

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 Wilmot 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 Wilmot'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 kidnaping 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*.

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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 Bimbia 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 Casanjé.

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 Pepple 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

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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.

3140. 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 Amba 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
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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 *bonâ 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 *bonâ 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 Churchill*.] 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*.]

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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 Ebos, 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 Ebos 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 Pepple, 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 establishments

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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 pestilential?—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 Docemo.

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 Dahomey, 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 Camaroons 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 there 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, you would 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 mis-

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

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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 Zanzibad never send spirits, of course, and, from motives of prudence, would never sell fire arms.

2300. Have

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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. M'Coskry was acting governor, and I do not know that there was any personal animosity between Mr. M'Coskry and the missionary Mr. Townsend, but it would not have been safe for Mr. M'Coskry to have gone up there; two years after that, he sent up his clerk, who nearly lost his life in consequence of being Mr. M'Coskry'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

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 Ebbo, 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. M'Coskry 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 worm 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. *Cave*.] 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

of

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 3 s. 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. Who 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 Wilmot there, and ships within sight of each other.

2449. Is the space between Porto Novo and Quitah 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

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 barracoon.

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 Fantees 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.

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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 Tsetse 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 Fortescue*.] 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 bad 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 Gaboon 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-lahoo 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 Oriel, 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 Eboas, 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 superior cleverness of a certain kind?—Of a certain kind.

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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 Kroomen 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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Brazil. Constitution of the Brazilian Government adverted to in reference to the adoption of laws for suppressing the slave trade, *Wylde* 2689. 2966-2968—Improbability of any revival of the Brazilian demand for Africans, *Wylde* 2700, 2701; *Crawford* 4567, 4568—Improved character of those natives who have served as slaves in Brazil, and have returned to Africa, *Croft* 5552-5564—Brazil is sincerely desirous of putting down the slave trade, *Ralston* 6385. 6394.

Number of slaves exported from the West Coast and imported into Brazil, in the several years 1848 to 1855, *App.* 466—Absence of import of slaves since the year 1855, *ib.*

Bühle, The Rev. Gottlieb. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Has been connected with the Abeokutan Mission for nine years, 6080-6082—Concurs generally in the evidence of Mr. Gollmer, 6083, 6084—Considerable intelligence and excellent progress of the natives in the training school conducted by witness at Abeokuta, 6085-6099—Comparatively peaceable state of things at Lagos when merely a consul was there, 6100—Reasons for the Egbas not having placed any confidence in Governors Freeman or Campbell, 6100-6104—Steps taken by witness in order to mediate between the Egbas and Ibadans; cause of his having failed, 6104-6109.

Erroneous grounds upon which the Lagos Government have treated the missionaries as being in hostility to them, 6110-6114—Change of policy or of conduct on the part of the Governors of Lagos towards the Egbas; assistance given to them at one time against the Ikorodus, whereas now the latter are being assisted against the Egbas, 6115-6134. 6161-6186—Belief as to the inaccuracy of a statement that the Egbas were intoxicated by their success over Dahomey and the Ibadans, and were averse to peace, 6135-6155.

Unauthorised character of any vague claim which may have been made for the Abeokutans to territory on the Lagoon or to Badagry, 6142-6148. 6187-6190—Refusal of the missionaries in Abeokuta to leave their congregations, as directed by Governor Freeman previously to the attack by Dahomey; offence taken thereat by the Governor, though the missionaries' conduct was approved by the Colonial Office, 6156-6160.

Bulama. Dispute still pending between Great Britain and Portugal relative to the possession of the Island of Bulama, *Elliott* 14-16—Object of the occupation of Bulama; question pending with Portugal as to our right to such occupation, *Ord* 502-508—Necessity of a military police force at such posts as Bulama and Sherboro; objection, however, to any extended number of such posts, *ib.* 694-704.

Unimportance of the occupation of Bulama Island, *Clarke* 4297-4299—Advantages anticipated from facility of communication between Sierra Leone and Bulama; how this might be provided, *Bradshaw* 6925-6931. 6940-6952. 6976-6983—Usefulness of the occupation of Bulama with reference to the prevention of slavery and the development of trade, *Blackall* 7891-7895. 7913-7916. 7997-7999.

Burton, Captain R. F. (Analysis of his Evidence, &c.)—Visited the west coast of Africa in 1854; first became acquainted with the west coast in 1861 as consul in the Bight of Biafra, 2051-2055—Has been twice to Dahomey; was sent officially late in 1863 in order to see if it were possible to put a stop to the slave trade and to human sacrifices, 2056-2061—Since 1861 has been consul at Fernando Po and explains the nature of the Spanish Government there, the number of emancipados, &c., 2062-2077—Visited Loanda in 1863 and supplies sundry particulars relative to the Portuguese Government, the extent of Portuguese territory, revenue, climate, &c., 2078-2114.

Instance of the willingness of native tribes to come under the British Government as a means of protection against their enemies, 2096-2098—Belief that there is not now any export of slaves about Loanda, 2099—Information relative to the trading capacities of the River Niger; great development thereof if steamers were sent up the river, a subsidy being granted for the purpose, 2115-2129.

Exceedingly injurious and demoralising character of the import trade on the west coast, which consists chiefly of arms, ammunition, and spirituous liquors; this can be checked only by a proper public sense of its evil, 2120. 2122. 2126. 2150-2152—Mode in which the trade is conducted in the oil rivers, 2130-2133. 2150-2152—Interference with trade whenever the consul goes to the oil rivers in a vessel of war, 2133, 2134—Necessity of the consul interfering occasionally for the protection of the traders on the rivers, 2135. 2139-2144.

Belief as to the existence of cannibalism in Bonny, 2136. 2138—Effect of European civilization in putting a stop to cannibalism, 2137, 2138—Complete disorder in the Camaroums river through the want of a strong native government, 2140—Inexpediency of the European traders receiving any assistance from the consul in the recovery of debts; practice of the former in the matter, 2145-2148—Absence of any attempt to export slaves from the Gaboon, Bonny, &c. since 1860; 2153, 2154—Cessation of the export slave trade in the oil rivers chiefly through the facilities for trade in oil, &c., and the presence of the cruisers and missionaries, 2155-2158. 2163. 2183. 2215.

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Statement in favour of a sanatorium at Ambas Bay in the Camaroon mountains, 2159-2162—Increased demand for slaves in the interior, and for domestic slaves; particulars relative to this class, and their exceedingly wretched condition in some places, 2164-2174. 2181, 2182—Proposition for a *bonâ fide* emigration of slaves and captives from the interior districts on the west coast to the West Indies; restrictions necessary in order to prevent any abuse of the system, 2174-2178. 2186-2214—Great abuse of the French system of emigration from the west coast, 2177-2181.

Constant wars for the sake of slaves, irrespectively of export, 2181, 2182—Doubt whether the slave trade could be stopped at the Cape Coast or Sierra Leone without the presence of cruisers, 2183-2185—Understanding as to slaves having been recently exported from Whydah, 2185—Information relative to the tribes occupying different territories bordering on the Niger, 2216-2228—Diminished power of the King of Bonny since his return home from this country, 2229-2231.

Great decrease of the slave trade about the Bight of Benin, owing partly to the cruisers and partly to the decreased supply, 2232-2237—Disapproval of any British post being established in Biafra, 2238, 2239—The smaller the post or establishment in the Bight of Benin the better, 2238. 2277.

Opinion that with a consul at Lagos, together with a cruiser, and a vice-consul at Badagry, the present civil and military establishments at those places, and at Palma and Leckie might be abolished, 2240-2250. 2279-2282—Exceedingly unhealthy character of Lagos, Badagry, &c., 2248-2250—Together with the reduction of establishments at Lagos, &c., King Docemo should be restored; removal thereby of impending difficulties upon questions of boundary and of domestic slavery, 2252-2263. 2283-2285—Frequent difficulty at present in connexion with runaway slaves, 2259-2263.

Doubt as to the expediency of retaining any establishment at Lagos for mere purposes of commerce, in the event of the slave trade being quite suppressed, 2264-2269. 2286—Particulars relative to the missionaries at Abeokuta and Lagos, and the opposition offered by them to the British Government at Lagos on certain points, 2270-2276. 2305 *et seq.*—There is no place about Lagos or Porto Novo suited for a European settlement, 2278.

Further statement as to the great evil consequent upon the introduction of spirits, arms, and ammunition; difficulties in the way of an improved trade, 2286-2299. 2376-2401—Bri-k export of slaves at Whydah occasionally; very little difference, if any, between the condition of the interior adjoining Whydah and the interior adjoining Lagos and Benin, where there is no export of slaves, 2302-2304. 2376-2385—Details on the subject of the war between the Abeokutans and Ibadans and the dispute between the former and the Lagos Government arising out of such war, 2305 *et seq.*

Statement relative to the sending of two guns and some gunpowder to the Abeokutans through missionary influence; question as to this having been done in view of an attack from Dahomey, 2309-2333. 2366-2368—Reference to some correspondence between the Lagos Government and the Abeokutans as not being of a very conciliatory character, 2334-2336—Circumstance of the Abeokutans having been friendly towards the Lagos authorities in the earlier part of the year 1861, 2337-2339—Doubt as to the confidence of the natives having been at all forfeited through the British transactions at Lagos, 2340-2343—Opposite interests of the Lagos Government and the Abeokutans with reference to the trade with the Ibadans, 2344-2351. 2364, 2365.

With regard to the cruisers on the coast, some complaints have been made about their speed, 2358, 2359—Claim of the Abeokutans to the country as far north as Ibadan, 2360-2362—Necessity of the consul at Lagos having a vessel of war at his disposal; expense on this score, 2371-2375—Very little influence exercised by the missionaries as regards the native use of spirits, 2394-2398—Value of the British settlements on the coast in having tended to the suppression of the export slave trade, 2402-2404—Advantage of a system of free emigration farther adverted to in connexion with the deteriorated condition of the domestic slaves, 2405-2412.

Circumstances under which Badagry was acquired by the Lagos Government; pensions given to some of the chiefs there, 2413-2418—Information relative to the coast between Badagry and the Gold Coast, and the reasons for the King of Dahomey not having taken possession of it, 2419-2426—Present position of Porto Novo; proposal of the natives to cede it to Great Britain, 2423, 2424—Large number of slaves ready for export at Whydah when witness was there in February last, 2427—There is an English Wesleyan Mission at Whydah; also a French mercantile establishment and a mission, 2428-2434.

Prospect of the kingdom of Dahomey becoming extinct, 2435—Rapid rise of the Abeokutans or Egbas; some of them are Mahomedans, and are capable of civilization, 2436-2439—Objection to any occupation of Whydah by this country, or to the establishment of a consulate there, 2440-2447. 2465—Check by means of the cruisers upon the export of slaves at Whydah and in the interval between Lagos and the Gold Coast, 2448-2450—Absence of benefit from the embassies to Dahomey, 2451.

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Entire cessation of emigration from the coast under French auspices, 2453-2456—Room for a large increase in the palm oil trade at Whydah, there being already a considerable oil trade there, 2457-2462—Proposed Dahoman embassy to England; probable advantage therefrom, 2463, 2464—Abuses of the French system of emigration further adverted to; reference more especially to the result in Lower Congo, 2466-2470.

Necessity of maintaining certain forts along the Gold Coast if the export of slaves continues in demand, 2471, 2472—Importance of two posts at the mouth of the Volta, and of a re-establishment of the settlement of Addah, 2472-2475. 2518-2526—Great advantage of a co-operation between the Dutch and English on the Gold Coast; antagonism hitherto of the former, 2476-2484. 2501-2505. 2509—The only post that witness would recommend merely for trade is Addah, on the Volta, 2485, 2486. 2516-2522—Probable conquest by the Ashantees of the whole territory and the tribes now under British protection, if the forts were withdrawn; obligation upon us to protect these tribes, 2487-2500. 2510-2512.

Considerable benefit to the natives through the settlements on the Gold Coast, 2496-2499—Obstacle to any communication with the interior for the purposes of trade; absence of roads, 2506-2509—Considerable offensive power of the Ashantees, 2514, 2515—Partial abandonment of the French post at Assinee; it is under the Senegal authorities, 2527-2531—There is no danger of any export of slaves from the Ivory Coast, 2532, 2533.

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Advantage of the retention of Sierra Leone as a coaling station and harbour of refuge, 2543-2545. 2548, 2549—Unhealthy character of Sierra Leone; means of introducing improved sanitary arrangements, 2546, 2547. 2566-2570—Objection of the natives and of the Sierra Leone traders to the Government of Liberia, 2561-2565. 2620—Information relative to the native traders at Sierra Leone, and the Christian converts there; unfavourable opinion entertained on the coast generally in regard to the Sierra Leone people, 2574-2580. 2589-2602. 2612-2616—Advantage of Sierra Leone as a station for the Mixed Commission Court, 2608-2611. 2617.

With regard to the Gambia witness considers that all the officials should live at Cape St. Mary, and that there need be no establishment at Bathurst, 2621-2625—Objection to the settlement at MacCarthy's Island on account of its unhealthy character, 2626-2629—Disadvantages connected with the retention of the northern bank of the Gambia River; necessity however of some establishment if commerce is to be kept up, 2630-2634—Excellent communication by means of the river Gambia, 2636—Thriving character of Sierra Leone in a commercial sense, 2637, 2638.

C.

Camaroons. Complete disorder in the Camaroons River through the want of a strong native Government, *Burton* 2140.

Campbell, Mr. Very judicious manner in which Consul Campbell discharged his duties at Lagos, *Chinery* 5172-5174.

Cannibalism. Belief in the existence of cannibalism in Bombay, *Burton* 2136-2138—Effect of European civilization in putting a stop to cannibalism, *ib.* 2137, 2138.

Canoes (Slave Trade). There are now no canoes plying round the Gold Coast, giving facilities to the slave trade, *Ord* 950, 951.

Cantonments for Troops. Advantage if cantonments for the troops were built on the high land, *Ord* 764-767.

Cape Coast (Castle and Town). Size of Cape Coast Castle, and character of the military accommodation there, *Ord* 902-910—Residence of the governor in the town, since the last year or two, instead of in Cape Coast Castle, *ib.* 903-908—Sufficient strength of Cape Coast Castle to resist any attack by natives, *ib.* 911, 912—Good accommodation at Cape Coast for about 300 men, *ib.* 1084-1086.

Facility of draining Cape Coast town if there were available funds, *R. Pine* 7788-7790—Great want of a supply of fresh water; expenditure necessary on this score, *ib.* 7791-7795—Explanation as to witness not having raised, locally, the funds required for the necessary improvements, *ib.* 7796-7806. 7812-7821. 7839-7846.

Requirement of cleanliness rather than of drainage at Cape Coast, *Conran* 8307—Recent improvement as regards the burial ground, *ib.* 8308-8310—Prejudicial effect of the