that was entertained, or that they professed to entertain that opinion, because those Sierra Leone people at Lagos were among the people who disapproved of our taking possession, and they have ever since done all they could to thwart the British authority.

2853. Now, do you suppose that the hostility of the missionaries to your taking possession of Lagos arose from any love of the slave trade?—No, but possibly from dislike to interference with them; and it is with regret I say, that I think the missionaries like to be thoroughly independent, and to be the advisers of the native powers; they do not like any interference with their policy.

2854. I see that that is stated by Mr. Freeman. Now, about this Vice Consul that Governor Freeman sent up to Abbeokuta, did you ever have any application from any of the chiefs for a resident Vice Consul there?—The chiefs, certainly, sometime before expressed a wish to have somebody to reside permanently among them.

2855. Can you refer the Committee to those papers?—Whether it is published there or not, I do not know, but there are a vast number of papers that come into the office, that really have no relation to the slave trade at all, which are not published in those books; I cannot recollect all that came before me, but I am quite confident that I have grounds for stating what I have stated, in some way or other.

2856. Are you quite sure that you are not recollecting an application from certain Europeans, and confounding that with an application from the authorities of Abbeokuta?—No, I think not; my impression is (but I should not like to state it positively) that the chiefs themselves on some occasions expressed a wish that we should send somebody to live among them.

2857. Before the annexation?—Before the annexation. Our object was to do away with any notion that we had an intention of going to Abbeokuta or interfering with them in any way beyond putting a stop to the slave trade and encouraging legitimate commerce. Our object was to have some person there who could be the means of communicating directly to the Abbeokutans the wishes of the British Government, instead of people you could not always trust. We found that sometimes the person who was employed to translate between any European who went there and the Abbeokutans themselves, gave his own version entirely, and we wished to have somebody there who would do away with the impression that we had any aggressive notions in that neighbourhood.

2858. Was it not the alarmed impression there, whether reasonable or unreasonable, that as a Consul had been placed at Lagos, and the result was that Lagos was taken possession of by the

English, if a Consul was allowed to reside at Abbeokuta the result would be that Abbeokuta would be taken possession of?—They professed to have that feeling, but that they had it I do not believe.

2859. It is not a very unnatural feeling, at all events?—No, it is not unnatural.

2860. Speaking for the Foreign Office, have you a right to send a Consul to anywhere you please without any previous communication?—In civilized countries you certainly have a right to send a Consul to any place where you have a trading interest; a refusal to receive him would be an affront.

2861. But you sent a Consul to Abbeokuta without the usual forms, did you not?—You would not do a thing without the usual forms in a civilized country, neither did we do it in Abbeokuta. We sent and acquainted the Abbeokutans that the Government were going to send a Consul there, and they never took the slightest notice of it.

2862. There is a certain form with a stick, is there not?—The stick is a safe conduct for the messenger, it is the authority; for instance, if you send to a chief in Africa and say, I want to send a messenger to you, he sends his stick.

2863. Did you do the same with the Abbeokutans that you did with the King of Dahomey; did you send a message and wait till the stick came down?—No, certainly not; because we had been in the habit of communicating with the Abbeokutans in every way, whereas with the King of Dahomey we had never communicated once of late years. I can only recollect two occasions in eight years; but it was a very different thing communicating with a chief in that position, with whom we had been in hostility for so many years, and where no British man-of-war had been allowed to land, and communicating with the Abbeokutans with whom we have been in communication for many years.

2964. There was an accusation made, that the missionaries had interfered with the reception of Mr. T aylor?—Yes.

2865. You have got those representations, I presume?—Yes, most unquestionably.

2866. And the explanation and defence?—Yes.

2867. Those explanations have not come before the public, have they?—I do not know without looking at the books.

2868. That accusation has gone out and produced its effect, and the defence has not been made public?—Possibly it may not have been made public, and it may possibly have been, for the reason that it was considered to be useless to continue a correspondence that did not seem to tend to the advantage of either side; but I recollect also that the explanation of the missionaries went out, and that there was a rejoinder again from the Governor of Lagos. That is my impression; but whether all those papers were given I cannot say without looking at the correspondence.

2869. You probably remember the proclamation of the recall of the missionaries and the British residents at Abbeokuta?—Yes.

2870. Had you a right to do that?—I do not know whether, as Governor of a colony, you have a right to recall British subjects from a country that is behaving hostilely to you, and where they are contemplating taking semi-aggressive measures.

2871. Was that the ground of the proclamation?—The ground of the recall was because they

they refused to give us satisfaction for pillaging our people. I cannot go into all the charges without refreshing my memory, but there certainly seemed to be grounds, and valid grounds, for taking that step.

2872. Was not the ground for the recall that the King of Dahomey was about to besiege them?—No; that certainly was not the ground for the recall.

2873. Was not that the ground for that proclamation?—I certainly think not; they were told at the time, if I recollect rightly, that such a thing might take place, and that we would not undertake to protect them.

2874. Were not the merchants told that their goods were to be placed under the custody of the authorities of Abbeokuta, and that any mischief that happened to the goods was to be paid for by the Abbeokutans?—Without the proclamation before me, I cannot say, but I have no doubt you are correct.

2875. If I am right, is it usual, when there is a war between two Powers with whom you are not engaged on either side, that you should say to the besieged party that if any injury happened to an Englishman, you will hold them responsible?—As against the Abbeokutans themselves, I think you would be justified in saying, "As far as your people are concerned, we hold you responsible for the safety of those things."

2876. But the proclamation states that they should be held responsible for any damage done?—I have no doubt that you are correct; but those are little details that I cannot bear in my mind.

2877. There was a subsequent proclamation setting up the blockade, was there not?—Yes.

2878. Had the Foreign Office given their sanction to the blockade before it was established?—Certainly not, I think, but I am not sure; if I had known that I was to be examined so minutely, I would have read the correspondence and refreshed my memory; but it is now three years back, and having had so many things pass through my hands since, I cannot answer all those questions quite as satisfactorily as I could have done if I had had an intimation that I should be minutely examined upon them.

2879. You do not recollect, I presume, that Lord Russell had been applied to by Governor Freeman, and that he had declined giving the power, but that on the second application he assented that Commodore Wilmot should stop up the rivers?—Yes.

2880. Do you recollect that instead of doing that (as it does not appear that Commodore Wilmot was consulted at all) the whole line of coast was blockaded?—I think so. I do not know whether Commodore Wilmot was in the way, but they said that matters pressed and he did it off-hand. Certainly it would not be right or proper for me to express approval or disapproval, and if those facts came out in the Blue Books it is not for me to gainsay them or to offer an opinion on them. The Secretary of State, or the Under-Secretary of State, is the person who would be responsible.

2881. Are you at all aware whether the Colonial Office or the Foreign Office had been consulted, and had given authority for the occupation of Badagry before it was actually occupied?—No, we had not been consulted, I think; but, as far as I can recollect, Badagry was one of those places that came into our possession having belonged to Lagos. Badagry was one of those

points that always had been under the dominion of the King of Lagos; that is my impression at the present moment, and I rather think that by looking into the papers I should find that that was the state of the case.

2882. Now about Palma; what was the state of the case there?—Palma most unquestionably belonged to one of the chiefs, who came in and asked to be allowed to go and reside in Lagos, and was made over to us.

2883. Were you previously consulted, and had you given authority, or was it done at once, and subsequently put before you?—It was done at once, because there could be no waiting for that authority. When Kosoko and all his chiefs came into Lagos there was another chief who stayed behind, who thought that it would be a good opportunity to seize Palma and attempted to do that. The Governor said, "No, you have no right to do that; this place has been made over to us by Kosoko, and until I hear further from the Government I shall take possession of it." And then when he represented that it was necessary to the revenue, affairs were allowed to remain as they now are. I am not aware whether all that has been done there has been officially disapproved or approved of.

2884. Now, taking Epé, were the proceedings there previously approved of, or was it done off-hand?—It was done off-hand. It was done in consequence of the seizing of goods belonging to a native of Lagos, and for several other reasons. I do not know exactly all the causes of the expedition, but I know that he made out a good case at the time for his attack on Epé.

2885. There is now a treaty, and Epé is a British possession; is that so?—No, certainly not; it is under its old chief, Posso.

2886. You have only a treaty?—Only a treaty.

2887. But you take the revenue, do you not?—I am not aware that that is the case; I think not.

2888. Mr. Forster.] In speaking of Liberia, you stated that there was no consul there; would you advise that there should be a consul there?—My opinion is, that it would be desirable that there should be either a consul or a consular agent of some kind.

2889. Could you give the Committee any reason, based on your experience, why there should be a consul there?—I think in a young state like Liberia, struggling into existence, and where questions with regard to trade and other things arise, it would be important that we should have some agent there to state our views directly to the Government of Liberia. There are questions that have to be settled, such as the complaints, we will say, of the merchants on the coast. These complaints now go to the commander of the cruiser or to the commodore; the commodore sends them to the Admiralty, and the Admiralty sends them to the Foreign Office, who write back to the Admiralty, so that there are many more letters written than is necessary. Besides that, there are a large number of English vessels that call at Cape Palmas to embark and disembark Kroömen. You are aware that all the vessels on the coast take a certain number of Kroömen when they are going down there to trade, who do all the laborious work. These are all engaged at Cape Palmas, and perhaps 150 vessels will call there in the course of a year. Then there is a great deal to be looked after there, to see that the engagements with

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the natives are properly kept, because supercargoes will overreach the natives, and if the natives think that they have been overreached they will plunder or commit outrageous acts which require somebody there to look after them.

2890. Then are the Committee to understand that there are two reasons why you think that a consul would be desirable; first, that he would give you direct information quicker than you now obtain it; and, secondly, that the consul would have some authority over British subjects that would be trading in Liberia?—Yes.

2891. Those are the two reasons?—Yes.

2892. Take, for instance, that complaint that you made against the present system in Liberia, of singling out a few ports on the coast and preventing trade to other ports, how do those complaints reach the Foreign Office?—One complaint came direct, I think, from a merchant in London. I know that we have had complaints from a foreign house at Hamburg, asking us to interfere; and in another case a complaint was made to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the Governor sent it to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office forwarded it to us.

2893. Those complaints would have come to you sooner if there had been a consul?—Directly.

2894. And you would have been better able to judge of their truth?—No doubt the consul would have forwarded them with a statement of his own opinion.

2895. How long is it since we have had a consul there?—I think it is about six years.

2896. Have there been fewer or more complaints since than there were when you had no consul there?—We hardly know what complaints have taken place, because the officers on the coast settle so many of them.

2897. How often do our ships visit Liberia?—They are up and down the coast and passing there every week.

2898. Would it be almost every week that they would call at some port in Liberia?—Not necessarily.

2899. I suppose there would be some months sometimes in which they would not call?—At one or other of the ports, they would be sure to call. Cape Palmas they would be sure to touch at.

2900. In this intervening district between those ports, can you inform the Committee what kind of authority the Liberian Government exercise over it; is it completely subject to them?—No, it is quite nominal; the natives in many places deny that they are subject to Liberian authority.

2901. Are the Committee to understand that the authority exercised by the Liberian Government over much of the coast between their ports of entry is certainly not greater than the authority which we exercise over what is called the protected territory of the Gold Coast?—It is not so much.

2902. Then has not the Foreign Office protested against the right of the Liberian Government to exclude our ships from trading with a coast which is under such a nominal subjection to them?—We have done so.

2903. What reply do they make?—It is generally an appeal *ad misericordiam*; they say they are a young people, and that it would be to our interest to uphold their authority. A short time ago, we had an appeal (I think it was through the Colonial Office) to the Governor of Sierra

Leone, for assistance in compelling the natives to acknowledge the Power.

2904. I suppose you would consider that the slave trade is entirely stopped on the coast of Liberia?—Yes, where the Liberians have possession, certainly. There was an attempt to open the slave trade in the Gallinas (which they claim) about a year and a half ago, when a Liberian cruiser seized a Spanish schooner that was there; we had never acknowledged their authority in the Gallinas, and we took the slaver away from them. You may perhaps recollect that the Spanish Governor of Fernando Po sent a cruiser which went into the harbour of Monrovia, and, without giving any warning to the Liberian Government, opened fire upon the place, when they were driven out by a battery which had been erected there.

2905. Can you tell the Committee whether the Spanish and the French Governments acknowledge, as we do, the jurisdiction of Liberia?—Certainly not, as far as we have any knowledge; that is one of the reasons why the Liberians appeal to us, as they think our example will induce others to acknowledge it.

2906. Do you know how they have treated these attempts of the Liberian Government to confine the trade to the ports of entry?—I have no knowledge on that point.

2907. Do you know whether a requisition has been made to them upon that subject?—I do not know.

2908. Can you inform the Committee what authority the consuls on the West Coast of Africa have over British subjects?—They have not any very great power. Whatever power they have is assumed. There was an intention at one time of giving them magisterial powers, the same as our consuls exercise in China and the Levant; but when we came to make inquiries, difficulties arose which prevented this intention from being carried into effect.

2909. Take the consul at Benin and Biafra; supposing that a British subject was to commit some violence upon one of the natives, would there be no means of punishing him?—They have certain Equity Courts there, which take cognisance of differences between the natives and Europeans. Agreements are drawn up between the natives and the supercargoes in the river, which are binding on both parties; but the real fact is, that we have no authority, and that they do commit outrages upon the natives and we have no means of putting a stop to it. The reason why it was suggested that we should give this authority to them was on account of the outrages on the natives, and feeling that we had no authority to deal with them. The number of complaints has diminished; we scarcely get one now for ten that we used to receive formerly, because the very fact of our contemplating giving magisterial authority to the consuls produced a totally different line of conduct. In some of the rivers there was a monopoly, and in some rivers it exists now. We have done our best to put a stop to it; for instance, a merchant goes into the river and gives out goods on trust for two or three years. If any fresh trader comes in, the supercargoes already established there say, "You must wait until your turn comes," and that may be a year or two years. In some ports, when the packets call, for instance, the petty traders would go off with a hogshead of oil to barter or to send away on consignment. One steamer will bring home 200 or 300 consignments in hogsheads of oil, with orders

orders to bring back velvet or some other article; a trader seeing the oil pass his ship attempts to stop it, seizes the canoe going with the oil, and says, "The river owes us so much produce; I will take your oil and will give you what we think it is worth;" the man will refuse, saying that he could get more for it by sending it home. The oil is, however, invariably seized. Proceedings of this kind we have tried to stop, but the merchants and supercargoes, when we have asked them to give us authority by agreement to punish proceedings of this nature, have sufficient influence with the chiefs to persuade them that it would not be for their interest, and that has stopped our obtaining the necessary power in several instances.

2910. Supposing that a consul were fit to exercise this greater power, do you think that he ought to have it?—We must come to that question by and by; but I think that it would be for the benefit of the traders, both European and native, that he should have such power.

2911. The Committee may gather from your evidence that you think there is an advantage in a colony over a consul to that extent, that you would not propose to substitute consuls for Colonies that already exist?—That is a difficult question to answer without consideration. You mean substituting consuls for settlements where settlements at present exist?

2912. Yes?—Readily I hardly feel competent to give a decision; it would be a mere matter of opinion.

2913. Take, for instance, Lagos; would you restore Lagos to a mere consulship?—Certainly not; it is with regard to places that I do not know anything at all about that my previous answer refers.

2914. Do you know whether there has been any complaint of the conduct of the British subjects connected with the expedition up the Niger?—No; but I recollect hearing this, and I know that it was founded on facts, that in Mr. McGregor Laird's time the traders in the Brass River induced the natives to commit hostilities on his vessels, because the vessels going up the Niger cut up part of the supplies of oil that came down to the Brass. You cannot get proof of such a thing as that, but there is no doubt about it.

2915. In answer to one question, you made some allusion to a possible French expedition up the Niger; can you give the Committee any further information about that?—No; I only know it was talked of; the expedition did start, and was wrecked soon after it got out of the Straits of Gibraltar.

2916. We should be right, I suppose, in thinking that no obstructions were thrown by our Government in the opening of the trade up the Niger by the French?—Certainly not, so long as they do not close the river; but up to this time, wherever the French have occupied the coast, the trade has been exclusively in their hands.

2917. Was it the case that any of our subjects or our representatives had any reason to complain of the French occupation of Porto Novo?—Yes, there was considerable complaint; we did complain of their occupying Porto Novo for no purpose at all, and that it was merely because we went to Lagos that they came and planted themselves by our side at Porto Novo; and attempted to cut a canal across there, that would have enabled them to injure our trade. All they did was to put a French officer there, and call it

a protected territory; then they would have allowed all the trade to go over that little neck of land; they would have inundated the place with goods, which would have gone through there instead of going through Lagos, and paying duty.

2918. We feared losing our revenue on goods?—That is all.

2919. Was it supposed that the French would keep up their settlement without exacting as much revenue as we did?—There was never a question of their making a settlement I think; they made it a protected territory; I never heard of their intending to occupy the place.

2920. You thought it unreasonable that the French should, by simply putting an officer on the coast, open a trade without exacting a revenue, and thereby get an advantage over the trade through our settlement, which required a good deal of expense to keep up?—Exactly.

2921. I suppose that that did not induce our Government to consider whether it would not be possible for a trade to be opened on the coast just in the same way as it was opened by the French, by simply putting officers there?—No, it did not; because we knew very well it could not last long, and that they would have to interfere more, or withdraw altogether; and we were quite right. Their occupation of Porto Novo was merely for thwarting our policy in Lagos and the lagoon, and affecting the revenue of the colony.

2922. Have you read Captain Burton's evidence?—No, I have not seen it.

2923. He stated to the Committee that what is called the legitimate trade on the West Coast has very nearly, if not quite, as bad an effect as the slave trade, it being a trade which is chiefly confined to the sale of spirits, arms, and ammunition; is that your opinion?—Certainly not; there is a vast amount of English manufactured goods which goes out there. No doubt powder and arms are exported from this country to a great amount; but a very large quantity of English manufactured goods goes there; for instance, up the Niger, instead of sending money to Dr. Baikie, we used to send him every year a certain amount of manufactured goods. Mr. McGregor Laird, when he went up the Niger, took no powder and no arms; the cargoes of his vessels consisted of salt and manufactured goods.

2924. Captain Burton's opinion was so strong on this matter (that the effect of that trade was as bad as the effect of the foreign slave trade) that when he was asked, "Do you wish the Committee to understand that you do not think that there is much superiority in the condition of the country which is not exposed to the effect of the foreign and American slave trade and that which is," he replied, "There is very little difference;" is that your opinion?—Certainly not.

2925. It would be your opinion that there was a very great difference in the condition of those ports that were exposed to the influence of the foreign slave trade and those that were not?—Yes, certainly; take, for instance, the case of Dahomey; there is less cultivation of the ground, and the people there, I think, are worse than in any other part.

2926. With regard to this expedition up the Niger, are you at all aware what proportion the sale of goods in connection with it has borne to the sale of spirits and arms?—I am not aware that they have had any arms, spirits, or powder, or very little, up the Niger; we have sent none up, and I do not believe that Mr. McGregor Laird took any; he was asked to do it by many

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people, but he did not do it, for the manufactured goods and salt he would get four times their value.

2927. I do not quite understand the force of the words which you used, I think, in speaking of the Niger expedition in a previous answer, "up the Niger for five years;" has a vessel been plying up and down the river, or has it been anchored off a particular part of it?—We have maintained Dr. Baikie up there for that time, and we have occasionally sent a vessel up to communicate with him. On one occasion we were two years without communicating with him.

2928. Who was there with Dr. Baikie?—In the first instance he had half-a-dozen Europeans with him, and by degrees they came away. I am not aware that, certainly for the last three years, he had anybody with him until the year before last, when Lieutenant Bedford volunteered to stop with him. I will not say that he died from the climate, because I find that he died from consumption, of which he had the seeds before he went there.

2929. Mr. Cheetham.] You have said that the subsidy that is asked for by this African Company to go up the Niger ought, in your opinion, to be granted?—If we want to carry out the policy of developing the trade of the river it would be a good thing to do so, more particularly when they undertake to repay the sum if it answers.

2930. That offer of repayment is not contained in their application to the Foreign Office, is it?—It is contained in one of the letters which they have written to the Foreign Office.

2931. But no such application for a subsidy is ever made from any other part of our settlements on the West Coast?—No; but the thing is so vastly different. You have to go 300 or 400 miles up the river in one case, but in the other case the trade is carried on the coast direct; it is a new country, you may say, and you have to build vessels that are particularly adapted for this river navigation which are not adapted for anything else: you would have tugs for towing things up and down, and barges for navigating in shallow water. At some seasons of the year there is water all the way up; in dry seasons the river is sometimes reduced, in shallow places, to three feet. Then, for individuals to go into that trade requires more capital than any single person would like to invest in it, and that was the reason Mr. McGregor Laird failed; that cause, added to his not being able to get up the river one year when he wished to do so.

2932. You have spoken of a certain prospect of the cultivation of cotton between Lagos and Abbeokuta; are you aware of the very limited quantities that have come for some years from that country?—Yes; but that is no reason why it should not increase, because from all up the Niger, cotton came at one time, and used to be exported to the Brazils.

2933. Is not the cultivation of cotton a much more delicate and difficult operation than any other which those people are engaged in?—They do grow excellent cotton there; therefore I should not think there would be any great difficulty in growing cotton enough for their own consumption, and in increasing it, if they had a demand for it. The cotton is of a very superior quality; some cotton, only a year ago costing on the Niger coast about 3*d.* or 4*d.* a pound, was sold at Liverpool for 1*s.* 11*d.*

2934. Then how do you account that for the last four years, when this increased value has been connected with cotton, that on the West Coast the quantities have diminished?—In the neighbourhood of Lagos entirely from the effects of the war; the chiefs will not allow cultivation of any kind, or trade of any kind; if the people stuck to their cultivation or trade, they could not go to war.

2935. But are not those wars actually the normal state of things?—You can hardly call them the normal state of things; more or less, they are the normal state of things. Those wars have been carried on to a much greater extent than usual; but you do not find wars going on up in the interior; there is a crust all round the coast where they go on; in the interior you get more peaceful people, and the people, you may say, are more civilized.

2936. But you would not say that, for the purpose of the cultivation of cotton and its import into this country, there is a necessity for maintaining any of our settlements?—No, certainly not.

2937. You attributed to the missionaries at Abbeokuta that they seemed to exercise a sort of adverse influence to our Government?—I do most unquestionably entertain that opinion.

2938. Then those missionaries must have influence with the natives?—Yes.

2939. They being at Abbeokuta are not at all under the protection of our Government?—No.

2940. You would not contend that, for the protection of the missionaries and the extension of their efforts at any of these settlements, are necessary?—No, I think not.

2941. Then would you say that, for the protection and preservation of the existing commerce, those settlements are absolutely necessary?—Do you allude to all, or to any one in particular?

2942. I will take the whole; would you make any exception?—I would maintain some, and others I think possibly might be abandoned. But in speaking of the abandonment of those places, it is an opinion that I give with great diffidence; but if I had been in the Colonial Office I might have been able to give you a better opinion. Many of those places I have had very little knowledge of, and therefore I do not feel competent to give an authoritative opinion.

2943. But with regard to the abolition of the slave trade, are there some of those settlements that you would retain under any circumstances?—Certainly. I am prepared to give an opinion with regard to the slave trade, but not with regard to commerce.

2944. Mr. Cave.] Did I understand you to say that the Niger establishment was self-supporting?—All that we do is to pay Dr. Baikie's salary and his expenses of living there; everything else that he has done has been self-supporting.

2945. Is not it rather inconsistent with that, that a subsidy is wanted for traders there?—The want of a subsidy to make it pay for the merchant to go up and down there for a year or two is a totally different thing; little or no expense is incurred in the one case; but you must build vessels suitable for the purpose; in the other we have held out great expectations up the country, that vessels would go up and would bring goods, and the consequence was that the year after the first steamer went up with goods, Doctor Baikie gave it out to the country that steamers were coming regularly; we had caravans

vans coming from all parts which waited for months, and then the native traders were disgusted and went away.

2946. Would not that show that there would be an immediate prospect of trade if we met them on our side?—I think it is likely that there would be; what I wish is to see that trade well tried; give it a trial, and if it does not answer in three years we can wash our hands of it. I would subsidize a company for that period. We could then say, "We have given you every opportunity to develop a successful trade; you must not ask for any more assistance;" we have tried and it has failed; but as long as the thing is in doubt, when expectations have been held out, we are bound in common honesty to keep faith with the natives if we can.

2947. Are not our merchants in the habit of pushing their trade without subsidy to places where there is quite as great a risk of failure?—Individually, perhaps, but hardly with the same risk; you do not find merchants going and building vessels and pushing up rivers for any distance until they are pretty sure that it will pay them; and we had another object in pushing our way into the interior; it was not for the merchants only, but we had the object of striking at the root of the slave trade. A great many caravans came down from the interior of the country to the coast, and we told the chiefs that it was better to give up the slave trade and employ their people in agricultural pursuits (because in the interior they are much more given to agricultural pursuits than on the coast). The answers we have generally received have been to the effect, that "if you will come and trade with us we will give up the slave trade and will trade with you." So that we have held out hopes to the natives, and may be said to have disappointed them.

2948. Then, in fact, you want to force a trade prematurely for the purpose of doing away with the slave trade?—No doubt; but if you were once to start it, it would amply repay this country after a short time. I have already said, that there are indigo, cotton, ivory, Shea butter, palm oil, and other articles of commerce to be obtained there.

2949. I think you stated that the merchants were willing to undertake to repay any subsidy that might be made to them?—Yes, that is one of the conditions.

2950. Kano is not on the Niger, is it?—No, but the caravans come down from Kano towards the river, and there is a large trade from there to Central Africa, which used to be supplied from Tripoli; the trade *via* Tripoli is now reduced to nothing, because we have stopped the slave trade; and the traders that used to be supplied from the north are now coming down to the West Coast, and if you open the communication with those traders up the River Niger you will be able to supply the trade of Central Africa. There is an immense population there, and if you once start the trade there is no saying how far it may not be developed; the Foreign Office has always, where it was possible, taken the initiative in developing a trade of this kind.

2951. With respect to the slave trade, I think you state that vessels of no nationality are taken into British ports, and that the crews escape?—Yes.

2952. I presume you consider that better than the old plan, of vessels going into the port to which, apparently, the crew belonged, and being

there adjudicated upon?—It is most unquestionably better than the old plan; if they got into the hands of the Spanish authorities, for instance, the slaves would be sent as emancipados to Cuba, and they would be, as emancipados, in many cases, made to take the place of the slaves that die.

2953. Formerly some of those emancipados left Cuba after their apprenticeship was over; but of late there has been no instance of that, has there?—No; some of them used to come to Lagos, and we assisted them in their passage.

2954. And some to Jamaica?—And some to Jamaica.

2955. Have we not attempted to induce foreign nations to give us power to punish as pirates their subjects detected in participation in the slave trade?—We have obtained answers from one or two countries, and they have refused to permit it.

2956. Have you not asked for authority to go into the Spanish waters on the Cuban coast?—Yes; and we have been in the habit of doing it, but the Spanish Government complained. I rather fancy that the objection arose from the American war. They found that the American Government would be likely to claim an equal right to go into their waters to look after smugglers, or that they would continue into their waters the pursuit of vessels engaged in running the blockade. I think that is how the difficulties may have originated; but we have hitherto always gone into Spanish waters. I think there was some little irregularity on the part of the captains of cruisers in making use of trees as targets.

2957. The cruisers on the coast of Cuba have captured no slave vessels lately, have they?—No.

2958. How did you obtain the return from Cuba of the number of slaves imported?—From the Consul General.

2959. He obtains his information from the vice consuls at the different ports, I suppose?—Yes.

2960. Are there not a great many new estates established in Cuba in out of the way parts of the country; estates which were not there a few years ago?—Yes, and they would open a great many more if they could get labourers for them.

2961. Do you not think that there may be an import of slaves for the supply of those estates by way of the wooded islands around Cuba, which escape notice?—No; I think that we know of every slave that enters Cuba; I know pretty well the vessels that go away from the West Coast of Africa, and then by checking them with the returns of the arrival at Cuba, we obtain pretty accurate information. An occasional cargo may escape our notice, but the chances are that we should hear of the embarkation of the cargo from the Coast, and as it could only go to Cuba, it would be put down to the credit of Cuba. We know, however, that they have been in the habit of using those islands, and in fact, using our own islands for the purpose.

2962. Do you know the number of the slave population of Cuba?—No; Mr. Crawford would be better able to give you that information.

2963. You stated that the Governor General of Cuba could not seize the slaves that were taken into the island, but he can punish the importers of slaves under the Spanish law, can he not?—Yes, but you cannot get the tribunals to convict; there is no instance of a conviction.

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2964. Has your attention been drawn to the debates of the Spanish Senate in Madrid, with respect to the slave trade?—I have seen one short extract from a despatch on the subject.

2965. Have you any information with respect to recent disturbances in Cuba?—None at all.

2966. I think you said that the reason the slave trade was put down in the Brazils was, that the constitution of the country favoured such a result; but was it not the fact, that the popular party was favourable to the trade, and that the Emperor had great difficulty in repressing it?—I did not state that the slave trade was put down in consequence of the constitution of the country; I merely said that they had a representative form of Government there, and that therefore whatever their opinions might be, they had a better opportunity of making themselves heard than the people in Cuba.

2967. But as a matter of fact, was not the opinion of the people in Brazil contrary to that of the Emperor, and favourable to the slave trade?—I believe there was only a small number of people in Brazil who were in favour of giving it up.

2968. Therefore, if the authorities in Cuba were as honest in desiring to put down the slave trade as those in Brazil, the effect would be even still more decisive, in consequence of the form of the Constitution?—Yes; we have pointed out to the Spanish Government over and over again, that if they had the will they had the means of putting an end to slavery, because Brazil, with her long line of coast and a territory ten times larger, had found the means of stopping the slave trade when she wished to do it.

2969. I think you stated you did not think that a free emigration could take place to Cuba, because free people and slaves could not work together; but is it not the case that the Xivaros in Porto Rico, and the Monteros in Cuba do actually work on the same estates with slaves, being free themselves?—I am not aware whether what you state is the case, but at all events the free men are put in a totally different position; they may work in the houses, taking charge of the machinery and occupations of that kind, as overseers; but that again is a subject on which you will obtain better information from Mr. Crawford.

2970. You stated that the slave trade had entirely ceased with regard to every country except Spain, but was there not some suspicion with regard to the French upon the island of Nos Bè on the East Coast of Africa?—No doubt some slaves have been introduced into Nos Bè; but the slaves there are very much better treated than they are in Cuba; the effect on the trade in Africa is, however, just the same; it is immaterial to the people who sell them to the French.

2971. Do you imagine that this trade has ceased along with the *quasi* legitimate trade in slaves to Reunion?—There are very few taken to Nos Bè now, I believe, and the few that are taken come chiefly from the Comoro Islands, where they are hired from the chiefs, but the place of those ex-

ported from the Comoro Isles is filled up by slaves who are brought from the mainland of Africa.

2972. You disagree with Captain Burton, that free emigration can take place from any part of the coast without danger of reviving the internal slave trade?—I feel quite convinced (on no point do I feel deeper conviction) that it would be quite impossible to carry it out. I have read the correspondence that took place in former times on that subject, and made inquiries of a great many people that have come home (and I have perhaps had opportunities of obtaining more information on this point than most people), and they are unanimous that you cannot get Africans to emigrate willingly.

2973. Of course, such a trade must aggravate the wars in the interior?—Yes.

2974. Lord Alfred Churchill,] Is it not the case, that the company of African merchants, in making the application for the subsidy, have entirely disclaimed all intention of wishing to maintain a monopoly up the Niger?—Quite; they wish to carry on trade with everybody, and everybody may come and be on the same footing.

2975. You think that their only wish is to open the trade, and that they have not any purely selfish object?—As far as I can see, their proposals have been exceedingly liberal in that respect.

2976. Have you ever heard it estimated that it would cost from 60,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* to build vessels which would be adapted for that trade?—I should say it would cost that; to establish the trade adequately in the first instance, you ought to have frequent communication up the river.

2977. It would require at least two or three years before a fair return could be expected, would it not?—Yes. When you go into such a large capital, I do not think you would get returns under three years. When Mr. McGregor Laird went up, on each occasion the returns of one voyage doubled the amount brought down in the previous voyage. I have no doubt it would take three years before you could fairly give an opinion of how it would pay.

2978. You do not think that any company would be justified in spending its present capital, or that the public would be induced to subscribe additional capital, unless there were some immediate prospect held out of having a dividend during the development of the trade?—That is a question that anybody might answer, but I think that is probably the idea, for we have found that they will not go into it unless they obtain some prospect of a return.

2979. You do not think that the public will be likely to subscribe that additional capital unless they get some interest in the meantime?—The proof is that they have not done so. It is the object of the Government to open that river, at all events to give it a fair trial; and we have not found that anybody will undertake to give it a fair trial unless they receive a subsidy to do so.

Jovis, 4^o die Maii, 1865.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. Adderley.
Sir Francis Baring.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Buxton.
Mr. Cave.
Lord Alfred Churchill.
Mr. Cheetham.

Mr. W. E. Forster.
Mr. Chichester Fortescue.
Mr. Gregory.
Sir John Hay.
Mr. Arthur Mills.
Mr. Henry Seymour.
Lord Stanley.

THE RIGHT HON. C. B. ADDERLEY, IN THE CHAIR.

Sir BENJAMIN PINE, called in; and Examined.

2980. *Chairman.*] WILL you state consecutively the various posts and occasions in reference to which you have become acquainted with the West African Coast?—I first went to the African Coast in the year 1842, as Queen's Advocate at Sierra Leone. I then acted for about a year in 1847 as Chief Justice at Sierra Leone. I then administered the government of Sierra Leone for nearly two years, from about 1848 until the end of 1849; afterwards, I was transferred to the Colony of Natal, which I administered for six years. I then, at the end of 1856, went back to the Western Coast, to the Gold Coast, and I administered that government from the end of 1856 to the middle of 1858, for about a year and a half.

2981. This is your whole experience of the coast?—That is my whole experience of the coast.

2982. Since the year 1858 you have not been on the coast?—No; I have not been on the coast since 1858. I have only been brought in contact with negroes in the West Indies.

2983. In what way have you been brought in contact with them?—As Governor of St. Kitts. I am Governor now of St. Kitts.

2984. Have you at all kept up your acquaintance with the West African Coast since you ceased to be Governor?—Not very much. I know nothing about it, except by some private letters, and what I have seen in the papers.

2985. I think that during your governorship on the Gold Coast you wrote certain despatches to the Home Government, in which you expressed an opinion rather in favour of abandoning the protectorate?—I did; as I felt the difficulty of maintaining the protectorate to be so great.

2986. Have you since modified those views?—I have since modified those views.

2987. Will you state generally the cause of your having modified those views, and in what manner you have modified them?—I may state, that my opinion that the protectorate ought to be abandoned arose from the consideration of the exceeding difficulty of exercising the jurisdiction, and the undefined nature of it, and the great difficulty of getting any man who would stay there permanently, having the ability to exercise such a very complicated jurisdiction. I was also

influenced by the dislike that I had to meddling with slavery; I felt that it was difficult, without in some degree recognising slavery, to exercise any jurisdiction along that coast.

2988. How long had the protectorate been established when you first became Governor of the Gold Coast?—It was established under Mr. Maclean's administration, and was placed on its present basis in 1844: in Major Ord's report he seems to attach more importance than I do to the poll-tax, as having altered the character of the protectorate, but I do not see that it did.

2989. *Lord Stanley.*] Will you explain in what respects you think that of less importance than Colonel Ord appears to consider it?—I think it was always understood when the protectorate was first established, that we were not bound to take the whole protection of the country upon ourselves; that we were only to act as a sort of standard round which they were to rally in their own defence; that they were to fight, if necessary, under our prestige and the sanction of our name. I do not think that the poll-tax, established in 1842, altered that at all; it was always understood that, in case of any fighting, we were to give them such protection as we could, and such assistance as we could, but not to take the whole upon ourselves; nor was it so understood afterwards, I am quite sure.

2990. *Chairman.*] Do you think that gradually the relation between the British Government and those protected tribes became more a relation of actual protection than was first intended, or even understood?—I think it has, so far as I can learn; but, in my time, there was a fear of an Ashantee invasion; the King of Ashantee sent to me, demanding the delivering up of certain slaves; I sent him a very temperate letter, telling him I was very sorry, but I refused, and it went over. The people were very much excited, thinking that there would be an Ashantee war; and the chiefs said, "You hold the flag, and we will fight;" meaning by that, that they would do the fighting under our prestige.

2991. Do you think it is possible that a great Power like Great Britain should assume any kind of protectorate without practically interfering more and more, and becoming really more or less the governors of the tribes so protected?—It is extremely difficult to exercise such a jurisdiction.

2992. But

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2992. But do you think that it is possible?—I think it is possible.

2993. You say that since you were Governor you have somewhat modified your first recommendation to abandon that protectorate?—Yes.

2994. Will you state to the Committee a little more in detail the difficulties you found in practice, beginning with the judicial establishment. I think you approved of the office of judicial assessor as first established?—I did.

2995. But in practice that office became a chief justiceship, did it not?—Yes.

2996. Is the judicial assessor now acting as chief justice?—I believe he is.

2997. The difference between the two offices being, that instead of the judicial assessor merely assisting the native judicial body, he assumes those judicial functions himself?—He assumes the judicial functions himself, and administers justice too much in the Queen's name and not in the name of the native authority, which I think he should do.

2998. How was it that that change took place?—There was a change of name; I suppose the judicial assessor thought it would be better if he had the name of chief justice, and with the change of name there came a change (and naturally enough) in the mode of exercising the office.

2999. The change took place from the judicial assessorship to the actual chief justiceship; did he cease to use the native laws and adopt more exclusively the English laws?—Yes; he went too much on the principles of English laws, ignoring the native law too much.

3000. Do you think that any judicial establishment upon the principles of English law must interfere too much with ineradicable native customs?—I think it must interfere too much. My notion of the mode of exercising judicial authority there is, that the judicial assessor should sit with the chiefs and administer native law, modifying it wherever it is repugnant to the principles of humanity recognised over the whole world, and from time to time, as any law is found to be inconvenient, getting the chiefs to agree to a modification of it.

3001. How could an English judge or assessor administer the native law relating to slavery?—He would have a very great difficulty, and that was my difficulty.

3002. Do you see any mode of getting rid of that difficulty, or meeting it?—The great questions that came before us were cases of runaway slaves. Before my time it was very common, if cruelty was proved against the master, for the slave to be liberated; but if there was no cruelty proved the slave was sent back, and in some cases our constables were employed to send them back. I thought that was a recognition of slavery which ought not to exist.

3003. How then do you think it would have been possible, even for the judicial assessor, to have maintained jurisdiction and to have administered the native law without some recognition of slavery?—I think, in the case before us, he might have sat outside the court, not on British ground at all; and if cruelty was proved against the master he might liberate the slave; if no cruelty was proved he might say, "I have no jurisdiction at all." He might decline to adjudicate.

3004. But would not some other power be necessary to adjudicate in those cases?—No; it

would be one-sided justice; but it is the only practical plan to avoid recognising slavery.

3005. Your proposition, if it were possible on the Gold Coast, would not apply to any other settlement?—No.

3006. So that, if it would solve the difficulty there, the difficulty would still, for instance, remain at Lagos?—I know nothing of Lagos.

3007. But where English settlements are territorial it would remain?—In all English territorial settlements a slave must be liberated.

3008. Do you think that the administration of the law by English judges interferes with the authority of the chiefs?—I think that it has a tendency to do so.

3009. Do you think it injuriously weakens their power over their own subjects?—I think so, if administered in this way, as it often is; for instance, summoning the subjects of the chiefs before our tribunals for small matters; it tends to lower their dignity very much.

3010. But you would not propose that we should give up these judicial establishments on that account?—No; I think that our judicial establishments there should exercise a controlling influence, and, instead of deciding cases of dispute, should leave the chiefs to decide the cases themselves, and then afterwards allow an appeal in important cases.

3011. You think that our judges could assist and control the native judges, and that our governors could assist and control the native chiefs without, in either case, assuming the principal power on the part of the British Government?—I think they could. So far as I can learn, that was the way in which Mr. Maclean exercised his jurisdiction.

3012. Do you think that in that way British interference might gradually train both the native government and the native judges to do without our assistance?—I think so, in course of time; it would take a long time, no doubt; but so long as we see the ship's head put the right way it is enough.

3013. You think that by that process of training, through the assistance of the English, they would in time very much modify their own laws and customs?—Yes.

3014. And develop a system which might be maintained by themselves without assistance at last?—Yes.

3015. That is the direction in which you modify your first views on the subject, I suppose?—Yes.

3016. Do you conceive that the native governments have a sufficient basis of municipal institutions for such a development without the necessity of introducing new institutions?—They have a basis of municipal institutions, certainly; and I think, with a little assistance from us in developing and framing them into something better, they might be established firmly and completely.

3017. What were the forms of their judicial tribunals before we established a judicial assessor?—The chief himself used to sit with his head men to decide the cases.

3018. The chief was sufficient for all the administration of the law throughout the whole of his tribe, was he?—Yes; he always consulted the aristocracy of his tribe, and he never acted without them.

3019. Do you think that Mr. Maclean was successful in adopting this plan?—I think so.

3020. How

3020. How was it that his plan was broken in upon while it was successfully working?—He was superseded in the Government. In the year 1841 there was a Commission sent out. Doctor Madden went out as Commissioner, and there was a Report, and upon that Report the Government superseded Mr. Maclean; they took the settlement under the Crown, and appointed Mr. Maclean as judicial assessor.

3021. Then do you conceive that the Company of Merchants were more successful in this respect than the Crown was after resuming the Government?—The Crown were successful for some time when Mr. Maclean was there. The great mistake seems to have been in changing the character of the judicial assessor; that was, I believe, a mistake.

3022. Was not one of the grounds of the recommendation of the Committee of 1842 to the Crown to resume the Government, that the judicial establishments were so defective under the Company of Merchants?—So they said.

3023. You are not of that opinion?—I am not of that opinion, except with regard to one point; I think Mr. Maclean was wrong in recognising slavery; that was a great blot in his administration.

3024. You think he might have avoided that?—I think so; but it is difficult to say at this time of day. At that time slavery had scarcely ceased in our own colonies, and the feeling against it was scarcely so strong.

3025. You have been acquainted with various parts of the West Coast of Africa; do you think that much mischief has resulted from changes of policy on the part of the English Government?—I think it is in the changes in the governors. One man goes out and acts on one policy, and another goes out and acts on another policy.

3026. I see in the manuscript which you placed in my hands this expression: "That we cannot govern that country, and if we cannot help the chiefs to govern it we should be better away." Is that your opinion?—Yes. I do not see how we can govern the Gold Coast; to do that, we must scatter the magistracy all over the Coast, and we cannot do that because the climate prohibits it.

3027. In any provision for the government of the Gold Coast, you would simply look to a process of enabling the chiefs to govern the country themselves?—Exactly.

3028. You do not consider it possible that the British Government should permanently govern the coast?—Certainly not, in the ordinary sense of government.

3029. Would one of your reasons for that opinion be the unsuitableness of the climate to the English constitution?—Yes, that would be a very strong reason.

3030. We can never settle in that country in the sense of colonising it, you think?—No.

3031. Have you any suggestion to make to the Committee with regard to the improvement of our relations with the Dutch on the Gold Coast, supposing we remained there?—Supposing we remained there, the best thing would be to get them out altogether; if we could not get them out altogether, then to put them on one side, they to take one part of the coast and we the other.

3032. Have you any reason to believe that that would be possible, and that they would be willing?—I do not know. At Accra, Colonel

Ord in his map shows the Dutch to have a large patch of territory; now they have not; but on the plain at the back of Accra, the Dutch and the villages under our protectorate are interlaced like the black and white squares on a draught-board.

3033. The Dutch settlements are completely upheld by us, and if we retire, they must go. I suppose?—Entirely at Accra; their place there is wedged in between two forts of our own; it is kept by six men, and if we were to go away, they could not keep it with ten times the number of people.

3034. What is your opinion with regard to concentrating all the British Governments on the West Coast under one supreme government?—I always thought that that should be done.

3035. For what reason?—First, for the sake of unity of policy throughout the coast. It has a very bad effect on the native mind, seeing the Governors acting in different ways. Another reason is, that it would enable us to have a much smaller force on the coast, and enable us to apply those forces to a given point with much greater rapidity than we can at present.

3036. You propose that all the black troops in the pay of the English should be located at the Central Government?—Most of them.

3037. And that the Lieutenant Governors should have nothing but police forces?—Armed police.

3038. And you think that the Central Government should have a steam transport, or some mode of sending troops where they might be wanted, as occasion required?—Yes.

3039. You would, I presume, contemplate such a Central Governor having a larger salary, and it being made worth the while of a good man to look to such a post permanently?—Yes, that is very important.

3040. What would be the duties of a Lieutenant Governor; would they be more than the duties of a Commandant of a fort?—There are two things. There is the internal government of the settlement, what we may call the Municipal Government, which is a simple matter, and there is what I may call the Foreign Government, or the connection with the tribes round about; the internal government is easy enough; that might be committed to the Lieutenant Governor, and even to the people themselves to a considerable extent, but the foreign relations of the colonies should be entirely under the supreme Governor.

3041. By foreign relations you mean the relations with other tribes?—I mean the relations with other tribes.

3042. Supposing such a concentration of our four present Governments on the West African Coast took place, what is the spot at which you think you could best do it?—I think that it should be at Sierra Leone, but that the Governor should be perpetually going up and down.

3043. It has been suggested by Captain Burton, that the British settlement having spread so much further south, and the trade developing so much more towards the Bights, the Central Government should be put further south, and he suggested the mouth of the Volta. What is your opinion upon that point?—I do not agree with him. It would be quite sufficient to keep it at Sierra Leone; it is a healthy place.

3044. Lord Stanley.] How many days' steaming is it from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast?—About three days; scarcely that.

3045. Chairman.] Supposing the slave trade had

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had ceased altogether, and the interest of commerce were the only object in view, would you still propose a Central Government at Sierra Leone, so far from the Gold Coast, Lagos, and the Bights commerce?—I think I would even then, because it is a good place to live in, and a good place to keep troops at, and the Governor could go down so quickly.

3046. It is a good place to keep troops, you think?—It is, and it is healthy compared with Addah on the Volta.

3047. I presume that you are acquainted with Liberia?—Yes, I have been there three times.

3048. Would you state generally to the Committee what your opinion is with regard to the prospects of Liberia; whether you think it is likely to extend and flourish, or whether you think it is rather stagnant and stationary?—I think it is getting on quite as well as could be expected.

3049. Do you conceive that the Government really does govern the country?—Yes; it protects life and property to a very great extent, and it seems to me to fulfil most of the conditions of a government.

3050. Does it develop trade?—I think it does. They have committed one great fault; they have assumed too much territory, and they have taken possession of a coast which they cannot protect. They have no right to levy duties when they cannot give protection.

3051. I think the sum of your views with regard to the Government of the West Coast of Africa is, that unless we can develop self-government for all the West Coast we shall never arrive at anything better than establishing very hopeless little Crown colonies?—Yes, that is my opinion.

3052. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] What do you mean by developing self-government?—I mean gradually accustoming the people to manage their own affairs, so that within a given time, it might be half a century and it might be a century, we should be free to a great extent, and they might then manage their own affairs.

3053. You mean the people directly subject to our Government?—The people directly subject to our Government.

3054. In what way would you propose to train them?—I should begin by giving them municipal institutions, by making them drain their towns and take care of their local affairs. In Sierra Leone they have practically no municipal institutions. The charter of Sierra Leone provided for that, but it was never acted on.

3055. But are there municipal institutions on the coast?—There are the outlines of them on the Gold Coast; the towns are divided into wards, each ward under a head man, and there are companies in the towns having certain privileges.

3056. The towns as distinct from the forts?—Yes.

3057. How does that native municipality (if you can call it so) work at the Cape Coast?—It does not work at all there; it has been so interfered with by us that it does not work at all. But in the interior, where there has been no interference with the native Government, it works very well; they keep their towns in order and keep them clean.

3058. The town of Cape Coast is in a very bad state, is it not?—It was in my time in a very bad state.

3059. I suppose that we did not attempt to compel them to improve the town?—No.

3060. We did not treat it as if we were directly subject to our Government?—No. Mr. Maclean compelled the chiefs to keep the towns clean; he sent for them, and insisted upon their compelling the people to do it.

3061. You propose that we should endeavour by our influence to establish a more regular form of town government?—Yes; a more regular form of town government.

3062. At Cape Coast?—At Cape Coast, and in the towns along the coast.

3063. Do the chiefs take any part whatever in the Judicial Assessor's Court?—They did in my time; I directed the Judicial Assessor always to call them in to sit with him, and I suppose they have done so since; they should do so.

3064. One or more of the chiefs sits with the English judge?—One or more of the chiefs sits with the English judge.

3065. The court sits within the forts, does it not?—It used to sit within the forts.

3066. In your time that was the case, was it not?—Yes, in my time.

3067. Do you think that the chiefs would be satisfied with the system which you suggest, under which the court would adjudicate in favour of the slave when he was aggrieved, but would refuse to adjudicate in favour of the chief when he was aggrieved?—They would not like it altogether, but they would submit to it rather than have our jurisdiction taken away.

3068. Do you think that it would be possible to make such a system agreeable to the chiefs?—Yes, I think so; it might be explained to them that that is the only way in which we can exercise jurisdiction, and they must take it or leave it.

3069. Would not they avoid our courts altogether if they found that that was the mode of action?—It is not the chiefs who come before our courts in these cases, it is the slaves.

3070. Invariably?—Yes.

3071. Does a chief never apply for the restoration of a slave?—No; I have not seen that.

3072. The slave comes to complain of the conduct of his master?—Yes.

3073. Do you think that that kind of jurisdiction has had a good effect?—Yes, certainly.

3074. Do you think that it has checked the evils and hardships of domestic slavery?—Yes, it has to a certain extent; if it were not for that, it would be a dreadful system indeed.

3075. Would you say that that system has been decidedly beneficial?—Decidedly beneficial.

3076. You object to the practice of summoning the subjects of the chiefs before our courts for petty matters; will you explain that a little more fully?—A chief may owe a small sum of money, and may be summoned before the court for that small sum; it is not advisable to encourage that; it is better to do as Mr. Maclean did; he would send a message to the chief, hoping that he would see justice done, and in nine cases out of ten a hint from the Governor would put that right; it is very degrading to a great chief to be summoned in that way.

3077. Do you object to the appointment of an English lawyer at all; would you prefer an Englishman not a lawyer, such as Mr. Maclean?—No; I think, *ceteris paribus*, a lawyer is the best; I only object to bringing the English law,

too many of its technicalities and too many of its principles, into force.

3078. Has that system been carried to any extent by the judge when acting as Judicial Assessor, and not as Chief Justice?—I do not think that there was a sufficient distinction made between the two things; that is to say between a judge sitting as Judicial Assessor and a judge sitting as Chief Justice.

3079. You have said that in Mr. Maclean's time domestic slavery was recognised to a much greater degree than it has been since?—I think so; I think it was the one great blot on his administration.

3080. Then in that respect the appointment of a Judicial Assessor has been a great advantage, according to your view?—I think so.

3081. Lord Stanley.] You spoke of training the natives along the coast to do without English assistance; do you look forward to any time within a reasonable space at which you think we can leave them to themselves?—It is very hard to say what time, but I should say within half a century, if they go on making the progress that I have seen them make; I do not mean that they could be left entirely to themselves; we might exercise control over them by sending some officer there.

3082. Do you think that that progress which you spoke of would continue if they were left to themselves; do you think that they would be capable of adopting European ideas and habits without the presence of Europeans amongst them to set the example?—I think they would.

3083. Now with regard to your proposal of a Central Government at Sierra Leone, do you think that no inconvenience would arise from the delay which must take place in settling all small matters with the chiefs, say at the Gold Coast?—I think they might be safely left to the Lieutenant Governor; at all events, he might settle those provisionally until the Governor could be communicated with.

3084. You would introduce a more complicated system than now exists, because the Lieutenant Governor of the Gold Coast would have to report to Sierra Leone, and what was decided there would finally go home for approval?—In some respects it would be more complicated, but I would modify the proposal of Colonel Ord. He proposes that the Governor in Chief should be Governor of Sierra Leone, and that the other Governors should communicate everything to him; but I think that the Governor in Chief should not be the Governor of any particular locality. I think it would interfere with his usefulness. In all those small colonies there is a great deal more to do than people think. Petty matters take up much time, and I think that the Governor should be kept free from that, and that he should exercise his superintending authority with regard to external affairs.

3085. You would locate him nowhere in particular; you would have him travelling about?—Yes, I would have him travelling about. I think the Lieutenant Governor might correspond with Downing-street, with regard to all matters concerning the internal economy; it is only with regard to the native tribes surrounding, that the correspondence should go through the Governor in Chief. There is a similar case in the Cape. I think there is a commissioner there.

3086. You spoke of Sierra Leone as being comparatively healthy; can you tell the Com-

mittee what has been the average length of time for which the governorships have been held by successive Governors?—In my time I think three years was the average, at least; perhaps more. Two Governors held it for six years, or nearly seven years.

3087. As a rule, should you say that a man of average health could remain there for more than three years without being invalidated?—Not more than three years at a time.

3088. But, notwithstanding that, you still think it healthier than the other settlements on the Gold Coast?—Yes.

3089. In consequence, I suppose, of there being more high ground?—In consequence of there being more high ground, and it is better drained too. The barracks are in a very healthy situation, raised on very high ground, 600 feet above the level of the sea.

3090. Do you think, comparing the West Coast of Africa with the West Indies, that any reduction of European mortality could be made at all corresponding to that which has taken place in Jamaica, since the troops were removed to the heights?—I think so.

3091. I am speaking of Sierra Leone?—In Sierra Leone the troops are as high as they very well can be, conveniently, I think.

3092. There are no considerable heights there, are there?—Yes; there are hills 2,530 feet high.

3093. Now with regard to that mixture of the English and African law which I understand you wish to see administered on the coast, do you think it is practicable to administer any native system of law, consistently at once with their ideas and the English ideas of justice?—I think so; that has been tried in other Colonies, and it has succeeded.

3094. Take that question of domestic slavery. I suppose you must decide one way or the other; either that you will recognise it, or not. In the former case do you not introduce a principle which is repugnant to English ideas; and in the latter case do you not entirely subvert the principles on which African society rests?—I think it would be possible to do justice in such a manner as to recognise slavery to a very small extent only.

3095. Will you define how far you would propose to recognise slavery?—Take the case of a slave running away. If cruelty was proved against the master I would liberate him, if not, I would decline to interfere.

3096. But that is a distinct recognition of domestic slavery, is it not?—It is, to that extent.

3097. Unless there was cruelty, you would return the slave to the master?—No; I would not return the slave to the master; I would simply decline to adjudicate.

3098. And allow the master to recover the slave?—I would not interfere. There must be some theoretical difficulty, I admit; but I think that in practice you may establish a form of adjudication which will do a great deal of good, and abstain from recognising slavery except to a very small extent; that is all I can say.

3099. You say you do not propose to interfere in the matter, but you would allow a chief to recover his slave except in a case of cruelty?—I would not interfere with him; I would sit in his territory; I would sit out of our own jurisdic-

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4 May 1865. 3100. Carry the case further, suppose that a chief does attempt to recover a slave and does so by violence, and possibly the life of the man is lost, would you again decline to interfere in that case?—It would depend on circumstances; if there was considerable violence used, and the man's life was taken, under circumstances of great aggravation we might interfere, otherwise we should not.

3101. Putting it in a general way, do you think it is possible to escape dealing with that question, either on the principle of recognising slavery or refusing to recognise it?—I do not think it is possible to exercise jurisdiction without to a limited extent recognising slavery; but I think that if you recognised it to so very limited an extent as that, you may justify it if our jurisdiction is so useful here. What I mean is, avoid it as much as possible. Let the people see (and it is very important for them to see it on the West Coast of Africa) that we do not like slavery.

3102. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] Do you think that they have any doubt about that?—The manner in which we exercised jurisdiction on the Gold Coast had a very unfavourable effect on the people at Sierra Leone. I heard them talking about that. There is perpetual communication up and down the coast; the Sierra Leone traders are everywhere now. That is the only place in which we seem to recognise slavery. In all other places they know very well that we detest slavery; but on the Gold Coast they have some doubts about it.

3103. Lord Stanley.] Apart from the question of slavery, are there no other questions with regard to which English and African ideas would differ so widely as to make the exercise of jurisdiction almost impossible; for instance, is not witchcraft a punishable offence?—With regard to witchcraft, we might set our faces against punishment for it, but in the great majority of the cases in which men are brought up for witchcraft they have been guilty of great offences, either attempting to administer poison or working on the imagination of the victims to their injury, which might be punished by our law.

3104. You would punish a man, not for exercising witchcraft, but for pretending to exercise it, to the injury of other persons?—I should. I have known them to work on the imaginations of people in such a way as to kill them, and that is a great offence according to our own law.

3105. I do not quite understand to what extent our obligation goes to protect those chiefs who are living partially under our jurisdiction on the coast. Suppose the Ashantee power were to attack those chiefs, do you think we are bound (I do not mean by express treaty or law, but in honour) to interfere actively in their defence?—We are bound to lend the prestige of our name, and keep them together; if the tribes are willing to fight, we are bound to lead them; but we are not bound to take the fighting in our own hands altogether. I am quite sure that in my time they never understood that.

3106. But how can you lead them without taking part in the fighting yourselves?—You cannot; what I mean is that we are not wholly to fight their battles, that we are to be looked upon as their allies, or that they are to be looked upon as our allies.

3107. But supposing that our allies do fight and get worsted, we are then bound to interfere, are we not?—We should be bound to interfere, I suppose.

3108. Ashantee is a growing power, is it not?—I doubt that.

3109. At all events it is not like Dahomey, a declining power?—That I cannot say; but I do not think that it is a growing power.

3110. Mr. Forster.] You would recommend this avoidance of jurisdiction with regard to slavery for the protected district of the Gold Coast?—Yes, for the protected district of the Gold Coast.

3111. Not for the Colonies immediately under British control?—No; in Colonies immediately under British control slavery should no more be allowed than it is in this country, and it is not allowed. The moment a slave comes to any one of our Colonies he is free.

3112. It has been stated before this Committee that at Lagos, and even in that part of the Colony which is completely under British control, as much as the forts at the Gold Coast, there is domestic slavery; that is not the case at the Gold Coast, is it?—At the Gold Coast we have no settlement; we have only forts. Outside the forts is the protected territory.

3113. But there is a considerable population around the forts completely subject to the British Government, is there not?—No; not subject to the British Government.

3114. We have no natives under us, in fact, except those that are in the protected territory?—Just so. We have no natives under us.

3115. It was stated by Captain Burton that he thought what was called the legitimate trade does as much harm in Africa as the foreign slave trade, and that the evils that ensue from the sale of spirits, arms, and ammunition, cause as much misery in Africa as the foreign slave trade; would that be your opinion?—There is no doubt that that trade does cause a great deal of misery, but that it causes as much misery as the foreign slave trade I am not prepared to say at all.

3116. What the Committee understood Captain Burton to mean was this, that to replace the foreign slave trade by the legitimate trade, conducted as it now is, a large portion of it consisting in spirits, arms, and ammunition, was only replacing one evil by another equally great?—No, not equally great. Unfortunately there is a great deal of trade in arms and gunpowder, but there is a great deal of good trade besides in cotton goods, and so on.

3117. And with the foreign slave trade both evils existed, because the slaves were frequently bought by arms and spirits?—Yes.

3118. Sir Francis Baring.] How long were you in Sierra Leone?—I was home occasionally; but from the year 1842 to 1849 I was there.

3119. What was your impression of the progress made by the black population of the Colony during that time?—I thought that there was much decided progress.

3120. With regard to their capability of managing their own affairs, is it your own impression that the negro is capable of managing his own affairs?—Certainly. Perhaps the great mass of them at present may not be capable of managing their own affairs, but they may be as the nation becomes educated. I do not see why they have not the same natural capabilities that we have.

3121. The municipal regulations at Sierra Leone are entirely under the Governor, are they not?

not?—They are practically under the Governor.

3122. Is the town remarkably clean?—The town is very clean.

3123. The Committee have had some evidence that it was very dirty, I think?—In my time it was not; there were culverts and other appliances for keeping the town clean.

3124. With regard to Cape Coast, that part of it which is inland is better managed than it is on the coast?—Yes; the reason is evident, that the chiefs on the coast rely upon us, and we rely upon them, and between the two there is no government at all; whereas in the interior the chiefs rely upon themselves. I know that in the interior the towns are in much better order.

3125. You saw a good deal of the natives?—Yes.

3126. What is your impression about them, with regard to their ability and their anxiety to conduct their affairs properly?—From all the experience I have ever had, all my intercourse with them convinces me that they are very anxious to learn, and willing to know, how to govern their people better.

3127. You were asked, if the English were removed, and the settlement were at an end, whether the natives would improve at the same rate as hitherto?—I think that if you kept the settlement on for the next 50 years as it is now you might let them run alone.

3128. But would the Europeans be removed entirely?—No.

3129. After all, however valuable a Governor may be, it is through mercantile communications that civilization is mainly spread?—Yes, no doubt.

3130. Mr. Mills.] I understood you to say that we had no territory at the Gold Coast beyond the limits of the forts?—None.

3131. But there is a population around the forts, is there not?—Yes, large towns.

3132. And in that population which is not, as you say, under our dominion the system of domestic slavery exists?—Yes.

3133. You have stated that all our African settlements should, in your opinion, be concentrated into one Government?—Yes.

3134. Do you think the Governor should be a civilian or a naval officer?—I should think, other things being equal, he should be a naval officer.

3135. Chairman.] Why do you think that he should be a naval officer?—Because, in the first place, it is necessary that he should have a ship, and moreover, I have met with a great many gentlemen in the naval service who have shown a very great aptitude for managing affairs on the coast.

3136. Mr. Mills.] How do you propose to manage the affairs on land: do you mean that we should keep the forts, and that there should be subordinates acting under the naval officer?—Yes.

3137. Mr. Cave.] Do you consider that the pure negro, without admixture of any other blood, is capable of arriving at a high degree of civilization?—I see no reason to doubt it.

3138. Have we any example of a pure negro kingdom arriving at a high degree of civilization?—They have never been in circumstances to do it.

3139. But have they not been on the confines of civilized countries for a much longer period than we have, for instance?—That is a very

doubtful point; we do not know what the nations were that they came in contact with.

3140. The negro race was on the borders of the old Egyptian monarchy; would you not suppose that if they were capable of arriving at a high degree of civilization, they must have had an opportunity of doing so?—It is a thing I am not capable of giving an opinion upon; it is so very difficult to know what their peculiar position was at that time; but you can look at them in modern times: for instance, the government at St. Domingo is not as good as the government of Europeans, who have served a very long apprenticeship to liberty and civilization; yet it is a Government which protects life and property, and performs a great many of the functions of a Government. The same with Liberia, which makes mistakes, as all Governments do, but on the whole it has conducted a Government which is creditable.

3141. Has not St. Domingo relapsed very much into barbarism since the destruction of the whites by the blacks?—I should question that very much; though perhaps they have grown less sugar.

3142. You do not agree with what Mr. Matthew Foster has stated, that he, after a long life of hope for the amelioration of the negro, had given it up in despair?—I do not indeed.

3143. The practical point is, that you think that after a certain number of years those settlements on the African Coast with which you are acquainted will become as civilized as any European settlement?—Not as civilized as any European settlement, but I think that they will be sufficiently civilized to conduct a decent Government.

3144. You do not think, then, that negro settlements are capable of arriving at the same height of civilization as European ones?—I have not said so; I have said, I think that they will arrive at such a pitch as that they will be able to conduct a respectable government. The other question is one I cannot answer, but I have no reason to doubt it.

3145. Then you would consider that it is better for us to continue in the occupation of those settlements until that time has arrived when the negro can go alone?—I think decidedly that it is our duty to do so.

3146. Chairman.] But do you think that while we continue in the occupation of the settlement we should do nothing to interfere with the possibility of their ultimately assuming the government?—We should point all our own policy to that.

3147. Mr. Cheetham.] You have proposed that in case there was only one Governor General over those stations on the coast, he should be placed at Sierra Leone?—I should place his head quarters at Sierra Leone, but I should keep him on the move as much as possible. If he had a ship of war under his orders, and he were to go up and down the coast, it would be much more useful than getting mixed up with the petty affairs of any particular place.

3148. You think that Sierra Leone is healthy; that is one reason for having the head quarters there?—Yes.

3149. You do not agree with Captain Burton, who described it as very unhealthy, saying that there is great neglect of sanitary precautions?—The whole coast is unhealthy, so that of course we can only speak relatively; but, compared with

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Sir B. Pine, the rest of the coast, I should say Sierra Leone is healthy.

4 May 1865. 3150. Captain Burton speaks from a passing visit, and you speak from long residence there?—I speak from long residence there; in my time all around the town was well drained and cleaned.

3151. For the permanence of our commerce on this coast, is it your opinion that we should retain our present possessions there?—I think so; I know nothing of Lagos.

3152. You speak of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone?—I speak of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

3153. Do you think that the commerce would expand of itself in our absence?—If our only object was commerce, then it might be possible to leave the place to itself.

3154. Mr. Baxter.] All the places?—Yes; if there were no settlements on the coast, we should, have probably just as much trade as now; but I think that the great object of our settlements there is to endeavour to spread civilization and Christianity among the people, and I think that it is our duty to do so.

3155. Mr. Cheetham.] In your opinion, the negro race is capable of receiving the benefits of Christianity, and a civilizing process of education?—Decidedly.

3156. You do not agree with Captain Burton that they are incapable of being raised by this process?—If he said so, I do not agree with him at all.

3157. With regard to our stations, do you think that those stations should be maintained to prevent the continuance of the slave trade?—I think so.

3158. You would not recommend that we should abandon several of the stations; that is to say, that we should make a selection and reduce our expenditure?—I do not see how you can abandon any of them; you can more effectually stop the slave trade by your Colonies and possessions, than by any other means. Liberia and we together, by taking possession of the coast, have done more to suppress the slave trade than the squadron, in my opinion, although the squadron has done a great deal.

3159. Mr. Baxter.] In the event of the foreign slave trade being put an end to, either by an alteration in the state of affairs in Cuba or otherwise, would you recommend the abandonment of any of our settlements on the Coast of Africa?—I do not know of any that I would recommend to be abandoned. Of Lagos I know nothing.

3160. Would you still consider it necessary that we should keep up the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, even in the event of the foreign slave trade being put an end to?—I would.

3161. In the interest of commerce and civilization?—Yes; especially in the interest of civilization.

3162. It is your opinion that the principal object of our retaining the Colonies is not to put down the foreign slave trade, but to promote commerce and civilization, and especially civilization among the African tribes?—Yes; one of the objects was of course to put down the foreign slave trade, but assuming that that is put down, then we should go on for the other objects.

3163. But you look forward to a time, not very remote, when we should have made sufficient progress in extending civilization among the African tribes to be able to leave them to them-

selves, and abandon those settlements?—I think so.

3164. Mr. Buxton.] Do you consider that those settlements have a powerful effect in keeping the slave trade from extending on that part of the coast?—Yes.

3165. You think that they really are effective for that purpose?—Decidedly.

3166. Sir John Hay.] If the import of slaves into Cuba was stopped, would there be any export of slaves from Africa?—I should think not.

3167. You think that the maintenance of our settlements there would put a stop to domestic slavery as it now exists?—I think it would fall off; it would be a long time, but in the end it would; of course if I think that the natives are capable of civilization, it is implied in that that they would put an end to domestic slavery, without which there can be no civilization.

3168. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] With regard to the practical nature of this Judicial Assessorship, is it not the fact that the Judicial Assessor's Court at the Gold Coast is in fact a native and not a British tribunal, assisted and humanized by the presence of an English judge?—Exactly; that is the position I would like always to put it in; a native tribunal to which the Queen sends a judge.

3169. What I describe is the real character of the institution itself?—That is the proper nature of the institution itself.

3170. Chairman.] Does, in fact, the same officer hold two commissions; one as judicial assessor to the native chiefs, and the other as an English chief justice administering English law?—I think he does.

3171. The exercise of the last function has, in practice, superseded the first?—Yes, it absorbed it.

3172. So that when you left the Gold Coast the judicial assessor was not practically acting as assessor to the native chiefs?—Yes, he was. They were confounding the two jurisdictions. In my time there was no chief justice; there was no lawyer there, and his office was simply that of judicial assessor.

3173. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] But in all those cases arising out of the protectorate, and which this gentleman deals with as judicial assessor, surely he does not act as a British judge administering justice to British subjects, but is what I have described—an Englishman acting within a native territory, improving the administration of justice in that territory?—He should do so; that is the theory, and ought to be the actual condition of the office.

3174. Chairman.] When you exercised the office of chief justice in the Colony of Sierra Leone, had you many native questions which came before you which were not easily dealt with by the English law?—No.

3175. Were the courts practically similar to those in England both with regard to the law and with respect to juries?—Yes.

3176. You found no difficulty in getting the juries to exercise their functions fairly?—No; they did it very fairly on the whole.

3177. Sir John Hay.] Did pure negroes sit there?—Yes.

3178. Mr. Chichester Fortescue.] The native juries of Sierra Leone worked well in your time, did they?—On the whole they worked well; if I had been consulted, I should not have recommended trial by jury to be introduced all at once.

I should

I should have recommended that the jury should give an opinion, leaving it to the judge to take their opinion or not, as is done in Kaffirland, where the authorities consult the head men, and generally take their advice, but not as a matter of course.

3179. Can you depend on getting an honest verdict from an Akoo jury at Sierra Leone?—If there were an Akoo man in the dock, certainly not at the present time.

3180. *Chairman.*] Do you look forward to any possibility of the Government of Sierra Leone being conducted by natives?—Yes.

3181. Now, if a central Government were established as you propose, should you consider the same number of forts necessary to be maintained on the Gold Coast?—I do not know the exact number.

3182. There are four or five, Dix Cove, Annamaboo, Cape Coast, and Accra; about five?—Four or five.

3183. Should you contemplate the reduction of that number?—If you maintain Cape Coast, Annamaboo, and Accra, that would be enough, I think.

3184. I understood you to say just now, that the slave trade having ceased you would not think any of those settlements necessary for the mere protection of commerce?—I think not.

3185. Supposing, under such circumstances, the English to withdraw altogether, what should you contemplate would be the probable consequence to the tribes now under our protection; would the Ashantee power overrun them?—I think it would.

3186. We, in fact, took the Fantees originally

from the claimed sovereignty of the Ashantees?—Yes.

3187. Would the Ashantees, in your opinion, overrun them all to the coast?—Yes.

3188. Practically, do you think one strong Government, such as that of the Ashantees might then be, would, for the purposes of peace and commerce, be more favourable than present government by a number of little tribes?—That is a question difficult to answer; but I think that you might deal quite as easily with a large power like the Ashantees as with a number of small powers.

3189. Should you not think it would be more advantageous to deal with one large power like the Ashantee power, in the interests of commerce?—Perhaps it might be, but it would be a most oppressive power.

3190. In your present governorship at St. Kitts do any liberated negroes come from Sierra Leone?—There has been a cargo or two.

3191. How have they settled?—Very satisfactorily.

3192. In what way have they settled, as apprenticed servants?—Yes; they have become very good servants apprenticed; they are some of the best people there.

3193. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] They are preferred to the coolies, are they not?—They are very much preferred to the coolies.

3194. *Chairman.*] Is there a demand for a much larger number?—No; we have got as much labour as we want.

3195. You do not depend on the emigration of liberated negroes from Africa?—No.

3196. *Mr. Chichester Fortescue.*] You speak of St. Kitts only?—Of St. Kitts only.

The Reverend ELIAS SCHRENK, called in; and Examined.

3197. *Chairman.*] How long have you been engaged in the Missionary work in West Africa?—I went out to Christiansborg, in Accra, in 1859, and left last year; I was there nearly five years.

3198. You are about returning now, are you not?—I hope to return in October or November, because that is the dry, and therefore the healthiest season.

3199. On what mission have you been engaged?—I am engaged in the Basle Mission.

3200. Are you acquainted only with the Gold Coast, or do you know any other part of West Africa?—I have seen something of Cape Palmas in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Bathurst.

3201. But your chief work has been at Accra and the neighbourhood, I suppose?—Entirely.

3202. Will you state the nature of your commission from the Society which has been established there?—Our mission was commenced in 1827, and it has been carried on up to this time; but from 1827 until 1843 we had no success, because nearly all the missionaries died; therefore I can say that our present work commenced in 1843.

3203. Whereabouts were the labours of the mission during that period from 1827 to 1843?—It was in the eastern district, which was under Danish protection; it was from Christiansborg Fort to the interior of the Volta.

3204. The eastern district of the Gold Coast?—The eastern district of the Gold Coast.

0.39.

3205. In consequence of such mortality among the missionaries, did the mission change their station?—We did not change our stations, but we built better houses, and knew afterwards, by experience, how to live on the coast. I ascribe it chiefly to a knowledge of the climate on the coast, and to our new houses, that since 1843 we can live.

3206. Are your funds there derived from voluntary contributions from Switzerland?—Our contributions are derived from Germany, Switzerland, France, and some sums from England too.

3207. Does Holland contribute?—No, Holland does not contribute.

3208. What is the nature of your establishment; have you a head among you?—We have a superintendent in Akropong, a town in the eastern district, protected by the English Government.

3209. Who are your superiors at Basle?—Our superiors at Basle are a principal with a committee of at least seven members.

3210. And you report to him your proceedings?—Yes; but we have a local committee, consisting of three missionaries, who manage minor matters independently, and they have to report about it.

3211. What is your number altogether?—Our number at present is 45 altogether, men and women.

3212. Are you in communication with any

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Rev. English Missionary Societies?—I cannot say that we are in communication with any English Missionary Societies, but we are on friendly terms with the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyans, though we work independently.

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3213. Are those two societies working in the same field?—On the West Coast the Wesleyans are working in the same district as we.

3214. But not the Church Missionary Society?—Not the Church Missionary Society.

3215. Are there any other societies but those two working in the missionary work in that part of Africa?—The Bremen Society works near us beyond the Volta; between the mouth of the Volta and Whydah, and in that direction.

3216. What does your work chiefly consist of?—Our work consists in industrial schools or shops, schools, and preaching, and we have also improved agriculture.

3217. In what way do you improve agriculture?—We have established some coffee plantations in the interior.

3218. Successfully?—Successfully.

3219. Worked by negroes?—Worked by the natives, under the superintendence of the missionaries.

3220. Do you find them generally to have a turn for agriculture?—Yes, during the last four years we have encouraged one tribe beyond the River Volta to cultivate cotton.

3221. With what success?—We have done so with great success during the last year; we have shipped to Liverpool 440 bales, each bale containing about 1 cwt. of clean cotton.

3222. What is your opinion of the general capacity for industry of the natives of that part of the world?—My opinion is that they can be instructed in those trades which we have commenced to introduce there; we have shops for locksmiths, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, shoemakers, and also a joiner. It is not only my opinion that we can do so; it is a fact which is proved by experience.

3223. What would you say of their natural intelligence?—My experience has shown me that we can instruct them in our schools just as well as we can instruct European children in our schools at home; we have only more difficulty to cultivate their thinking faculties, which is very natural among people who have not been accustomed to think for centuries.

3224. Has your mission been at work long enough for you to judge whether your schools have produced a higher state of intelligence than when you first began?—Yes, decidedly; we have now about 27 native assistants who prove decidedly, by the help rendered to us, that they can be educated.

3225. Are the parents of the negroes generally friendly to the schools, sending their children willingly?—During the last years they have become more friendly. When we came to the coast we had some places where there was a great difficulty to get the children to the schools; but in Christiansborg we have got so far since two years that they pay school-money for the instruction of their children, which is the best proof that the schools are valued by the negroes.

3226. Have you been able to get any native agency either to assist in teaching trades or in those schools?—We have no school and no congregation in which native agency is not employed with success.

3227. You have native teachers?—Yes; we have native teachers and native preachers.

3228. Are the children taught the English language?—They are taught the English language and their mother language.

3229. What have been your relations, generally speaking, with the Government; in the first place, with the native chiefs?—Our relations with the native chiefs are different in different places. The chief in Christiansborg is one of the principal chiefs; the second chief in the eastern district. It was not so difficult to keep up friendly terms with him, because he is a man who was educated in Denmark.

3230. But how was it with the others?—With others in the interior we had some more difficulty, especially with the principal chief of the interior in Akropong, because he still clings more to the cruelties of the Ashantes.

3231. Do you mean human sacrifices?—Not particularly human sacrifices, but, for instance, the jurisdiction which is decided by the so-called custom of corpse, if there is suspicion that one negro has killed another by poison. They carry a dead man through the streets, and if the corpse knocks at a certain house the inhabitant or house-father of that house is declared guilty; if that is done twice or more times, he must shoot himself. That is done up to this time.

3232. Generally speaking, should you say, in your experience, that those customs are declining?—Oh, yes, they are declining.

3233. Wherever the influence of European civilization has come in, they are declining?—Yes, especially by fear of the Government; they have respect to the canons.

3234. You mean the English Government?—I mean the English Government.

3235. What is your relation to the English Government; has it been friendly?—Our relation, I might say, to the English Governor is on the whole friendly.

3236. Do you look to him for protection?—Yes, we do; I myself have been on very friendly terms with the present Governor.

3237. Should you feel a want of protection, supposing that the English Government was withdrawn?—I think, on one or two of the stations near the sea further down the coast, we could go on without the protection of the Government; but in the interior we have at least two stations where we could not go on with the work without the English protection.

3238. You are within what is called the protectorate?—All of our stations are protected by the English Government.

3239. All within the so-called protected territory?—Yes, all within the so-called protected territory; at all events the natives acknowledge the protectorate as far as we are labouring.

3240. In the interior you think that you would be obliged to withdraw, supposing the British Government was to withdraw from the coast?—Yes; our experience has shown us that during the last year, because we were forced to call up to the interior the commandant of the eastern coast to settle some disputes between the missionaries and the native chiefs; the native chiefs were told by the fetish priests that all the Europeans had to kill their red goats or brown goats; they came to the yards of our missionaries, and told them to kill such and such cattle in order to keep the small-pox from the coast; they refused, and because they refused, the native chiefs did

not allow our people to fetch water. In one town they did not allow them to pass, and we were forced to call up that commandant, who was a very sober and reasonable man, and he settled it quietly in three days, so that we had peace again.

3241. Where did he come from?—He came from Jamestown, two miles from Christiansberg, in the eastern district of Accra.

3242. Mr. *Chichester Fortescue*.] What was his name?—Acting Commandant Seeley.

3243. *Chairman*.] What did he do?—He went up with seven soldiers; he did not even use them; he only had a talk with the chiefs, and gave them some laws, saying that they themselves had religious liberty, and that they must allow us to have it, too. In one town he had to threaten; but when he did so, the chief submitted, and they have been friendly towards us since then.

3244. He spent three days in negotiations, and finally succeeded?—Yes, he spent three days in three towns.

3245. Supposing the English were to withdraw from those forts, what should you suppose would be the consequence to those protected tribes?—I think that the consequence would not be the same on the whole coast; the consequence would be different in the Fantee district, which is near Ashantee, and it would be quite another in the eastern district, where we are more independent of the Ashantees. I think the consequence for the Wesleyan Mission would be that they must abandon their stations, with the exception of Jamestown, because there is no doubt that the Ashantees will come as soon as the Government leaves, and take their old territory.

3246. Suppose the Ashantees were to do so, and take the whole of that territory, would not that be a much stronger Government than that of those weak powers?—It would be fearfully strong, I am afraid, because they sweep away everything when they come.

3247. Do you think that this strong Government would not act as fairly towards your missions as the weak ones?—They would oppose them; they would not even ask what those missions or merchants wanted, but they would destroy the villages and towns.

3248. You do not think that you could come to the same terms with the King of the Ashantees, as with the chiefs of those tribes?—I think we may, but not quickly; after a certain time, by a careful policy, we might.

3249. After having done so, and after having got to friendly terms with a powerful chief, should you not think that your mission would work more safely in communication with that powerful chief than in communication with 20 or 30 weak chiefs?—In the first place it would not affect our mission very much, because we have no station in the Fantee country. With regard to the Wesleyan Mission there, I might say that with the first coming of the Ashantees, nearly all their work would be lost; their buildings and schools would be destroyed, and probably a large number of Christians too, and afterwards I could not say what would become of the mission. I am sure that they would have great difficulty for a considerable time to commence again.

3250. But you would in time probably come very much into the same relations with the King of the Ashantees that you have come into with the chiefs of the small tribes?—Not without the

help of the European Government. There must be a strong hand, which is respected by the Ashantees, and it would not be done without a European Government; that is my decided opinion.

3251. You said that, under such circumstances, the Wesleyans would fall back on Jamestown; why would they be safe there after the English had wholly withdrawn?—They would, because Jamestown is on the Accra Plain; the Ashantees were defeated on that plain in the year 1827; it is a matter of experience that the Ashantees cannot stand in the open plain against the united coast tribes, but they can stand the Fantee tribes. Jamestown would be safe, because I know that the other eastern tribes would join together in war as soon as the Ashantees came near the plain.

3252. You do not think, in case of the European powers withdrawing from the coast, that the Ashantees could overrun all the tribes?—No.

3253. Only the Fantees and those tribes between the Fantees and the coast?—Yes.

3254. But the eastern tribes would maintain their independence?—The Accra tribe, the Akwapem, Akim, Krobo, Akwamu, and the Ayye tribes would keep their independence.

3255. Do you think they would keep up their independence with respect to Ashantee, and also with respect to one another, or would any one of those powers make one large power, grouping the rest of them together?—I do not believe that, because one tribe does not out-number the other very much in regard to the number of the population, therefore I do not think that one would subject the other. That might by-and-by be done by superior education; the Accra people and the Akwapem people are already now more educated than the others more in the interior; for the time of war, against an enemy from outside, there is an organisation among the chiefs of the eastern district of the Gold Coast. The chief of the Dutch settlement at Accra is acknowledged by the other chiefs of the eastern district as the commanding general.

3256. Are the Ashantees a more vigorous tribe individually, or is it merely a larger power?—I think it is merely a larger power, wholly by numbers.

3257. The race is the same?—The race is much the same as the other mountain people among whom we labour.

3258. You spoke encouragingly with regard to the effects of the mission, both your own and the Wesleyan. What should you say has been the influence of the British Government, as distinct from the missionary influence, for the benefit of the natives?—The influence of the Government on the coast has been decidedly beneficial. I have heard something about the coast from our old missionaries, and read the Blue Books from 1841, and other books, and I find a great difference, especially with regard to jurisdiction in the sea towns. There is much more public opinion, and they acknowledge more what is English law than they did before. There is a decided progress since the Government came under your power in the year 1841, especially in the jurisdiction of the sea towns; that is one thing. Then the Government has had an indirect influence with regard to the missions; we can go on with peace. There is not only among the coast people, but also in the interior, a certain

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fear and some respect, but it is more fear with regard to the Government; and I think that we have much more peace than we would have if the Government was withdrawn, when we should have the old quarrels between tribe and tribe.

3259. Do you suppose that the English Government, by taking the Fantees from the sovereignty of the Ashantees, and assuming the protectorate of other tribes, has generally had an influence in favour of peace; or do you think, on the whole, that they have created disturbances which, without their interference, would not have been commenced?—Both results have happened. The Government have a certain influence over the whole protectorate, and also in the interior; but sometimes there have been disturbances, especially in the eastern district. There is a difference between the Fantee country and the eastern district. In the Fantee country the Governor resides, not always, but frequently, and, therefore, the beneficial influence of the Government was greater in the Fantee country than in the eastern district. In the eastern district we are more dependent on the Civil Commandant, and the question always has arisen, who he is individually. During my stay there were some painful disputes between the commandant and the natives; but I think it was a most unfortunate fine with the commandant; and when Governor Pine came, the present Governor, one of the first things he had to do was to look into his matters; he left the coast before he would have been dismissed, and he has done very much harm. I was in the Council with the Governor, and it was painful to hear the complaints of the people. He has done so much harm that the Government has lost very much respect in the whole of the eastern district. I think that he was the man especially who has made the position of our present Governor more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

3260. Do you think, supposing the English to have withdrawn, and the eastern tribes about the Volta were still to maintain themselves, that those native governments would be as favourable to the civilization and commerce of the country as the British Government?—No; one tribe, or perhaps two tribes. But the Akwapem tribes would make an exception, because they are a branch of the Ashantees, and there are still relations between them and the Ashantees; they are fully independent, but there is a relation in their cruelties.

3261. May the Committee generally suppose your opinion to be that it is necessary for the continued success of your missionary work that the British Government should, in some form or other, remain on the coast?—That is my decided opinion, not only with regard to the missionary work, but also with respect to trade. I am sure, for instance, that the Cape Coast trade could not exist without English protection, or at all events European protection, because Cape Coast would, no doubt, be taken by the Ashantees, and all the property which is there would at least be destroyed at once; how it would be afterwards, I cannot say; I do not think that the Ashantees afterwards would not allow trade, because they must have European articles.

3262. Why should you suppose that necessarily the Ashantees would come down and destroy everything; would it not be their object to possess themselves of the English forts and esta-

blishments?—They have done so as often as they came.

3263. But that was an act of hostility for which they would now have no motive, if their whole object was to take possession of the establishments?—There is so much hatred between them and the Fantee people along the sea coast, that I think no one who knows them both can doubt that they would sweep away everything.

3264. But, supposing they recovered their sovereignty over the Fantees, and came down to the coast, which is their great ambition, would not their object be to establish commerce; why else should they wish to have the coast?—They have shown, since the year 1822, that they would not do so; if they would do so, why did not they open more of their own country for commerce and European influence than they have done for 40 years; I think that we must come to the conclusion that they would not do much for civilization.

3265. Do you think that the fault has been entirely with the Ashantees, and not partly with the action of the British Government; do you not think it possible that the British Government might, by acting more judiciously, get on more friendly terms with the Ashantees, and make use of them?—I know that several Governors should have acted more judiciously towards Ashantee; some of them understood it better to make use of the Ashantees; there is a great difference in their relations between the Governors; one Governor may know them better than another; for instance, during the last years there has been a very great mistake made, a mistake which will have a bearing upon our relations with the Ashantees for a considerable time to come.

3266. We have had evidence which leads us to suppose that by judicious management they might be made the medium of internal communication with the English forts; if there is any truth in that opinion, is it not likely that the Ashantees might become a steady commercial power, supposing they became possessed of the whole of the territory themselves, down to the coast?—They might after a certain time become a power; but I cannot, according to my experience and that of my friends, see how the other tribes could keep peace without European Government. Commerce can never flourish without peace, and no civilisation can proceed without peace; therefore I cannot understand that the change would be in favour of commerce. I can understand very well that a careful policy of the English Government could open Ashantee and promote English commerce very greatly in a short time; that I can understand.

3267. But you think that there is much greater chance of peace in the English Government holding those small powers against the larger power of the Ashantees, than in the Ashantees obtaining the whole predominant power?—Much more.

3268. Mr. Gregory.] Do the Ashantees at present refuse to admit traders into their country?—At present it is not the custom of traders to go to the Ashantee country; they come down to Cape Coast, and to other parts of the coast, and exchange gold dust especially for powder, guns, salt, and tobacco, which are the chief articles that they buy on the coast.

3269-70. Mr. Cheetham.] Are there no missionaries among the Ashantees?—No, there are no missionaries

missionaries stationed there. It is about 22 years since a Wesleyan missionary, Mr. Freeman, went to Comassie; he commenced a mission there, but it was not carried on. The country was open for the mission at that time, but it was not continued; and I think the reason entirely was that there was not a man in that mission to do it. Mr. Freeman was a man who understood very well to keep up friendly relations with the chiefs; and he proved that afterwards in another capacity.

3271. *Chairman.* Do you consider that the continuance of the British Government is necessary with regard to trade and with regard to civilisation?—I do; especially because of the Ashantees.

3272. From what port do you export the coffee and cotton produced on your farm?—From Christiansborg; our coffee is exclusively sold to captains. On one of our plantations we have 20,000 trees, and on another 1,300. Captains come to the coast and buy it.

3273. That is one of the forts we bought from Denmark?—Yes; in 1851.

3274. Are the Dutch Government as friendly to missions as the English?—No; the Dutch have a settlement in Elmina, near Cape Coast Castle; and the Elmina people have invited us sometimes to commence a missionary station among them, but we refused it, as we have no confidence whatever in the Dutch Government with respect to the protection of the missionaries from our experience in other parts of the world, though we should like to extend the mission in that direction, because our aim is Ashantee, which will remain our aim.

3275. What do you suppose is the cause of the hostile attitude of the Dutch Government to the English Government?—One cause lies in the great difference between the Dutch nation and the English as a nation; the English nation, we may call, with all their evils, a religious nation, but we cannot call the Dutch nation a religious nation; and, therefore, there is a difference always between the two Governments; and then, even because the Dutch do not care much about religion, their exclusive interest on the Gold Coast is trade, and in Elmina they can only look to trade with Ashantee; and therefore it lays in their interest to interrupt trade between the Ashantees and the English, in order to lead the channel of commerce to their own settlement.

3276. Do you suppose that the Dutch consider your missionary work in any way adverse to their own interests, whatever they may be, commercial or otherwise?—At least we fear that we might come in opposition to their principles, and, perhaps, even in opposition to their policy, because their policy was a very sad one; they have done everything that they could to oppose the English Government with regard to the Ashantees, and they have done nothing for the education of the people.

3277. Is the feeling of the Dutch rather in favour of the Ashantees, and against the political interest of the English?—Decidedly.

3278. Do you suppose that the Dutch are carrying on a sort of export of labour which they think the influence of the English and the missionaries is adverse to?—I believe so.

3279. Have the Dutch taken any steps themselves to investigate the barbarous customs of the natives, such as the English have?—Around Elmina their influence goes as far as the guns of

their fort reach; but they have done nothing for the country; they have not done so much as the English Government and the Danish Government have done. There is one fact which I will quote that may prove that; I met a doctor of the Dutch Government about three years ago; he told me that he had discovered coal near Axim, on the Dutch territory; if the English had discovered it on their territory they would have looked to making it useful in their men-of-war, but those Dutch did not think of that, after four years.

3280. Suppose the English do decide to remain and hold the coast as they now hold it, do you think that the nature of their protectorate over those chiefs is the best, or have you any suggestion to make for an alteration in relation to that protectorate?—I have thought very much about it. The question is, the person of the Governor; it is the man and not the system which is the most important; I think the right man could make use even of the present system. Since I was on the coast we had, first, Acting Governor Bird, then we had Governor Andrews and Acting Governor Ross, and at this time our present Governor Pine. It is impossible, if there is such frequent change, that they can do much. Then we had some Governors about whom it is not my duty to speak; but it is well known by the Home Government that they had not the ability to do anything for our coast. I think one reason why we have such frequent changes which is the source of so many evils is the residence of our Government. Our Government is in Cape Coast Castle since it began, and it seems that nobody has thought that there is a better or healthier place. The barracks in Sierra Leone are 600 feet above the sea, and our Akwapem Mountains, where we have some stations, are 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. Since the year 1845, of 22 missionaries, only two have died on these mountains, and I cannot understand how the English officers of the Government did not think sooner about getting a better residence for the Government. I think that there lies great importance in that point, because as soon as there is a healthy residence, more superior men will go out to the Gold Coast. Men who know that they have not to risk much in regard to their life, and who know that they can stay for years, and will be able to do something. I think that you could send out a man who would be paid better. In Cape Coast Castle, it is much more difficult for the wife of a Governor to live than it is on the Akwapem Mountains, where the wives of our missionaries stay 14 to 18 years.

3281. But have we not always maintained our influence, with regard to the suppression of the slave trade, and been obliged sometimes to locate ourselves in unhealthy places, in order to be at the spot where the export was?—The forts have been kept up because of slavery; but I do not think that the Governor himself is bound to reside in such a fort near the sea.

3282. But is there any place close to Cape Coast so elevated above the sea?—No.

3283. How many parts would there be along the whole British occupation of the Gold Coast where there are such healthy spots?—There are several spots, some of which are about 1,500 feet above the level of the sea; but it would be much the cheapest and the most natural thing to build a dwelling for the Governor on the Akwapem Mountains, because they are English mountains;